A HISTORY OF EUROPE

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BY

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"Ego misi vos metere quod vos non laborastis; alii laboraverunt et vos in labores eorum introistis"

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TO

E. A. G.

Made in Great Britain

PREFACE

A NEW edition of this book has allowed me to bring the narrative down to the Peace Conference at Versailles. I have also now added chapters on the course of English and British history. I had at first excluded the story of our own island from my survey, on the ground that readers of this book were likely to be already acquainted with the course of English history, and that histories of England and Britain, of every size and tendency, already abounded. But from the first friends and critics urged that the usefulness of the book would be increased by chapters dealing with the development of our own fortunes, and I have come to believe that they were right.

I have adopted, in writing these chapters, a rather different method from that which I had followed in the others. In the European chapters I avoided anything like allusion or discussion of doubtful points, and assumed that my readers had little or no previous knowledge of the subject. But in the chapters on England and Great Britain I have imagined myself to be writing for those who are already acquainted with the outlines of English history, and I have kept usually in view a comparison between the development of England and that of other European countries. I have also tried to suggest certain points of view rather than to give a detailed narrative, which in the space at my disposal was impossible.

There is another method of presenting general European history, practised both in Germany and in France, which has failed to recommend itself to me. There are books in both languages, of high credit and wide circulation, in which the main theme is a fairly full narrative of national history, differing in no marked way from that of the ordinary histories;

while the events of other countries are brought in from time to time as a sort of appendix to the national story. I cannot see that much is gained by this method. Events are not presented in their true proportions or in correct perspective, if they are always looked at from Berlin or Paris; and the attempt to judge them all from the meridian of London would be even less successful. If the history of Europe is worth study it is because the subject has a unity in itself, apart from that which belongs to the life of any particular state. Its great service is to correct national egotism, to allow of unbiassed comparisons between different systems of life and government, and to emphasize the interdependence of the different elements of the commonwealth of Europe. None of these objects can be attained if the point of view of a single state is maintained throughout.

I have tried to avoid making my book a compendium of dates and facts. Such books have their great value, and Freeman's "History of Europe" still occupies an honoured place on the shelves of most students of history But my aim has been a different one. What has been said of the artist—"that his greatness is shown as much by what he leaves out as by what he puts in"—may be applied even to the humble labours of the writer of an historical text-book. My hope is that I have not mentioned names or events unless their importance or significance is made apparent in the text. I know that there are many great statesmen and many great battles, of which there is no mention in this volume.

I trust that no one will think that the serious character of the book is diminished by the fact that I have put a poetical quotation at the beginning and at the end. I have always felt that the wider the survey of history the stronger is the appeal which it makes to the feelings and the imagination, and that the most rigid application of historical science (if there be an historical science) cannot prevent history, when regarded as a whole, from drawing near to poetry. The famous chorus from Sophocles seems to me to give, as nothing else does, the wonder of man's record on earth; and Wordsworth's sonnet is the best expression that I have found of the sentiment with which a student of history natuially regards the future.

I have received much help from friends in the production of this book. Professor Appleton, of Sheffield, and Professor Hearnshaw, of King's College, London, were kind enough to examine the proofs of the first edition. Miss A. M. Cooke, my colleague at Leeds, and Dr. G. S. Veitch, of Liverpool University, have gone through the chapters on English History. Major F. R. Dale, M.C., D.S.O., Headmaster of Plymouth Grammar School, gave me advice on the last chapter. My old pupil, Miss A. M. Evans, M.A., of the Normal College, Bangor, prepared the index for me. To all of these I tender my hearty thanks.

LEEDS UNIVERSITY,
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Many the things that strange and wondrous are,
None stranger and more wonderful than man ;
He dares to wander far,
With stormy blast across the hoary sea,
Where nought his eyes can scan
But waves still surging round unceasingly ;
And Earth, of all the Gods,
Mightiest, unwearied, indestructible,
He weareth year by year, and breaks her clods,
While the keen ploughshare marks its furrows well,
Still turning to and fro ;
And still he bids his steeds
Through daily task-work go

And speech and subtle thought
Swift as the wind,
And temper duly wrought
To statesman's mind,—
These he has learnt, and how to flee the power
Of cold that none may bear,
And all the tempest darts of arrowy shower,
That hurtle through the air ;
Armed at all points, unarmed he nought shall meet
That coming time reveals ;
Only from death still finds he no retreat,
Though many a sore disease that hopeless seemed
he heals.

Sophocles' Antigone (5th Century B.C.) : translated by PLUMPTRE.

A HISTORY OF EUROPE

PART I
THE CLASSICAL WORLD

CHAPTER I

The Beginnings of European History

THE history and civilization of Europe are marked off by certain clear characteristics from the civilizations of Asia or of Egypt. But as the continent of Europe is connected with Asia and Africa, so the civilization of Europe in its origins is connected with the older civilizations of Asia and of Egypt. We must not here consider what that connection was or what Greece owed to the Egyptians or the Lydians, to Phœnicia or to Assyria. It is true that, in a most wonderful and welcome way, the clouds are being rolled back from the dim beginning of the history of Europe, and a strange and fascinating landscape begins to appear where we used confidently to fix the realms of chaos and old night. But there are many more excavations to be made, many more inscriptions to be deciphered, and even alphabets to be guessed, before we can quite distinguish the clouds from the mountains. Theories will be advanced and attacked, and out of the warfare of conflicting views the truth or an approximation to it will, it is to be hoped, emerge at last. Meanwhile some of the elements of the many problems which confront us may be touched on.

Homer.

First, not in time but in importance, must be put the poems of Homer. Whatever is mirage they are real; and with them our knowledge of European History begins. They are the oldest of all the treasures of European culture, and they have not been surpassed in value by any

subsequent additions. The Homeric poems are not rude and fragmentary ballads, but works of a splendid, mature, and self-conscious art. Both the poems—the Iliad and the Odyssey—are concerned with the war waged by the Greeks against the Trojans and the siege of Troy. The Iliad takes us to the siege itself, and is throughout martial in character. Its main theme is the wrath of Achilles and the disasters which befel the Greeks, while their greatest warrior remained in his tent indignant with the treatment which he had received at the hands of the chieftain of all the Greeks, Agamemnon. But round this central theme is woven a marvellous story of the heroic deeds of Greeks and Trojans, of their fightings and debates, of the interference of the Gods in the strife of men who are themselves akin to the Gods, and the story, martial though it is, has wonderful pictures of the agonies of the wives and parents of those who are engaged in the great contest. The Odyssey takes us to a wider field, and to more varied and romantic adventures. Its chief concern is with the wanderings of Ulysses on his return from the siege of Troy, but before the hero has escaped from the perils of the seas and the wrath of the Gods, he passes through adventures which bring before us many sides of the life, real or fanciful, of his time. In this poem we are not merely concerned with men as warriors. Women play a large part in the story—the faithful wife Penelope, the witch Circe, Nausicaa the Princess, that unmatched picture of girlish beauty and charm. We are present with sailors on the high seas, with citizens in their political gatherings, at the athletic games of a peaceful and commercial community. If the Odyssey falls short of the Iliad in dignity and Epic grandeur, it has hardly any rival for the title of the finest story in European literature.

Recent excavations.

The poems of Homer are the first factors in our speculations on early European History. They were for long the only factor, but they are so no longer. For long the only questions that could be discussed were the authorship of the poems, their relation to historic fact, the reality of the world that is figured in their pages. But during the last half century a new element has appeared.

Schliemann.

The archæologist and excavator have set to work. In 1873 Schliemann began to dig at Troy, and from beneath the soil there came to the light of day treasures which had been hidden for literally thousands of years. He dug at Mycenæ and Tiryns with equally happy results. He was followed by other investigators, not always as fortunate but more scientific in their methods. The investigations of Schliemann were full of interest and suggestion, but a new era in our knowledge of early civilization was opened by the discoveries of Dr. Evans in Crete from 1893. The remains of a great civilization were discovered which the historian had not previously guessed at; the beginnings of European culture were pushed back hundreds, perhaps thousands of years, behind the date of the Homeric poems; inscriptions were found in a new and as yet unintelligible alphabet. The material thus provided raises problems concerning the age of European culture and the relation of that culture to the civilization of the East which will occupy archæologists for many a long year, but they cannot detain us who have so long a journey before us. We must step out from this fascinating cloudland on to more solid ground.

Dr. Evans.

The poems of Homer are themselves more solid ground. However we read the riddle of their authorship we cannot doubt that they present us with a picture, however idealized, of political and social conditions actually prevailing, and the genuine thoughts of men about men and Gods. Apart entirely from its artistic merits, this first glimpse of European society can never lose its interest.

The world of Homer.

We see through the eyes of the poet a people which accepts with unquestioning belief the existence of innumerable Gods and Goddesses by whose will or caprice the affairs of men are ruled. Zeus, "father of Gods and men," exercises over the divine world a rule that is far from being unquestioned or absolute. The Gods are superior to man in their powers; they are not subject to the same laws of decay and death; but they can claim no superiority on the ground of morality. Even Zeus himself is far from being all-powerful or all-wise; his standards of conduct are the same as those held by the heroes who fight below on the plain of Troy.

The social conditions are simple. The men fight and farm, and to a small extent trade. Slavery is the basis of the social order, and capture in war is the chief source of slavery. Women in Homer's pages play a part of great influence, but their legal position is one which is difficult to distinguish from slavery. The metal in commonest use is bronze; but there are signs that men are just emerging from the bronze into the iron age, and iron is mentioned.

The political conditions of the Greeks as represented in these poems are of even greater historic interest: for out of them the later political institutions of Greece were developed, and they have never ceased to influence the political ideas of Europe. There is a king at the head of each social group; a king whose position is derived partly from birth and partly from his own prowess in fight or counsel. He is by no means absolute, for he must always debate on the chief questions of policy with his nobles, and we must mark this Council of Nobles as the second political element in the Homeric state. Another institution remains of even greater importance. The initiative is with the king and his nobles, but they cannot act in matters of the greatest moment until they have taken the people into their confidence, and put the matter before the General Assembly for their acceptance or rejection. Here, then, in their most primitive shape, are those forms of government which later were labelled with the names of Monarchy, Aristocracy, Democracy.

Politics in Homer.

This is the vision which we get of European society by the golden half light of Homer's poetry. We may assume that these conditions prevailed somewhere about 900 B.C. We must pass over three hundred years and see it again by the clearer light of contemporary narrative.

The poems of Homer themselves are the best point at which to begin the study of European History. The prose translations of the *Iliad* by Lang, Leaf, and Myers, and of the *Odyssey* by Butcher and Lang, deserve special recommendation. For the problems raised by recent excavations consult R. M. Burrows' *Discoveries in Crete and their bearing on the History of Ancient Civilization*, *Schliemann's Excavations; an Archæological and Historical Study*, by C. Schuchhardt; Percy Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History; historical results*

of recent excavations in Greece and Asia Minor; James Baikie, *The Sea Kings of Crete.* The introductory chapters of the well-known Greek historians Grote, Curtius, Thirlwall are all now quite out of date. On Homer, Jebb's *Introduction to Homer;* Lang's *Homer and the Epic;* Gilbert Murray's *Rise of the Greek Epic,* give different views of the fascinating problem. J. L. Myres, *The Dawn of History.*

CHAPTER II

The Early History of Greece

THE history of European civilization is throughout characterized by expansion. It is the story of how what was at first the possession of a restricted class became the property of all. Still more clearly it is the story of how the light which at first burnt in a small corner of Europe spread its light first over all Mediterranean lands; then over all the lands of Western Europe; at last over a great part of the surface of the earth. Quite unmistakably, European civilization begins in Greece; and though it has received additions of the most important and revolutionary kind from Rome, from Judæa, and from many another source, it has never lost the impress of the original impulse given in Greece. It has been claimed that whatever is progressive in modern life is of Greek origin. The story of Greece, therefore, in spite of its small area and the transitory character of its military and political achievements, deserves our careful study.

The area of Greece was small, but we must not exaggerate this feature. For Greece in the sixth century B.C. meant a great deal more than what is meant by that word to-day. Greece, indeed (or Hellas, to use the word which was employed by the Greeks themselves), indicated rather a type of culture than a geographical area. Wherever the Greeks lived there was Greece. And Greeks were to be found living in freedom not only in central Greece, to which alone the word is now applied, but also in western Asia Minor, in all the isles of the Ægean Sea, in Sicily

Geography of Greece.

and south Italy, and in many a home in the Black Sea, the north of Africa, and the western basin of the Mediterranean. This widely scattered race had no political unity. The spreading of Greek settlements over so wide an area had been the result of a series of colonizing enterprises; but the colonies of Greece had a character widely different from those of modern times. For the Greek colony was from the first politically independent of the mother state, and connected with it, if at all, only by bonds of affection and ceremonial courtesy. The history of Greece, therefore, is the history of a vast number of widely separated states; sometimes grouped by interest or force into larger groups; but in spite of the efforts of her most enlightened statesmen never effectively welded together in any firm union, and therefore at last the victims of the less civilized but more united power of Macedon.

There were wide differences in the political, social, and religious conditions of these states thus scattered from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Black Sea. But they have also certain points in common.

Greek Religion.

The essentials of their religion were everywhere the same. There was an infinity of local cults, but all worshipped the great gods to whom we are introduced in the pages of Homer. These gods were, to begin with—most of them at least—the personification of natural phenomena. Thus Zeus is the open sky, Poseidon is the sea, Apollo is the sun, Demeter and Persephone represent the earth and the sown corn. As Greece developed the character of these deities developed also. Zeus rose into a pre-eminence which did not at first belong to him, and was at last regarded almost as the one supreme and all-powerful God. Moral attributes and those of the highest kind were in process of time ascribed to the gods, and thus the way was paved for a higher faith. Innumerable were the temples and shrines of these gods, which were to be found in all Greek lands, but certain stood pre-eminent and were a valued common possession of the whole Greek race. Two shrines require special mention. The first is Delphi, to the north of the Corinthian Gulf, where the great temple of Apollo stood, from which the god spoke to the people with an authority unknown elsewhere.

There were unnumbered oracles throughout Greece, but the oracle at Delphi stood in reputation high above the others,

Greek and Phœnician Colonies in the Sixth Century B.C.

and its influence was an important, though an insufficient, bond of union among the Greek states.

The Delphic Oracle.

Its situation was near the base of one of the highest mountains in Greece, and the wild and desolate scenery added to the awe with which it was approached. The great temple rose amidst a crowd of smaller buildings, and there was a racing ground closely adjacent for the Pythian Games, which were held there at regular intervals. It was a valued right of all Greeks to approach and consult this oracle, which exercised upon Greece a great and a civilizing influence. Sometimes States consulted it as to important public business—the sending out of a colony, or the acceptance of a constitution; sometimes individuals brought

to it questions of morals to be decided; sometimes the God was asked to pierce the veil of the future and prophesy of what was to come. To appeals of the last kind the answer was often given in vague phrases which might be interpreted according to the event. The action and influence of the Delphic priesthood is shrouded in much mystery; but for a long time it stood for what was humane in religion and elevated in conduct. The God Apollo deserved his attributes as the God of light, of healing, and of knowledge.

The next shrine of general importance was at Olympia by the banks of the Alpheus in the west of the Peloponnese.

The Olympian Games.

There arose there a group of temples and buildings enriched by some of the noblest specimens of Greek art; and close by were celebrated, in honour of Zeus Olympius, the most important of all the great "games" or athletic festivals of Greece. At first (the date of the first festival is conjecturally fixed at 776 B.C.) the only event was a short race of about 200 yards; and to the end the winner of this race was called the Olympian victor. But soon other contests were added—races of various lengths, boxing, wrestling, leaping, hurling the quoit and the javelin: a chariot race was also introduced, a contest reserved for the rich families of Greece by the expense of competition. The wrestling and the boxing were doubtless brutal displays; but the characteristic of these, and still more of the other great games of Greece, is the general humanity and absence of brutality of the sports. If a nation's games are the best index to its character, the games of Greece bear very favourable witness to Greek civilization. Only Greeks could be admitted to compete; and the Olympian games acted as a valuable bond and symbol of Greek nationality. By the banks of the Alpheus in the year of the Olympian festival Greeks of all states could meet in peace and friendly rivalry.

A strong resemblance may be noted in the political ideas of all the Greeks. It is true that there was also wide

Political ideas of the Greeks.

divergence. Monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy were all to be found, and all in several different forms. But all Greek states were city states. That is a conception which our modern political

conditions make it difficult for us to grasp, but it is the central fact in the political life of Greece. Each Greek city either was or desired to be a separate state; the cities might be grouped together in federations or coerced into obedience by some one strong city; but such a procedure, however useful, ran right against the grain of Greek feeling, and usually proved to be transitory. There were some cities with a large population and a wide territory, but there were also cities which according to modern standards would be called villages, which nevertheless enjoyed (or suffered from) complete independence; with a separate constitution, a separate army, even a separate system of coinage. Another common feature underlying all differences was the public assembly. Representation was unknown; but in nearly all states it was the rule for the whole body of citizens to be called together to debate, or at any rate to decide, on the greatest of political issues. In considering the various constitutions of the Greek world, one of the chief points to be considered is the varying amount of power which was given to these popular assemblies.

The states of Asia Minor, of the Ægean Sea, of Italy and of Sicily, all made important contributions to the progress of Greek civilization; but we may confine ourselves to the cities of the southern portion of the Balkan peninsula, which alone has retained the name of Greece. The history of the people was much influenced by the geography of the land. All was called Greece right up to the north of Thessaly, where the Cambunian range and Mount Olympus marked the northern frontier. But the real life of Greece only belonged to the more southern portion which stretched south of the pass of Thermopylæ and the mountain range which extended west of that. Confining our attention to this southern portion alone we may notice two main features; the mountains and the sea. Nowhere is there any extensive plain, and the horizon is usually occupied by mountains of great height, in some instances running up to 9000 feet. These mountains acted as a great bar to traffic and intercourse. They broke up the country into separate units which did not easily communicate with one another, and thus assisted in producing that multitude

Influence of the geography of Greece.

of separate states which has already been noticed. But if the mountains seemed to forbid communication, intercourse was vastly assisted by the sea which was, for the Greeks, always the natural and chief highway. Good harbours for the small ships of the time were numerous, but they were chiefly to be found on the eastern and Asiatic side. Greece was indeed naturally connected with Asia and found intercourse with Italy and the west more difficult. The islands which studded the Ægean allowed the Greek sailor to pass from one to the other and to find himself in Asia without having once lost sight of land.

Thus, while the mountain system of Greece fostered division the sea was a means of uniting the inhabitants. Both mountains and sea acted as a defence to the land without which the Greek would have been merged much sooner into some half barbarian or Oriental Empire.

Among the Greeks there were subordinate differences of race. The chief races were the Dorians and Ionians. The difference between them was perhaps as wide as that between English and Scotch in the seventeenth century. The Dorians are unknown to Homer. They had invaded Southern Greece subsequently to the composition of those poems, and their successful invasion had altered the character of Greece in many ways. They were generally a stronger, more vigorous, more warlike, less cultured race than the Ionians. The chief Dorian state was Sparta, of which more shortly; and next to Sparta came Corinth and Argos. The Ionians were chiefly to be found in Asia Minor and the Ægean islands. On the mainland Athens was the one great Ionian state, and regarded herself as the leader of the whole Ionian race. The Ionians were generally more refined than the Dorians, more commercial, less warlike, more open to the influences of art and culture.

Dorians and Ionians.

We must look more closely at the life and history of the four states which have been mentioned, for Greek history depends much upon them, and especially on the first two. Sparta was situated by the banks of the Eurotas, a rapid mountain stream, which never dries up in the summer. Great mountain chains surrounded her on

Sparta.

every side except the south, and even there the Eurotas flowed through so narrow a gorge that the position was easily defensible. The Dorian Spartans were not the original inhabitants of the Eurotas valley. They had, at the dim beginning of history, invaded and conquered the country, and they were still surrounded by the descendants of the conquered populations in numbers greater than their own. It is the presence of this mass of conquered but still hostile people which gives the clue to Spartan history: for it was only by constant military preparation and training that the Spartans could hope to survive among them. Spartan institutions were devoted to maintaining the supremacy which had been won. With this object in view the whole of the Spartan's life from birth to manhood was devoted to a training which was to make him brave, hardy, incapable of panic, counting flight in battle the height of disgrace. For the men family life was almost unknown until middle life had been reached. The young Spartans were brought up in great training schools, living hardly, eating coarsely but plentifully, taught to bear pain without flinching, and to count devotion to the state as the supreme virtue. There was for them little in the way of intellectual training, but they drilled and hunted and engaged in mimic warfare which often came near to being serious; and, though their lives were not touched by art or literature, they were proud of their system and looked down on the Athenians as effeminate and as falling below the dignity of manhood. Their political system was nearer to that described or implied in the poems of Homer than any other in Greece; for here was monarchy and a council of nobles, and here was a general assembly of the people. But even in Sparta the Homeric constitution had been departed from in many important particulars. For in the first place Sparta had not one king but two, and the rivalries and quarrels of the kings kept the monarchy weak. The real authority in Sparta was the Ephorate, an institution quite unknown to Homer. This was a board of five men, elected for a year by the people; and into their hands during their term of office was given the almost absolute control of the domestic and foreign policy of the state. Sparta seems to us a grim,

unattractive state, but she was held in the greatest regard by the Greeks. For Sparta possessed the virtues which the Greeks usually lacked; discipline, persistence, the power of maintaining an established order. While most Greek states were constantly changing, Sparta maintained the same polity from generation to generation. We need say little of her history before the time of the Persian wars; but she had fought many wars and nearly always with success. As a result she ruled over a larger area than any other city state in Greece. She had conquered the rich district of Messenia, which lay west of the mountain range of Taygetus, and she had wrested a valuable strip of territory on the north from the neighbouring Dorian state of Argos. Over these and all her territories she ruled as a despot; she did not open the ranks of her citizenship to any; she could conquer, but the secret of statesmanship was hidden from her.

The strength of Sparta lay south of the isthmus of Corinth, and she did not willingly engage in enterprises outside of it.

Athens.

North of that isthmus Athens was, for the greater part of Greek history, unquestionably the most important state. The situation of Athens had none of the security of Sparta. The country of Attica, over which Athens ruled, was mountainous; but none of the mountains afforded a frontier of much value, and upon the east and south the land was easy of access from the sea. It is indeed to the maritime states rather than to those of the mainland that Athens belonged, and from the first the sea, useful to all Greek states, was a necessity of life to her.

The site of Athens was determined by the fine rock-fortress, the Acropolis, which rose at a distance of over four miles from the sea. It was at first valued for reasons of defence, but later became the centre for the religious and artistic life of Athens. The country was fertile according to Greek standards, and the harbour of the Peiræus was one of the best in the whole of Greece. The divinities most closely associated with the city were the Goddess Athena, to whom the olive tree was sacred, and Poseidon, the lord of the sea.

The population of Athens was much more homogeneous than that of Sparta. There was no Helot population to be

constantly watched and kept in subjection. There was a large number of slaves, but they gave Athens little trouble, and there was therefore no reason for maintaining the tense military life which prevailed in Sparta. It is difficult to pierce through the early legends of Athenian history to a groundwork of fact; but it seems that there were originally several separate communities in Attica, and that Athens was formed by the voluntary cohesion of these and their concentration in Athens. It is certain that at first Athens was ruled by kings, and that the Homeric council of nobles is represented at Athens by the Council of the Areopagus,[1] and that the Athenian Ecclesia or Assembly is a descendant of the gathering of the people which we see in the pages of Homer. But before the dawn of clear history much of this had changed. The monarchy had given way before the reiterated assaults of the aristocracy, and we find the reality of power vested in the nobles, or Eupatrids, when we get a clear view of Athens about the year 650 B.C. But the rule of this noble caste was not accepted contentedly, and we read of more than one effort to shake if off or to modify it. The nobles, however, still ruled, and the other classes still resented their rule when the name of Solon first comes before us. We know from his own poems what were the problems which faced him, and in what way he attempted their settlement. There was on the political side the protest against the monopoly of power by the Eupatrids, and on the social side there was the fact of great distress among the farmers of Attica, who had borrowed money from the rich men of Athens and had been sold into slavery when they were not able to repay their debt. A good deal that is legendary attaches itself to Solon's name, but through it all we can see the figure of a really noble and wise statesman. He restored the Athenians who had been sold into slavery, and the enslavement of citizens was henceforth forbidden by law. He modified the constitution in such a way that, while all the old forms remained, the monopoly

The Institutions of Athens.

Solon.

[1] So-called from the hill of that name—better known to us as the hill of Mars. It is a small rocky eminence, a little to the west of the acropolis. The famous council sat there, apparently in the open air.

of the landed aristocracy was destroyed and the popular element was much increased. It was not a democracy in the sense which the Greeks gave to that word later, but certain democratic elements were introduced, and a road was opened for the introduction of more. Solon was always regarded with great veneration as the real founder of the Athenian constitution.

Further changes soon followed. Many Greek states passed through the same stages of political development. They were at first monarchies, they then substituted an aristocracy of some sort for their monarchy. This aristocracy was next overthrown by a popular champion who founded his personal power on the support of the people, and was generally known in Greek history as a tyrant. Then the tyrant was in his turn overthrown and his place was taken either by a democracy or an oligarchy. Something analogous to this may be found in other states and at a later period in the world's history.

The "tyranny" of Pisistratus.

Solon had seen the danger of tyranny and had striven by his constitutional changes to avert it, but the same danger threatened during the last years of his life, and he could not prevent the Athenians from treading the road that led thither. The city was torn by factions; they were called the factions of the plain, the seashore, and the hill; the rivalries of the land-owners, the commercial classes and the peasants probably lie hid under these names. Pisistratus appeared as the champion of the men of the hill. He was given a bodyguard, and when he felt himself strong enough he seized the acropolis and made himself master of Athens. The Athenians came to execrate the memory of the tyrant, and they placed the murderers of his son among their national heroes; but while Pisistratus lived the tyranny did little harm to Athens, and bestowed on her many benefits. No nominal alteration was made in the constitution of Solon, but the reality of power rested with the mercenary garrison of Pisistratus, which held the acropolis. And, while order was thus maintained, notable progress was made in many directions. The commerce, the agriculture, and the industry of Athens were carefully fostered. Now, too, for the first time, Athens became, what she was to

be for so long, the leader of Greece in arts and letters. Foreign artists were invited to Athens, and excavations of the nineteenth century have revealed the remains of their work on the acropolis; temples rose on the sacred hill and near it; the "tyrant," too, is said to have shown his sense of the importance of Homer's poems by arranging for the drawing up of a sort of authorized version. If all tyrants had been like Pisistratus the name would not have the evil associations that it has everywhere now. But the Athenians desired the full exercise of their freedom; they had risen in vain against the rule of Pisistratus, and they refused to acquiesce in that of his sons. An early plot failed, but then a curious intrigue of a noble Athenian family with the oracle of Delphi and the Spartans resulted in the expulsion of the tyrant's family. Liberty was restored to Athens, and Hippias the son of Pisistratus, after an unsuccessful effort to induce the Spartans who had driven him out to restore him, fled for refuge to the court of the King of Persia. We shall see him later acting as guide to the great Persian expedition, which sailed in 490 B.C. to overthrow the liberties of Greece.

Development of the Athenian Democracy.

Athens, thus mistress of her destinies once more, was not content to return to the Solonian constitution. After a period of some confusion a further advance towards democracy was made, and the changes introduced are associated with the name of Clisthenes. The chief change was in effect the widening of the basis of citizenship. Hitherto none were citizens who were not also members of the four old Attic tribes, and it was hardly possible for any outsider to procure admission. It is clear, on the other hand, that there was a large population, attracted to Athens perhaps by the commercial advantages of its situation, and of this class many would be desirable citizens. By Clisthenes it was decided that membership of one of the old tribes should no longer be a condition of citizenship. New and artificial tribes were created to act as constituencies (to use a modern word which is not wholly applicable), and by this means the citizen roll of Athens was doubtless largely increased. Other changes introduced at this time will be considered

when we are describing the full working of the Athenian democracy.

Sparta and Athens are doubtless the most important of all Greek city states, but it would be a mistake to think that all Greek history depends on them. Next to them perhaps Corinth claims most attention. No state in all Greece was so admirably situated for commercial purposes. She lay upon the narrow isthmus which divides central Greece from the Peloponnesus, and she had good harbours, not only on the eastern sea, but also on the gulf of Corinth. So that, alone among Greek states of the mainland, she was favourably situated for carrying on commerce, not only with Asia Minor, but also with Sicily, Italy and the Western Mediterranean. She never won in ancient times the supremacy which seems to belong to her position, but she was the leading commercial city, or at least the city in which commercial interests most predominated. The influence of commerce on the relationships and destinies of states is not at first sight so clear in the ancient world as it is now, but it was important, and the wealth and trading ambitions of the maritime states have a great influence on Greek history. From an early date Corinth was noted for her wealth, her luxury, and the vast quantity of slaves that surrounded her citizens. Her political life had passed through most of the phases which we have already noted as characteristic of the ordinary Greek state. She had had a monarchy and had abolished it. The resulting aristocracy had in its turn been overthrown by tyrants who had ruled from 655 to 581 B.C. But when the tyranny had been overthrown it did not give way to a democracy, but to an oligarchy. We shall find Corinth and Athens in constant rivalry; they represented opposite political principles, and were also kept apart by trade jealousy.

Corinth.

To the south-east of Corinth lay the city and state of Argos. The plain in which she lay contained the best known remains of pre-historic Greece. The walls of Tiryns, and a few monuments of Mycenæ still bore testimony to a greatness which had passed away and been forgotten. The Argives were Dorians, and had at one time been equal in influence with Sparta within the

Argos.

Peloponnese. Later on, the Spartans defeated them and took away part of their territory. The result was an abiding jealousy and hatred between Argos and Sparta. The relations between the different Greek states changed rapidly; but Argos and Sparta were hardly ever anything but bitter enemies.

Thebes, Megara, Elis, etc.

We can do little more than mention the names of a few other Greek states. In the mainland beyond those already mentioned there was, in the north, Thebes the leading state in the district of Bœotia, despised at one time as rough and unpatriotic, but destined for a time to prove herself the first state in war and second to none in the arts of statesmanship; upon the isthmus there was Megara, now an insignificant village, but once the trade rival of Athens and of Corinth, and the mother of colonies, many of which became famous, while one of them, Byzantium, under its new name Constantinople, is still one of the important capitals of Europe. In the west of the Peloponnese Elis had an importance which was due neither to political nor military strength, but to her control of the Olympian games, that great rallying centre for all Greece. Nor must we omit altogether the states which further east had done much for the promotion of what was best in Greece. The islands of Naxos, Chios, and Samos were rich and progressive communities, and the island of Lesbos was also distinguished for having been the centre of a literary movement, in which the name of the poetess Sappho is the greatest. Upon the Asiatic mainland Miletus, Ephesus, and Halicarnassus stood out from the rest for their wealth or population, or for the great men and great movements which sprang from them.

Thus about the year 500 B.C., Greece was full of an energetic and progressive people, which in politics was making experiments in liberty of great importance for the whole development of Europe; and on the side of art and philosophy was engaged in the solution of problems and the working out of ideas which have ever since lain at the very foundation of European civilization. The division of the country into petty states was perhaps an advantage to the development of new ideas in politics, art, and philosophy; for it set up eager competition, it provided material for com-

parison, and it made the repression of unpopular ideas difficult or impossible. But when a strong, barbarous, and united power coveted the possession of the land, this political disunion was a terrible danger, and this danger came at the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

For the whole course of Greek history consult the large histories of Greece by Grote, Curtius, Thirlwall, and Holm. Grote is particularly valuable for his practical discussion of the working of Greek institutions; Curtius for his knowledge of Greek geography, and his attention to the artistic and philosophic life of Greece; Thirlwall for his absence of all partisanship, wide outlook, and attractive style; Holm because he gives in a short space a summary of recent researches and controversies. Plutarch's famous *Lives* are of the greatest interest throughout nearly the whole course of Greek and Roman history. They are among the great books in the world's literature; and are historically valuable because they draw from contemporary authorities that are now lost to us. His lives of Lycurgus and Solon are specially interesting, though both must be read with some reservation, for his aim is to teach ethical lessons through the medium of biography, and he handles his authorities uncritically.

CHAPTER III

The Great Persian War and its Sequel

The conflict of East and West.

It has sometimes been said that the history of Europe is the history of the struggle between the East and the West. The phrase is not very happily chosen. It would be truer to say that the most dangerous enemies of European civilization—perhaps its only really dangerous enemies—have originally had their home in the East, though they have attacked Europe sometimes from the South, sometimes from the West, sometimes even from the North. The three fundamental features of European civilization have been Greek Thought and Art, Roman law and discipline, and the ethics and worship of Christianity; to these must be added at a later date the science which has been developed out of Greek thought. It

is true that the most dangerous enemies of these ideas have come from the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates, from Syria, from Arabia. These enemies were the most dangerous because they did not merely attack with barbarous ignorance, but came with a rival religion, a rival code of ethics, even later with a rival science of their own. In the struggle between East and West thus defined there have been three great chapters. First, the rivalry between Greece and Persia; which lasts, broadly speaking, from the rise of Cyrus in 559 B.C. to the victories of Alexander the Great which culminate in 331. The next chapter is to be found in the struggle against the first generations of Mahomedanism, and we may take this as lasting from 622 A.D., when Islam dates its birth, to early in the eighth century, when the forces of Islam were defeated at Constantinople (718), and at Tours (732). The third chapter begins with the crusades, and is chiefly concerned with the struggle against the Turkish power. The first struggle which we have now to consider was the most dangerous of all, for European civilization was confined to a narrow area, and its complete extinction was not impossible.

The rise of Persia.

While the soil of Greece was occupied by tiny states whose fierce rivalries seemed to endanger the permanence of the great work they were accomplishing, the valley of the Euphrates had been the scene of mighty imperial movements. For three centuries the great Assyrian Empire had dominated the west of Asia. Causes which we cannot see had undermined its strength, and it had broken up before the attacks of northern barbarians. Upon its ruin several kingdoms had been established; Lydia in Asia Minor, Media, Babylon, and Egypt were the chief. But about 559 the Median Empire was overthrown by the Persian mountaineers under their king, whom the Greeks knew by the name of Cyrus, and he aimed at bringing under his rule all the lands that had ever belonged to Assyria. He fell upon Lydia in 546, and Asia Minor proved unable to resist him. The conquest of Lydia brought Persia into touch with the rich, cultured, but defenceless Greek cities of the west coast of Asia Minor. They were soon absorbed into the Persian Empire.

The death of Cyrus in 529 did not stop the progress of Persian conquests. Babylon had already fallen. Egypt was soon conquered. The Persian power made its way even into India. Within the world that the Greeks knew there was no power equal to Persia or comparable to her, when in 521 Darius assumed the title of the Great King. But vast as was his power, it was challenged by the Greeks of Asia Minor, who lived uneasily under the rule of a race alien in language, in religion, and in ideas. But their rebellion was soon seen to be hopeless. Their rivalries did not allow them to unite; their temperament did not allow them to submit to discipline. As a last resource they appealed to the states of the mainland, and there came out an expedition from Athens and her neighbour Eretria to their help. The newcomers succeeded in burning the Persian city of Sardis, but then went home and left the Greeks of Asia to their fate. In 494 the Persians defeated their fleet, and the last embers of rebellion were stamped out with the capture of Miletus.

Advance of Persia under Darius

A natural impulse drove the Persian Empire from conquest to conquest, and the liberties of central Greece would have been in danger even if the Athenian expedition had never sailed and never burned Sardis. The first expedition of Darius into Europe resulted in the submission of Thrace and Macedonia, and thus brought the Persian frontier up to the limits of Greece (512 B.C.). Then as soon as the Greek revolt in Asia Minor had been crushed he aimed a blow against the states of Southern Greece, and especially against Athens and Eretria, the two states which had co-operated in the burning of Sardis. In 492 his first expedition which was sent round by the north of the Ægean sea came to an ignominious end through the wreck of the accompanying fleet. But two years after that another armament was ready, and it was to be despatched this time not by land, but directly across the sea. It was commanded by Datis and Artaphernes, and it was guided by Hippias, once tyrant of Athens. All went well with the expedition at first. Naxos, Delos, and Eretria all fell into the hands of the Persians; then, acting on the advice

Persian attack on central Greece.

of Hippias, the host moved across the intervening strait and landed on the fateful field of Marathon.

Battle of Marathon.

Herodotus, the first of Greek historians, sums up his impressions of the history of Athens in a memorable phrase. "You may see," he says, "all through history how excellent a thing liberty is." It was liberty that triumphed at Marathon. Athens, led by Miltiades, who had at one time fought under the banners of the Persians, and assisted only by the tiny state of Platæa, gained at Marathon a surprising victory over the vastly larger forces of the Persians, and Datis and Artaphernes led back their discomfited forces to Persia (490 B.C.).

Xerxes.

It is easy to exaggerate the importance of Marathon. There was nothing decisive about it. To Darius it must have seemed only one more reason for pressing on to the subjugation of Greece; but his purpose was delayed by the revolt of Egypt, and then his death soon followed. After a short interval he was succeeded by his son Xerxes, in whom for the first time a wholly unmilitary and incompetent ruler seems to have mounted the Persian throne. It was a great stroke of good fortune for Greece that she had to face in the next crisis of her struggle with Persia a weak voluptuary like Xerxes, and not a resolute and capable ruler like Darius. But Xerxes was in no doubt as to the renewal of the attack on Greece. He began almost at once to collect a huge force both of ships and men, so that there might be no danger of a repetition of the disgrace of Marathon.

Issues at stake in the Persian war.

As we watch the mighty host about to start we may reflect for a moment on the character of the two powers that were thus brought into antagonism. The Persians were not barbarians in the modern meaning of the word. They had a civilization, a government, a religion of their own, and there were points in each that were superior to those of the Greeks. The Greeks indeed came later to idealize their great enemies, and to see in them the primitive virtues unspoilt by the influence of luxury. Even contemporaries admitted that the Persians possessed courage and truthfulness beyond the measure

usual with the Greeks. But none the less European civilization was here struggling with a force whose victory would have annihilated it. It was essentially liberty that was at stake—liberty in almost every sense of that word which is so difficult to define. On the side of the Greeks was freedom of thought and of speech, and the participation of the citizens in the affairs of government. Their religion stimulated their imagination, but did not place upon them a yoke grievous to be borne. They had in however imperfect a form the principle of monogamy and of family life. Art and literature and philosophy had all thrust out promising shoots. Had Persia won she would but have added a new province to an empire already unwieldly large. The victory of Greece gave her people two centuries during which they could develop themselves and their ideas freely, and during those two centuries they laid the intellectual foundations of modern Europe.

Herodotus.

The story of the Persian war is told us by Herodotus, the earliest, and perhaps the most charming of all writers of European history. He was a younger contemporary of most of the events which he records, and he desired to tell the truth about the heroic deeds of the war. But there is unquestionably an admixture of legend with his history; he gives a confused account of battles and campaigns; he exaggerates numbers sometimes in grotesque fashion. But the legend of the Persian war is itself a part of history, and it was a perpetual inspiration to the Greeks to recall how with diminutive forces they had fought the millions of Persia, and had driven them back in dreadful rout. Nor can any deductions of historical criticism much diminish the glory of their achievement.

The march of Xerxes.

We see through the glamour of the Herodotean narrative the vast host of the Persians (numbering, Herodotus would have us believe, some five million souls) move forward to the Hellespont and cross over to Europe, marching continuously for seven days and seven nights across the bridges which had been prepared by Greek engineers. From the Hellespont they marched under the command of Xerxes himself through

Thrace and Macedonia. They found the pass of Tempe—the most northerly point where resistance might have been made—deserted, and it almost seemed as though Greece were going to submit without a struggle. But where the Pass of Thermopylæ opened a road between the mountains and the sea into central Greece, they found at last an army prepared to dispute their further advance.

Greece on the eve of the war.

It was by no means a united Greece which resisted the attack of Xerxes. Argos stood aside, refusing to accept the leadership of Sparta. Thebes joined the Persians in the hope of humiliating Athens. Syracuse the greatest of the western colonies would only join if she were allowed to command, and that was refused her. Even the God of Delphi seemed to have deserted the national cause and prophesied the victory of the "God of war borne in his eastern car." The brunt of the fighting fell upon Athens and Sparta, and Athens deserves special praise for voluntarily subordinating herself to Sparta both by sea and land, though she provided by far the greater number of vessels. Athens had passed through stormy times since the battle of Marathon. Two great party leaders disputed for the leadership of the state. Aristides, the conservative leader, resisted the proposal to devote the energies of the state to the building of a fleet, and thought that Athens might be saved now, as she had been saved before, by her army alone. The cause of the fleet was championed by Themistocles who had been introduced into the ranks of Athenian citizenship by the reforms of Clisthenes. He won the Athenians to his views, and Aristides was banished. When Xerxes came against Greece Athens possessed a large fleet, and might have claimed to rule at sea while Sparta ruled on land. But she secured the unity of the Greek forces by accepting the command of Sparta.

Thermopylæ.

It had been the first idea of the Greek generals to resist the Persians at the pass of Tempe, but though a force had been sent forward, the pass had been found untenable, and had been abandoned. A small force of Greeks under the command of the Spartan King Leonidas was sent to hold Thermopylæ, while a Greek

navy, to which Athens contributed the greater number of the ships, held the approaches to the pass by sea. But in spite of the heroic self-sacrifice of the Spartans and of many other Greeks the pass was won by Xerxes, and central Greece lay in his hands. Athens had to be abandoned. It seemed that one resolute blow might lay the whole of Greece at the feet of the conqueror. But now there came a sudden and decisive change.

Salamis, 480 B.C.

On neither side does the full importance of the fleets seem to have been recognized. To the Persians the ships were mainly valuable as a means of transporting provisions, and of ensuring retreat. The Greeks used them only for defensive operations, and in subordination to the armies. But it was the fleets that really decided the issue. The Greek fleet had halted in the bay of Salamis in order to co-operate with the Athenians in their flight from Athens; certainly with no idea of fighting a decisive battle. But accident and the policy of the Athenian leader, Themistocles, forced on a battle. The Persian King was confident of victory, but his fleet, fighting in the narrow strait, could make no use of its superior numbers, and was heavily defeated by the Greeks, who were fighting for their homes, were well acquainted with the locality, and were much more skilful in the handling of ships than their adversaries.

Æschylus, the greatest of Greek poets after Homer, himself probably fought in the battle, and has described it in his play called *The Persians*. The description is put in the mouth of a Persian—

"First from the Grecian fleet rang out a cry,
A song of onset ! and the island crags
Re-echoed to the shrill, exultant sound.
Then on us Eastern men amazement fell,
And fear in place of hope. The Greeks rang out
Their holy, resolute, exulting chant
Like men come forth to dare and do and die.
And to our ears there came a burst of sound,
A clamour manifold, 'On, Sons of Greece !
On, for your country's freedom ! strike to save
Wives, children, temples of ancestral Gods,
Graves of your fathers ! now is all at stake.'"[1]

[1] The translation is that of Mr. E. D. A. Morshead.

The battle of Salamis is justly counted one of the most decisive battles in history. Greek liberty and with it European civilization was saved. But this would hardly have been the result if Xerxes had been made of different metal. His fleet was still larger than that of the Greeks, and his army was practically intact; but he had no heart for further fighting, and leaving Mardonius behind with a large force he fled back to Persia. The winter that followed was used by the Persian leader in an attempt to dissolve the union between Athens and Sparta; but, though Athens accused Sparta of slackness in coming to her assistance, the league was maintained. Next year a great Greek force (for the victory of Salamis had encouraged all patriotic states to make a great effort), marched into Bœotia. There in 479 the great battle of Platæa was fought. This time it was not good fortune, but the superior fighting powers of the Greeks which gave them the victory. The Persian power was revealed as a "colossus stuffed with clouts," and the Greeks soon passed from their early terror into a well-founded contempt for Persian soldiers and their ways. The naval battle of Mycale, fought on the coast of Asia Minor at the same time as the battle of Platæa, set the seal to the Greek triumph and showed that the victory at Salamis was no accident.

Platæa.

These three great victories still left the Persians in possession of many Greek cities in Asia Minor and the islands; and there was always the possibility of another Persian expedition coming to revenge the disasters of Xerxes. It was therefore determined after the battle of Platæa to keep the Greek armies in readiness, and to form a league of all Greek states for the prosecution of the war. The formation of this league is an important event. It marks the nearest approach that was ever made to Greek unity, and, though it endured unbroken only for a very short time, it forms the starting-point for the two great leagues into which Greece was divided down to the Peloponnesian war. It provided, moreover, for the prosecution of the war against Persia, and aimed at the recovery of all Greek lands from the Persian yoke.

The Greek League.

The course of the war against Persia must be summarized in a very few lines. The command of the forces of the league soon passed from Sparta to Athens under circumstances which we shall have to notice again. First the Persians were driven from the islands and coasts of the Ægean; then the Greeks ventured further afield. They became the aggressors. They found a really great leader in Cimon, and under him they gained a decisive victory over the Persians both by sea and land at the Eurymedon, far in the eastern waters of the Mediterranean. Later they attacked the Persian power in Egypt, at first with brilliant success, though disaster fell upon them in the end. Lastly, in 449, they despatched an expedition under Cimon against the Persians in the island of Cyprus. The Persians were wholly defeated, but Cimon died during the course of the campaign. In 448 peace was made between Greece and Persia, by which it was stipulated that Persia should never again send any armament to the coasts of Asia Minor or into the neighbourhood of the Ægean sea. "The Great King" still remained the most important neighbour of the Greeks, but never again was there any danger of an attack from that quarter upon the liberties of Greece.

The end of the Persian war.

The sequel of the Persian war in Greece is a disappointment. If all or most of the Greek states could have united in some sort of a federal scheme the future would have been different and better than it was. But the jealousy of the states was too strong; we have seen that even the Persian war was not enough to unite them all, and when that danger was removed the league that was founded on the battlefield of Platæa could not long be maintained. From the first there was wide difference of opinion between Athens and Sparta as to the conduct of the league, for, while Athens was all for an energetic and forward policy, the Spartans were unwilling to undertake indefinite obligations in far distant lands. In 476 the Spartan King Pausanias was recalled to answer certain charges of misconduct, and during his absence the command of the fleet then stationed at Byzantium was offered by the rest of the allies to the Athenians and accepted. When

The disruption of Greece.

a new Spartan leader came out he had either to retire or serve under the leadership of Athens. Sparta could not think of accepting a subordinate position. The Spartan squadron sailed home, and the Athenians were left in command of naval operations. So it came to pass, therefore, that there were soon two leagues in Greece. Sparta was at the head of a league of land-states, and Athens for some time remained a member of this. But the maritime states in the meantime had formed themselves into a separate league, called the Delian League from their place of meeting in the island of Delos, and of this Athens was from the first the President. The Delian League was a novel and a hopeful experiment in Greek politics. The states joined of their own will, for the advantages of such a league were obvious; it would keep the Persians at bay, and would secure good order in the Ægean. It was arranged amicably what contributions each state should pay, in men or ships or money, to the common fund. Each spring there was to be a meeting of the representatives of the different members of the league at Delos, and there the policy of the league during the coming year was determined. We seem to see the beginnings of a modern federal constitution. But the bright promise was soon clouded. As the danger of a renewed Persian invasion passed away, the states were no longer willing to pay their original contributions; but secession was not allowed by the terms of league, and Athens coerced the seceders into obedience. The details are unknown, but the general result is clear. By the year 445 the Delian league had been transformed into the Athenian Empire. The contributing allies had become subject states. Athens was the Imperial mistress and no longer the president. We can see that the formation of some state larger than the city was the chief political need of Greece, and the Athenian Empire seems a step in the right direction. But contemporaries saw in Athens only a tyrant ruling despotically over states who had as good a right to independence as herself.

The Delian League.

The Athenian Empire.

Henceforth the Greek state system was grouped round the two great rivals, Sparta and Athens. And these two rivals

soon drifted into war. Athens for some time dreamed of ruling not only over the islands, but over a large tract of the mainland as well. This ambition soon brought war first with the states of central Greece, and then with Sparta herself. It is an obscure and uninteresting struggle which follows. Athens gained some victories at first, but on land her soldiers were not the equals of the Spartans or even of the Thebans. By the year 445 she saw her boasted land empire melt away, and she was forced to make with Sparta the Thirty Years' Peace of that year. The Spartan alliance and the Athenian Empire recognized one another; they promised not to try to withdraw members from one alliance into the other; they promised that if any difficulties arose they would arbitrate before fighting. The year 445 sees then a decisive check to the military ambitions of Athens. But about the same time she was arriving at the very zenith of her greatness in what she is really great. Her government, her social life, still more her art and her literature form one of the chief landmarks in the history of Europe. It is to them that we must now turn.

The Thirty Years' Peace—445.

The History of Herodotus is the great source of our knowledge of the Persian war. Plutarch does not add much in his lives of Themistocles and Aristides; but his life of Cimon is valuable, because our other information on the period between the battle of Platæa and the Thirty Years' Peace is so scanty. Æschylus' Drama, *The Persians*, is of great importance; it was written by one who had lived through the campaign and acted before an audience, of which a large proportion must have fought in the battle. The ordinary histories of Greece all devote full attention to the campaign. G. B. Grundy's *Great Persian War and its Preliminaries* is an examination of the war in the light of all recent evidence.

CHAPTER IV

Greece in the Age of Pericles

PERICLES, in his famous Funeral Oration in which he sums up the characteristics of Athens, claimed for her that she was "the school of Greece." He meant that Athens represented all that was best in Greek civilization, and that she showed Greece an ideal after which she might strive. His claim was justified. It is true, indeed, that Athens might have herself learnt discipline and persistence from Sparta, and that other districts would in the future make important additions to the art and philosophy, and even to the political ideas of Greece. But with small deductions the phrase is true. Athens was the school of Greece, and for many centuries Greece was to be the school of Europe.

Athens the School of Greece.

The social life of Athens presents few original features. The full citizens were probably about 50,000. But besides the citizens there was a large non-citizen population in Athens. First, there were those who had come to Athens, for purposes of trade for the most part, but had not received citizen rights; and after the changes of Clisthenes it was with the utmost difficulty that any alien could procure admission into the citizen ranks. These free aliens—metics as they were called—lived for the most part in the Peiræus, and through their hands passed most of the commerce of the state. But besides the metics there were the slaves. It is impossible to make any estimate of their numbers, but they certainly outnumbered the free population. They were not ill-treated according to the standards of the time. They were at the absolute disposal of their masters, and for misbehaviour were sent to work in the mines at Laurium, which was a torture that usually soon led to death. But the Athenians were a kindly and humane people, and their slaves seem to have been better treated than any other servile population in Greece. They wore

Metics.

Slaves.

no distinguishing dress, formed part of their master's family, and were often on friendly relations with him. Observers, who had Spartan severity before their eyes, thought the freedom which was permitted to slaves in Athens dangerous, a sign of laxity of manners and general indiscipline. But the Athenians were rewarded for it by the immunity of the state from slave risings. In time of war and especially at the end of the Peloponnesian war, we hear of the desertions of the slaves in great numbers; but there is nothing in the history of Athens comparable to the rising of the Helots at Sparta, which on more than one occasion nearly brought the state to ruin. A little later than the point which we have now reached, Athenian thought was much concerned with slavery. Euripides found that slaves often possessed a nature which deserved freedom better than that of their masters, and Aristotle sought in vain for some justification for an institution, which seemed to him essential to the very existence of society.

The women of Athens.

Of the women of Athens it is not necessary to say much, for they entered very little into the life of the state. The position of women in the days of Homer seems to have been freer than it was at Athens in the days of Pericles. The growth of city life and perhaps the contact of Athens with the East had forced upon the citizen women of Athens an almost oriental seclusion. They were confined to the women's apartments, and from these they rarely went out except for religious or state ceremonies. No provision was made for their education; there was usually a wide disparity in age between the wife and the husband, nor did public opinion regard mutual affection as necessary for the marriage-state. The women of Athens, therefore, must have lived a life far removed from Athenian life and art and thought; though there were striking individual exceptions. Greek speculation dealt with the question of the position of women, and there are many signs of uneasiness and discontent with the established order. Aristophanes, in his wildest comedies, shows us the women of Athens plotting their emancipation and the control of the state; later, Plato suggested the abolition of family life and the complete equality of the sexes with regard to training and occupations; Xenophon gives us,

on the other hand, a delightful picture of a wedded pair living on a farm in Attica, mutually helpful, and working together for the moral improvement of both.

The Athenian Democracy.

Athens stood to all Greece as the very type of a democracy. But when we remember the metics and the slaves, forming as they did the larger part of the population of Athens, and entirely excluded from all participation in public affairs, we shall see that the Greeks did not use the word quite in the same sense as we do. By calling Athens a democracy they meant that within the citizen body there was no privileged class, whether of wealth or birth, and that the mass-meetings of the people could control every department of the state. Athenian political methods were very different from anything which the modern world knows, and the root of the difference lies in the existence of the general assembly of the citizens and the powers which it wielded. Always once a month and often at more frequent intervals the citizens—the Demos—were called to their place of assemblage, the Pnyx. Their assembly there was known as the Ecclesia, or summoning. Every effort was made to gather as many of them there as possible. And when the Demos was assembled in the Pnyx there were no theoretic limits to its competence. It controlled the affairs of war and peace; it discussed taxation; it dismissed if it chose the most important officials; and with some modification of its machinery it acted as the supreme authority for the passing of laws, and for judicial trials. No other important state in history has ever given such power into the hands of a general meeting of citizens.

The Ecclesia.

All councils, ministers, and officials were the instruments of the Ecclesia. The chief officials of the state were the ten "generals," who were elected by the whole people, and were the heads of the executive government. But they were not elected by a party vote; no one of them was Prime Minister or anything analogous to it; there was not in Athens, we may safely assert, anything like party government, or representation, or the cabinet system. All these things would have run counter to the supremacy of the Demos in the Ecclesia, and the Athenian system aimed chiefly at the maintenance of that

supremacy. Next to this feature, and indeed in close relation to it must be mentioned the method of appointing officials by lot. There were an immense number of officials in the Athenian state, and it was part of the policy of the democracy to make their number as large as possible. But with a few exceptions they were chosen by the throwing of lots; by a method that is to say which made the choice of men specially fitted for each post impossible. Nothing is stranger in the Athenian democracy than this; nothing to the Athenians seemed so democratic. It established not merely equality of opportunity, but actual equality of chance without regard to character or talents, and it also prevented the officials from arrogating to themselves an importance apart from the general assembly. The number of officials in the small Athenian state is another strange feature. A Greek writer enumerates over 6000 officials as being elected annually by lot; so that if we remember the small total number of Athenian citizens we shall see that it was almost the rule for a citizen to hold some state office, if it were only the office of a juror in one of the large juries which conducted all trials at Athens. Perhaps the most important of those who were elected by lot were the members of the council of 500, who conducted under the authority of the Ecclesia the routine business of the state. Every detail of their organization seems to have been aimed at the suppression of the independence of the council and its subordination to the Ecclesia. The Athenians themselves knew the dangers of the lot and they knew that some offices were so important that they could not be filled safely by an appeal to chance. So the generals, the executive officials of the state, were chosen by vote, and when Athens later became straitened by want of funds, the finance officials were chosen in the same way, though in the time of Pericles they were appointed by lot.

Use of the lot.

Pericles claims for this system freedom, equality, and efficiency. "The law secures equal justice to all alike; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as the reward of merit. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs not as a

Efficiency of the Democracy.

harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of a policy. The great impediment to action is, in our opinion, not discussion but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action." The liberty and the equality of the Athenian state are indisputable, but the future was to show decided limits to its efficiency. In the end Athens paid dearly for her belief that the service of the state did not require either special training or ability.

Pericles and his position in the State.

If the democracy of Athens showed herself at this time "equally capable both for peace and war" it was largely because of the eminent man who directed her policy. Pericles was of high noble descent, but from the first he had thrown in his lot with the democracy and brought it to its final form. He was a friend of the architects, sculptors, poets, and philosophers of the day, and the position which Athens assumed as leader of Greece in all that concerned the spiritual side of man was due in part to his patronage and interest. His position as leader of the democracy was a strange one. He was not president or Prime Minister. He held no office which gave him the right to control the policy of the state. It is true that he was for fifteen successive years elected to fill the office of *strategus* or general; but in that position he had nine colleagues of equal rank with himself, and he could be deposed at any time during his year of office. His power was rooted in a different way, which the political experience of the modern world barely allows us to understand. He was the trusted adviser of the people in the Ecclesia. When he spoke they listened. What he advised they as a rule adopted. His power was thus an intangible one which might pass from him at any moment, and it did actually pass from him for a time at the beginning of the next great war. But his dignity of bearing, his persuasive eloquence, his firmness and superiority of statesmanship gave him so strong a hold in the confidence of the people that few Prime Ministers have ruled longer or ruled more really than Pericles did, though he had no basis for his power beyond his own persuasive tongue, and the platform in the Ecclesia.

Pericles, in the speech from which we have quoted, amidst much that is beautiful and wise, surprises us by the ground on which he rests the greatness of Athens. He points to her victories in war, and to the extent of her empire over unwilling subjects. In these he sees "the monuments of power which will make her the wonder of succeeding ages." But she won few more victories; her little empire melted away; and yet she has not ceased to be the wonder of succeeding ages. She has earned their wonder not by victories and empire, but by her genius and the spirit of her civilization, and by the contributions she made to art and thought in almost every form.

The true greatness of Athens.

To deal with externals first, Athens, during the age of Pericles, became a thing of beauty. The ordinary houses of Athens remained mean and poor, but the acropolis and its neighbourhood were covered with buildings, which mark an epoch in the history of architecture and of man's appreciation of beauty. The acropolis was no longer a fortress. Athens was protected by her great walls, and especially by the "long walls" which connected her with the sea. The acropolis was now the centre for the religious and ceremonial life of Athens. It was due to the impulse and protection of Pericles that the Parthenon was now built upon it, and was decorated by the sculptures of Phidias, which even in their fragments are among the most priceless treasures of the world's art. The Parthenon was only one of three temples built on the acropolis during this period, and the base was occupied by theatres and halls. In architecture and sculpture the supremacy of Athens was unchallenged. The masterpiece of Phidias' art was the great statue of Athena, for which the whole Parthenon was a shrine. It was made of gold and ivory, and has entirely disappeared; we can only guess at its appearance from representations on coins and from late and clumsy copies. But it produced, on those who saw it, the effect which only the highest religious art can produce. In addition to this statue the whole exterior of the Parthenon was decorated with groups of sculpture, either designed by Phidias or executed under his direction. Large fragments of these remain in a good state of preservation,

The buildings of Athens.

and attest the worth of Greek sculpture at its best and noblest.

To the south-east of the acropolis was the theatre of Dionysus, and this must always rank as one of the great centres from which inspiration, not only artistic, but also religious and ethical, has radiated upon Europe. Drama is one of the most characteristic products of the Greek genius. The theatre meets us everywhere among the ruins of ancient Greece; and the influence of the drama is strongly marked on all the literature of the Greeks, and finds its way even into their religious ceremonies, and their political meetings. The Athenian theatre could hold a great part of the free population of Athens; dramatic representations were a part of the worship of Dionysus, the God of wine, and never lost the marks of their religious origin. The scenery was permanent and simple. Not more than four actors were ever engaged in the dialogue at the same time. In tragedy the acting was probably declamatory and monotonous. But no drama has ever been so important to the life of the state as the drama of Greece. The highest subjects of religion or politics or social ethics were dealt with in it. It supplied for Athens the place of the pulpit and press in our modern life. The Athenian comedy in its unrestrained license was a great and designed contrast to the dignity and restraint of the serious drama. But it also refused to confine itself to topics of private life or stories of merely personal appeal. It dealt directly, and usually in a hostile spirit, with the politics of the time, criticized philosophy, or demolished the Utopian dreams of the period. The greatest names of the Athenian drama belong to the Periclean Age. Æschylus, the most majestic and profound of all the tragedians, was born about 525, and died about 456. He belongs, therefore, rather to the period of the Persian wars than the Periclean Age, and yet Pericles was an important influence in Athens before he died. Sophocles in his long life of ninety years covers the whole of the Periclean period. He was born in 495—five years before the battle of Marathon—and died in 406, two years before his beloved Athens fell into the hands of her enemies at the close of the Peloponnesian war. He has

The Athenian Theatre.

Æschylus.

Sophocles.

less of the prophet in him than Æschylus; he handles his subjects chiefly with an eye to dramatic effect, and æsthetic values. But what he loses in profoundity he gains in sweetness and humanity, and he is if not the greatest at least the most characteristic of all Athenian poets. Euripides, whose name is always indissolubly connected with the other two, is in most ways a great contrast to them. He deals with subjects of the same sort, drawing them always from the legendary history of Athens and Greece. But he has none of the mysticism and reverence of Æschylus; none of the delight in beauty for its own sake of Sophocles; there is in him a note, almost new in Greek literature, a note of scepticism, criticism, and defiance. The injustices of woman's lot, the cruelties in the life of a slave touch him to the heart. It is this revolutionary element in him which has made him so influential, and has given rise to such divergent opinions as to his merits and character. We must mention here, too, the name of Aristophanes, the comedian, who wrote comedies very different from anything that the world has called by that name since then. They breathe the very spirit of carnival, but amidst all their buffoonery they exhibit the very highest powers of the poet and of the thinker as well. If Shakespeare had written a Christmas pantomime we should have had a product not unlike the comedies of Aristophanes.

Euripides.

Aristophanes.

All these men were poets and wrote in metre; but the equally difficult art of prose also had its beginnings, so far as Europe is concerned, in the Greece of this period. Herodotus, a native of Asia Minor, but long resident in Athens, wrote the history of the great Persian war, and in this work touched on the history, not only of Greece, but also of Lydia, Persia, and Egypt. It is an epoch-making work in the history of human thought. Its *naïveté*, its ready acceptance of the supernatural, its uncritical reproduction of the most improbable legends are what strike us first. But the scientific spirit is there too, in his effort to give a comprehensive picture of Greek life, in his sincere if unavailing pursuit of the truth, in the balancing of evidence, and the spirit of inquiry.

Athenian prose-writers.

Herodotus.

Thucydides seems separated from him by a very long period, but was as a matter of fact a younger contemporary. He wrote the history of the next great war, the Peloponnesian war, which we are soon to glance at. His is one of the greatest minds that Greece produced, and his history remains unsurpassed as a piece of narrative. But it is more than a brilliant narrative; it has in it the beginnings of social and political philosophy. It might be maintained that its composition was the most important result of the devastating war which it describes.

Thucydides.

Science and philosophy, too, made notable strides during this period. The physical sciences had begun in Asia Minor, and Thales of Miletus is reckoned as one of the first geometricians and speculators. He and his successors were the first to look nature in the face and to try to understand her meaning without introducing the hypothesis of supernatural wills. Outside of geometry their work seems strange, and even grotesque to us; but it inaugurated a movement which has not really been interrupted down to our own days. To these beginnings of science Athens contributed comparatively little. But her services to philosophy were unequalled by any other part of Greece; for Socrates was an Athenian. He was born in 469, and was put to death in 399. He is, therefore, a younger contemporary of the Periclean Age. He was a true philosopher in the original meaning of the word, for he was a lover of wisdom; but he appeared to his contemporaries as a critic of the science and thought which were in fashion in his own age. The ordinary pursuits of the Athenian and therefore the ordinary teaching of his time seemed to him irrational and evil. He cast scorn on the gropings of the inquirers into physical science. He desired knowledge as eagerly as they, but it was a knowledge which he believed to be more easily attainable. He hoped to learn something of the nature and the will of the Gods, of the nature of man and of the ends after which he should strive. And the method which he adopted was as original as his aims. He kept no school; he sought for no scholars. But he conversed eagerly with all who would talk to him in the sunny market-place of

Science and philosophy.

Socrates.

Athens. He would lead them on to discuss with him the meaning of virtue, of courage, of holiness and the like. And if he did nothing else he at least convinced them of their ignorance, and of the need of accurate definition of the words which they used so glibly. His criticism was associated with reverence and humour, and he gathered round him many of the brightest intelligences among the youth of Athens. Thus he was the founder of moral philosophy and of the human sciences, and European history has no name of greater importance than his in the whole history of thought.

It has been necessary to cast this glance upon the thought and art of the time, for without question these are the true gifts of Greece to European civilization. Many other nations have surpassed the Greeks in the arts of government and in military skill; but no nation can claim to have added as much as they to the world's fund of truth and beauty. And great as was the actual positive worth of what they did, its value does not end there. It was not only an actual achievement; it also opened the road for countless others; it was a stimulus and a prophecy.

Curtius, Book III., ch. 3, sketches the life of Athens during this period. Pericles' Funeral Oration is in Thucydides, Book II., chs. 35 to 46. The institutions of Athens, though at a rather later period, are clearly sketched in Aristotle's treatise *On the Athenian Constitution* (translated by F. G. Kenyon). Grant, *Greece in the Age of Pericles*. Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*. Grote's history is occupied throughout with the explanation and the defence of Athenian institutions. The contemptuous views expressed in Mitford's *History of Greece* may now be read with interest and some amusement.

CHAPTER V

The Fall and Revival of Athens

The great truce of 445 was an attempt to find some permanent basis for the inter-state system of Greece. But the passions of Greece were too strong, and her political jealousies too keen to allow peace to endure for long. Moreover, there

was no enemy threatening her existence. Persia was not dangerous any more. The time of Macedon had not come. So little more than ten years after the Thirty Years' Truce the Peloponnesian war came, which sealed the doom of the independence of Greece.

There is nothing mysterious about the origins of the war. What would at a much later date have been called the principle of the balance of power was influential in Greece, though the phrase had not yet been invented. The Greek states always spontaneously allied together against one which seemed by its strength to overshadow them. Athens now seemed to be the great danger, despite her defeats on the mainland and in Egypt. Her empire was, according to Greek standards, a vast one, and was now despotically governed. Her trade was advancing rapidly. The Peiræus was the chief harbour in the Ægean sea, and traders were crowding to it. If her military and naval power provoked the jealous opposition of Sparta, her commercial growth was especially obnoxious to Corinth. Corinth indeed must have felt herself strangled by the advancing power of Athens. Upon the east Athens possessed Salamis and Ægina, and with her overwhelming fleet could hold up the commerce of Corinth when she chose. Even on the west she had planted the Helots, who had rebelled from Sparta, at Naupactus, the narrowest point of the gulf of Corinth, and Naupactus held the gulf of Corinth as securely as Gibraltar holds the Mediterranean. The Athenian Empire was already great, but the ambitions of Athens were not yet all realized. The Greek colonies which were scattered over Sicily and the south of Italy were rich in themselves, and valuable centres for trade. There were many Athenians who dreamed of drawing them also into the Athenian net. Greece in many ways seems to present to us the history of Europe in miniature, and the origin of many European wars seems prefigured in this the greatest of all the civil wars of Greece.

Causes of the Peloponnesian war.

Commercial jealousy of Corinth.

The application of Corcyra for admission into the Athenian Empire brought matters to a head. Corcyra, though a colony of Corinth, had quarrelled with the mother state, and now

applied to Athens for admission to her empire in order to avoid the gathering revenge of Corinth. There was nothing in the Thirty Years' Truce to prevent it, but it was realized at Athens that, if Corcyra were admitted, a general war would probably ensue, and the matter was therefore debated anxiously. In the end it was determined to admit Corcyra. Corinth appealed to Sparta for help.

Corcyra.

Division of Greece during the Peloponnesian war.

Athens and Allies — Sparta and Allies — Neutral States

Towns founded later than, and battles fought after 400 B.C., shown thus:-(Mantinea 362 ⚔),(Megalopolis)

Greece in the Fifth Century B.C.

There followed much diplomatic fencing, but passions were inflamed on both sides, and in 431 B.C. the struggle began.

The war which followed—the Peloponnesian war as it is called—has probably been described more brilliantly than any other war in history. Thucydides the Athenian, who wrote of it, took a prominent part in it. He was banished for his failure in certain naval operations, and after that lived with the enemies of Athens. He had thus

Thucydides.

unique opportunities of information. To his knowledge he added profound thought, great impartiality and a wonderfully effective style. The result is one of the greatest of all historical compositions, a book which is a real landmark in the history of thought.

The war policy of Pericles.

Pericles who ruled in Athens under the forms of the democracy with an almost personal rule—under whom, in the words of Thucydides, Athens was nominally a democracy, but really a personal government by the first man in the state—faced the war with confidence. It seemed to him inevitable, and he thought that Athens would be triumphant. He knew indeed that Athens had no land force which she could oppose to the disciplined and stubborn armies of Sparta with any hope of success; but he believed that behind the fortifications, which connected her with the sea, Athens was invulnerable. And Athens had on her side an overwhelming navy and a far greater supply of money than Sparta. Pericles urged Athens to stand on the defensive, and he believed that before long Sparta would be forced by exhaustion to sue for peace.

Death of Pericles.

Such a policy tenaciously pursued might have led to another truce. It could hardly have given Athens a decisive victory, or settled the questions out of which the war had sprung. The first years of the war were wholly indecisive. In 431 and again in 430 the Spartans and their allies entered Attica with a large force, but the Athenians retired behind their walls and allowed the Spartans to ravage their fields undisturbed; the Athenians meanwhile engaged in maritime expeditions which inflicted damage, but opened out no prospect of a decisive issue. But in 430 a more terrible enemy than the Spartans attacked Athens. The plague showed itself within her walls, crowded as the space was by the vast immigration from the country districts, and soon raged like the Black Death in England in the fourteenth century. The effect on the resources and temper of the Athenians was very serious. There came another serious blow in the next year. For Pericles, who had recovered from an attack of the plague, was carried off by an obscure illness. His ascendency over the minds of the Athenians was their best chance

of success. After his death there was no one to give continuity to the policy of Athens. The Demos in the Ecclesia ruled without effective control; it showed many admirable qualities; it showed courage, patriotism, and endurance; but without good guidance it was liable to be led away by excitement, and to adopt plans without sufficient consideration. The war dragged on for several years with many exciting incidents, but with nothing that was decisive. Many of the events which are so wonderfully told by Thucydides are really quite trivial. In 425 the Athenian fleet cut off a few hundred Spartans in the island of Sphacteria on the coast of the Peloponnese, and, after nearly letting their prey slip through their fingers, in the end they forced them to surrender. So small was the free population of Sparta that the loss of two hundred citizens might perhaps have brought the war to an end for a time. But the Athenians, elated beyond measure by their success, refused all conditions, and the war went on. A new turn was given to it, when in 424 the Spartan general Brasidas—one of the few distinguished men whom Sparta produced during the war—marched with a small force into Chalcidice in the north of the Ægean sea, thus reaching a distant part of the Empire of Athens without exposing himself to the attacks of her terrible fleet. Athens did not treat the members of her empire with cruelty, but she had failed to conciliate them to her rule, and Brasidas by diplomacy and a show of force soon won many of them to his side. It was much the worst blow that Athens had received during the war, and she determined on a great expedition to recover her lost prestige in the northern districts. But the army which was under the command of Cleon, the popular leader of the Athenian democrats, was hopelessly defeated at Amphipolis. In the battle both Cleon and Brasidas were slain. Exhaustion and the indecisiveness of the struggle produced a desire for peace on both sides, and in 421 peace was made on the basis of the restoration of all conquests.

Capture of Sphacteria.

Brasidas.

For six years the peace was in name maintained; but the jealousies of the two great rivals filled all Greece with intrigues and contests. Athens was the scene of much party

rivalry. The conservative party was led by Nicias, a man respected for his life, and trusted for his honesty, but without political ability or moral courage. On the popular side a new leader had arisen in Alcibiades. There was no more brilliant man in Greece during his time. Handsome, eloquent, endowed with real capacity both for war and diplomacy, he might have given new life to Athens. But all was spoiled by his purely egotistic ambition, and no one contributed so much to the ruin of Athens as this brilliant son of hers. His first effort was to form a Peloponnesian confederacy against Sparta, and in this he came near to success; but then the league was broken up by the Spartans in a battle, which was won by the splendid fighting qualities of the ordinary soldiers. Soon Alcibiades turned to a greater and more dangerous scheme. The struggle between Athens and Sparta had so far been indecisive. It had become quite clear that Athenian soldiers could not face the Spartan armies with any chance of success, and the Spartans made no attempt to cope with the fleets of Athens. Each state was supreme on its own element.

Nicias and Alcibiades.

From the beginning of the war many ambitious Athenians had dreamed of conquests to be made in Sicily and Italy. There was no danger of another Brasidas marching thither by a land route. And if Sicily and the southern portion of Italy were added to the Athenian Empire the balance would incline decidedly to the side of Athens. The quarrels of the Sicilian states afforded a pretext for interference, and Alcibiades urged on the Athenians the desirability of undertaking an expedition, nominally for the assistance of one Greek state against another, but really for the conquest of Sicily. In spite of the opposition of Nicias the expedition was decided on. Three generals—Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus—were put in charge of the greatest forces which had ever been sent out from Athens. Most Athenians were confident of success.

The Sicilian expedition.

Yet success was not really probable. The tragic disaster which soon followed was indeed due to what may be called accidents. But Sicily possessed a large Greek population full of ambition and warlike energy. The Athenians were clearly

unequal to several other states of central Greece in military qualities. There was little chance that they would be able permanently to hold down the population of Sicily, led by the strong state of Syracuse, and situated so far from Athens herself.

Athenian disasters in Sicily.

The expedition was from the first a disappointment. The Sicilians showed no inclination to receive the Athenians or to join them against the Syracusans. Syracuse might perhaps have been taken by a sudden assault, but the generals were at variance with one another, and the golden chance slipped by. Then came a strange incident. Alcibiades was recalled to Athens to stand his trial for sacrilege. For Athens had been profoundly stirred by insults which had been offered to the statues of the Gods, and by rumours of even worse impieties done in secret. The name of Alcibiades had been mentioned in connection with these things, and perhaps party hate availed itself of this plea to recall him. He refused to face Athens while such a temper prevailed, and fled to Sparta, where he placed his knowledge and his skill at the service of his own country's worst enemy. The steps which Sparta took were taken at his suggestion. The war was openly renewed. A Spartan garrison was permanently established in Attica. The place chosen was Decelea in the mountains, and from this fact this latter part of the war is sometimes known as the Decelean war. Most important of all, a Spartan commander with a small force was sent to Sicily to give heart to the Sicilians.

The end of the Athenian expedition.

As a result of these steps complete ruin fell upon the Athenian expedition, and the story has been told with such skill by Thucydides that it still seems one of the greatest tragedies in history. After the arrival of the Spartan general, Gylippus, the Athenian attack on Syracuse failed completely. Nicias wrote home for reinforcements, and Athens by a supreme effort sent out another great force under the command of Demosthenes. The result was only to increase the number of the victims. For the arm in which Athens most trusted, and as it seemed with complete justification, now failed her. The great Athenian fleet was cooped up in the waters of the Syracusan harbour.

The men were wasted with disease ; and the ships had deteriorated, as wooden ships always will where there is no possibility of taking them out of the water and drying or scraping them. In a great sea fight in the harbour of Syracuse they were hopelessly beaten, and all chance of flight by sea was thus taken away. An effort to escape to a friendly town was defeated, and led to the surrender and the death of the two generals.

The continuance of the war.

Here the war would have ended if Sparta had had the energy to drive the blow home. But as Thucydides says the Spartans were very "comfortable enemies," slow and unenterprising. It must be remembered, moreover, that ancient states, and Sparta above all, had no accumulated treasure, and knew nothing of the way in which posterity may be made to pay for a war by the contraction of a national debt. Athens on her side showed admirable energy and courage, and thus it came to pass that there were still nine years before the dreary war came to an end. The most curious feature of this latter part of the war is the reappearance of Persia as a force in Greek politics. It was not that she had regained the prestige which she had lost at Salamis and Platæa. It is not with soldiers that she interferes, but with money. Another feature of the closing period of the war is the transference of hostilities to the Hellespont and the road to the Black Sea. The reason for this is that Athens was dependent on the corn supply which came from thence. After the disaster in Sicily her empire had broken away from her, and could not be coerced back into obedience. Even the island of Euboea was soon lost to her. If her ships did not bring corn from the Black Sea famine would reduce her to surrender.

Hopes of an Athenian victory.

Such are the general features of the struggle. It seemed for a time as if Athens in spite of all might yet prove victorious. For Alcibiades soon quarrelled with the Spartans, and the Athenians were willing to receive him back in spite of all that happened, so great seemed his talents and so high his influence with the Persians. In 410 he won for them the greatest victory that fell to their lot during the whole course of the war, for the Spartan fleet and army was wholly defeated at Cyzicus in the Propontis.

But little came of this. Alcibiades returned in triumph to Athens, but the people could not overcome their distrust of him. He was deposed from command and nearly disappears from history. A great general Lysander emerged on the Spartan side. He gained the confidence of the Persian Prince, Cyrus, and in 405 crushed and captured the whole Athenian fleet and army at Ægospotami on the Hellespont. Even the spirit of Athens was broken now. The blockade of the city followed, and after a long agony Athens surrendered. Her fortifications were destroyed, her democracy was overthrown; her empire had already vanished. It seemed that for the future she would rank as one of the second rate states of Greece, and would exist only on the sufferance of Sparta (404 B.C.).

The fall of Athens.

But such was not the case, and having followed the history of Athens to the lowest point of her humiliation we will note the stages by which she rose, not indeed to her old condition of strength and confidence, but at least to an independent political life.

The revival of Athens.

Athens owed her revival partly to the jealousies of the other Greek states. Hostility to Athens had held them together for a time, but when Athens was crushed their union gave place to hostility. Sparta allowed Athens to survive that she might balance the power of Corinth and Thebes. Her first triumph was the recovery of her free democratic constitution. The oligarchy which had been established by Sparta ruled tyrannously, and under the leadership of Thrasybulus and other exiles there was soon fierce insurrection against the new government. The democrats gained victories, but with their unaided strength could hardly have driven out their opponents. But the Spartans interfered again, wisely abandoned the support of a thoroughly unpopular government and allowed the restoration of the democracy. But Athens was still without fortifications connecting her with the sea, without a navy, without any empire or foreign connections. She had not, however, to wait long for the beginning of better things. Sparta had beaten Athens largely with the help of Persian gold and Persian support. The Spartan King Agesilaus saw with indignation

he humiliating position into which Greece had sunk with regard o Persia. He determined on a step such as no Spartan king ıad ever contemplated before; he resolved on a war of con- |uest against Persia. The real weakness of Persia ıad been recently demonstrated by an expedition ›f Greeks in support of a pretender to the Persian ,hrone, who had penetrated into the heart of Persia, had won a great battle near Babylon, and after their leader had fallen in he battle had made their way back to the coast in spite of all he efforts of the Persians to stop them. Had Agesilaus been able to carry out his great enterprise it might have been the beginning of great changes both for Persia and Greece. But, while Agesilaus was in Asia Minor, the hatred and jealousy of Sparta, stimulated perhaps by Persian gold, led to the outbreak of a rebellion against the rule of Sparta. The first efforts of the Spartans to crush the movement were unavailing. Agesilaus was recalled. He was just about to begin his attack upon Persia, but he loyally obeyed the call of his state, and his return was sufficient to restore the balance of military strength in favour of Sparta. Greece was disturbed by intermittent hostilities for some years, but there is only one incident which it is necessary to recall here. Persia availed herself of the general uprising against the power of Sparta to attack her on sea. The Persian navy was commanded by the Athenian Conon. The Spartan fleet was defeated at Cnidus on the coast of Asia Minor, and then Conon sailed forward with the Persian ships and appeared victoriously before Athens. But the Persian vessels had not come to undo the work of Salamis. The Persians saw in Athens now a valuable counterpoise against the might of Sparta, and the first and most important result of Conon's victory was the rebuilding of the walls of Athens which connected her with the sea. The work of the Peloponnesian war was thus largely undone. Athens was again a strong power at sea, and she could again bid defiance to any power which only controlled the land. She never rose again to supremacy in Greece, but she ranked henceforth among the two or three chief states. Soon she saw her way to the re-establishment of her empire, or rather of some part

Agesilaus attacks Persia.

Athenian maritime power re-established.

of it. She tried to avoid the old pit-falls, and to attach her allies to her by mutual interest. But the tendency of Greece to state isolation was too strong, and the new empire fell to pieces more rapidly than the old.

The history of *Thucydides* (the best translation by Jowett) is the supreme authority for the first part of the war. *Xenophon's Hellenica* continues the narrative. It has none of the greatness of Thucydides' work, but is full of interest, and has been well translated by Dakyns. *Plutarch's Lives* of *Pericles, Alcibiades, Nicias* and *Agesilaus*: the Life of Pericles specially valuable. *Cornford's Thucydides Myth-historicus* and *Grundy's Thucydides and the History of his Age* discuss various aspects of the Peloponnesian war.

CHAPTER VI

The Passing of Greek Independence

Greece after the Peloponnesian war.

For those who are trying to see the whole course of European history, and to understand how the fabric of European civilization has been built up, the political and military history of Greece after the Peloponnesian war possesses only a secondary interest. There are great statesmen, great orators, even great soldiers; but none of them are laying the foundations of the future order of Europe. Greece was divided against herself and incapable of union, nor was any one state strong enough to coerce the others into obedience. So the politics and wars of the period lead us nowhere, and their chief interest is that they show us the way by which the foreign power of Macedon marched to the conquest of the divided land. But of Greece in her decline, as of Greece at her zenith, it is equally true that her real importance is not to be found in her politics and her wars, but in the art and the literature, the science and philosophy which she continued to give to the world. To these we must return later. Meanwhile we must trace in

outline the history of the land until her liberties were overthrown by the battle of Chæroneia (338 B.C.).

The decline of Sparta.

The fall of Athens had left Sparta supreme in Greece. No other state was ready to take the place of her great rival. It seemed that she could mould Greece to what form she pleased. Perhaps with wiser statesmanship and a different national character she might have done for Greece the unifying work which Rome afterwards did for Italy. But Sparta was quite unequal to the situation. Her whole outlook was rigidly conservative; she conceived of no triumphs except through war; her policy had neither sympathy nor generosity. Her citizen population was very small, and she resolutely refused to admit any aliens to her franchise. Her rule in consequence lasted for a shorter space than the empire of Athens.

The "Peace of the King."

We saw at the close of the last chapter how the Spartan king Agesilaus had meditated a great campaign against Persia, and how he had been recalled at the most critical moment by news of the outbreak of resistance to the dominion of Sparta in Greece herself. It is needless to look deeply for the causes of the new movement. The Greek states all desired independence, and Sparta seemed to them to be exercising a sort of tyranny. So we soon find Thebes, Argos, and Corinth united in an alliance against Sparta, and the allies were subsequently joined by Athens, whose recovery after the great war we noted in the last chapter. But Sparta was still the first military state in Greece, and even before the return of Agesilaus it was clear that the allies were unequal to a contest with Sparta; the arrival of Agesilaus and his army further increased her superiority. But though Sparta could win victories, she could not by her unaided forces drive her enemies to a complete submission; and she applied for help to a strange quarter. Sparta posed as the most patriotic of Greek states; she was proud of the part she had played in the great Persian war, and she had just been engaged in a campaign against Persia which had been prevented by accident from achieving a great success. Yet it was to Persia that she now appealed for help in bringing the war to an end. She proposed to allow Persia to occupy once more the Greek states of Asia Minor, which had been liberated after the great

war; in return for these huge gains Persia was to support Sparta with her treasure and her armies and enable her to force on Greece what terms she would. Those terms were nominally the independence of all Greek states, and the break up of all leagues. But it was clear that this really meant the restoration of the supremacy of Sparta, for her own league was not to be broken up, while those dangerous to her would be resolved into their elements. The terms of the new arrangement were intimated to Greece by a letter from "the great king," and Greece had to accept them. The King of Persia seemed to have Greece at his feet, and the work of Salamis and Platæa seemed undone (387 B.C.).

The subjugation and revolt of Thebes.

But whatever the disgrace it was a great triumph for Sparta. All resistance disappeared. Thebes was now her greatest rival, and on Thebes her blows fell with special hardness. First she was made to abandon the leadership of the towns of Bœotia, which she had assumed, and which gave to her a power second only to that of Sparta; and shortly afterwards, in the year 383, Sparta managed in a time of peace, and by an act of treachery which shocked the conscience of Greece, to capture the citadel of Thebes, and thus Thebes became subject to her rule, and was held by a Spartan garrison which was permanently maintained there. The year 383 marks, then, the very zenith of the power of Sparta; but retribution was soon to come. In 379 a conspiracy resulted in the murder of the officers of the Spartan garrison at Thebes, and the liberation of the city. There ensued a long, dreary, and somewhat featureless war, in which the Athenians gave some assistance to the Thebans, and the Spartans ravaged the country of the Thebans again and again though with indecisive results. But Athens was weary and exhausted with the war, and suggested peace. It was agreed that the terms dictated a few years before by the King of Persia should again be taken as a basis, and that every state should be called upon to accept them. The Thebans refused unless they were allowed to retain their supremacy over Bœotia. The Spartans were rejoiced to see them thus isolated and prepared to deal against them a decisive blow.

But Thebes displayed unexpected strength. Her reputation did not stand high. She had played a poor part in the great war against Persia, and the Thebans were considered to be dull witted and lethargic. A new spirit, however, had been passing over the country, and Thebes possessed two statesmen of first rate merit in Pelopidas and Epaminondas. The Thebans had always fought well. They had defeated the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war, and they had shown great courage and endurance in an encounter with the troops of Agesilaus on their return from Asia, and it had been their custom to fight in a deeper line than was usual with the Greeks. Still they were not thought equal to resisting the might of Sparta single-handed. When, however, King Cleombrotus led an army into Bœotia, he encountered near Leuctra a Theban army which was prepared to resist him. Epaminondas, the Theban leader, had arranged his army in a fashion new to Greek experience. It had been the rule for Greek armies to fight in long lines, and for the whole line on each side to be brought into action at the same time. But Epaminondas held back his line in the centre and the right, and threw forward his left in close and dense formation upon the Spartan right. He gained a complete victory (371). Cleombrotus was killed, and though the Spartans fought with great courage nothing could turn the tide of battle. For the first time in the history of Sparta her army had been out-generalled, out-fought, and completely defeated. And the defeat was final. Sparta had none of the elasticity of the Athenians. At a single blow Sparta was precipitated from the pedestal on which she had stood for so long, and never again controlled the destinies of Greece.

Epaminondas and the battle of Leuctra.

Would Thebes succeed where Athens and Sparta had failed? Would she weld by persuasion or force the jarring elements of Greece into one stable whole? In Epaminondas she had a great soldier and a great statesman. If he failed it would be because the task was too great for any one, who had only the forces at the disposal of a Greek state to work with. He won a power in Greece greater than had ever been held by any individual before. With a great army he

The Theban supremacy.

invaded the Peloponnese, and Sparta could not venture to dispute his entrance into what had been a sacred Dorian enclosure. It was the aim of Epaminondas not merely to humiliate Sparta but to raise into vigorous existence the races on whom she had for many generations trampled. Arcadia to the north of Sparta had never received the city organization which to a Greek was the necessary condition of a high civilization. Epaminondas founded the city of Megalopolis to act as the capital of Arcadia. Then entering Messenia, which had been conquered and reduced to a state of helotage at the very beginning of the history of Sparta, he restored the Messenians to independence, and founded for them the city of Messene. Most of the city states of Greece co-operated with Epaminondas in his great work. But soon the old jealousies and rivalries emerged again. The Theban supremacy was as little liked as the Athenian Empire had been. For a time Thebes carried all before her. She extended her influence into districts which had hitherto been almost free from the interference of the great Greek states. Thus she set Thessaly in order, and when Macedonia was torn with civil wars she entered as arbiter, and one of the princes of the royal house of Macedon was taken to Thebes as a hostage. His name was Philip; he was destined to add to it the title of "the Great"; and in his career, which marks the opening of a new chapter for Greek and European history, his residence in Thebes was undoubtedly an influence of the greatest importance. But the end of the Theban power was not long in coming. In 362 Epaminondas entered the Peloponnese again to support his arrangements, which were threatened by an alliance of Spartans, Athenians, and other discontented states. In the battle of Mantinea which followed Theban tactics again gained the day, but in the moment of victory Epaminondas himself was slain (362 B.C.). His death brought with it the collapse of the Theban supremacy, and Thebes sank at once into the position of a small Greek state. Probably she had attempted a task too great for her forces, and certainly she had no statesman who was equal to taking up again the work and ideas of Epaminondas.

Philip of Macedon at Thebes.

From 362 to 338 there was no leader among the Greek

states. But meanwhile there arose on the northern frontier a new power—the monarchy of Macedon—which proceeded with ever-increasing success to influence Greek affairs, and finally succeeded in controlling them as they had never been controlled before. The Greeks usually called the Macedonians barbarians, and sometimes represented the Macedonian attack on the liberties of Greece as being the same kind of event as the expeditions of Darius and Xerxes. But it seems that there was a large admixture of Greek blood in the Macedonian race, and that their language was a dialect of Greek. The claim of their royal family to be regarded as Greek had never been disputed by the umpires at Olympia, whose authority on such matters was regarded as final. The Macedonians were indeed backward Greeks—Greeks in much the same political condition as they are represented in the pages of Homer. They were for the most part rough mountaineers and farmers; their cities were few and small, and they had little acquaintance with the arts and sciences which were being carried forward to such perfection in southern Greece. Though revolutions and rebellions had been frequent among them, no other form of government had been suggested for them except monarchy, and at the death of Epaminondas the monarchy was firmly established, and in 359 Philip, the former hostage of Thebes, occupied the throne. We know him chiefly from accounts derived from unfriendly Greek orators and writers, but even so it is clear that he was a man of remarkable talents—a great and an original soldier, a great organizer, capable of meeting the Greeks with their own weapons of corruption and intrigue, and of beating them when it came to the arbitrament of the sword. And behind him was a robust, simple, united population, which supported him through all his schemes, and carried them through to victory.

The rise of Macedonia.

Greece presents us with a very marked contrast. We must not too lightly speak of her *decadence*, for the word is difficult to define, and, as we have said, Greece was still doing a noble work for the discovery of truth and the development of beauty. But certainly, in face of the threat of Macedonian interference, her chances of

The decadence of Greece.

survival seemed small. There was no state to lead and no statesman to guide her. No alliance lasted for a longer time than was required to beat down a power which seemed too strong. And inside each state parties were apt to degenerate into mere factions, ready to secure a party success even at the price of national ruin. It is extremely hard to speak with confidence of the moral condition of any people or period. In some ways the moral standards of Greece were improving. Her thinkers took a more humane view of slavery and asserted, though in vain, the unity of the Hellenic race, and the need of defending its independence against dangers which threatened from the west as well as the north. But in what may be called the political virtues there seems to have been a real decline. Except in Sparta and in some of the more pastoral regions of Greece military service was shunned, and the defence of the state was entrusted to the care of mercenary soldiers whose leaders begin to assume an importance in Greece similar to that of the *condottieri* of Italy in the fourteenth century. The devotion of the population of Athens to pleasure, though to the refined pleasures of the Athenian theatre, was deplored by her patriotic statesman Demosthenes, because it made the citizens refuse to spend the necessary money on the national defence, and to bear the burdens which were required for the safety of the state. Lastly, the charges of corruption are so universal that it is impossible to avoid the conviction that the actions of politicians were often decided by motives of personal profit. Such a population had little chance of victory in a contest with the warlike and centralized monarchy of the Macedonians.

Demosthenes and Macedonia.

Step by step, by force and by fraud, the King of Macedon made his way to dominion over Greece. The revived Athenian Empire might have done much to stay his progress, but just at this time that empire began spontaneously to break up. In vain the Athenians attempted to coerce the members into obedience. They no longer had the naval prestige or power of the old days, and they were beaten in two decisive encounters. They let their empire drop, and had to meet Macedon with their own resources. For it was upon Athens that the task of resisting Macedon

chiefly fell. This was due partly to the fact that her commercial and maritime interests were first threatened, but it was also due to the presence in Athens of the great orator Demosthenes. He was no soldier, perhaps not strictly a statesman ; his one weapon was his power of speech, and in that he has not been excelled and probably not equalled by any orator in ancient or modern times. He possessed every power that a speaker can use for the persuasion of his audience—humour, sublimity, irony, clearness of argument, dexterity in appealing to the strongest passions. His policy is not so incontestible as his eloquence. His mind was full of the past greatness of Athens and of Greece. Thucydides was his chief source of inspiration, and he dreamed that the age of Pericles might return, and that Athens might again be the school of Greece and her saviour from foreign dominion. It is possible that it would have been wiser in him to accept the supremacy of Macedon, and it is certain that he represented the Macedonians in unfair colours. Yet most modern readers are drawn over to his side. It seems better that Athens should fall in a heroic struggle to maintain her independence than that she should seek safety in a tame acquiescence in a foreign yoke.

Progress of the arms of Macedon.

Friction between Philip and Athens began immediately after the accession of Philip to the throne. The city of Amphipolis was close to his frontiers, and valuable because of its nearness to the gold mines of the neighbourhood. He attacked it, and induced Athens to abstain from interference by an illusory promise of handing it eventually over to her, and thus secured a most valuable possession. Next he turned against the maritime confederacy of Olynthus which was a threat to all his coasts. Demosthenes believed that if Olynthus fell Athens would be the next victim, and he called on the Athenians to send help. They did as he urged them ; but not soon enough, nor in sufficient force to avert their doom from the Olynthians. A little before this another struggle had broken out in Greece. It is known as "the sacred war," but it was in truth little more than a frontier war between the Thebans and the Phocians, in the course of which the Phocians had seized on the treasures of

the temple at Delphi in order to pay their mercenaries. The Thebans had fallen so far from the height at which they had stood in the days of Epaminondas that they were defeated by the Phocians, and at last appealed to Philip for help against their once despised enemy. Thus Philip could interfere in central Greece as the defender of the God Apollo against the sacrilegious Phocians. He used the position with the greatest skill. In 346 he forced the Athenians to accept peace at his hands and at the same time made himself master of the pass of Thermopylæ which had been held by the Phocians. He was thus in possession of the key to central Greece, and never let it pass out of his hands.

The end of free Greece.

Greece had still eight more years of independence. It is a period most hard to unravel, for our information comes mainly from the speeches of the party leaders at Athens. Demosthenes strove with might and main to organize resistance to Philip and delivered his famous Philippics attacking the character and policy of the Macedonian king. But an obscure intrigue connected with the administration of the temple of Delphi soon gave Philip another opportunity of entering Greece with an armed force. Now at last his designs were so plain that Thebes joined with Athens, and some other Greek states in a war against him. But all was in vain. When in 338 the Greek forces met the Macedonians at Chæroneia they sustained for some time the onset of the Macedonian foot, but were then swept away by the cavalry led by Alexander, who was one day to succeed his father Philip and reign as Alexander the Great. The independence of Greece was over, and never again appeared except in a spasmodic and illusory form.

Was the victory of Macedon an evil or a good thing? It is not easy to decide. The Greeks had of late made no good use of their liberties; the Macedonians were not cruel or unsympathetic rulers, and their rule, as we shall see, resulted in an immense expansion of the language and ideas of Greece. But it was not altogether an illusion which made Demosthenes, and those who thought with him, fight for the maintenance of Greek independence. The intellect and taste of Greece had still great things to give to the world, but it was

only in an atmosphere of liberty that the fairest flower of their art and poetry could develop itself.

We have said that the intellectual life of Greece since the Peloponnesian war is a great contrast to her fruitless wars and politics. The great age of Greek poetry was indeed over, though Aristophanes still produced his comedies down to 388. In sculpture there is much fine work done by Praxiteles and others, but nothing that is worthy to rank with the art of Phidias. Temples were built in plenty, but nothing which possesses or deserves the reputation of the Parthenon. But for all this there is no ground for speaking of Greece as intellectually decadent. It would be rather true to say that her chief interests had been transferred to other objects. The oratory of Demosthenes alone would suffice to show that the intellect of Greece was as keen and brilliant as ever. And in science and philosophy greater work than ever was being done. The seed sown by Socrates had fallen on most fruitful ground. Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle all derive directly or indirectly their impulse to philosophy from him, and there are no greater names in the history of philosophy than the last two. In Plato the apparently simple teaching of Socrates is carried on to heights undreamed of by the master; for Plato was a poet as well as a metaphysician and philosopher. His speculations are among the most permanent influences in European civilization, and extended wide outside of his own circle of followers. He treated of ethics and metaphysics, of religion and of politics. All Greek and Roman thought bore traces of his influence; Christianity absorbed much of his spirit and his ideas; modern political and economic thought shows many traces of its derivation from him, and has sometimes revived itself by a return to his writings. With touching devotion he ascribes all his ideas to his master Socrates. Aristotle (384–322) was a less poetical, less emotional, less religious thinker. He took all the knowledge of the day to be his province. Ethics and æsthetics, politics, and physical science all received his attention, and all were advanced by him. His writings are not great literature as those of Plato are, but he makes

The intellectual life of Greece.

Plato.

Aristotle.

more definite contributions to science. His own age valued him, and he was the teacher of Alexander the Great; his influence, too, is clear in Roman history; but curiously it is not until the Middle Ages that his reputation stood at its highest point. He became then the founder of the brilliant school of Arabian scientists and philosophers, and from them his philosophy passed again into European thought. His authority was rated only a little lower than that of the Scriptures, and he was called by Dante "the master of those who *know*." At the Renaissance his authority was for the moment shaken, and the merely superstitious reverence with which his name had been regarded was destroyed. But sober criticism has rather raised our sense of his importance. Few men if any have contributed more than he to form the intellectual basis on which our whole civilization rests.

The great historians of Greece (Grote, Curtius, Thirlwall) are here our best guides. Grote writes of Macedonian history with some unfairness: he cannot forgive Macedonia for having destroyed Greek liberty: Thirlwall will be found at once fairer and clearer. The speeches of Demosthenes lose much in a translation, but even in that form are the best authority for the intricate politics of the time. Plutarch's lives of Pelopidas, Agesilaus, Phocion, and Demosthenes.

CHAPTER VII

Alexander the Great and his Empire

THE battle of Chæroneia does not bring us to the end of Greek history by any means, but it certainly marks a great change in its chief features. The predominance of the city state was at an end. Hitherto the city with its ring-wall, its popular assembly, its small territory adjacent, has been the political unit. It was never destined to be so again to at all the same degree. The city state still existed in Greece; Rome was at first a city state; there were city states in Italy and Germany in the Middle Ages. But the history of Europe is henceforth

concerned with much greater states than those which Greek sentiment admitted. The Macedonian monarchy now conquered a great empire in the East; then the republic of Rome built up another great empire in the West. In course of time that broke up, and smaller states emerged, but the city state never returned to its old importance.

Schemes and death of Philip.

After the battle of Chæroneia all Greece, with the exception of Sparta, surrendered to Philip. He showed no desire to play the tyrant. Rather he wished to be accepted as the representative of Greece. It was clear that Macedon must rule, but under that rule there would be room for much local independence for the individual states. Philip's immediate object was to arrange the affairs of Greece so that he might be ready to enter upon a great campaign against Persia. But on the eve of his great enterprise he was cut down by the hand of an assassin. He had done his work, and the accession of his more capable son did not change the direction of the policy of Macedon. In 334 B.C. Alexander passed over into Asia, and began his wonderful series of campaigns which changed the face of history. He marched from Macedonia to Egypt, to the Caspian Sea, and the Punjab, and victory always attended his arms; hardly a single check occurred to mar his record. The causes of this series of victories are to be found not merely in the genius of Alexander, though history knows few or no generals of greater genius. What other causes are there? First, Persia was really a weak and helpless state—"a colossus stuffed with clouts," as was said of Spain in the sixteenth century. The royal palace was the scene of constant intrigues and often of bloody feuds. The organization of state and army was notoriously corrupt; the Persian army had made little advance on the arms and tactics which she had employed in the great war against Greece. But even against a better prepared enemy Macedon would have been a most formidable antagonist. She was a military power of a kind new to history. The monarchy was strong and enthusiastically supported by the people in most of its enterprises. All that Greece knew of tactics and warfare had been adopted and improved. The battle array which had served Epaminondas

The cause of Alexander's victories.

so well in his wars against Sparta had been developed into the famous Macedonian phalanx. This was a dense array of footmen armed with long spears called *sarissæ*. So dense was the mass, so many were the spear points projecting before the line, that the charge of the phalanx carried all before it whenever any enemy dared to resist its direct assault. But the favourite arm of Alexander was the heavy cavalry which he commanded in person; it was the heavy cavalry which delivered the decisive blow in most of his battles. Most noticeable also in Macedonian warfare is the use of siege engines. The Greeks had been curiously deficient here; in the Peloponnesian war the Spartans had never even attempted to break through the many miles of walls by which the city of Athens was defended. But Alexander never found fortifications strong enough to hold him at bay. The siege of Tyre is the best proof of what he was capable of in this direction. One important point of organization must also be noted. The Greeks cannot be said to have had an officer class. In Athens the generals of this year might serve in the ranks next year. But the Macedonian system was quite different. Alexander had no doubt that special training and the experience of a lifetime were necessary in those who had the direction of military affairs, and the officer class in the Macedonian armies received special training.

The early victories of Alexander.

From the first Alexander showed his immense superiority over the forces of Persia. He defeated the army—not a large one—which attempted to dispute the passage of the river Granicus. He then passed along the west coast of Asia Minor, and swept the Greek cities into his net without much difficulty. Only at Halicarnassus was there serious resistance, and there his siege engines showed what a new force had come into the world. He struck next into the centre of Asia Minor, and overawed the populations of the interior, and then moved south-east through the mountains of Cilicia, expecting that the Persians would attempt to hold against him one or other of the passes; but all were abandoned, and he reached the Mediterranean again without encountering an enemy. Shortly afterwards, however, by the banks of the river Issus, he found an immense and

unwieldy army waiting for him. King Darius was present in person. But mere numbers were of no avail against Alexander, and Darius was driven in hopeless rout (333). Alexander did not pursue him, but left him to collect another army at his leisure, while the victorious army marched south to annex Syria and Egypt. The great city of Tyre, confident in her island situation, refused submission, and so strong were the defences of Tyre that it seemed that Alexander would here have to confess defeat; but his engineers built a mole from the shore to the city walls, and soon Alexander was master of the great city. He entered Egypt next, rather as a liberator than a conqueror, for the Egyptians had always felt the Persian rule a foreign one. The country with its fertile soil and its important strategic position came over to him without an effort at resistance. He founded the great city of Alexandria, destined at a later date to be one of the chief centres for the diffusion of Greek civilization, and then prepared for his march to Mesopotamia. An immense Persian host had been collected to resist him, but in a great battle, which has always borne the name of Arbela, though it was fought at some distance from that place, the Macedonian army was again victorious, and Darius was again a fugitive. The great Persian capitals which had for so long dazzled the imagination of the Greeks now fell, one after the other, unresisting into the hands of Alexander. He did no damage at Babylon and Susa, but the Palace of Persepolis was burnt to the ground. His aim now was to make himself master of the person of Darius, for he wished to appear not merely as the conqueror of the old Persian monarchy, but as its successor, and an arrangement with the fugitive king would have been of the greatest service to him. But Darius was killed by one of his own generals.

Battle of Issus.

Conquest of Egypt.

Battle of Arbela, 331 B.C.

Alexander had the assassin put to death. It was henceforth one of his chief aims to conciliate Persian feeling, for he wished to found an empire which should be half Macedonian and half Persian. He encouraged marriages between his soldiers and Persian women; he himself adopted something of the Persian habits and dress, and introduced a sort of Persian ceremonial into his

Effort to conciliate the Persians.

Court. He began, too, in accordance with the ideas of the East, to claim for himself almost divine honours. The story was current how, when he marched to the temple of Zeus Ammon in an oasis of Egypt, the priestess had saluted him as the son of the god, and Alexander encouraged a belief in this strange story. There was policy as well as vanity in this attitude; he would need some sort of supernatural sanction if he was to be accepted as king by the wide dominions which it was his aim to rule. His new policy met with its chief opponents from the old Macedonian officers, who, accustomed to the freedom of camp life and the simple ceremonial of the Macedonian court, were unwilling to accept the inferior position which was allotted to them in Alexander's new schemes.

Invasion of central Asia and India.

His career of conquest was by no means at an end. It is probable indeed that his remaining campaigns showed his military genius more decisively than his early victories over the effete armies of Persia; for henceforth he had to fight against wild and untamed races, in lands little known, where the nature of the country was the best protection to the inhabitants. He was determined to bring within his sway all that had ever been claimed by the crown of Persia. He marched north to the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea; he fought in what is now Beluchistan and Afghanistan; finally he made his way through the passes of the Himalayas into the plains of the Punjab. The resistance of the natives was overcome, and he may have dreamed of the conquest of the Indian peninsula. But his soldiers, sated with glory and laden with booty, refused to enter upon this new adventure, and Alexander, perhaps not unwillingly, gave the order to return towards Babylon. But he did not propose to retrace his former route. With one part of his army he marched westwards, following as far as possible the coast route, and finding greater trials and sufferings in the waterless Gedrosian desert than he had suffered at the hands of any enemy. Another part of his army was placed on a rapidly built navy and sent down the Indus under Nearchus. It was missing for a long time but at length made its way to the mouth of the Euphrates, having had its own great difficulties to contend with, and having

added very materially to the geographical knowledge of the world.

To what conquests was Alexander now to turn? Would he devote himself to the organization of his empire, and show as great a capacity for organization as for conquest? Or would he turn his arms against the West now that the East had nothing more to yield him? If he had lived to take either course he might have powerfully influenced the future. But in 323 B.C. a wasting sickness fell upon him while he was at Babylon and he died. His vast achievements had been crowded into a life of less than thirty-three years.

Death.

The result of these conquests may be summed up in the phrase "the expansion of Greece." Alexander appreciated to the full the superiority of the intellect of Greece; and the trade, the civilization, and the language of Greece poured down all the channels which his armies opened. The influence of Greece indeed did not extend permanently beyond the Tigris; but henceforth Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt were Greek lands, and the time soon came when Greek learning found homes in the newly won lands, where it throve even more vigorously than in old Greece. The chief of all these new homes was Alexandria, and the debt of the modern world to that great city is too little recognized. Scholarship, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, received an impulse there perhaps greater than any that was given outside of Athens. This, however, belongs not to Alexander but to his successors, and it is necessary in the briefest way to summarize the fate of his dominions after his untimely death.

Influence of Alexander's conquests.

Had Alexander lived it is doubtful whether he would have been able to devise any system by which the many widely differing states, lands, and races could have been held together after his death. His early and unexpected death made the break up of his empire inevitable. There was none to take his place: no child of mature years: no law of succession to determine the appointment of a successor. His marshals—the great generals who had fought under him and shared his glories—laid hands

Break up of Alexander's Empire.

on such parts of his dominions as they were best able to reach, and there ensued a long scramble for crowns and sceptres. We can make no effort to trace the course of the confused struggle which followed. We can only note the general results; we shall return again to the history of this period for a moment when we come to the collision between the Roman Republic and the East.

Three fairly strong and stable states emerged from the confusion, and many others with less of strength and stability. Ptolemy possessed himself of Egypt, and his descendants occupied the throne there up to within a few years of the Christian era. The strength of the situation of Egypt; the fertility of the soil when irrigated by Nile water; the excellent commercial situation of the land made of the Ptolemies' empire a rich and powerful state. For Egypt itself the coming of this Greek dynasty marked an altogether new epoch. The people lived their life as of old, and the faith and ceremonial of the Egyptian religion still subsisted: but the reigning dynasty was pure Greek, and fully alive to the importance of Greek art and thought. Alexandria became not only a great trading centre, but also the great home of Greek learning.

The intellectual influence of Alexandria.

Much of the Alexandrine learning was mere compilation and pedantry. But poetry also flourished there. The greatest name is that of Theocritus, who flourished early in the third century B.C., and who amidst the sands of Egypt sang of the pastoral pleasures and beauties of Sicily. His is the greatest name in pastoral poetry. Philosophy and science were both eagerly prosecuted, and in both departments the Alexandrine school gave to the world things of the utmost importance. In science the name of Euclid is only the best known (not really the greatest) name among a number of geometricians and men of science. Greek philosophy was studied and the Alexandrine school had ultimately great influence on the development of Christian theology. Philo the Jew lived there at the beginning of the Christian era, and he prepared the way for much that was afterwards prominent in Christian dogma. Two centuries later (184–233 A.D.) Origen of Alexandria exercised a profound influence on

Christian thought, and especially introduced into Christian theology many of the ideas of Plato. Nor must the Alexandrian school of medicine be passed over in silence. It continued the researches of the Greek biologists and anatomists, and produced in Galen (131–200 A.D.) perhaps the greatest force in the history of medicine, the study of whose writings at the time of the Renaissance is regarded as the starting-point of modern medical science. All this comes long after the period we have now reached; but it is introduced here to show how continuous was the intellectual life of the Greek world, and how even in this late period it was still from Greeks that the thoughts were coming which ruled the world.

Syria.

But to return, while Ptolemy established a Greek dynasty in Egypt, Seleucus did the same by the banks of the Euphrates. Much of the Eastern possessions of Alexander were soon lost and the actual possessions of the Seleucid Empire were usually limited to Syria. Nor can we trace to Syria influences of the same beneficial kind that we have found in Ptolemaic Egypt. But Greek cities and Greek art flourished there, and it was through Syria that Greek influences penetrated Judea right down to the birth of Christ. The Syrian rulers claimed the title of "King of Kings," and were swollen with pride and contempt for other nations; but no state collapsed so immediately as Syria, when it came into collision with the legions of Rome.

Macedonia.

The successors of Alexander ruled with more firmly rooted power in Macedonia. There was a long period of confusion, but then the crown of Macedonia fell into the power of the descendants of Antigonus, one of the generals of Alexander, and they retained it until the Roman power came to dispossess them in the second century B.C. They never ruled, however, over all the territory that had belonged to King Philip. Greece struggled against the yoke, and though the Macedonian kings kept a kind of preeminence in the land by means of garrisons in certain fortresses (which were called the Fetters of Greece) they never directly controlled the cities or the people of Greece. East of Macedonia Thrace lived for the most part in masterless confusion until, in the first century of the Christian era, it was made into

a Roman province. Westward Epirus broke off into a separate kingdom, which, under its King Pyrrhus, played an important part in Roman history.

Asia Minor.

Asia Minor was never controlled by any one of the followers of Alexander. It was fiercely contested for between them, and so its various divisions managed to maintain a large measure of independence. The peninsula was a strange mixture of states. Kingdoms like Pontus and Pergamus, cities like Rhodes, republics, tyrannies, confederations, empires—all are to be found on the coasts of Asia Minor; and in the interior there was the strange community of Galatia, consisting of Gauls, men of the same wide-spread race as the inhabitants of Gaul then and Wales and Ireland now, who had poured into the Balkan peninsula, and, after doing much damage in Greece and elsewhere, had found a permanent home in Asia Minor. Their wanderings are an early incident in that great movement of the peoples which we shall be so much concerned with at the fall of the Roman Empire in the 4th and 5th centuries.

Thirlwall carries his history on to the Roman conquest of Greece. Grote ends with the death of Alexander: Curtius with the battle of Chæroneia. Arrian's *History of Alexander's Campaigns* is the nearest approach to a contemporary narrative. Plutarch's Alexander is one of his finest works. Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought from the Age of Alexander to the Roman Conquest*; *the Empire of the Ptolemies*; *the Silver Age of the Greek World*. Bevan's *House of Seleucus*. Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*.

CHAPTER VIII

The Rise of Rome and Her Early Constitutional Struggles

If Alexander had carried out his intention of attacking the lands of the western Mediterranean he would have encountered strong powers. He would have found on the north coast of Africa in Carthage a vigorous and warlike community

which it would have required all his efforts to overthrow. And if he had gone to Italy he would have found Rome, already strong and conscious of her greatness, but engaged in a desperate struggle with her neighbours the Samnites. If Alexander had thrown his weight on the side of the Samnites, who can say what the consequences would have been for Rome and through Rome for the world! We must turn back now to see what kind of state this was that was working out its great destiny by the banks of the Tiber.

Rome and Greece compared.

The Romans and the Greeks come before us in ancient history as great contrasts, both in character and in achievement. Greece is the fountain head of art, science, philosophy; from Rome Europe has derived its ideas of law and government. The Greeks were changeable, the Romans were conservative; the whole bent of the Greek mind was æsthetic and speculative; the Romans were practical and excelled pre-eminently in administration and war. But it must always be remembered that the Romans and the Greeks were nearly akin to one another; their languages were closely related; under all dissimilarities there was a great likeness in their religion and their institutions. Above all, despite the vast difference of their destinies, despite the fact that Rome established the most enduring of all known empires, and Greece established nothing in the political sphere which was enduring at all, they start from the same point. Rome, like Athens or Corinth or Sparta, begins as a city state.

The obscure origins of Rome.

The clouds that surround the early history of Rome are peculiarly difficult to penetrate. When Rome arrived at full national self-consciousness she turned with great pride to her own past. Her poets and historians told with loving care and without conscious deceit the legends and early history of the small state which had grown so large. But they read into that early history their own institutions of a later date and their own imperial ideals. They amplified hints that had been handed down by early tradition, and when there were no hints they frankly invented. The result is one of great interest and value; but the value is not primarily a historical

one. The legends must always be read as showing us the ideals of Rome at her best. They are indeed the Bible of the Romans. But we cannot accept them as a narrative of facts. It is not for us here to attempt to distinguish truth from legend in these early stories, but rather to recount the little that may be known about the beginnings of Rome.

Italy, like Greece, is a land in which the mountains and the sea have played a great part in moulding the destinies of the people. But Italy is not broken up into self-contained districts as Greece was, nor has she the indented coast that gave to Greece so many harbours and roadsteads.

Geography of Italy.

The great range of the Apennines runs from the west to the east across the great northern plain, but then keeps close to the east coast for most of its course. Hence, except for the great river Po, the rivers on the east coast are small, and unimportant, while all the chief streams enter the sea on the west. In the early days of navigation Italy communicated easily with the western islands—with Sicily, Sardinia, and even with the north coast of Africa; but communication with Greece and the east was a more difficult matter. About the middle of the west coast of Italy the Tiber makes its way into the sea, carrying down from the Apennines for most of the year a rapid flood which was, however, navigable by the small ships of the time. Fifteen miles from the mouth a group of low hills rose on its left (eastern) bank, and a fortified post on one of these, the Palatine hill, is the real beginning of Rome. Rome was from a very early date a commercial centre of importance. The wares of the Latin communities on the left bank and even of the Etruscans on the right were there taken aboard and conveyed down to the mouth of the river and thence to other ports of Italy and perhaps to foreign countries. There was probably a time when at least two communities were to be found among the seven hills, but they had at a very early date been all absorbed into one,

The Kings of Rome.

and that was surrounded by a ring wall, the building of which was ascribed to one of the early kings of Rome, Servius Tullius. Of these kings history or legend gives us the names of seven. It is at least certain that Rome

was at first ruled by kings, and that these kings were of the type which has been made familiar to us in the pages of Homer. The King of Rome commanded in war and administered justice, but he was far from absolute. By his side was the Senate, the council of Elders as its name may be translated, and the citizens had also a meeting of their own, something analogous to the Ecclesia of the Athenians. The relations between these different elements of the state would be decided by custom and tradition, not by law. But monarchy proved an unstable form of government in Rome as in Greece. Tarquin the Proud is given as the name of the last king, and his expulsion is dated at the year 510 B.C.

The early Republic.

Rome was henceforth a republic. The place of the king in the constitution was taken by two magistrates called consuls, who were elected for a year, and during that year commanded the armies and were the chief magistrates within the city. But if they had in their joint hands the functions of the king they were far from ruling with the power of a king. Each was checked by his own colleague; they ruled only for a year; and during that year they were expected to pay the greatest deference to the Senate. The Senate was indeed the great institution of Rome. It consisted of the great men of the city, who held their places in it for life. Its duties were nominally only to advise the magistrates, but it came to be the real ruler of the Roman state; for its members were all experienced in public affairs, and their life tenure of office gave them a natural ascendancy over the constantly changing magistrates. The third element yet remains to be noticed. The citizens met in their assemblies (*comitia*). The chief of these was the *comitia centuriata*, or the meeting of the *centuries*. Here the citizens were arranged according to the rank they would hold when called upon for military service, and the votes were given in such a way that wealth and not numbers really decided the issue. The *comitia* had great if indefinite powers; they elected the consuls; they acted as a court of appeal from the decisions of the consuls; and they made the laws of the state. The history of Rome shows us great rivalry between the three elements of the state that we have mentioned. For the

greater part of the history of the republic it is the Senate which really rules; but the time came when its authority was challenged by the popular assembly with success; but the power of the people was short-lived, and led quickly up

Races in Italy.

to the triumph of the executive part of the state, and this triumph brings in the empire. This evolution took close on five hundred years to accomplish.

At the close of the regal period it must have seemed most unlikely that the future of the Italian peninsula lay with Rome. She was by no means the strongest or most civilized

state in the peninsula. Such a title would probably have been deserved by the Etruscans who lay both to the north and south of Rome. This strange people, whose origins are still undetermined, and whose language is still unread, was stronger in numbers and richer than Rome; it had, moreover, made more progress in the arts of life; Rome in the end owed much to it in architecture and religious ideas. In the south of the peninsula were a number of Greek states of whom we have seen something already. Cumæ and Tarentum especially exhibited all the usual features of a Greek city; and beyond the straits of Messina there was the great city of Syracuse, which seemed likely at one time to establish her rule over all Sicily, and much of Italy. And besides these representatives of ancient civilization there were in the north, in the plains of what is now called Lombardy, the Gauls, warlike, excitable, and akin to the great race which inhabited Gaul beyond the Alps. The centre and south of Italy was full of a people akin to the Romans but more backward. Among these the Samnites are the best known name. They were the highlanders of Italy, and with them Rome waged her longest and most doubtful wars.

The races of Italy.

The task which lay before Rome was not merely one of external conquest. She had also her own internal troubles and her settlement of these is at once one of her greatest achievements and the condition of her foreign triumphs. The state seemed threatened by a civil strife, which might have rent it in twain and taken it from the list of great Italian powers. For in Rome there was a privileged class, which eagerly defended its position against an unprivileged class, which no less eagerly demanded admission within the charmed circle. The privileged class consisted of the *patricians*, and represents the old citizens of Rome; the unprivileged, the *plebeians*, were of diverse origin, but they were alike in being excluded from participation in the honours of the state. The plebeians indeed, like the patricians, were admitted to a vote in the *comitia* of the centuries, but in that assembly wealth, as we have seen, could outweigh numbers, and no plebeian

Domestic troubles of Rome.

was admitted to the consulship or to any office of the state. The plebeians do not seem to have been cruelly treated. They were not like the helots of Sparta; they were in a position superior to that of the resident aliens of Athens. But in history revolutions have usually come not from those who have nothing, but from those who, having already much, demand more. In addition to their political grievances the plebeians had serious social grievances. The law of debt was hard upon them, for if they were not able to repay what they borrowed they became the slaves of those who had lent them money. It was the social rather than the political grievance which led to their first rising. In 494 they demanded redress of their grievances, and upon refusal they determined to withdraw from Rome. They marched out to a hill not far from Rome—the Sacred Hill it was called—and there announced their intention of forming a separate state if their wishes were not granted. Rome could not exist without them, and the patricians had to yield. The form which their surrender took is a curious one. The plebeians were not admitted to the rights of patricians, but they were henceforth to have an organization and magistrates of their own. These magistrates were to be called *tribunes of the people;* of these magistrates there were in the end ten. Their powers and their history are the strangest thing in the Roman constitution. Their chief powers consisted in checking and annulling the action of the ordinary magistrates of the state. Thus they could interfere with the decision of any magistrate and procure an appeal to the people; they could absolutely veto the action of any magistrate and prevent any proposal from being brought before the *comitia* of the centuries. But they had also direct and positive powers of their own. They could try certain cases; above all, they could summon the assembly of the people not in the arrangement of *centuries*, which gave the predominance to wealth, but in the formation of the *tribes*, where votes were of practically equal value, and could then propose measures which, however, would be binding upon the plebeians only. Thus the organization of the plebeians becomes a state within a state; in some of its features

The first secession of the plebs, 494 B.C.

it reminds us of a strong trades-union in its dealings with the masters. It was an institution which would have brought the whole state to a standstill if it had been used purely in the interests of a party. That such an institution should have worked on the whole well, and lasted as long as the republic lasted, is decisive testimony to the strong public spirit which was to be found in Rome through all her fierce party strife.

But this solution of 494 could not be final. The two parties must be welded into one state. We will briefly mark the stages of this process, but it must be remembered that it took place while Rome was engaged in her struggle for dominion in Italy, and stands in close connection with that struggle. Had it not been for the pressure of foreign war it is probable that the patricians would have resisted more tenaciously.

The twelve tables of the Roman law.

The next great step came in 449. First the plebeians demanded that the laws of Rome should be drawn up and made public. Hitherto the law of Rome had been merely customary, and the patrician judges were the only interpreters of the customs. The plebeians at Rome, like the unprivileged classes in the early history of Athens, felt that to be safe from the arbitrary action of the magistrates the first thing necessary was that they should know what laws they had to obey. So a commission was appointed, and the laws of the twelve tables were drawn up and made public, and the first step had been taken which was ultimately to lead to the codification of the Roman laws and their recognition as an authority throughout Europe. But no sooner had the laws been made and published than further demands were put forward. There was another threat of withdrawal, and then in 449 came the next decisive victory for the plebeians. By what are known as the Valerian laws it was decided that the decisions of the people in their tribes should be binding on the whole people of Rome. It was a great step towards the unification of the state. There were now two assemblies—the centuries and the tribes; the one plutocratic in character, the other thoroughly democratic. Different sorts of business were brought before them, but their decisions were equally binding on all. The chief political

The equalization of the orders.

grievance of the plebeians was now their exclusion from office. They had to wait seventy years before this grievance was entirely remedied, but in 445 a great part of it was removed. It was then decided by a curious compromise (and yet it is characteristic of the conservative Romans to yield the substance while withholding the name), that in each year it should be possible either to choose *consuls*, in which case they must be patricians as before, or "*military tribunes with consular powers*," in which case they might be either plebeians or patricians. After this it was social rather than political grievances which agitated Rome. The poor plebeians complained that, in the division of the land which Rome in her ever victorious march took from the conquered peoples of Italy, the patricians and the rich plebeians got far more than their fair share, and that the poor plebeians were practically neglected. The tension over this question seems to have been very bitter, but in 377 B.C. two tribunes proposed the Licinian laws, which were passed ten years later. These laws were partly economic in character; limiting the amount of public land which each citizen might hold, and ordering the employment of a certain proportion of free labourers. These regulations bear witness to the growing social evils of the time, and will come before us again. The political part of the Licinian laws was more simple. The consulship was re-established, and it was enacted that one consul must always be a plebeian and that both might be.

The Licinian laws.

We may regard the struggle between patricians and plebeians as ending here, though minor privileges were still for a time obstinately defended. From henceforth the citizens were all on a practically equal basis. It had been a remarkable struggle. The Romans said, probably with some exaggeration, that the issue had been reached without the shedding of blood. Certainly there have been few contests of such importance in history decided by such peaceful and legal means. And undoubtedly one result of this was that a contest which might have torn the state in pieces, had only resulted in producing a firmer union. Among the causes which gave Rome the victory over her enemies in the field the peaceful character of this constitutional struggle is perhaps the chief.

One other point must be noticed before we pass on to the conquest of Italy. When the kings had been abolished their place had been taken by two consuls, and for some time these were the only magistrates in the state. But their authority had now been divided among several officials. Prætors had been appointed to act as judicial magistrates; censors to make out the lists of citizens and to fill up the ranks of the Senate; ædiles to attend to the order and sanitation of Rome; and after the Licinian laws the tribunes cease to be merely opposition magistrates, and take their part in the ordinary administration of the state. The dictatorship was something different in character from all other magistracies of the state. There seems to us to be too little authority in Rome to cope with her constant military needs, and, though this lack was to some extent remedied by the permanence and public spirit of the Senate, it was a real one. But in times of real difficulty the Romans were accustomed to give to their state the concentration and rapidity which a military crisis demand by the appointment of a *dictator*. He held office only for half a year but during that time he was absolute. It was in effect the re-establishment of the monarchy for a limited period.

The executive officials

Good histories of Rome, on a large scale, are more difficult to find than histories of Greece. The greatest history of the Roman Republic is without doubt Mommsen's *History of Rome*, which goes to the death of Julius Cæsar. Heitland's *Roman Republic* (3 vols.) has recently been published, and gives a critical and careful account of the whole period: it is valuable, too, for its references, which are entirely lacking in Mommsen. Duruy's *History of Rome*, translated from the French, is a lucid account, and is well illustrated. Of the smaller histories those by How and Leigh, Shuckburgh, and Wells may be mentioned. The early history of Rome is mostly derived from Livy's History, in which he traced the history of Rome from its foundation to the age of Augustus. Much of it has been lost, but the early books remain, and the early history of Rome must be largely a criticism of these. Niebuhr was the first historian to question their accuracy. Ihne's *Early Rome* gives within a small compass the sceptical view of early Roman history. The legends of the regal and early republican period, even if they are only legends, are full of interest for the light they throw on Roman character and thought.

CHAPTER IX

The Roman Conquest of Italy

The neighbours and enemies of Rome.

It is difficult to trace the long series of campaigns by which Rome made herself mistress of the peninsula from Luca and the Rubicon on the north to the Ionian sea on the south, for the accounts which have come down to us are coloured by national pride, and in many ways unsatisfactory. Nor do we need to do more than trace the main stages and to determine if we can the causes of the victory of Rome over rivals who seemed at first to have many advantages compared to her. The earliest neighbours of Rome were the Etruscans on the north, and on the south the Latins. With the Latins she was from the first in intimate and friendly relations, and it was as head of the Latin league that she struggled with the Etruscans. Had these been united their numbers and their wealth must have given them the victory over Rome, but there was nothing but a loose federation among their various cities, and Rome could direct her forces against the neighbouring town of Veii alone. Beyond the Latins to the south there were other races akin to them with whom, however, the Latins were at constant feud. The chief were the Æqui, the Volsci, and the Hernicans. From the time of her earliest conflicts Rome observed one principle which guided her to the end. *Divide et impera* was her chief maxim in dealing with external dangers, "divide in order to conquer." So Rome made alliance with the Hernicans, who lay between the Æqui and the Volsci, and in their company made intermittent war against the others. After a struggle which lasted for nearly sixty years the Volscians and Æquians were subdued, and, though they rose in rebellion again, Rome always maintained the mastery. An equally important event was the conquest of Veii, which is dated in the year 396. But when Rome was thus becoming a power of some importance she found herself suddenly face to face with a new and terrible

danger. A great Gallic force had for some time been attacking the Etruscans from the north; and now, having forced their way through Etruscan opposition, this army fell upon the Romans. The two armies met at the river Allia (390) not far from Rome, and the Roman troops were swept away by the impetuous charge of the Gauls with their two-handed swords. The city of Rome was taken, and it might seem that her career was finished. And yet it is probable that the Gallic invasion rather helped than injured the Romans. The Etruscans were permanently weakened, but the closer union and higher public spirit of the Romans allowed them to revive, and when the Gallic flood had ebbed we soon find them as strong as ever, fighting against enemies who were notably weaker. But it is not until after the consolidation of the state, as a result of the Licinian laws, that the decisive onward movement begins. Then we see the Etruscan cities defeated one by one; and, when the Gauls again attempted to interfere in Italian affairs, they were decisively defeated by the Romans. Rome became a power known beyond the confines of Italy, and entered into friendly relations with the great commercial state of Carthage, which was destined to be her most dangerous rival. Then in 343 began the real tussle with the Samnites for the mastery of Italy.

Battle of the Allia.

The defeat of the Etruscans by the Romans.

The Samnite wars began in that year, and it is difficult to say when they ended. The year 290 B.C. is sometimes given as the end, but the war was continued under other names after that, and the last embers of Samnite resistance were not stamped out until the year 82 B.C. But it is perhaps a mistake to speak of the Samnite wars at all. What passes by that name is really a series of wars in which every racial element in Italy, in turn or in alliance, strove to throw off the Roman yoke. We see engaged in this contest the Latins, the Etruscans, the Greeks, the Sabines, and in the end a Macedonian army from across the Adriatic sea; but the fiercest and most tenacious enemies of Rome were the Samnites themselves. In any movement against Rome they were always to be found as an important element. They were the highlanders of Italy; racially akin to the Romans but less civilized and less

The Samnite wars.

commercial. Their mountain fastnesses were a great defence to them, and before the end came they had inflicted on Rome many serious defeats.

The beginning of the Samnite wars is dated in 343. The rich district of Campania had been overrun by them, and the Campanians in their extremity appealed to Rome. A short campaign drove out the Samnites from Campania and substituted the suzerainty of Rome for that of the Samnites in that lovely country. Before the next Samnite war the Romans had to overcome a danger close to their own doors. Rome was the head of the Latin League, and the Latins had given them loyal support in their wars. But now the victories of Rome were raising her to a position of mastery rather than presidency in the league, and the Latins demanded equality. They asked that in each year one of the consuls should be a Latin, and Rome's refusal brought war at once. A war of two years brought the Latins to their knees; the League was dissolved, and Rome, true to her policy of "division," made separate treaties with each state in it. Ten years later (in 327) came the second Samnite war. In this Rome had to fight almost for her existence. A Roman army under two consuls was entrapped, and forced to lay down its arms; Roman colonies were taken; as the balance of the war seemed to incline against Rome other races joined with the Samnites in the attempt to destroy her power; the war became a struggle between Rome and the combined forces of central Italy. But Rome fought on with the greatest endurance and came victoriously through all. In 304 the Samnites had to accept the terms of Rome; the Etruscans and some of the other combatants had retired from the struggle earlier. But the peace was only a breathing space, and in 298 the Samnites took up arms again, and again the Etruscans joined with them. The chief seat of the war this time was Etruria, and a Samnite army marched to co-operate there. But in 295 the allies were defeated by the Romans in the great battle of Sentinum, high up the Tiber valley, and in 290 the Samnites again made terms with Rome. But Rome still was engaged in constant fighting in the peninsula. The

First Samnite war.

Second Samnite war.

Third Samnite war.

Etruscans rose once more and called on certain tribes of the Gauls for help. A decisive defeat at Lake Vadimo established the supremacy of the Romans over both races on a firm basis. Then in 281 Rome had to face a danger of a new kind. The Greek cities of the south coasts had hitherto taken little share in the wars of Italy. They had probably seen with pleasure the advance of the more civilized power of Rome, and the defeat of the barbarous Samnites. But Rome's conquests had now brought her into touch with the Greeks themselves, and the future relation of Rome with these outposts of Hellenic culture had to be decided. Of the Greek cities of the South Tarentum was much the most important. Her splendid harbour and strong defensive position were bound to give her great importance in the Ionian sea, whether for commerce or war. Rome had already made a treaty with Tarentum; but an attack on Roman ships in the harbour of Tarentum brought on war in spite of this treaty. With a light heart the Tarentines decided upon war. But they soon cooled in their enthusiasm, as they discovered how superior were the forces of Rome to anything they could bring forward. They looked round for allies, and they induced Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, to come over to their assistance.

War with the Greeks and with Pyrrhus.

The Kingdom of Epirus was a fragment of the empire of Alexander and still maintained much of his military traditions. Pyrrhus was a soldier of repute who had made a special study of tactics and the art of war. The Romans, therefore, would now have to make the acquaintance of the Macedonian phalanx under the command of an excellent soldier. They would have to oppose their short swords to the long sarissæ, their loose formation to the dense pack of the phalanx. Pyrrhus, moreover, would have under his command a number of elephants, and the Romans had had no experience of them or their effects in battle. If the war that followed had found any worthy historian it would have been one of the most interesting in Roman history. The general result is plain. The tactics and weapons of the Romans were at first quite unequal to the struggle; they were beaten in battle after battle. And yet they won the

Rome and Epirus compared.

campaign! To understand this is to understand the secret of the greatness of Rome. Rome won not by mere physical courage nor by military ardour (though she possessed both), but by statesmanship, by endurance, by the loyalty of her citizens, and by the fidelity of her allies. All the south of Italy joined Pyrrhus—the Greeks, the Lucanians, the Bruttians, and many of the Samnites. But the centre of Italy did not rise at the appeal of Pyrrhus, and Rome could raise more troops to take the place of those she had lost; she could think out new methods of fighting; and she refused to bow her head to disaster. Pyrrhus, too, had his difficulties with his Greek allies, who did not relish his efforts to drill and organize them. So he accepted an invitation from the Greeks of Sicily, and went over to save them from the Carthaginians. He won many victories, but failed to drive them from their last stronghold in Lilybæum. He returned to Italy again in 276, but he found that, since he left Italy, many of his allies had fallen away from him, and that the Romans were notably stronger. A battle fought at Beneventum, in the heart of Samnium, resulted in the entire defeat of his phalanx and his elephants. Pyrrhus now abandoned Italy and soon after was killed in an obscure struggle. The victory of the Romans was the victory of a people over a splendid leader of mercenary soldiers; their moral qualities and their wise policy had defeated Pyrrhus as they defeated the Carthaginians a century later. "Had I been King of the Romans," Pyrrhus is related to have said, "I should have conquered the world." Tarentum, and all the Greek towns of Italy soon surrendered, and the Romans were masters of all that they called Italy, for it must be remembered that they did not include under that name the Lombard plain and the valley of Po. The position which Rome had acquired in Italy had drawn the attention of powers outside of Italy. The Carthaginians had concluded an alliance with her; Egypt had made a treaty with her. Her future military and foreign problems will lie outside of Italy. She has become a Mediterranean state, and she will have to consider her relations with the other Mediterranean states.

We have marked the stages by which the city of the seven

hills became the mistress of all Italy. This was a great achievement in itself; but there had been greater conquests made before this, for instance by Alexander the Great. But the unique fact about Rome's conquests is that they are permanent. The wars of Greece leave little more trace than the breaking of waves in mid-ocean; the empire of Alexander was no sooner won than it began to break up; but Rome's acquisitions are the beginning of the public order of Europe. It is necessary to consider the causes of Rome's victories, and of their duration. Stress must always be laid on the intellectual character of Rome's military methods. Of all the nations of antiquity she trusted least to the mere fighting of battles. So careful were her preparations that a lost battle was soon recovered and a victory was made a stepping-stone to further gains. The discipline of the Roman armies was equalled only by that of the Spartans; and, while it was as thorough as that of the Spartans, it was far less rigid, and left more to the responsibility of the individual; the legion was a collection of men each with his appointed place, but each with a certain amount of initiative; it was not a machine like the Macedonian phalanx. The building of Roman roads allowed the armies of Rome to strike at the enemy with a rapidity hitherto unknown. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the Romans were the inventors of the road as distinguished from the track, and it requires an effort of the imagination to understand how important the invention was. The roads in the end were of great assistance to commerce, but their first object was military. They carried the armies of Rome swiftly into the heart of the enemy's country; they allowed them to suppress a rising before it had time to organize itself; they fulfilled all the purposes of the railways on the frontier of India. It was the second Samnite war which led to the building of the great roads. The first was the Appian way which ran from Rome into Campania. Later in the war other roads were built, north and south-east, into the disaffected districts, and the Appian way was prolonged through the heart of Samnium, and ended at Brundisium. If they were left unprotected the roads might have led the

The permanence of the conquests of Rome, and its causes.

Discipline.

Roads.

enemy to Rome as well as Roman soldiers against the enemy. But the roads were held by an elaborate system of Roman colonies. By this word the Romans meant something very different from what it has meant at any other point in history. The Roman colony was merely a permanent garrison settled in an enemy's country, and paid with the lands of the conquered people. The colonists remained citizens of Rome if they were so to begin with (some of the colonists did not possess the full Roman franchise); they were bound to maintain their military efficiency and to guard the interests of Rome in their districts, and, above all, to guard the roads. From them spring many of the most important of the Italian towns.

Colonies

Discipline, colonies, roads—these are the chief clues to the military successes of Rome. But they would have been unavailing if they had not been supported by statesmanship of a high order in dealing with the conquered districts. Rome did not in name annex the districts which she conquered in Italy; she made alliances with them; they were technically called her *socii*—her allies. In all these alliances there was one common condition; all were bound to supply specified contingents to the Roman armies and from henceforth the Roman armies were largely composed of the allies; most of them also paid taxation to the Roman treasury. But if military service was the universal condition there was in all else great variation of treatment. The allies, the Romans felt, must be divided in interest in order that they might be governed. If we examine Italy at the close of the Pyrrhic wars we can see the following classes of communities. First the Roman citizens: these were not to be found only in Rome and the neighbourhood, but also in the Roman colonies, and in certain towns to which the Roman franchise had been given as a special reward. Then came a number of communities, which possessed not the Roman but the Latin franchise. Such communities had the management of their own affairs; they could trade freely, and they could intermarry with the Romans; individual citizens could also obtain full Roman franchise. But they were clearly on

Rome's dealings with the conquered.

a footing a little inferior to the Romans, and in war they served not in the legions but in special divisions. Next came the allies with varying rights, but all possessed of a large power of self-government and all bound to serve in the Roman auxiliary forces. Their relations with one another and their communications with Rome were limited by strict conditions.

Such was the Roman system. Contrast it with the way in which the Athenians or the Spartans treated those whom they had conquered, and it at once becomes apparent how much more generous was the practice of the Romans. They were rewarded for the generosity of their statesmanship. Their allies remained faithful to them on the whole, in spite of sore trials and great temptations to desert them. It was the political quite as much as the military wisdom of the Romans which allowed them to absorb Italy in Rome, and then on that basis to spread the Roman dominion over all Mediterranean lands.

Another feature of Roman victories deserves mention in concluding this chapter. She had constantly had recourse to the appointment of a dictator to meet the stress of the war. During the period of the Gallic wars Camillus was appointed dictator five times, if the current narrative of these events may be accepted, and his heroism, generosity, and miraculous good fortune were among the most cherished legends of the Roman people. There were dictators also appointed during the stress of the Samnite wars. The procedure is characteristically Roman, and bears witness to the sound political insight of the Romans, and also to the confidence which they felt in one another, even during the period of their bitterest political struggles. They loved liberty with a strong though sober passion ; but they realized, too, that there were occasions when liberty must be sacrificed for the sake of efficiency, and that war required at times greater rapidity and more complete secrecy than could be secured by debates in the *comitia* and the Senate. The common devotion to the state was at the same time sufficient to dispel the fear that a dictator would refuse to lay down his power when his term of six months had come to an end. Everywhere in

Dictatorship.

early Roman history it is the character of the people that most calls for our admiration. Rome seems greater than her greatest men.

The references of the last chapter will apply to this. Plutarch's Lives of Camillus and Pyrrhus.

CHAPTER X

Rome and Carthage

ROME was mistress of Italy; but Italy was not destined to be the limit of her conquests, but rather the beginning of her career of empire. For Italy is not a really self-contained whole. Sicily is almost a part of Italy, and when once Sicily is occupied, the shore of Africa lies temptingly or dangerously near. Nor could it be a matter of indifference to the rulers of Italy whether Sardinia and Corsica were ruled by a hostile or a friendly state. Thus Rome was drawn on into a struggle much greater than she intended, and found herself committed to a contest for dominion over all Mediterranean lands.

The first and the greatest of the wars fought for this end was that with Carthage. History is perhaps not sufficiently generous to the Carthaginians. Only insignificant fragments of their literature and of their art have come down to us, and we have to collect the story of their institutions, and of their rise and fall from the mouths of their enemies and destroyers. They do not seem to have contributed much, or much that is good, to European culture; but this verdict would perhaps be modified if we knew more about them. The Carthaginians were the leading Semitic state. They were an offshoot from Tyre, and their settlements—rather trading centres than colonies—were to be found all along the seaboard of the western Mediterranean. They were a people whose interests and motives were almost wholly commercial. The Greeks were eager traders, and the Romans conducted their policy with a view to commercial advantage.

Carthage and the Carthaginians.

But neither the Greeks nor the Romans were so exclusively devoted to commerce as the Carthaginians. They were in the north of Africa an immigrant and a conquering race, and they never succeeded in attaching to themselves the original inhabitants of the land. As compared with that of the Romans their polity lacked unity and cohesion. In place of the citizen armies of Rome we find, when we look to Carthage, troops of mercenaries, whose only interest was their pay; and though they fought excellently and showed surprising devotion when they were led by capable generals, they could not be relied upon to sustain adversity as the Roman armies could be. And, while Rome had succeeded "by patience and policy" in attaching the peoples of Italy to her, the Carthaginians seem to have made no effort in that direction. The native population had been subdued, but it remained hostile and a ready ally for any invader. Carthage had at first been a monarchy, but in the middle of the third century B.C., it had become an exclusive commercial oligarchy, which resembles in some ways the constitution of Venice in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D. A council of 104 members, which filled up vacancies as they occurred, was the chief power; but an independent and almost unlimited power was allowed to generals in the field. Of the intellectual development of Carthage we cannot speak. Of her religion more is known. Its gloom and cruelty stand in marked contrast to the brightness of the Greek and the social character of the Roman cults. The chief deity was Baal who was honoured with human sacrifices, and Astarte concerning whose rites strange stories of licentious orgies were told.

Contrast between Rome and Carthage.

The Romans had long known the Carthaginians, and had more than once co-operated with them against a common foe. Sicily was the scene of their first contest. The Carthaginians had marked the island for their own, though they had never succeeded in ousting the Greek states from independent control of a part of the east of the island. When, therefore, the Romans on a flimsy excuse occupied Messana, their action led to a contest with Carthage,

Carthage in Sicily.

in which the original grievance was soon lost sight of, and the prize was clearly the dominion of the island. The first Punic or Carthaginian war lasted from 264 to 241, and must not be given even in outline here. Apart from many romantic details the chief interest of the war is to be found in the contest for naval supremacy which underlay and determined the whole struggle. Carthage was a great maritime state already; the Romans, on the other hand, though they had found it necessary to create a fleet during the Samnite wars, were almost without fighting ships or naval experience. Yet under the pressure of necessity they created a fleet, and in the end defeated that of the Carthaginians, and so won the island of Sicily. The achievement was, perhaps, later exaggerated by legend; but the main features are historical; and the story is in the highest degree characteristic of Rome and her military successes. She built ships from the model of a Carthaginian "quinquireme" which was drifted ashore; she drilled her rowers on dry land; she invented a novel grappling instrument—the famous raven—which was let down on to the deck of the enemy when he approached near enough, and thus converted the naval battle into a hand to hand encounter of soldiers. By these means Rome gained two great victories near the beginning of the war, and in 256 conducted a large expedition to Africa, and seemed likely to bring the war to a sudden end by the capture of Carthage herself. But then there came a series of disappointments. The army, which was landed in Africa, was defeated; storms destroyed more than one well-equipped Roman fleet; and even in Sicily itself, where the Romans seemed supreme, two towns, Panormus, and Lilybæum, held out with unexpected tenacity. It was indeed round the siege of the last-named fortress that the last scenes of the war turned. The Carthaginians found a commander of real genius in Hamilcar Barca, and Roman fleets and armies suffered annoying and expensive checks. But the dragging nature of the war was not only due to Hamilcar's genius. The Romans were in hard straits for money, and it is due to financial reasons that the last stages of the war were for long so indecisive. At last by a great effort, which

First Punic war: the struggle for naval supremacy.

was as much the work of individuals as of the state, the Carthaginian fleet was again decisively defeated before Lilybæum. and this victory at last forced the Carthaginians to submit (241). The Carthaginian power disappeared from Sicily. A portion of the east side of the island was still in the hands of Syracuse, but the rest was annexed by Rome, and became her first oversea Province. The same qualities of invertiveness and tenacity which had given her the rule over Italy had now carried her safely over the first stage of her Imperial career.

End of the first Punic war (241 B.C.).

But the power of Carthage was by no means broken, and another and more stubborn struggle could be clearly foreseen. There was peace between the two powers from 241 to 218 B.C., and then came the greatest of all Rome's wars, the decisive contest with Carthage, the second Punic war. But important events came before that war broke out, and they much modified the relations of the combatants, and influenced the character of the campaign. On the side of Rome the most important fact is that Rome pushed her dominion, or perhaps rather her claims, up to the Alps. The land between the Alps and the Apennines was inhabited by the Gauls, a race akin to the inhabitants of the land which is now called France, and to the warriors who had in 390 inflicted on Rome such an overwhelming defeat. For strategic reasons the Romans must have desired to reach the Alps, and the rich plain through which the Po makes its way to the sea was very valuable for agriculture. In a series of campaigns the Gauls were defeated in their mountain and forest fastnesses. Scipio and Flaminius—names soon to be better known in a greater contest—are associated with the war, and to the last named belongs the beginning of the great road which ultimately led the Romans up by the banks of the Tiber across the Apennines to Ravenna, and so into the heart of Cis-Alpine Gaul. But, though the country was nominally conquered, the population remained unsubdued, and soon welcomed an opportunity of throwing off the Roman yoke. To this period also belongs another extension of the Roman sway. The Romans possessed Sicily already; during this period they obtained possession of Sardinia and Corsica as well.

Roman conquests in Cis-Alpine Gaul.

The islands owned the sway of the Carthaginians, but Carthage ceded them to Rome rather than provoke another contest.

Carthage during this interval made gains almost as important as those of Rome. It probably seemed to contemporaries that they were greater. For the loss of the islands must have seemed brilliantly compensated for by the acquisition of Spain. The conquest of Spain was the work of the great family which had already given Hamilcar to the first Carthaginian war. Hamilcar himself, after settling a desperate outbreak of the mercenary troops, had taken the first steps in the conquest of the peninsula ; his work was then taken up by his brother Hasdrubal, and after Hasdrubal's death it was carried forward by the greatest of all Carthaginian names, Hannibal. Hannibal was the son of Hamilcar, he had been associated with his father in his early Spanish campaigns, and he had sworn perpetual hatred to the Roman name. Under his guidance the Carthaginian arms passed victoriously up to the Pyrenees. It was doubtless a superficial conquest, but at least there was no power in Spain which could venture to meet Carthage in the open field. In 219 Hannibal laid siege to Saguntum, and with its fall the conquest of the peninsula would be completed. But Saguntum placed itself under the protection of Rome, and the Romans ordered Hannibal to desist from his attack on their ally. He disdainfully refused and though the siege ended after eight months in the victory of Hannibal, it was clearly only the prelude to an immediate war with Rome.

Carthaginian conquest of Spain.

Rome faced the war without misgivings. Armies were levied and sent to Spain. It was assumed that the war would be fought there. But the Romans had not yet learnt to know Hannibal.

It has been a matter of frequent controversy how far the course of history has been the work of great individuals of genius, how far of general causes over which the individual has little control. It can hardly be doubted that the character and continuation of the second Carthaginian war were largely the result of Hannibal's own genius and determination. European history knows no greater

The military greatness of Hannibal.

soldier. His name stands with those of Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, and Napoleon. But his fame is deservedly greater than theirs in one respect. Their victories were won over enemies clearly inferior to themselves for certain plain reasons; Alexander defeated the effete power of Persia and the barbarous races of the further east; Cæsar's conquests were over the disunited forces of barbarous Gaul and the ill-disciplined and badly led forces of a weaker rival; Napoleon owed much of his triumphs to the enthusiasm of the French revolution, and the stagnation of the military systems of Europe. But Hannibal attacked Rome when Rome was at the very height of her power and efficiency, when the discipline and endurance of her troops were unsurpassed, when her government was in the highest degree capable, and her generals showed great talents for command. That Hannibal conquered and that Rome survived are striking testimonies to the high qualities of both combatants.

While Rome was preparing for a normal campaign in Spain, Hannibal had determined to carry the war into Italy itself. The Carthaginians could no longer rely on the naval control of the Mediterranean, and Hannibal therefore marched by land from Spain through the Pyrenean passes across France, and then entered on his amazing exploit, the crossing of the Alps. There have been several other generals down to the time of Napoleon who have gained or claimed a high fame for the crossing of these mountains with an army. But Hannibal's feat was immeasurably the most difficult of all. Without maps, with insufficient geographical knowledge, in face of hostile tribes, he carried his force of soldiers accustomed for the most part to the heat of Africa, and accompanied by elephants, over the snow-covered passes of the Alps, and down the steeper southern slopes on to the plains of Italy. The Roman forces were already *en route* for Spain, and had to be recalled to meet this danger almost at their own gates.

The campaigns which follow are among the best known in all history. Their outstanding features are these. Hannibal proved himself the master of the Romans whenever he met them on Italian battlefields, and his victories almost broke the nerve of the Republic. From 218 to 205 B.C. he marched from one

end of Italy to the other, and hardly met with a check. Why, then, did not Rome fall? The reason is to be found, as we shall see shortly, more in her character, constitution, and policy, than in military considerations; but even in the domain of war there were limits to Hannibal's successes. He was invincible on the battlefield, but he was not so successful in his sieges, and his general conduct of campaigns has not escaped criticism. Moreover, he was not well supported from home. This was due partly to the fact that the control of the sea had passed from Carthage, but it was also due to the jealousy which was felt for him by the politicians of Carthage. The war seems at times a duel between a man and a nation.

Second Punic war.

The course of the war must be very slightly sketched. When Hannibal had appeared in the northern plain of Italy he soon revealed his powers to the Romans. Their cavalry was defeated in an engagement fought on the Ticinus, and soon afterwards the Roman army was defeated with overwhelming loss in the great battle of the Trebia; a battle in which Hannibal showed his skill in arranging ambuscades, and the Roman foot gave proof of that endurance and discipline which was in the end to turn apparently hopeless defeat into victory. Then Hannibal crossed the Apennines, and, when the Roman army was sent to intercept him under Flaminius, he turned on it and defeated and destroyed it at the battle of Lake Trasimene. If Hannibal had marched on Rome after this second great victory might he not have taken Rome and destroyed her power at a blow? That is the question which the Romans often debated and history has never quite made up her mind about it. Hannibal decided against it. He hoped to crush Rome by surer means. After Trebia the Gauls of the north had joined him in great numbers, and he now hoped that the Italians of the centre would flock to his standards and throw off the hated yoke of Rome. It was a reasonable hope, but it turned out to be fallacious. The Italians did not hate Rome as the Africans hated Carthage. There were many defections, but the centre of Italy on the whole stood firmly by Rome, and their fidelity was her salvation.

Early victories of Hannibal.

Trebia and Trasimene were soon followed by an even greater disaster for the Romans. After Trasimene they had for some little time, on the advice of Fabius "the Delayer," whom they appointed dictator, refused to accept battle, and had confined themselves to watching and harassing their great enemy. But in 216 bolder councils prevailed. Newly elected consuls faced Hannibal with a large and high-spirited army at Cannæ in the south-east of Italy, and history knows of no more complete military disaster than that which fell upon them. They were out-manœuvred and then out-fought by the great Carthaginian; only a few thousands out of the great army survived. Hannibal's own officers urged him now at least to march on Rome; and in all probability they were right. But Hannibal pursued the same policy as after Trasimene. He would gather into his net all the discontented Italians, and all those who were over-awed by his triumphs. He could not doubt that most would come over now. To a large extent he was right. The Greeks of the south declared for him; many of the Samnites readily joined him; the outlook for Rome was as black as it could well be. But her own courage did not desert her; there were no serious divisions among her people, and still her allies of the centre of Italy stood firm. Rome modified her military policy; refused to give battle to her great opponent, but equally refused to think of any surrender. And thus it came to pass that the battle of Cannæ marks not the end of Rome, but the end of the prodigious victories of Hannibal. He was still a conqueror, but henceforth he found Rome stronger year by year, while his own forces, constantly diminished by the accidents of war, were not reinforced from Carthage, and year by year it proved more difficult to gain help from the peoples of Italy as the star of Hannibal waned.

Battle of Cannæ.

The Romans soon began to win back some of their losses. Their siege operations were as successful as Hannibal's were the opposite. They recaptured Capua and Syracuse and Tarentum—great cities whose alliance had been among the most valued results of Hannibal's victories. But Spain was the chief theatre of Rome's aggressive action. It was of the first importance as being the land from which

Scipio.

Hannibal could best hope for reinforcements. Even in Spain the Romans at first met with nothing but disappointments. So unsuccessful were they that at one time they thought of abandoning all attempts at conquest. But then the young Scipio rose to be the saviour of Rome. Scipio's name is the one that stands out from among the Roman leaders of the Hannibalic war. Others like Fabius and Marcellus served Rome loyally and efficiently, and have won the praises of Roman historians and poets. But Scipio is, on the Roman side, the hero of the war. He had served in the early stages of the war; he had saved his father's life in the first encounter with Hannibal at the Ticinus, and he had escaped from the terrible disaster of Cannæ. It speaks much for his character that after such experiences he still dared to hope and work for the overthrow of Hannibal. Roman loyalty, public spirit, discipline and efficiency were his in full measure; what marked him off from the ordinary Romans of his time was a vein of imagination and enthusiasm, and an unmeasured self-confidence, which his enemies called pride too great for a republic. He derived these qualities possibly in part from his acquaintance with Greek learning which was beginning to filter into Italy. He caught the public imagination from the first, and seemed the man destined for the salvation of Rome. His first exploits were in Spain, where he defeated Hannibal's brother Hasdrubal, and occupied most of the chief cities of the peninsula.

Battle of Metaurus.

But strangely the defeat of Hasdrubal in Spain threatened Rome with a new danger. He abandoned Spain and marched with all his army to reinforce his brother in Italy. If the junction had been made Hannibal would have been in a position to strike again, and perhaps this time he would have struck at Rome itself. But Hasdrubal was intercepted and defeated at the Metaurus (207 B.C.). His brother heard of his arrival in Italy, and of his defeat and death at the same time, and had to struggle on with his diminishing forces alone. But to the end the Romans made no attempt to fight him down on the soil of Italy itself.

But the end was not long in coming. Scipio, victorious in Spain, was, after his triumph in Rome, allowed to lead an

army over into Africa. Carthage was threatened, and in her alarm recalled Hannibal. He came back, and in 202 met Scipio in the battle of Zama. His army was a hastily collected force; the Romans had learnt to avoid his deadly ambuscades, and a hard fought day went against the Carthaginians. Hannibal himself advised them to yield. They had to surrender territory and ships of war; they saw rivals strongly posted on their flank in Africa itself; but their own independent existence was not destroyed.

Defeat of Hannibal at Zama.

The great duel was over, and Rome had won. There was no rival now left to her in the western Mediterranean. The great islands were hers; Spain was hers; much of the commerce of Carthage passed over to Roman traders. And with the commerce of Carthage came also much of the methods which Carthage had used. The victory was not all pure gain to Rome. Vast numbers of slaves and a new and harder system of using them were introduced into Italy. A harder spirit seems henceforth to guide her policy. Her overseas dominions were to present her with problems which proved in the end fatal to republican institutions.

The histories of Livy and Polybius are the great original authorities for this chapter. Shuckburgh's translation of Polybius is especially to be recommended: it is strange that this great historian is so comparatively little read. His descriptive power, truthfulness, and political wisdom make his history of the highest value. In addition to the ordinary historians of Rome, Dr. Arnold's *Second Punic War* is a narrative of great excellence. Bosworth Smith's *Carthage and the Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* by O'Connor Morris.

CHAPTER XI

Rome the Mistress of the Mediterranean

It will be well now to consider what sort of a state was the Rome which had emerged victoriously from its long duel with Hannibal. The constitution was not altered in name.

The conservative spirit of Rome was more willing to make changes in the government of the state than to give names to them. But it is certain that the long struggle had not left the character of Rome quite the same; the institutions were not altered in name, but their working and the comparative importance of the different parts had certainly changed.

The Roman Constitution.

The theory of the Roman constitution was that all power emanated from the people; the magistrates were appointed by them, and were their servants; the Senate was merely a council of advice. But in fact it was the Senate which ruled, and its rule had been immensely strengthened by the great war through which it had guided the state with such success. It is not difficult to see how this had come about. The very greatness of Rome had made the control of the state by the *comitia* an impossibility. The citizens of Rome were now counted by the hundred thousand, and they were scattered over Italy, and in increasing numbers over Europe as well. How could they come together at frequent intervals to discuss affairs of state? What had been possible to Athens, because Athens was a small state, was not possible to Rome, just because Rome had gained such great and such permanent success. The *comitia*, though they were still called "the Roman people," were indeed merely the muster of those residents in Rome who had nothing better to do than to attend political meetings; they could not, as a rule, include the more vigorous elements of the state. Nor could the real control of the state and the direction of its policy lie with the individual magistrates. The whole constitution of Rome was against that. All the magistrates were grouped in "colleges," or committees of two or more. The action of each magistrate could be neutralized by the opposition of his colleague, and the tribunes could block the business of the state by a declaration of their veto. Moreover, all the executive magistrates of the state held office only for a year, and could not in so short a time master the business of Rome. Indeed, at first sight the constitution of Rome seems to aim at reducing the government to weakness. Its system of checks and balances seems to imply that the action of the

The Senate.

The Comitia.

executive government was regarded as a danger, and that liberty was preferred to efficiency.

But we get a very different impression if we pass from the unwieldy *comitia*, and the transitory magistrates to the Senate. Here was a permanent council of some three hundred men. All had held high office in the state, and most of them had done so more than once; all held their seats for life. Their experience, their knowledge of business, the permanence of their position, gained for them an influence in the state, which soon led to their control of its action. It was they who had guided the destinies of Rome during the great struggle with Carthage, and the Roman victory had vastly strengthened their position. So it came to pass that the nominally sovereign assemblies of the people sank into insignificance before them, and the executive magistrates did little more than carry out their instructions. They had deserved, and they had won their power by their devotion to the state, by their courage and tenacity, by their political wisdom, and by their success. Technically the power they wielded was a usurpation; but it was a usurpation "justified at the bar of history by supreme ability to govern." There is a tendency to idealize the condition of Rome at the time of the war with Carthage as a contrast to what came after; but there is no doubt that there was in all classes a high sense of duty, a strong feeling of unity and of mutual trust. Without these the Senate could not have won nor have held its power.

The efficiency of the government.

A more difficult task even than the defeat of Hannibal now lay before Rome. She would be pushed forward by ambition and by necessity to the conquest of all Mediterranean lands; she would acquire dominion over distant countries alien to herself in race, language and religion. The conquest would offer few difficulties; but would she be able to govern them? How would her government of them affect her character and the nature of her institutions? Here was the great political question for the future. And the future was to show that the Roman republic was not equal to the new task. She won an Empire, but then she fell beneath the burden of it. And thus the republic had to give way to institutions

which the Romans of Scipio's days would have regarded with horror.

Hitherto the eyes of Roman statesmen had always been turned westward—towards Gaul and Spain and Western Africa, and the great islands. But with the overthrow of Hannibal their attention was called to the more civilized and degenerate East. The lands round the eastern basin of the Mediterranean were occupied by the *débris* of the Empire of Alexander. We have seen that his empire had broken up almost immediately after his death, and the process had gone on almost continuously. There were three great states. First, there was the kingdom of Macedon, much shrunk since the days of Alexander, but still a great state, inhabited by a vigorous race, and possessed of much mineral wealth. Next came the Kingdom of Syria, ruled over by the descendants of Seleucus, vast in extent, and containing many rich and flourishing cities. Thirdly, there was the Kingdom of Egypt still ruled over by the descendants of Alexander's marshal Ptolemy. It was a compact state defended by the deserts and the sea, and possessed of an exceptionally fertile soil. But the ruling class was Greek, while the people were of the old Egyptian stock; there was little national feeling. Besides these three great monarchies there were a large number of smaller states. Thrace was in a condition of constant unrest and need not be noticed more carefully. But Asia Minor was more important. The unity which Alexander's conquests had given to it had soon departed, and in 200 B.C. it presented a strange mixture of races and governments. There were monarchies such as Pergamum, Bithynia, and Cappadocia; there were a great number of independent Greek cities; in the centre there was the strange state of Galatia held by a race of Gauls, who had invaded the East in the third century, and after doing great damage in Greece and elsewhere had finally settled in Asia Minor. Finally, if we turn to Greece, we find a condition of things widely different from what it had been in the days of Demosthenes. The great states of that age still exist; but Thebes, Athens, Corinth, and Sparta, no longer exercise the

Condition of the East.

Macedon, Syria, Egypt.

Asia Minor.

Greece.

predominant influence that they had once held. In the place of the individual city-state leagues have arisen. To the north of the Corinthian gulf there was, in the wild and rough country of the west, the Ætolian League, a federation of cantons rather than of cities, held together largely by the common hope of plundering the richer districts to the east. In the Peloponnese there was the Achæan League. Greek politics show us no more interesting, no more promising experiment than this, which proves clearly that the political genius of Greece was far from exhausted yet. It was in effect the first example of the federal state, which in modern times has played so important a part, and in all probability is destined to still greater importance. The towns of Achæa retained their local self-government, but voluntarily subordinated their foreign policy to the control of the federal council. It was doomed to extinction at the hands of Rome, but it deserves as careful study as the democracy of Athens in the days of Pericles.

The secret of Rome's victory.

Wherein lies the secret of Rome's victory over these Eastern states? Intellectually the Greeks of the East were her superiors, and the Romans soon came to look for intellectual guidance to Athens and Alexandria and other cities of the East. War had been carefully studied, and the best books on strategy and the art of war were the work of Macedonian Greeks. Yet Rome conquered, and, having conquered, held the country without much difficulty. The superiority of Rome seems to lie above all in her greater national cohesion. The unity of the Roman state was not indeed so great as in the time of the Hannibalic wars, but it was still far greater than elsewhere in the ancient world. The government was not alien to the people; to a great extent it was the people, whereas the subjects of the Egyptian and Syrian kings, and to a smaller extent of the Macedonian kings as well, felt themselves in no way identified with the government which ruled them and called upon them to fight for it. The standard of commercial morality, of honesty, and of truthfulness was higher among the Romans than among the Greeks by the confession of the Greeks themselves. The word of a Roman could be trusted; the word

of a Greek could not. That is in brief the explanation which Polybius gives of the victory of Rome.

It was with Macedon that Rome's difficulties first arose. Philip of Macedon had made an alliance with Hannibal after Cannæ, and Macedonian soldiers had fought at Zama. There was much hesitation about entering on a new war so soon after the great strain of the Carthaginian struggle; but the Senate deemed an expedition necessary to maintain the *prestige* of Rome, and had no intention of permanently occupying the land. In 198 Flamininus was despatched to coerce Philip V. of Macedon into obedience. We shall not follow this campaign or the others which gave to Rome her dominion in the East. Rome was supported by the more civilized elements of Greek life, and in 197 defeated the Macedonians in the battle of Cynoscephalæ. But certain points in the campaign are interesting. It was a trial of strength between the Roman legion and the Macedonian phalanx; and again, as in the war with Pyrrhus, the Roman system proved the superior. The Roman legion could not indeed resist the direct attack of the Macedonian phalanx. The Roman soldiers were carefully arranged so as to leave a considerable space between them, and their principal weapon was the short sword. On ground that suited them the soldiers of the phalanx, charging in a dense mass and holding in front of them their huge spears, inevitably swept the Romans away. So it had been when Pyrrhus was in Italy; so it seems to have been whenever the Romans received the direct charge of the phalanx on ground which suited it. But the Romans soon learned their lesson; they were too wise tacticians to accept battle wherever the enemy chose to offer it; they lured the phalanx on to rough ground where its formation was broken; they plied it with missile weapons; and when its line was broken the initiative, which was allowed to the individual Roman soldier, soon proved his superiority over the mechanical formation and methods of the Macedonians.

Second Macedonian war.

It is interesting, too, during this Macedonian war to see the attitude of the Romans to the Greeks. It was by no means their first contact with the Greeks, for there were as we have

seen Greeks in Italy and Sicily; but the Romans were now for the first time awake to the importance of the civilization and culture of Greece. They came to Greece in a mood to admire everything they saw. Flamininus their commander went about like a tourist, gazing on the temples and the treasures of art, and inspecting the scenes so famous in history. To love and admire the Greeks was the sign of an educated man. This mood soon passed. The Romans found that all was not worthy of their admiration which they found in Greece; they found the Greeks cunning, selfish, and deceitful, as people at once clever and weak are apt to be; and in the end they dealt with them sternly and without any trace of their early sentimentalism. But none the less their contact with Greece is one of the most momentous events in their history. The superiority of Greece, in all that concerned art and thought, was so unquestionable that even when their enthusiasm had passed they absorbed eagerly all that Greece had to give. There is, perhaps, no instance in history of one people so influencing another. What was national in their literature, religion, and thought was thrown aside, and they took over Greek forms and Greek ideas in every department of their religious, artistic, and intellectual life.

Greece and Rome.

The Romans had at present no idea of making any permanent occupation in the East. So, after Philip had accepted his defeat, the Romans left him still an independent kingdom. The Greeks feared that they would find that Roman fetters were substituted for Macedonian, but their suspicions proved unjust. In 196 at Corinth, amidst a scene of great excitement, Flamininus declared that Greece was free, and men dreamed that the days of Pericles and Demosthenes might return.

Four years later the Romans had to send another expedition to Greece. The first settlement proved unstable. The Greeks used their newly won freedom in a way which gave offence at Rome, and appealed to Antiochus King of Syria to defend them. It doubtless also alarmed the Romans to hear that Hannibal who had been driven from Carthage by their diplomacy had put his talents and his hate

The war with Syria.

of Rome at the disposal of Antiochus. But Antiochus would not really submit to the guidance of the great Carthaginian, and when a Roman expedition arrived in Greece the power of the great King soon collapsed. His forces were driven out of Greece, and the Romans followed his retreat into Asia Minor, and at Magnesia (190), fighting against odds of more than three to one, they overwhelmed his clumsily organized and badly led forces. Interesting personalities appear in the campaign. Hannibal was the adviser of Antiochus, and after the battle he committed suicide in order to avoid the demands of the Romans for his surrender. On the Roman side the commanders were the great Scipio, who had won the name Africanus by his victory at Zama, and his brother Lucius. Nothing could be done in Rome at this time without the assistance of the Scipios and their friends. Still Rome annexed no territory. She was content to reward her friends and to punish her enemies. The Ætolian league had been her chief opponent in Greece, and it was forced to surrender land and to pay a heavy fine. The chief allies of Rome had been the King of Pergamus and the Republic of Rhodes, and both these gained territory and influence.

Thus Rome had established what we should perhaps call her suzerainty in the East; but again the settlement proved unstable. The next King of Macedon, Perseus, was not content to accept the subordinate post which alone the Romans allowed him, and he could count on the support of many discontented elements in Greece. The Romans were informed of his designs, and sent an army against him in 171. The early stages of the campaign were a bitter disappointment for Rome. Her armies were checked and sometimes defeated. The Romans in the end had to appeal to one of the Scipionic circle to extricate them out of their difficulty, and appointed Æmilius Paullus, the brother-in-law of the great Scipio, to the command. Even so the power of Macedon proved itself far from contemptible, but in 168 the Roman army forced its way into Macedon itself, and at Pydna the phalanx was again, and for the last time, overthrown.

Third Macedonian war.

Even now the Romans at first avoided nominal annexation.

They abolished the Macedonian monarchy and divided the country into four republics nominally independent, but of course really closely bound to Rome. We are not surprised to find that this system soon broke down, and in 146 Macedonia became a regular Roman province.

Macedonia a Roman Province.

Rome's general attitude to the East and to Greece especially had undergone a great and disastrous change. The early sentimentalism had quite disappeared, and with it a good deal of the old Roman uprightness and humanity in dealing with the conquered. Macedonia was cruelly plundered after the conquest, and as this did not satisfy the soldiers, they were let loose on Epirus, against which Rome had no very serious grievance. The unhappy land was treated with horrible barbarity; it is said that 150,000 of the inhabitants were sold as slaves to provide the requisite prize-money for the Roman soldiers. It was a sad result of the Imperial position which Rome was so rapidly winning, but it was a very characteristic one. The old lofty, if rigid, standards of conduct, the old simplicity of life disappeared as Rome became ruler over so many alien lands, and the republic at last disappeared largely for the same reason. She gained the whole world (or what the ancients called by that name), and in the process it may fairly be said she lost her own soul.

The change that was passing over Rome.

Greece suffered cruelly from the new settlement of the East. Rome owed much to Pergamus and Rhodes, but it was never safe to give Rome too much assistance; she did not like the burden of a heavy debt of gratitude; and both Pergamus and Rhodes were severely crippled when Rome triumphed. A heavier and a sadder fate fell upon the Achæan League. Rome supported the tyrant of Sparta against it, and in the war which followed the league was of course defeated. The capture of Corinth was the last scene. When Corinth fell it was dismantled and burnt. Greece was not made into a province, but the Roman dominion was extended over it in fact if not in name.

The suffering of Greece.

The year 146 is an important one in Roman history, for it marks not only the formation of Macedon into a province

and the capture of Corinth, but also the extinction of Carthage. The destruction of Carthage is a pathetic and an ugly story.

Destruction of Carthage.

Jealousy of what Carthage had once been, fear of what she might perhaps become again, and commercial jealousy of her still thriving trade seem to have been the chief motives of the Romans. Carthage was no longer dangerous, nor was her commerce any harm to Rome; but generous sentiments found no acceptance there. Impossible terms were offered to Carthage, and in the war that followed she showed unexpected powers of resistance, and something of the heroism which we associate with the armies of Hannibal. But the end was bound to come. Another Scipio—the adopted grandson of the victor of Zama—delivered the final blow. Carthage, like Corinth, was destroyed and burnt, and Scipio, as he watched the flames rising from the greatest of the rivals of Rome, quoted Homer, and reflected that some conqueror would one day look on while Rome burnt as Carthage was burning then. Africa became a Roman province.

The whole coast-line of the Mediterranean was far from being in the hands of Rome yet; but all was within her sphere

Rome's influence in all Mediterranean lands.

of influence; she interfered in every quarrel, and dictated terms even where she was not directly interested. In 168 B.C., Antiochus meditated an attack on Egypt, but he was met by a simple Roman officer, Popilius Lænas, and ordered to return. In vain he protested and tried to save at least his credit. Lænas drew round him a circle with a stick which he carried in his hand, and ordered him to accede to the orders of Rome before he stepped outside of that circle; and reluctantly the great king obeyed. The eighth chapter of the First Book of the Maccabees contains an interesting picture of the impression which the Romans had made on the Jews. Judas Maccabæus told his hearers "how the Romans destroyed and brought under their dominion all kingdoms and isles that at any time resisted them; how with their friends and such as relied upon them they kept amity; also that, whom they would help to a kingdom, those reign; and whom again they would they displace; finally, that they were greatly exalted; yet for all this none of them wore a crown or was clothed in purple to

be magnified thereby; and that there was neither envy nor emulation among them." A splendid but much idealized picture! And even while Judas spoke it was ceasing to be as true as it once had been. Envy and emulation were soon to show themselves in terrible fashion among them.

Two representative Romans. 1. Cato.

The character of the Roman state at this time, and of the new tendencies, can be excellently seen in two great figures of the period. First in Marcus Cato. Plutarch's life of him is his masterpiece of portraiture. We see there his patient endurance of toil and suffering as a soldier; his honesty as a public servant; his strict self-discipline and his insistence on discipline for others; the parsimony of his life which was not relaxed when he had become rich. His domestic life was a model of the old Roman virtues and the old Roman hardness. He regarded his wife and his children with reverence rather than affection; they were, he said, "the holiest of things." To his slaves he was a rigid and even a cruel master; all sentimental or even humane feelings about them he regarded with contempt. He saw that the age was changing; and thought it was changing altogether for the worse. He was unsparing in his attacks on public men who were guilty of luxury or fraud. The root of all the trouble he believed was to be found in Greek thought and art. He demanded the expulsion of all Greek philosophers; Socrates he called "a wordy and dangerous man." He hated new methods in education, and especially Greek teachers, "who talked only from the lips, while the Romans spoke from the heart." But the age was too strong for him. He was born, he said, in one age and lived on into another, and he found it necessary at last himself to learn something of the hated wisdom of the Greeks.

2. Scipio Minor.

The second representative of this age is the younger Scipio, whose victories at Carthage we have already noted. The learning of Greece, which Cato denounced, was to him a source of happiness and of moral improvement. He loved the company of Greeks, and discussed with them questions of politics, ethics, and religion. He was a perfectly loyal and highly efficient servant of the state; but his eyes were lifted to horizons that Cato never guessed. The

age was largely influenced by him and his circle. He was not a great man, either as soldier or as statesman, but he makes the Roman character not only admirable to us (which it always is), but attractive and lovable as well.

Polybius is here again our great source of information. Plutarch's lives of Flamininus, Cato and Æmilius. Duruy's *History of the Romans* may be specially recommended for this period.

CHAPTER XII

The Overthrow of the Senate's Power

THE Senate had ruled with great success, but now the time came when its authority was to be challenged, and the people were to claim the exercise of that share in the constitution which was conceded to them in theory. There are many convergent causes for the great change which came over the constitution of Rome, but all are closely connected with the winning of her empire. Her genius was conservative, and not aggressive; but she had been pushed on, for reasons which we have seen, to make herself first the mistress of Italy, and then of all Mediterranean lands. The very magnitude of the victory brought with it the ruin of the republic. Her old life, with its narrow conventions, its rigid morality, its unreasoning appeal to duty, its lack of intellectual freedom and of imagination, was bound to be profoundly modified by contact with new lands and modes of thought. Greece in particular exercised a fascinating and disturbing influence; her literature, her art, her philosophy, her religion, were all on a higher plane than those of the Romans, but none the less they tended to weaken their fibre and distract their aims. The influence of the provinces was almost equally dangerous. Rome was now responsible for the government of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, Africa (*i.e.* the district around

Signs of change.

Influence of the provinces.

Carthage), Macedonia, and Asia Minor. Year by year she sent out officials to these provinces—*consuls*, or *prætors*, or the substitutes for these, who were called *proprætors* and *proconsuls*—who took upon themselves the military supervision, and the collection of taxes, and who acted as the supreme heads of the judicial administration. The Roman state did not intend to be unjust, and many of her provincial rulers were honest as well as energetic men. But a great temptation was placed in their way. There was great wealth to be made in the provinces by politicians, traders, and money-lenders. The simplicity of Roman life was broken by the emergence of a rich capitalist class, and men used to the despotic power which they wielded over the provincials, did not easily adapt themselves to the restrictions of the republic on their return. The direct influence of her conquests on the political and social life of Rome was in many ways evil. The *comitia*, once the real assembly of the citizens of Rome, inevitably became now, when the Romans were scattered over all Italy and the provinces, a mere assembly of the unemployed residents in the city and could not rightly speak for the whole population of the empire. The magistrates had too much to do. There was not as yet any proper differentiation between the duties of civil and military officials; the government of the city must have suffered through the constant calls on the magistrates for military service in distant lands. The Senate in consequence became more than ever the most efficient part of the government of Rome, but the Senate was more influenced than any other part of the state by the moral corruption which the winning of the empire had brought with it. Grave social evils also accompanied this dislocation of the governmental machinery of Rome. The worst point of all was that the yeomanry of Italy, the peasant farmers who had formed the backbone of the armies of Rome, were now being driven off the land, and were crowding into the capital. This, too, was partly the result of the victories which Rome had won. Cheap corn was poured into Italy from the rich fields of Sicily, Corsica, Africa, and Egypt with which Rome was now in easy communication, and the new

The social changes.

The influence of slavery.

cheap corn made the production of corn in Italy a profitless task. There had also been introduced into Italy a new type of slavery. The wars had brought tens of thousands of captives who were sold as slaves, and now worked in mines or tilled the fields for some Roman capitalist. The effect of slave labour is always to make free labour contemptible and, moreover, the freeman could not compete profitably with the slave gangs. The result was that the country side was emptied of its free population; cattle and sheep rearing were substituted for the tillage of the fields; and great numbers trooped to Rome, there to live on the verge of starvation and lose in the idleness of the city all trace of their old rural virtues.

The Senate demoralized.

The situation was undoubtedly a grave one. Perhaps the best chance for Rome would have been for some enlightened and patriotic reformer to have appeared in the ranks of the Senate itself; but the Senate was now grievously fettered by a spirit of class and almost of caste. The proposals which led the way to nearly a century of rapid and revolutionary change came from a tribune of the people. The tribunate had ceased of late to be employed as an agency for popular reform, but its powers had suffered no diminution in theory.

Tiberius Gracchus.

Tiberius Gracchus was elected one of the ten tribunes of the people in 134. He was sprung from one of the oldest and most honourable of the families of Rome, and was connected with the Scipionic circle. He was no revolutionary, but a moderate social reformer. His one aim was to bring the people back on to the land, and with that aim he introduced a single measure. Rome, as she conquered one district after another in Italy, had usually confiscated a portion of the land of the conquered race. This land was treated in various ways. Some was sold outright; but most was let out to tenants and remained the property of the state (*ager publicus*). In process of time the rents were often unpaid, for the Senate administrated the lands, and they were for the most part let only to Senators. The tenants came to regard them as their personal property, though there was never any doubt that the Republic was the rightful owner. Tiberius

Gracchus proposed that this land should be resumed by the state and distributed in small holdings among the indigent poor of Rome. A commission was to be appointed to superintend the distribution. It offended so many private interests that it aroused a storm of opposition. Gracchus stood for the tribunate again, contrary to the tradition of the Roman constitution, and in a riot at the election time he was murdered. The long struggle between the patricians and the plebeians had been conspicuously free from acts of violence. It was an evil augury that the first move in the new social struggle was met by this brutal murder.

Caius Gracchus.

The murder of Tiberius Gracchus was a blunder as well as a crime. The popular party was exasperated by it, and they soon found another champion in his brother Caius. He had been away for some time from Rome in the service of the state, and had always shown himself a man of conspicuous honesty and efficiency. He returned to Rome in 124, stood for the tribunate, and was elected. He was not like his brother, a patriotic reformer with a single idea; he was actuated by patriotic motives, it is true, but he was also anxious to avenge his brother, and to beat down the hated Senate which had been the instrument of his brother's death. He brought in a series of proposals which amounted to a complete revolution in the state. He restored to activity his brother's land law, and added to it provisions by which colonies were to be planted in the south of Italy, and in such foreign lands as Corinth and Carthage, which had been left desolate by Roman conquest. He brought forward a corn law by which corn was to be supplied at about half-price to the citizens of Rome. It was probably necessary to do something for the half-starving populace of Rome; but it is clear that this measure had mischievous consequences. For it increased the flow of poor country folk into Rome, where alone this cheap corn was to be found, and it set the dangerous example of recommending every political proposal to the Roman people by a bribe of cheap corn, until at last the food was given gratuitously. Gracchus also tried, and with success, to divide the ranks of the richer classes of Rome, and to bring over one section to his side by giving to the

non-senatorial capitalists (the so-called knights) certain privileges which the Senate had hitherto monopolized, and especially the control of judicial trials. But the method by which he passed his measures was almost as important as the measures themselves. He neglected the privileges and powers which were by tradition accorded to the Senate, and he appealed directly to the people in the Forum. The authority of the Senate had never been so openly challenged. At first he carried all before him, for he was one of the finest orators that Rome ever possessed, and his proposals met the needs and excited the passions of the people. He was elected to the tribunate for the second time; but then he found on how unstable a foundation he was building in raising the *comitia* to a position of pre-eminence in the state. A rival politician drew away the popular favour from him. He was not elected to the tribunate for a third period. Then a direct attack was made upon one of his chief schemes, and it was proposed to withdraw the colony from Carthage. The murder of his brother was remembered, and each side prepared to appeal to violence. The direction of his movement passed from Caius to more violent spirits, and in the struggle which followed the Senate triumphed, and Caius, despite the devotion of his friends, was forced to flee, and committed suicide to avoid falling into the hands of pursuers.

Death of Caius Gracchus.

The triumph of the reaction was complete. The Senate proceeded to rule as it had ruled before. But the action of the Gracchi had changed the situation. The poor of Rome had found leaders and a programme, and they cherished the memory of the champions who had fought and died for them. They knew, moreover, their own powers, and before long they had occasion to exercise them again. And the next time they struck at the very centre of the powers of the Senate by challenging their control of foreign affairs.

The Numidian war.

The government of Rome was involved in a very difficult affair in Numidia, the district which lay to the west of the province of Africa. Rome had guaranteed the throne to one candidate, and it had been seized by another, the energetic and unscrupulous Jugurtha. The Senate unwillingly realized that it was necessary to send

out armies to beat down the usurper. The first stages of the campaign saw a series of Roman defeats and disgraces, for which the corruption of the Roman generals was largely responsible; but the vast extent of Numidia and the unsettled and barbarous nature of the country made the war an extremely difficult one. There seemed a better prospect of success when a Roman noble, Metellus, took charge of the campaign. Jugurtha was defeated and constantly pursued, though it proved impossible to capture him. Then there came a great change. There was in the army of Metellus, as his lieutenant, a young Roman called Marius. He was of humble origin, and came from a rural district of Italy, and nothing had hitherto shown that he possessed ambition for a political career. He now, however, went to Rome, put himself forward as a candidate for the consulship, and asked to be sent as consul to bring the Numidian war to an end. This procedure was eminently revolutionary, for there was nothing that the Senate was more jealous of than the control of military operations; but the people welcomed a new champion, and Marius was triumphantly elected. He went out to Numidia, and, though he gained successes, the war seemed likely to be indefinitely prolonged, when by good fortune, and through the great daring of Sulla, the lieutenant of Marius, Jugurtha was captured and the war was finished.

The rise of Marius.

Marius thus returned to Rome as the successful general of the people, but hardly was this war ended when a new and much more terrible danger threatened the Roman world. The Romans had recently annexed as a province, the southern district of Gaul, and in this region they now came in contact with peoples whom they called the Cimbrians and the Teutons. They were described as men of great stature, light hair, and blue eyes. They were not merely an army, but rather an emigrant nation. They were accompanied by a long train of waggons, and carried with them their wives and their children. It is, indeed, the first appearance on the Roman frontier of those German tribes who were destined, five centuries later, to overwhelm the Roman power in the west of Europe. Their early encounters with the Romans resulted in defeats for the

The danger from the north.

armies of the Republic, to which the annals of Rome supply few parallels. The worst of all was when, in 105 B.C., three Roman armies were defeated near the Rhone, with a loss which is said to have reached 120,000 men. It seemed certain that the enemy would now move on into Italy, and Rome had to face a danger as great as when, a hundred years before, Hannibal had threatened her from the same quarter. Fortunately, however, for reasons which we can only dimly guess, the barbarians, instead of marching into Italy, thronged westward towards Spain and then northward towards the mouth of the Rhine, and did not threaten Roman territories again until the year 103. In the interval much had been done. Marius fresh from his Numidian victories had been made consul again and again. From the year 104 B.C. to the year 100 he was constantly re-elected, and this continual consulship formed an entirely new feature in Roman history, to which we must recur in a moment. He had devoted himself to the preparation of his army for the great task which was in front of them. When, in 103, the barbarians returned again, they divided their forces, and whilst one part of them penetrated Italy by the eastern passes of the Alps, the other half struck, as formerly, across the Rhone. But their undisciplined valour was unequal to the conflict with the legions of Rome, well-trained, and well-led, and in 102, Marius first defeated the Teutons at Aquæ Sextiæ with enormous loss, and then passing into Italy he destroyed in the next year the Cimbrian army with equal completeness. The last struggle was where the barbarians resisted behind their waggons, which had been drawn up in a ring. The women fought as well as the men, and in the end committed suicide to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans. The chief glory of right belonged to Marius; but it was claimed afterwards that Sulla, the shadow that always followed Marius and in the end darkened all his glory, had delivered the decisive blow in the last battle. The Roman world breathed again, and not for 400 years had the Romans to face a danger which threatened the very basis of their civilization.

Marius commands against the northern invaders.

Destruction of the barbarians.

These events have a great political as well as military importance. Marius' continuous command was a new feature in Roman constitutional history. In face of this great danger one man had been master of the Roman world for five years, and he was no aristocrat like Scipio, but a man of the people, raised to power by the will of the people, and in spite of the opposition of the Senate. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that it is with Marius that the Roman Empire begins: in this sense, at any rate, that from this time forward we see constantly supreme power held by some great army chief, and it is only in the intervals of such commands that the old machinery of the constitution worked in the old way. Marius was followed by Sulla, Sulla by Pompey, Pompey by Julius Cæsar, and upon the death of Julius Cæsar the Roman Empire was at last definitely organized by Augustus.

Political significance of the career of Marius.

After the defeat of the barbarians, Marius was the one great personality in the Roman world, and he doubtless was reluctant to play an inferior part. With the conclusion of peace he turned to the contests of politics, and joined himself to the popular party. Two popular champions, Glaucia and Saturninus, still kept alive the hopes which the Gracchi had planted in the minds of the people of Rome, and with them, in the year 100 B.C., Marius put forward a programme of democratic change and reform. The people were to have cheaper corn; colonies were to be planted, especially in the lands that had been laid waste by the barbarian invaders. Marius himself was to have the task of superintending and carrying out these new schemes. But these schemes were not carried out. Marius, like many another great soldier, had no genius for popular politics; he quarrelled with his colleagues, and listened to the overtures of the Senate, and at the end of the year, in the civil strife that broke out, turned against his old confederates, and restored the power of the Senate in Rome. These obscure events bring to an end the period of the greatness of Marius. We see him henceforth rather as a baffled conspirator than a successful general or statesman. But his career marks a great and permanent

Marius as leader and betrayer of the popular party.

change in the Roman political world. The soldier's sword had become a force in Roman politics such as it had never been before, and the soldier's sword was destined more and more to dominate the politics of Rome. One point of army organization did much to make this possible. From the earlier armies of Rome the poorest classes had been excluded; service in the ranks was a mark of honour as well as a burden. But when Marius was recruiting his army for Numidia, and still more when he was preparing his forces for his campaign against the Germans, he took his soldiers wherever he could find them, and drafted into the ranks large numbers from the neediest elements of Roman society. From this time forward, therefore, the Roman armies rapidly lose their character of citizen armies. They are bound to the service of the State, not by patriotism, but by pay, and their devotion is really to their general in the field, and not to the Government at home. It is easy to see how this change assisted the growth of a military dictatorship, and led to the overthrow of the Republic.

In addition to the ordinary histories, Plutarch's lives of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus and of Marius and Sulla are important. The two former are among the best of Plutarch's whole series. The two latter are disfigured by the fact that Plutarch draws from the memoirs of Sulla, and thus gives to much of his narrative a decided bias against Marius.

CHAPTER XIII

Sulla: Civil War, and the Restoration of the Senate's Power

The "allies" of Rome and their claims.

After the year 100, Rome enjoyed for ten years immunity from foreign danger, but during this time her domestic problems were very pressing. Chief among these was the question of the allies (*socii*). We have seen how generously Rome had treated the inhabitants of Italy whom she had conquered in her march towards empire; we have seen, too, that that generosity had been amply repaid by their devotion during the

Punic wars; but for some time past the relation between the Romans and their allies had been strained. It was not exactly that the Romans treated the allies with oppression or cruelty, though the Roman temper was haughty, and there were doubtless instances of harshness; it was rather that the allies were becoming conscious of their own services to Rome, and were beginning to claim not merely generous treatment, but justice and equality. The allies were by no means all on the same footing. They were divided into two main classes. The Latins formed the most favoured class, they could trade freely with Rome, and could, under certain circumstances, obtain the full rights of Roman citizenship. The rest of the allies were on a less favoured footing: especially there was no avenue open to them by which they could reach equality with the citizens of Rome. The Latins and the rest of the allies for the most part lived in cities which managed their own affairs and were only occasionally interfered with by the Government of Rome. It is probable that in the world known to the Romans there were no conquered subjects so well treated as these. What, then, were their grievances? They complained that they bore in the wars of Rome twice as heavy a burden as the Romans bore themselves; they complained that in the administration of martial law they did not possess the right of appeal which had been granted to the Roman citizens; they complained of the occasional insolence of the Roman officials who were sent down into the country districts of Italy. But the real cause of their discontent is not to be found in oppression or wrong, but in their desire and demand for equal privileges with the Romans. To grant them that equality would not, as the sequel showed, have weakened Rome in any way at all; but the Romans were tenacious of their distinct privileges, and all attempts to win for the allies equality with the Roman citizens had been defeated.

Career and death of Drusus.

Tentative proposals had been made by the Gracchi, by Marius in the year 100, and now in 91 B.C., the claims of the Italians found an eager and disinterested advocate in Marcus Livius Drusus, a young noble who was elected tribune of the people in 91 B.C. He desired a change, not in the interests of the democratic party,

but rather in the interest of the Senate itself. He brought forward and passed various minor proposals, but the idea of placing all the free peoples of Italy on an equal footing produced fierce excitement: and in the year 91, Drusus was murdered.

His death was the signal for the outbreak of the Civil War which is usually known as the Social War. It was indeed a grave crisis. Rome was faced, not by the Carthaginians, or by barbarians, but by her own soldiers, trained and led by men as expert in war as the Roman officers themselves. It was a confused and also a cruel and devastating war. No great or decisive battles were fought, but at the end of the first year's fighting, Rome had to recognise that victory by force of arms was impossible to her, and she had to adopt those measures of conciliation which, a little earlier, would have avoided the war altogether. In the year 89, the Roman franchise was given to such of the allies as, having revolted from her, were now ready to surrender within sixty days, which was in effect to enfranchise all the Italians who desired the boon. The result was immediately apparent. It was only a few desperate bands that still held out against Rome in the wild mountainous region of the centre.

The Social War.

But hardly was the danger from the revolted allies passed when Rome found herself in another trouble. We cannot try to disentangle the movements of this obscure time: it is enough to say that never had the party struggle been more bitter than during this time, when the destiny of Rome seemed at stake, and when, in addition to the war that had been raging in Italy, another serious military danger had appeared in the north-east of Asia Minor, in the district which the Romans called Pontus. Its king, Mithridates, was a capable barbarian ruler who had acquired a veneer of Greek. He had taken advantage of the engagement of the Roman army in Italy, and of the bitter discontent of the recently acquired province of Asia Minor with the tax gatherers, to invade and overrun that province. The Roman dominion in the East seemed shaken to its foundations. The armies of Mithridates were welcomed in Greece, and even

A party struggle succeeds to the Civil War.

Mithridates.

in Athens itself. It was clear that a resolute hand and strong army would be necessary to restore the dominion of Rome.

The question of the command against Mithridates.

To whom should this new command be given? It is characteristic of the time that that question became a matter of party politics. Despite the Roman reverses, it was recognised that it would not be difficult to win victories in the East. Victory would bring to the commander glory and wealth, and to his men unlimited plunder. There were two competitors for the post; it would naturally fall to Sulla who had been Consul in the preceding year, but the popular party claimed it for Marius, who, in spite of his treason to them in 100, was again accepted as their leader, and they hoped to draw to their side the newly enfranchised allies by a more generous treatment than was offered to them by the senatorials. The question was solved by an appeal to the sword. Fortune no longer smiled upon Marius, for Sulla advanced on Rome and took it. It was the first time that Rome had been taken by one of her own citizens. Marius fled for his life, and Sulla was master of Rome, Italy, and indeed of the Roman world.

Sulla and the Eastern War.

It was obvious that, if his army were withdrawn, Italy would be plunged again into serious disorder, but the war in the East seemed more pressing, or its attractions were greater, and so Sulla, having made a few arrangements for the Government of Rome, led his army over into Greece. It was quickly clear how accidental were the conquests of Mithridates; his soldiers could never hope to win the victory against the real armies of Rome, when properly equipped and efficiently led. Twice the Pontic army was overwhelmed in Bœotia, and Athens, after a long siege, was forced to surrender. Sulla then advanced into Asia Minor, and Mithridates was compelled to accept peace and evacuate all Roman lands. These campaigns in the East occupied Sulla from 87 to 83 B.C. Rome and Italy meanwhile had fallen into the hands of his opponents. Marius had returned from his exile, his heart full of a passion for vengeance, and he had joined himself to Cinna, the true

Triumph of the popular party in Rome.

leader of the popular party. They had occupied Rome, slaughtered their enemies, and crushed for the time the power of the Senate. Then in 86 Marius died, and for some years Cinna was supreme: but it was clear that sooner or later Sulla would return victorious from the East, and it was certain that on his return, he, too, would claim a revenge, and a deeper one than that of Marius. How to resist him was the thought uppermost in the mind of Cinna during these years, but no way was found; and when Cinna attempted to take an army himself into Greece with a view to wresting the command from Sulla, he was murdered at Brundisium by his own soldiers, who had no heart for the perilous adventure.

Return of Sulla.

Thus Italy and the popular party were entirely unprepared when in 83 Sulla returned. He had battles to fight, but none that he had any difficulty in winning; he made himself master of Rome, and crushed the last rally of the Samnites; he treated his enemies with a ferocity much greater than that which Marius and Cinna had shown, and the memory of the reign of terror that he imposed on Rome lay for the next half-century like a nightmare over the political life of Italy.

But cruel as Sulla was, he was also a statesman with definite political views. He desired to restore the authority of the Senate, to prevent for ever usurpations of the people, and to prevent the overthrow of the constitution of Rome by the establishment of such a military power as he and Marius had wielded. He proposed, therefore, to give the Senate control over legislation, over the administration of justice, and also complete control over the general policy of the State. To secure this end he determined to ruin the authority and the powers of the tribunes, for in the tribunes the people had found the chief instrument of their ambition in the past. Henceforth no one who had been tribune could aspire to any higher political office, and every tribune was to be responsible at the end of his year of office for the way in which he had conducted himself. The tribuneship had hitherto been the natural gate by which an ambitious man made his way into a political career; but, while Sulla's reforms stood, any man with high ambition would avoid the

Political schemes of Sulla.

tribuneship, because it would give him little power, and bar him from all future advance. The weapon was thus, it was hoped, taken from the hands of the people, by means of which they had achieved their great victories, social and political, in the past. Sulla determined also to make the career of an ambitious soldier more difficult, and his rise to absolute personal power impossible. All aspirants to office must begin with the lower offices in the State, and must proceed by a definite order to the higher ones; there must be a stated interval between the tenure of the different offices, and a long period must elapse before the same office was held a second time. These elaborate precautions amount to this. The career of Marius must for the future be impossible; there must be no appointments of an unknown man to the consulship with supreme military command; there must be no establishment of a personal power, amounting almost to monarchy, by the continuous holding of the consulship over a series of years; both of which procedures had been at the basis of Marius' personal power. With the *comitia* thus weakened by the degradation of the tribunate, and insuperable obstacles, as it was hoped, put in the way of ambitious individuals, the Senate would be again supreme in the state; its control over public business, and over legislation, was strengthened, and the jury courts were again placed in its hands; the work of Caius Gracchus seemed undone. By these and other measures Sulla hoped to stem the tide of democratic advance, and to give to Rome permanently the sort of Government which she had possessed when she beat down Hannibal. The scheme proved transitory, yet the project is of great interest. If the Government of the Senate had been capable of restoration, the changes of Sulla, clever and carefully adjusted to their end, would probably have restored it, but in truth Sulla was only fighting against symptoms, and the causes which had undermined the powers of the Senate still operated. It was not possible by a stroke of the dictator's pen to restore to the Senate its old dignity and honesty, and one chief cause of the failure of the Senate had been a decline in its character; nor was it possible by any change in the machinery of administration to prevent the rise of another Marius or another

Sulla. Great military commands were a necessity of Rome's imperial position, and when another great soldier arose, it would be easy for him to cut through the red tape with which Sulla tried to hold the Roman constitution in its old shape.

The failure of Sulla's constitution.

Sulla's work was artificial; his constitution was no natural development of Roman life; by the sword it had been made, by the sword it would soon be undone. Hardly was the great dictator dead (79) when his constitution began to totter. The Roman world was far from peace and stable order. In Spain the party of Marius found a leader of genius in Sertorius, and the first efforts of the armies of the Senate to dislodge him were entire failures. In the East, too, Mithridates saw his chance when Sulla was removed, and soon the Pontic armies were again overrunning the fair valleys and flourishing cities of Asia Minor. There were also other dangers which pointed even more clearly to the social disintegration of the Roman world. In the Mediterranean, and especially in the Eastern waters, piracy showed itself on an alarming scale. The piratical fleets found little opposition anywhere. They destroyed commerce upon the seas; they landed and devastated the shores of Italy, and insulted with especial delight those who placed themselves under the protection of the Roman Republic. Further, Italy herself was face to face with a terrible slave war. We have seen how slavery had increased in volume and changed in character since the second Punic war. Where slavery exists society must always rest on an unstable foundation. In 74 B.C. some slaves who were being trained to fight as gladiators for the amusement of the Roman people, broke from their confinement, and soon gathered an army formidable at least in numbers. They had as their leader Spartacus, a Thracian chieftain, of great ability, who managed to keep some sort of order among the wild slave bands. The country was dotted over with *ergastula*, the prisons in which the slaves were kept who were employed for agricultural purposes. The bands of Spartacus everywhere threw open their doors, and the liberated slaves joined his ranks. There was revenge for them

Pirates.

The slave rebellions.

and unlimited plunder, and for a time it seemed as though they would be able to hold their own. The Roman troops, which were sent against them were at first defeated. Southern Italy was in the hands of the slave army, and it was only fortified towns that could hold out against them. The suffering of the farming classes was terrible.

In face of such dangers as these it was impossible to maintain the checks and balances of Sulla's constitution. A young soldier destined to play a great part in Roman history, Pompey, was despatched to Spain, and after a long and harassing war he returned victorious in 71 B.C. The slave revolt had meanwhile been suppressed with great difficulty by Crassus, the leader of the capitalists of Rome, and himself far the richest man of his age. Crassus and Pompey demanded a triumph and the consulship for the year 70. The demand was in itself a violation of Sulla's plans, but it could not be resisted, and no sooner were they consuls than these victorious soldiers overthrew what remained of Sulla's constitution. That constitution indeed had few energetic supporters even in the ranks of the Senate itself. It had already given way on many points, and now the restoration of the tribunate to its old privileges completed the overthrow. The people were again able if they so desired, to control legislation and to prevent the Senate from controlling the administration of the State. Sulla's political work except in some minor details had hardly checked the course of the democratic revolution.

The career of Pompey.

Overthrow of Sulla's work.

The whole trend of Roman politics was towards the concentration of power in the hands of one man, that is, towards monarchy. No other course seemed, under the circumstances, possible. Democracy, when the system of representation was unknown, was impossible in so great an empire as that of Rome. The Senate had come to represent a class and had lost entirely the confidence of the people. The people felt themselves most truly represented and their cause most efficiently served by some great champion whom they raised to power.

The coming of monarchy.

The overthrow of Sertorius and the annihilation of the

slave bands left grave dangers still to be coped with. The pirates were now insulting the further shores of Italy, and the insecurity of the sea raised corn to famine prices, and in the East, though a Roman army under the great general Lucullus had beaten Mithridates and penetrated even into the mountain fastnesses of Armenia, the success was shortlived, and in 66 it was clear that the work would have to be done over again.

Dangers from the pirates and Mithridates.

The eyes of all men turned to Pompey. He had been successful in all his undertakings. He was a favourite with the people on account of his restoration of the tribunate, and he was not unpopular with the Senate, and the rich men of Rome. In 67, a tribune of the people, Gabinius, used the powers which had been restored to his office to propose that Pompey should be given the command against the pirates, supported by a great army and navy, and by practically the whole resources of the Roman world. The measure was passed almost without opposition and Pompey quickly justified the hopes that had been placed in him. Good organization was what was chiefly needed, and he was a good organizer. The pirates were driven into their lairs in Crete and Cilicia, and were there crushed. Pompey secured the victory that he had won by wise and merciful measures. Rome was delighted to know that the seas were safe and that corn was cheap again. The danger from Mithridates still remained, though not in so acute a form as when Sulla went to Greece, or when Lucullus took up the command in Asia Minor: but the king still seemed to control Asia Minor and to reduce the Roman power there to a mockery. Now another tribune, Manilius by name, came forward and proposed that Pompey should be given powers, unlimited in time and hardly limited in extent, to finish this Eastern trouble. This law did not pass so easily as the former one. Many saw that the republican constitution was really overthrown by it, and in the Senate there were some who denounced it as the setting up of a tyranny, but nothing could be done, and Pompey sailed in 66 on this new mission. The military task before him proved an easy one. Again what was wanted was organization

Pompey crushes the pirates.

The Manilian law gives Pompey the command against Mithridates.

not military genius. Mithridates was defeated and fled to the Crimea, and died there. Then Pompey marched out of Asia Minor into Syria. Syria had long been in a condition of political anarchy. Kings claiming descent from the generals of Alexander the Great still nominally ruled over its fertile plains and luxurious cities. But of late it had fallen into the hands of the King of Armenia and its great cities, such as Antioch and Damascus, and the Jews further South lived in practical independence. For some time it had been waiting like ripe fruit for the hand of Rome. Pompey declared it a Roman province, and before his return he proceeded to set the whole East in order. In addition to the new province of Syria the old provinces of Bithynia and Cilicia were reorganized, and numerous cities and dependent kingdoms were recognized or established for the ordering of Asia Minor and the defence of the frontier of the Euphrates. It was an important work well done, and the East never lost the traces of Pompey's rule, so long as it remained in Rome's hands. In 63 he prepared to return to Rome, hoping to enjoy his well-deserved triumph; but he found Rome in wild political confusion, and we must proceed now to examine the causes of this.

In addition to the references of the last chapter, Plutarch's lives of Sertorius, Lucullus and Pompey are of great value. Mommsen's chapter on the constitutional work of Sulla may be specially recommended for his brilliant picture of the terrible dictator and his analysis of his constitutional plans.

CHAPTER XIV

Julius Cæsar and his Work

THE Roman Republic was now approaching its end. The free institutions of the state were continuously overshadowed by the sword. There were from time to time attempts, well meant and sometimes promising well, to bring back power to the Senate and the *comitia*, to the consuls

and tribunes. But quickly all these hopes were swept away by the strong current which was sweeping Rome on to military rule. For four centuries the history of Roman civilization shows the progressive weakening of self-government, and the growth of an autocracy resting on the support of the army.

Before Pompey arrived in Italy fresh from his triumphs in the East, Rome had passed through the throes of the conspiracy of Catiline. This obscure affair still perplexes historians as to its cause, its object, and the relation of the statesmen of the day to it. But from the point of view taken in this book—which looks not at interesting details, but tries to see the main currents of the time—the affair is not of much importance, for it did not modify in any important way the course of Roman history. There were in Rome seeds of disorder of almost every kind. The poorer classes were discontented with their lot, hostile to the Senate, eager for political and social changes. The aristocracy of Rome had suffered much in the recent confusion, and a great number of them were ruined by luxury, profligacy, and speculation; it was to this class that Catiline belonged. Further, there was the ever-present fear of what would happen when Pompey returned with his victorious army. Would he not play again the part of Sulla? Would he not want absolute power for himself, and lands and money for his soldiers? And could such a programme be carried out without murders, proscriptions, and another Reign of Terror? The difficulty of understanding the Catilinarian movement springs from the different and not altogether harmonious forces which were at work within it. Some desired a political change, and the establishment in power of the popular party; others sought for some excuse for raising an army which should balance Pompey's army on his return; some desired nothing but an opportunity for plunder and the overthrow of a system of society from which they suffered. Catiline's earlier designs were apparently legal and political; he was three times a candidate for the consulship, and was three times rejected. Then as he could not make his way to power, by the ordinary road of office, he turned to measures of violence and anarchy. An army of discontented

The conspiracy of Catiline.

Defeat and death of Catiline.

veterans was collected in Etruria, and Catiline placed himself at the head of it; his fellow conspirators remained in Rome with instructions to set fire to the city, and seize power in the confusion. But spies brought all to the ears of the consul Cicero, and by vigorous measures he defeated the movement. The conspirators were arrested and executed. The army that Catiline commanded was defeated at Fæsulæ, and Catiline himself was slain.

Rome at this time contained many notable men, and it will help to an understanding of the age if we note some of them. Of Cicero we have already spoken. He was a man of humble birth, born in a country district of Italy. He had adopted the profession of a pleader and lawyer, for that career opened the best road to distinction for one who had neither the talents nor the inclination for a soldier's career. He holds his place in history because he was the greatest of all Roman orators, and so great was his influence in his own and succeeding ages that the Latin language never lost the traces of it. As a thinker he shows little originality, but he was keenly interested in many sides of life, and well versed in Greek literature, which he interpreted and translated to his countrymen. As a politician he was essentially conservative. His constant effort was to unite both sections of the higher and propertied classes of Rome—the landed aristocracy of the Senate, and the moneyed aristocracy of the knights—against the forces of revolution and disorder. He had succeeded for a time, and by this means had overthrown the followers of Catiline; but the future had bitter disappointments in store for the well-meaning, energetic, hopeful man of letters, in an age when the traditions of the republic, eloquence, and humane ideas had little power in comparison with the army and its leaders.

Cicero.

Cato, the younger, was usually on the same side in politics as Cicero, but he was a man of a very different stamp. He was the grandson and the imitator of Cato the censor, whose character we described in a previous chapter. Like him he saw with despair the tendencies of the times; the disappearance of reverence, the luxury, the corruption, the weakness of the Senate, the rebelliousness of the people.

Cato the younger.

He never lacked courage, and he protested in season and out of season against what he thought wrong, and himself gave an example of absolute pecuniary honesty, of devotion to duty, and of simplicity. But he lacked practical wisdom and common sense, and became the Don Quixote of Roman politics, admired by many, but laughed at by nearly all, and followed by none. Later ages saw in him the last of the republicans, and his memory was a real obstacle to the early emperors.

Crassus.

Of Crassus it is only necessary to say that he was the great capitalist of the age. He had acquired immense wealth by the various methods that the Roman knights employed, and chiefly by money-lending. His talents as politician and as soldier were not contemptible; but it was his vast wealth which gave him a place in every political combination. His name was often associated with that of Julius Cæsar, whom he assisted in the early stages of his political career. Cæsar was born in 102 B.C., and by his family connections belonged to the popular side of politics. He had not yet revealed his genius or his ambition, but he was already a well-known figure in Rome; a leader of the fashionable world in extravagance of dress and life; a bold champion of the traditions of Marius when championship was dangerous; a skilful speaker, with nothing of Cicero's elaborate ornament, but with a great gift of lucid exposition and persuasion. Cæsar and Crassus had been to some extent associated with Catiline, but they had not shared in his anarchical designs, and had not been injured by his overthrow.

Julius Cæsar.

The return of Pompey.

Pompey returned in 62, and showed at once that the fears of Rome with regard to him were groundless. He was ambitious; but he hoped to realize his ambition within the limits of the constitution; there was nothing in him of the stuff of which revolutionary leaders are made. So when he landed at Brindisi with his army he at once disbanded it as the law required, and trusted to his *prestige* to win from the Senate what he wanted—the acceptance of the arrangements he had made in the East, and rewards in land for his soldiers. He was quickly undeceived. The Senate was flushed with its victory over Catiline, and power seemed to have returned to its hands. It refused some of his

requests and postponed others. Pompey, just returned from a position in the East more powerful than that of royalty, found himself a private person, whom the authorities delighted to irritate. He desired to return to power and looked about for allies in an attack on the Senate.

The first triumvirate.

He found them in the popular party, in Cæsar and in Crassus. Cæsar had left Italy shortly after the conspiracy of Catiline, and had taken up a command in Spain; he was now back again, and on no better terms with the Senate than he was before. If these three men united their forces; if Pompey gave his name and fame, Crassus his wealth and credit, and Cæsar his influence with the people and his army, the Senate would be incapable of resistance. The alliance (known in history as the First Triumvirate) took place. It was a secret arrangement; but its consequences were soon apparent. Cæsar was elected to the consulship for the year 59. Pompey received the recognition of his doings in the East and rewards for his soldiers. The Senate could not resist the pressure that was brought to bear upon them; Cæsar's military force would have been employed against them if they had ventured to do so. At the end of the year 59 new arrangements were made by the all-powerful "Three." The Roman world was still to be ruled by them. Cæsar was to have a command in Gaul for five years (subsequently prolonged to ten); Pompey was to remain in Rome, and keep the Senate in order; Crassus, no doubt, gained further opportunities for enriching himself, and had the promise of a military command later.

Cæsar's campaigns in Gaul.

So in 58 Cæsar marched north with a large army for his momentous campaigns in Gaul. No campaigns in history have been more admirably described than these; for Cæsar himself wrote the account of them in a narrative of admirable vigour and lucidity, the tone of which is strangely reserved and unemotional throughout. He first drove back the Swiss (the Helvetii) who were trying to invade the Roman province. He then turned against the Germans, who, under their great leader Ariovistus, were preparing to overrun the fertile lands of Gaul. These Germans were as formidable to the Romans as their kinsmen, the

Cimbrians and Teutons, had been forty years before. But they were overwhelmed by Cæsar and driven back with much diminished numbers behind the Rhine. Hitherto he had fair warrant for what he was doing; he was defending the Roman province or coming to the relief of tribes with whom Rome was in alliance. But now, with no better excuse than ambition and the advantage of the Roman power could afford, he entered upon the conquest of all Gaul. He marched northwards to the Rhine, and twice passed beyond it into Germany. He struck down all the Gallic tribes that dared to resist him. He passed over to Britain, and in two campaigns demonstrated to the British the superiority of the Roman arms. Whilst he was away in Britain the rebellion of the newly won Gallic lands was preparing, and it broke out with great fury on his return. Crushed in the north it blazed up again in the south, and the cause of Gallic liberty found a worthy representative in the Arvernian chief, Vercingetorix. Cæsar, for the first time, received a check when he failed at the siege of Gergovia, but in 50 he blockaded Vercingetorix in the hill fortress of Alesia, and in spite of desperate efforts at relief, forced him to surrender.

Character and results of the war.

With the fall of Alesia the war was over. It had been in many respects a horrible struggle. With apparent callousness Cæsar, whose "mercifulness" was admitted later by friend and foe, tells us of the slaughter of thousands upon thousands, the devastation of the lands of the tribes that resisted him, the selling into slavery of whole communities, even the mutilation of soldiers, when he thought it well to spare their lives. Yet the campaigns were probably not more cruel than others of the time; what was new was the clear light which was thrown by the commander himself on the details of the campaign. Cæsar's Gallic wars are rightly regarded as among the most important in history. They kept back the German invasions, and perhaps saved the western lands from that danger for another three centuries. They laid the foundation of the French nation and state, for the language and culture of Rome penetrated rapidly the newly won lands, and, in spite of the bitter memories of the war, Gaul accepted the Roman dominion with little resistance, and later

came to regard it with pride. The effects of these campaigns on Cæsar's future and on the future of the government of Rome are equally momentous. His army was devoted to him personally, not to the Republic; the experiences and the victories of the campaigns had made it a force of unrivalled efficiency, moving with extraordinary rapidity, well-disciplined, audacious, and proud of its achievements. With its help Cæsar now grasped the Imperial Crown.

The situation in Rome. The Conference at Luca.

While Cæsar was marching from triumph to triumph, the situation in Rome was changing. Pompey's was perhaps a more difficult task than Cæsar's, and certainly he was not so successful in it. It was easier to defeat Germans and Gauls than to keep order amidst the turbulent factions of Rome. It seemed in the year 56 as though his opponents would triumph, as though the Senate would throw off the control which the three powerful colleagues were exercising over them. Cicero was the spokesman, and perhaps the author of this revolt. It seemed so dangerous that Cæsar left, for the moment, his military task in Gaul and returned to Luca in Italy, where he was met by Pompey and by Crassus. The hopes of Cicero and the Senate had been founded on the disagreement of Cæsar and of Pompey. But now it was clear that they were united again, and that if resistance to the all-powerful "Three" were persisted in, the sword of Cæsar would quickly be drawn against his enemies in Rome. So all opposition fell; those who had talked so loudly hastened to make their peace, and Cicero himself apologized for the action that he had taken. The triumvirs again arranged the affairs of Rome. Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls, Cæsar's command in Gaul was renewed for another five years, Crassus was to be rewarded for his support by the command of an expedition against the Parthians. Yet soon after this year the alliance began to break up. In 53 Crassus went out on his coveted campaign in the East, and was there defeated by the Parthians in the battle of Carrhæ, and subsequently slain. His death removed an important cement in the alliance of Cæsar and Pompey, and now these two men began rapidly to drift into opposition. We may see the true reason doubtless in a natural jealousy,

for while Pompey was adding nothing to his reputation or power, Cæsar was now recognized as the greatest soldier in the Roman world. It was natural under such circumstances that Pompey should draw near to the Senate with which he had for a time so seriously quarrelled, and it was as champion of the Senate that he broke off friendly relations with Cæsar, and entered upon the great Civil War.

The outbreak of civil war.

We need not narrowly examine its causes. It is in itself a struggle rather of rival military ambitions than of political principles. But while Pompey nominally stood for the Senate and the Senate's power, Cæsar, with at least no greater hypocrisy, declared himself the champion of the people and their privileges. After some negotiations the sword was drawn in the year 48, when Cæsar crossed the Rubicon, the stream which divided Roman Italy from the province of Cisalpine Gaul. It is an amazing war which follows. Some had depreciated Cæsar's campaigns in Gaul as being fought against half-armed barbarians, but he proved himself equally successful against armies of Roman soldiers; and though Pompey and the Senate had professed themselves confident of victory, hardly a gleam of success came to cheer them from beginning to end. First with a rapidity, which is only possible to a perfectly trained army, Cæsar marched upon Rome, and Pompey found himself incapable of resistance. The people of Italy showed no readiness to fight for the republic. The civil wars and the constant changes had destroyed all enthusiasm for political ideals. They wanted only security for their farming and their commerce; and Cæsar, instead of bringing fire and slaughter and confiscation with him, proved amazingly conciliatory, ready and even eager to pardon his enemies, and anxious to maintain order and protect property. So Pompey drew back with his armies to Brindisi and embarked for Epirus, hoping to find support and recruits near to the scenes of his former triumphs. Cæsar did not at first follow him, but, with a rapidity which became proverbial, he marched westward by the South of Gaul into Spain, and then having stamped out resistance there, he returned at once to Italy. The position was a difficult one, for not only was Pompey's

army large, but Pompey held the control of the sea. Cæsar risked, nevertheless, the passage and landed safely on the shores of Epirus. His first assault on Pompey's position was driven off with heavy loss, but he then lured Pompey eastwards to Thessaly and there crushed him in the crowning victory of Pharsalia (48). Pompey fled from the battlefield, hoping that the memory of his victories in the East would suffice tc gather fresh forces in Asia Minor; but the spell was broken by defeat, and he fell at last by an assassin's hand on the seashore of Egypt. There was much hard fighting to be done before Cæsar could feel himself unquestioned master of the Roman world. Egypt had to be subdued: the province of Africa had to be cleared of the enemy by the battle of Thapsus: and Cæsar's last battle was fought and won at Munda in Spain against the last rally of the partisans of Pompey and the Senate.

The battle of Pharsalia (48 B.C.).

Cæsar was master of the Roman world; what would he do with it? His career justifies the claim that he was as eminent a statesman as he was a soldier, but too short a time remained to him to allow him really to organize the government of Rome. We deal, therefore, not with a complete scheme, but with suggestions and a first sketch only; but what we know allows us to call Julius Cæsar the real founder of the Roman Empire. It is true that the latter system which was adopted by Augustus and followed by his successors in many respects differs from that of Julius Cæsar; yet it was he who first definitely concentrated the government of the Roman dominions in the hands of a single ruler, and it was his *prestige* and the memory of his great achievements which allowed the subsequent system to establish itself so easily. The outlines of the system which Julius Cæsar proposed to establish were somewhat as follows. Power would rest in the hands of one man, though whether that man was to be called emperor, or dictator, or king, was not decided at the time of his death. The Senate would retain a distinguished and an important place in the State; its numbers were to be increased to 900, and its ranks were to be filled by eminent men drawn from the provinces.

Cæsar's political ideas.

It would thus cease to be the Government, but it would become the great advisory council of the empire. Though Cæsar had climbed to power as a champion of the people, it was impossible, as we have seen, that the powers of the *comitia* should be expanded or even maintained. The right of the residents of Rome to govern the world could not be reasonably defended. Cæsar therefore would take from the people the power which Gracchus had tried to give them, but other parts of the programme of Gracchus would be realized, such as the relief of poverty and the plantation of citizen colonies beyond the seas. On some such lines as these the new monarchy was to be built up. Much remained indeterminate, the question of succession for instance, and the changes which were to be introduced into the government of the provinces, where, more than elsewhere, change was necessary.

The scope of Cæsar's genius may be gathered from other sources besides his political changes. He ranks high among the great writers of Rome ; he passed an extremely important law organizing the free municipal government of the cities of the Roman Empire ; under his guidance a change was made in the calendar, and by Cæsar's reformed calendar the world divided and reckoned time until the 16th century. It seems certain that the world has known no greater intellect than his, and that it would have worked for the progress and benefit of mankind if his life had been prolonged for a few more years. Yet we cannot wonder that his changes were regarded with suspicion and resisted by large classes at Rome. They seemed to strike at the most cherished traditions of the republic, and they were pushed forward without much attempt at conciliation. In the year 44 B.C., a plot against Cæsar's life was formed from various elements. Some regretted the noble past of the Republic ; others were jealous of Cæsar's elevation ; some were actuated by a personal quarrel. Upon the Ides of March in the year 44 Cæsar fell a victim to the daggers of these assassins, and his death let loose again the flood of revolution over the Roman world. It had to pass through thirteen years of civil war before it found rest in a system of Government which followed in its

Murder of Julius Cæsar.

main features that suggested by Julius Cæsar, and where it did not follow it was certainly no improvement.

Mommsen's history provides the highest eulogy of Julius Cæsar. Froude's *Cæsar: a sketch* takes the same line of unlimited hero worship. Ward-Fowler's *Cæsar* and Strachan-Davidson's *Cicero* (both in the "Heroes of the Nations") are the best modern English books for the study of the period. Boissier has an excellent book discussing the various views held as to the conspiracy of Catiline, and deciding in the main for the traditional view: see for the opposite view, Beesly's *Catiline, Clodius* and *Tiberius*. Plutarch's *Lives of Cæsar, Pompey, Crassus* and *Cicero*. For Cæsar in Gaul, Rice Holmes' *Conquest of Gaul* and his translation of *Cæsar's Commentaries*.

CHAPTER XV

Augustus

"THE tyrant is dead, but the tyranny still lives." These were words used by Cicero shortly after the death of Julius Cæsar. He had ardently hoped that the assassination would bring back the Republic in its old form and with its old efficiency, but he soon discovered that the very foundations of the Republic were undermined, that the institutions had outlived their period of usefulness, and that if the Roman Empire were to subsist some form of monarchy was inevitable.

The Constitution in Rome was full of confusion. Brutus and Cassius, the liberators as they called themselves, hoped that power would fall to them, but the reality of power soon came into the hands of Antony, an old colleague of Cæsar's and consul in the year of his death. Soon, too, there came upon the scene another actor who was destined to play the leading part. This was young Cæsar, grand-nephew of Julius, who much later was called Augustus, but whom for purposes of clearness we will designate by this title already. At the time of the death of his great-uncle he was in Epirus. Julius had made him his heir in his will, and now, though only nineteen

Position at the death of Julius Cæsar.

years of age, he came over to Rome to secure this dangerous inheritance. At first it seemed little likely that the prize would fall to him; all parties thought they could make of him their tool, but the young and handsome lad showed wonderful powers of intrigue and statesmanship. He joined himself to Antony and formed with him and Lepidus, another prominent Roman, what is known as "the Second Triumvirate." These men were agreed, at any rate on one point, that Cæsar's name and policy should be defended, and that those who had murdered him should be punished. They quickly achieved a remarkable success. Augustus represented the tradition of Cæsar, and had for that reason a strong hold on the affections of the army. Antony was the best known soldier in the Roman Empire, and between them they evoked a loyalty and following, greater than anything upon which Brutus and Cassius could rely. In the year 42 Brutus and Cassius were defeated in the battles of Philippi, and both perished. Thus, after two years, republican institutions were again overthrown, and again the Roman world was dominated by absolute power, though for the present this was wielded by three men.

The battles of Philippi.

The triumvirate soon began to dissolve. Lepidus, an unimportant politician, was thrust aside. It was agreed that Antony should go to the East and rule over the eastern half of the Roman Empire, whilst to Augustus was allotted Rome and the West. It seemed at first that, if the two colleagues were to quarrel, Antony had the best chance of success, for to him fell far the richest of the Roman provinces; but it was a great source of strength to Augustus that he ruled in Rome itself, for he appeared thus as the champion of Roman unity and of the Roman tradition. He was admirably served also. Though no soldier himself he was supported by Agrippa, who showed himself to possess high talents for war, and by Mæcenas, who was a most capable administrator and most skilful in conciliating the feelings of the Romans. Augustus came thus to represent all that was best in Roman life and habits, while at the same time Antony plunged down an opposite course. He lived for the most part in Alexandria, where he associated

The quarrel between Augustus and Antony.

with the Egyptian queen, Cleopatra, and rumours were soon current in Rome that he had adopted Oriental ways, that he designed to bring Rome under the yoke of Egypt, and that he had shown in his contests with the barbarians of the East far less than his old military skill.

There were attempts made to keep the peace between Augustus and Antony, but a natural rivalry, mutual suspicion and the different principles which they represented, drove them on to war. The rupture came in the year 31 B.C., and the decisive battle was fought at sea near Actium on the West coast of Greece, and in this battle, Antony, despite his military experience and reputation, was wholly defeated by Augustus and his lieutenants. Antony fled back with the Egyptian queen to Alexandria, but they were besieged by Augustus and soon perished; Antony of his wounds, Cleopatra of self-administered poison. A single ruler was again master of the whole Roman world.

Augustus had now to face the difficult problem of the organization of his vast dominions. Would he follow the designs of Julius Cæsar? Would he restore the Republic? Or would he discover some new methods and forms of government? He hesitated long, he tried many experiments, and it was only after several years that the Government received the form which he finally adopted, and which was destined with some changes to endure for centuries. We have said that Julius Cæsar may fairly be regarded as the founder of the Roman Empire, but the designs of Augustus were in many ways different from those of Julius. Julius had been a daring innovator who leaned in politics to the popular side, and ruthlessly swept away the traditions of Rome and the power of the Senate and established a new type of Government. But Augustus was before all things conservative and fearful of change; he feared the fate which had fallen upon his great-uncle, and apart from all motives of fear, he desired to link on the new Government to the old traditions of Rome, and to veil from the eyes of Rome, and perhaps from his own, the great gap which separated the Republic from the institutions which he was founding. No change was proclaimed; Augustus took no new title of command; he called himself neither king

nor dictator, nor emperor; he assumed that the power which he held was delegated to him by the Roman people itself; and it is unquestionable that Augustus was, for a large period of his reign, genuinely popular. Towards the end of his reign he drew up an account of his life in short official sentences and had it inscribed on stone in Greek and Latin, and placed in various parts of the empire. Nearly the whole of it has been preserved to us. Augustus claims in it that "after universal power had come into his hands by the wish of the whole people" he had voluntarily laid it down and had "*restored the Republic*." There was probably no hypocrisy in the phrase. He did his best to return to the republican traditions of Rome, and it was the condition of the Roman world, as much as his own ambition, which led to the maintenance of power in the hand of one man.

The basis of the power of Augustus.

Many of the functions which in the past had been held by different officials were now concentrated in his hands, and it is this concentration which is the characteristic mark of the new order of things. His power was so great, and the subserviency of the Senate and people so unlimited, that he could have what offices he wished. After experiment he decided to build his power mainly upon two foundations. He held for life *pro-consular power* and *tribunician power*, and he found that these powers, widely interpreted, gave him full control of the Roman world. By virtue of his pro-consular authority all the armies of Rome were submitted to his command, while his tribunician power surrounded him with special sanctity, and gave him the right to control both the legislation and jurisdiction of Rome. We have seen that he took no title to describe his new authority, but the name which was by usage given to him and to his successors was "Princeps," which is rather a title of courtesy than a badge of power. It merely implied that he was the chief man of the State, and it should rather be translated "President" than "Emperor."

If we look a little further into his organization of the State we may notice that the Senate was treated with great respect and was to possess far greater actual power than had been given to it by Julius. It was limited to men of Roman birth and

good income; it was reduced to its old numbers; half the provinces, those especially which had no need of military forces, were submitted to its administration; and it soon became the supreme tribunal of the Roman world. Augustus took every opportunity of showing it honour, and he seems to have been popular with its members. So great was its authority that the new Government is sometimes described as a "dyarchy," a system, that is, of dual control, whereby half the Roman world was in the power of Augustus, and half in the power of the Senate. This was only true in appearance; the whole reality of power lay with the Princeps, and what the Senate did it did by his permission. But it is nevertheless true that at first the Senate seemed rather to have gained in dignity and in power by the change that had passed over the State. Very different was the lot of the popular institutions of Rome; they had suffered under Julius, they were further depressed under Augustus. Popular legislation almost ceased; the *comitia* were never again used as Court of Appeal; and the chief function that was left to the people was that of electing the officers of the State. Yet even here the importance of the *comitia* was not so great as it had been, for officials directly appointed by the emperor tended to override consuls, prætors, and tribunes, and soon after the death of Augustus the whole system of popular election ceased entirely. Great changes, too, were introduced in the government of the provinces. They had suffered terribly in the past from mis-government and extortion, and they had been often regarded merely as a source of income by the officials, "birds of prey and passage," who were sent out from Rome to govern them. It is unquestionable that a better era dawned for them with the fall of the Republic. The emperor had no interest in the mis-government of the provinces, but rather in their continuous welfare. The doings of the governors were carefully superintended, a salary was paid to them, and they were forbidden to add to it. There were still instances of provincial oppression, but they were exceptional, and, if the establishment of the empire meant a loss of liberty to the Romans, it meant

The Senate under Augustus.

The people of Rome under Augustus.

The provinces.

a vast increase of prosperity and of peace to the inhabitants of the Provinces.

The literature of the period.

Augustus knew the value of popularity, and did his utmost to maintain it. He avoided in Rome all appearance of monarchy, lived and demeaned himself merely as a Roman noble, into whose unwilling hands the people had thrust immense powers. In his task of reconciling the Romans to the new order, he was vastly assisted by the writers of his day. He exercised his patronage, not directly, but through the influence of Mæcenas. The whole of the literature of the reign breathes a tone of devotion to Augustus, and a belief that he has inaugurated a better state of things. This is especially true of the two greatest poets, Horace and Virgil.

Horace and Virgil.

Horace in his odes and other poems is never weary of praising Augustus and his ministers, of celebrating the services rendered by the emperor and his family, and he joined in the chorus of almost religious adoration to the new authority which was beginning to rise from all parts of the empire. "We will regard Augustus," he says, "as a God abiding with us." Still greater were the services of Virgil. His noble poems supported the policy of Augustus at every turn; he praised the old traditions of the Roman republic; he preached the beauty of a simple rural life; but above all, in his greatest poem, the Æneid, he linked the family of Augustus to the mythical founder of Rome, and clearly represented Augustus as the second founder of Rome and her greatness.

Augustus and religion.

But Augustus looked to religion as well as to literature for the support of his *régime.* The age was far from a religious one; scepticism was widespread, the temples were dilapidated, and the place of the old Roman forms of worship was being taken by new Oriental cults. It was the aim of Augustus to restore the temples, to make the worship of the gods popular once again, and to support his power by the religious veneration which he would thus win for it. Nor in all these things must we regard Augustus as an impostor, anxious only to strengthen his own power. The historic sense of Rome's great traditions, the love of her religious ceremonials, the

desire to extend agriculture, and a simple form of life were, with him, genuine enthusiasms.

After the battle of Actium a great calm fell upon the Roman world, which was destined to last with slight interruptions for nearly two centuries. But in order to secure the stability of Roman civilization it was necessary to reorganize the defences of the frontiers, and though Augustus was no soldier and desired to avoid wars, the frontiers of Rome were, during his reign, advanced. This was especially the case with the northern frontier, where in a series of campaigns the Roman arms were carried up to and even beyond the Rhine and the Danube, and these two rivers were made the northern frontiers of the Roman world. At one time there was a hope that the frontiers would be extended much beyond this, for Roman armies marched as far as the Elbe and procured the submission of the land in a series of campaigns in which Drusus and his brother Tiberius (stepsons of the Emperor Augustus) commanded. The success achieved was very great. It seemed as though the Elbe were to become the rampart of the Roman Empire, and the Romans would thus have to defend a much shorter line. But it was not to be. The free spirit of the Germans blazed up in revolt against the restraint which the Romans imposed and the corruption of their officials, and in the year 9 A.D. the forces of the Roman commander Varus were ambushed and destroyed by Arminius amidst the forests and morasses of the north-west of Germany. It was the one great disaster of the reign of Augustus, and he did not attempt to revenge it. No serious attempt was made during the few remaining years of his reign to win back what had been lost.

The advance of the frontiers.

Germany won and lost.

Thus the good fortune of Augustus deserted him in foreign affairs at the end of his reign, and his private life was, towards the end, full of sorrow. The sorrows of the Emperor, moreover, had a close bearing upon the fate of the empire. He was married three times, but to the end the question of the succession was a very doubtful one; indeed, one of the weak points about the new Imperial system was that there was no regular system of succession, nor, while the republic was

still in name maintained, could there very well be any rule of the succession laid down; but the power and influence of Augustus was so great that without much question he could have handed on his authority and his titles to whomsoever he chose. He had one daughter, and through her he had several grandchildren, but death and disgrace baffled the hope that he would find a successor in one of these. In the end he had unwillingly to recognize the claims of his stepson Tiberius, a man of great ability and probably of high character, but with no gift of popularity and little able to carry on the special features of the rule of Augustus. It was to this man the rule of the Roman world came on the death of Augustus in the year 14 A.D.

The significance of the Roman Empire for the history of Europe.

But before we go on to the new reign it may be well to call attention to the vast importance for universal history of the establishment of the Roman Empire. It is the culminating fact of ancient history. All previous political forms led up to it, and most modern political forms have been influenced by it. Its first great service was the establishment of peace. The years from the battle of Actium onwards for two centuries are without question the most peaceful period in the history of the lands embraced within the circuit of the Roman Empire. An army of some 400,000 men sufficed to keep order in countries where there are now many millions of soldiers. Next, and largely in consequence of this peace, rapid extension of civilization took place over the whole surface of the empire. The Latin language in the West and the Greek language in the East were already widespread, but it was after the establishment of the Roman Empire that the Latin language became the national language in the western provinces, and thus the modern French, Spanish, and Italian languages began to develop. But it was not only the language of Rome that was accepted by the peoples of Western Europe, it was the ideas of her civilization, and especially the ideas of Roman law. The supreme product of Roman civilization is Roman law; this is her distinctive gift to posterity, as art and science are the gifts of Greece, and

1. Peace.

2. The spread of civilization.

3. Roman law.

although the foundations of Roman law are to be traced during the Republic, it was under the empire that it developed into a massive and logical system, which later generations looked back upon almost as a revelation, and which lies now at the basis of the legal systems of all European lands, though it has influenced the development of English law less than any other. Nor is it altogether true to say that the establishment of the Roman Empire was the overthrow of liberty. It meant the overthrow of free speech in Rome, and the historian sees with regret the loss of the dignity, and of the independence of the Senate and of the people of the city of Rome. But for the vast majority of the inhabitants of the empire there was gain not only in prosperity, but in liberty as well. It was the policy of the Roman Empire in the time of Augustus, and afterwards, to encourage the growth of self-governing cities, and from the Euphrates to the Tyne, and from the Baltic to the Desert of the Sahara, the world was soon covered thick with cities where a vigorous and independent municipal life was for a long time to be found. One city, and that the greatest of all, Rome herself, had lost her power of self-government; but what she had lost, many hundreds, perhaps thousands of cities gained. Lastly, as we look on the result of the establishment of the empire to later civilization we cannot fail to see in what close relations it stands to the spread of Christianity. Augustus had tried to revive the old pagan religion, and to some extent he succeeded, but it was not the old faiths which gained so much from his system as the new ones. The Roman Empire was a vast international system embracing many races, states, languages, and an infinity of religious practices. The old religions were nearly all of them national, limited to the state or the people wherein they were professed. The new international state seemed to require an international religion. There were many signs that such would emerge before the final victory of Christianity, for not only did the character of the empire make for universalism in religion, but it also assisted the actual preaching of such a religion. East and West, North and South, were brought nearer to one another than

4. The rise and spread of city life.

5. The spread of Christianity.

ever before. Missionaries of a new Faith could proceed without difficulty from Antioch to York; they would find everywhere an admirable system of roads, a uniform system of coinage, an absence of all checks or hindrances in the way of state-frontiers, and wherever they came they would find at least a large proportion of the people to whom they could speak in one of the two languages of the Roman world, in Latin that is to say, or Greek. The time was soon to come when the Roman Empire and the Christian Church would each regard the other as a deadly enemy. But the services of the empire to Christianity are undoubted, and ultimately after a terrible period of combat, Christianity was destined to strengthen and reinforce the empire.

For the history of the early Roman Empire, Bury's *Roman Empire* is the best text-book. Merivale's *Romans under the Empire* is throughout useful and readable, though he makes mistakes as to the Augustan constitution. Mommsen did not write the history of the Empire; but his *Roman Provinces under the Empire* is full of important information. Ferrero's *Greatness and Decline of the Romans* is brilliant and suggestive, but his love of paradox makes it a dangerous guide. Pelham's *Outlines of Roman History*, useful everywhere, is especially useful for the imperial period. For Augustus himself see the Lives by Schuckburgh and by Frith. Any history of Latin literature will be of great use. Those by Mackail and Wight-Duff deserve special recommendation.

CHAPTER XVI

The Early Empire

WITH the establishment of the empire the history of Europe enters on a period of great simplicity. The whole extent of the known civilized world was submitted to one Government, and seemed to depend upon the fortunes of one city. The story in consequence may be told clearly and rapidly.

The real importance of this period is to be found in the history of the provinces; their prosperity was increasing, and

their civilization was advancing, and in the East and in the West the population was rapidly brought up to the level of the culture of Italy and of Rome herself. But although much greater attention has of late years been given to the history of the provinces, it is still impossible to write anything like a continuous history of them. It is only when some incident connected them with the Roman Emperor or the Roman army that the ancient historians devoted much attention to the doings of Gaul or Spain or Syria or Egypt; but with the help of inscriptions and the study of archæology much can be made out now of the condition of the provinces, and all seems to show that to them the establishment of the empire brought a vast improvement on what had gone before.

The provinces under the empire.

In Rome itself, the early popularity of the empire soon faded away. The successors of Augustus did not show the same tact, and they did not secure the same support in the literature of the time. In place of the enthusiastic veneration which we find in the pages of Horace or of Virgil, the poets and historians of the next fifty years speak of the emperors generally with the greatest scorn and dislike. This is doubtless partly due to the fact that the successors of Augustus had not his skill and sanity and moderation, but there are also other reasons for the change. As the memory of the troubles that had preceded Augustus began to grow dim, the people, and still more the nobility of Rome, became painfully aware that they were no longer the masters and governors of the world. Their regret and their ambition found a voice in much of the literature of the time, but it must be always remembered that Rome had lost its old paramount importance for the empire, and that discontents in Rome do not necessarily imply any distress in the empire at large.

Rise of opposition to the empire.

For four reigns after the death of Augustus the Imperial power was kept in the hands of his relations. First his stepson Tiberius became emperor, and Tiberius is one of the most difficult personal problems in the history of the empire. The great historian Tacitus has poured upon him the vials of his wrath; he has painted him as the ideal of

Tiberius.

a cruel and suspicious tyrant, and has implied that Rome suffered a veritable reign of terror whilst he was emperor. But this view is in many ways difficult to accept, and is not fully supported by what Tacitus himself tells us. The bias of the historian is clearly marked, and there can be no doubt that Tiberius in his general government of the empire was a worthy successor of Augustus, vigorous, careful, peace-loving, and efficient. Augustus in his will had warned him against any attempt to advance the frontiers of the empire, but at first Tiberius seemed inclined to take up again the conquest of Germany which had come to such a tragical end under Varus. Roman armies again marched as far as the Elbe, and the military superiority of the Roman arms was again made apparent under the nephew of Tiberius, who received for his victories the title of Germanicus. Then Tiberius, though he had suffered no reverse, determined to abandon the attempt and the Roman frontier was withdrawn to the Rhine. The withdrawal was regarded in Rome as a slur upon the national honour, but to Tiberius it was probably plain that the effort would require too great an expenditure of men and of money, and that success was too doubtful to make it worth while to continue the struggle. When the pressure of foreign invasion was removed the Germans quickly lost the measure of unity which they had possessed for a time, under Arminius. The Romans were relieved from all anxiety on that side when German tribes turned against one another the weapons that the Romans had found so formidable. Arminius himself was slain in the civil wars that followed; and the Romans were not seriously threatened on the Rhine frontiers for two centuries. Elsewhere Tiberius constantly maintained the peaceful *régime* of Augustus. During his last years he withdrew from Rome to Capri near Naples, and strange stories were current of his cruelty and profligacy there, which, if true, must point to some failure of his once powerful intelligence. He died in the year 37, and was succeeded by Caligula. The Roman world was now governed by one of the strangest figures who have ever possessed supreme power, and there can be little question that his mind was unhinged either by nature, or by the

Caligula.

influence of the immense power to which he had unexpectedly arrived. His predecessors had been careful to avoid the appearance and ceremony of absolute power; but Caligula had no such scruples. He made men address him as a God, and took a crazy delight in enforcing the most abject reverence. After a short reign he was assassinated, and was succeeded by his uncle Claudius. The Roman world was once more submitted to a very strange character. Claudius was a man of much learning, and many of his utterances on public affairs show real wisdom, but in his private relations he was weak to the verge of imbecility, and his palace was the scene of the wildest domestic scandals. During his reign one important addition was made to the provinces of Rome. We have seen that Julius Cæsar had already invaded Britain, but had made no permanent settlement there. Now, in the year 44, Roman armies again crossed the Straits, and the islanders proved again unable to resist them. The Roman arms were carried across the Thames as far as Colchester. Claudius himself came to take some part in the last stages of the triumphant campaign, and henceforward Britain counts as a Roman province, and its frontiers are pushed further North and West. Claudius was murdered in 54, and he was succeeded by Nero. It is possible to defend and even to praise the actions of Tiberius; it is possible to defend the policy of Claudius; but there can be no question of the vileness of the character of Nero, and of the evil influence which he exercised upon the destinies of the world which was submitted to his rule. The first few years of his reign seemed indeed to promise better things, and men contrasted the prosperity of this period both with what had gone before, and with what was soon to follow, but during these famous "five years" he was to some extent controlled and directed by Seneca, the philosopher, and by Burrus, a soldier of high character and ability. When he arrived at mature years and shook off all control, he showed no sense of duty or responsibility, but plunged into a career of wild expenditure, vice and crime, and in addition, shocked all Roman traditions by his personal exhibitions as a dancer, singer, and charioteer. One palace scandal followed upon

Claudius.

Nero.

the heels of another; conspiracies were formed against him, but for some time without success, until at last there was a rumour of mutiny in the legions of the North, and of the complicity of the prætorian guards at Rome, and Nero, in craven despair, fled from Rome, and ultimately committed suicide (68 A.D.).

General features of the time.

It will be seen that the record of these reigns is a very depressing one, and in this book it would serve no good purpose to follow the scandals and the crimes that fill the histories of the time; instead, we will analyze some of the general features and causes of the unrest and trouble of this strange period. The first point that we must notice is the singular position of the emperors themselves. The Republic still subsisted in name; the functions and the powers of the emperors had never been defined; the traditions of the world in which they lived were wholly against the absolute power which lay in their hands. And yet the whole Roman world was directly submitted to their orders, and the Roman Empire covered nearly the whole of the world that was known to the Romans. No subsequent rulers in Europe have ever held a position so solitary or so exalted as that of the Roman Emperors. Kings and emperors at a later period of European history, even when most absolute in power, have had rivals and opponents in other countries. But the Roman Emperors, unsupported by any tradition of loyalty, stood alone in the world, without rivals and without equals. Everywhere they were met not with genuine loyalty, but with subservience and flattery, and very soon with religious adoration as well. It can hardly be wondered if under such conditions all sense of reality left them, and they were sometimes seized with what has been called the "dizziness of supreme power." It should be noted, too, that no attempt was made—perhaps under the circumstances no attempt could be made—to establish a law of succession. The great prize, therefore, was settled by intrigue among the different candidates and their supporters in the palace, by conspiracy, and often by crime.

Among the Imperial agents was a body of men who now emerge into evil notoriety, the freedmen of the emperor. These

were men of servile origin, whom the emperors employed as their subordinates in the administration of their dominions. They distrusted the old aristocracy of Rome, and in these men, usually of Greek origin, well educated and capable in ordinary affairs of business, they found pliant and efficient instruments. Freedmen of this kind were very generally employed by Roman landowners in their service, and now that the Roman Empire had become something like the estate of one man, it was a natural extension of the system that made these freedmen great political personages. But the Roman nobles saw with indignation the power that was possessed, and the wealth that was acquired by men who were drawn from the slave class, and the bitter jealousy of the empire displayed by the Roman nobles is partly to be attributed to this cause. Moreover, if they were capable in their management of business, their servile upbringing had given them little sense of honour or of duty, and their names are associated with the worst scandals and corruptions of the Imperial household.

The emperor's freedmen.

Another feature of the time that must be understood is the Prætorian guard. Under the Republic no body of soldiers was maintained in or near to Rome, but the emperors from the first planted a large body of troops at the gates of Rome, whose function it was to act as an Imperial bodyguard, and to overawe the turbulent elements of the city. These guards were recruited from Italy alone and received higher pay than the ordinary armies stationed in the provinces. At first they served the emperors faithfully, but they grew conscious of their power, and were soon themselves a serious element of danger.

The Prætorian guard.

Popular elections were brought to an end during the rule of Tiberius, and they seem to have died unregretted; but the Senate still existed, and membership of the Senate was coveted by the higher orders of Roman society. Between the Senate and the emperors relations were always strained, and often actually hostile during the reigns of the four emperors that we have considered in this chapter. The Senate could not forget, and

Trials for high treason.

perhaps tried to regain, the power which it had once possessed, and the emperors regarded the Senators as actual or possible conspirators. It was upon them that the heaviest blows of the worst emperors fell. A vague law of high treason protected the person of the emperor, and the informer who brought against any one a successful charge of high treason received rewards from the state. The Senators in consequence lived in fear of such a charge. The trials for high treason were often a mockery of all justice and fairness, and the informers, who in some cases became rich by the rewards which they received, were more bitterly hated in Roman society that even the freedmen themselves.

Such are some of the chief features of the Roman world as we see it between the death of Augustus in 14 A.D., and the death of Nero in 68. At Nero's death there came a period of violent revolution. There were insurrections among the legions of Gaul and Spain, and sympathetic movements in Rome itself. The actual cause of Nero's despair and suicide was the report of the revolution of the Prætorian guards. For a moment the fortunes of Rome seemed in their hands, and they were able to appoint what emperor they liked. They declared in favour of Galba, an aged and respected Senator, who had already been concerned in the military rising in Gaul; but when Galba arrived in Rome, he disappointed the hopes of his supporters by showing himself as strict in the management of the state as he was in the conduct of his private life; he refused to give to the soldiers the presents which they had expected, and demanded the restoration of the moneys which had been lavished by Nero. His economy was the cause of his downfall. A young Roman noble, Otho, saw his chance, and intrigued against him; he won over the Prætorian guards by lavish promises; Galba was murdered, and Otho became emperor.

The year of the three emperors.

Galba.

Otho.

But now a new feature emerged. It will have been noted that in all these events it is the soldiers that decide, and the people and the Senate of Rome count for little. Hitherto it has been the Prætorians who have given away the Imperial

title, but the ordinary legions of the Roman world were already jealous of the exceptional position and the higher pay of the Prætorians, and saw no reason why the power and the profits which came from power should belong to them alone. We see in consequence the march first of one provincial army, and then of another upon Rome, and the empire becomes the prey of the rivalries of the Roman legions which existed nominally to protect it. First the army of Germany, the army, that is, which was stationed on the Rhine, proclaimed its own commander, Vitellius, emperor, and marched to enforce his claims upon Italy. Otho met the newcomer in the north of Italy with all the forces he could raise in Rome, but in the battle of Betriacum the soldiers of the north triumphed completely over the army of Otho, and Vitellius became emperor. His position, however, was thoroughly unstable; he showed no gifts for statesmanship, and few for war; and it was soon evident that a further struggle would be necessary if he were to maintain his position over the Syrian army, which was at this time occupied in the siege of Jerusalem, and heard with jealous indignation of the good fortune of the legions of Gaul and of Germany, and decided themselves to compete for the prize. They saluted their commander Vespasian as emperor, and abandoning the siege of Jerusalem, marched upon Rome. They met the army of Vitellius near to Cremona, and there followed a fierce battle, but the newcomers showed their superiority over the legions which had enjoyed for some time the dangerous pleasures of Rome. Vitellius had to fall back upon the city itself; even there he could make no effective resistance; the city was stormed: Vitellius was slain, and Vespasian ruled in his place.

The provincial legions jealous of the Prætorians.

Vitellius

Vespasian.

In this year of revolutions it must be noted that the movements are almost entirely military, and that neither the ambitions of the Senate nor the power of the Roman people, nor even the aspirations of the provinces after liberty, count for anything in the settlement of the great struggle. It is noted by historians of the time that the legions—whether

The causes of these revolutions completely military.

Spanish, Gallic, German, or Syrian—were foreigners in Italy; they had nearly ceased to feel themselves citizens of the Roman Empire, and were actuated by a love of plunder and a sense of military honour; political motives are throughout entirely absent. There was, indeed, towards the end of the year, a rising in the north of Gaul, headed by Civilis, which had for its aim the liberation of that district from Rome, and the establishment of a national government, but after the establishment of order by Vespasian, the armies of Rome were sent against Civilis, and he was without difficulty suppressed.

Restoration of order by Vespasian.

It might have been that Vespasian would have to face the same dangers which Otho and Vitellius had had to face, and that the Syrian legions when in possession of their prize, would be challenged by yet another army. But the chief armies of Rome had already been occupied in the scramble, and Vespasian was a man not only of high military powers, but also of strong character. He had won power as the result of a military revolution, but he exercised it according to the best traditions of Roman rule, and with him a better period for the Roman world begins. He found that world indeed in the wildest confusion; the treasury was bankrupt, the Senate was more than decimated, the security of the Roman world seemed fatally interrupted. But by economy and by firmness he managed to reduce the armies to obedience, to restore the financial equilibrium, and even to conciliate the Senate. One serious war was brought to a conclusion during his reign.

The siege of Jerusalem.

We have seen that the Syrian legions were assaulting Jerusalem when they were called off from their task by the news from Rome. As soon as Vespasian's power was established the Jewish war was taken up again. The relations of Rome with the Jews had always been difficult, and the cause of this difficulty was to be found rather in the turbulence and ambition of the Jews than in any special oppressiveness of the Roman yoke. A rebellion of the Jews broke out in the year 66, and from the first was quite hopeless; for the resources of the Jews were utterly unequal to a struggle with the organized might of the Roman Empire. The civil

wars of the year 69 had given relief to Jerusalem for a while, but in the year 70 Vespasian entrusted the war in Judea and the siege of Jerusalem to his son Titus. The Jews fought with a savage and heroic courage, though their action was weakened by fierce factions among themselves. In the end the Holy City was taken by assault after an immense slaughter; it was decided that Jerusalem should be destroyed and should never be rebuilt; a Roman garrison was stationed in the neighbourhood, and Titus himself returned to Rome to enjoy a great triumph, and ultimately succeeded his father as emperor. The Jews were even before this widely dispersed throughout the Roman world, but the fall of Jerusalem robbed them of their religious centre and rallying point. Their sufferings and their power, their wanderings, their oppression and their wealth form henceforward one of the strangest threads in European history.

The reign of Titus was a short one, from 79 to 81 A.D., and he was succeeded by his brother Domitian (81–96). The reign of Domitian marks a return to some of the worst features of the earlier empire. Rome was again plunged into terror and suspicion; we hear again of the informers and the trials for high treason, and the palace was once more the scene of vice and of conspiracy. The reign left little permanent mark upon the development of Rome, and we may, therefore, merely say that in the end a conspiracy against the emperor, in which his wife joined with the freedmen and the Prætorian guards, proved successful, and Domitian fell by the dagger of an assassin.

Domitian.

In addition to the historians mentioned in the last chapter, the first chapter of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* may be read with interest. Tacitus' *Annals* are the chief authority for the early reign of Tiberius, and his *Histories* for the reign of Nero and the revolution that followed. His *Germania* is a short and brilliant account of the condition of Germany at the end of the first century. The vexed questions of Tiberius' reign are discussed by Beesly (*Catiline, Clodius,* and *Tiberius*), and by Tarver in *Tiberius the Tyrant* in a sense favourable to Tiberius. Boissier's *Tacitus* tends to support the traditional view. Henderson's *Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero* and *Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman World* give a narrative founded on modern research.

CHAPTER XVII

The Age of the Antonines

WITH the death of Domitian we come to what is in many respects the most characteristic period of the Roman Empire, most characteristic at any rate of what is best in it. For nearly a century, from 96 to 180 A.D., the Roman world enjoyed a Government singularly stable, beneficent and efficient. This period is usually known as the "Age of the Antonines," though it must be noted that the only emperors who really bore the name of Antoninus were the last two of those with whom we shall deal in this chapter.

During this period of eighty years the troubles of the early empire seemed all to have been overcome; there was no civil war during this period, no assassination, and few of the scandals that disgraced the palaces of earlier emperors. The Roman world enjoyed a period of wonderful calm and prosperity, a veritable Indian summer before the storms of the third century.

The question of the succession settled.

During the reigns of the five emperors who fill up this period, the difficulty of the succession seemed over. It was the rule for the reigning emperor to choose some prominent public servant, to adopt him as his son, and if his conduct proved satisfactory, to proclaim him his successor. The emperor had thus time himself to superintend the actions of the man who was to carry on his work, and he was able to see whether his choice would win the support of the Roman world. So admirably did this plan of succession by adoption work that it is strange that it has never been used by any modern state. It may be noted that even in the period of which we speak it was not reduced to form or legally prescribed; it was a matter of tradition, and was left to the feeling of the emperors themselves. We may note also that not one of the emperors who applied it had a son of his own to succeed him.

Again, during these years the old bitter antagonism of the emperors and the Senate was nearly at an end; there was no more talk of informers and trials for high treason, and suicides, and executions. The good relations of the emperor and the Senate were not due to any constitutional change; probably the members of the Senate, after recent events, were no longer as ambitious as they once had been, and the emperors on their side treated the Senators with a tact, which respected their feelings while it made use of their services. Signs of friction are not entirely absent in the annals of these reigns, but for the most part the Senate comes before us as a loyal supporter of the Imperial *régime*.

The Senate conciliated.

If we look into the provinces, we see there also evidence that the Imperial system was working smoothly and beneficially. The provinces clearly began to lose all sense of subordination to Rome, and felt themselves upon an equality with Italy and even with Rome herself. This was much assisted by the fact that all these emperors, except the first one, were men of provincial extraction. Spain was the original home of the emperors who gave to Rome this period of remarkable prosperity, and from this time onwards the emperors and the governors of the Roman world are, as a rule, drawn from the provinces rather than from the capital or the Italian peninsula. Municipal government, too, was making rapid strides during this period. Wherever we are able to get statistics we find that city life, based on a large measure of self-government, is extending and taking the place of all looser and more primitive forms of organization. The Roman Empire rapidly tended to become a vast collection of free municipalities held together and kept in harmony by the central Imperial Government.

The provinces lose all sense of subjection.

Spread of municipal freedom.

We have insisted from the first that internal peace was a great mark of the Imperial system of the first two centuries, but at no period was that peace so profound as during these years. In Trajan's reign there were, indeed, important wars beyond the frontiers of the Danube, and the Euphrates, and the last years of Marcus Aurelius were disturbed by ominous and dangerous

The peace of the Roman world.

incursions of the races of Germany. But these wars were nearly all fought beyond the frontiers of the Roman Empire, and the reigns of Hadrian and of Antoninus Pius were almost entirely without military incident of any sort. At no other period in the history of Europe is there anything like so complete a cessation from military activity over anything like so wide an area.

The intellectual life of the time.

Nor was the calm accompanied by torpor, nor marked by intellectual decadence. On the contrary, Latin literature had a second period of greatness illustrated by the names of Juvenal, Tacitus, and Pliny, and in the arts of sculpture and architecture this period saw the finest work that was ever done in Rome. Among the relics of Roman antiquity which are preserved in the museums of Rome and elsewhere, it is constantly found that what is most admired belongs to the period, and often comes from the palace, of the emperor Hadrian. And if we look from literature and art to thought and to religion, we find here, too, great activity and vehement controversy. The great movement which was at last to culminate in the codification of the Roman law began in the reign of Hadrian. Greek philosophy, and especially the philosophy of the Stoics, began to acquire over the better minds of pagan Rome a great and beneficent ascendancy. The Christian Church, meanwhile, was advancing, through severe struggles with rival religions and contending factions, to that strength which, as we shall see, proved ultimately fatal to the type of Government and society which was established by the Antonines, and which had in itself the seeds of decay. The Antonine era could not last for ever. There were political, economic, and religious forces working within it, which were bound before long to alter it profoundly. But while it lasted it was a singularly attractive epoch; and the spectacle of peace and order which it presents goes far to justify Gibbon's famous pronouncement, that if a philosopher were called upon to choose the period during which the human race has enjoyed the greatest felicity he would unhesitatingly choose the age of the Antonines.

The Christian Church.

We will now sketch in order the chief incidents of these reigns. The first emperor, Nerva, was a Senator of peaceful

disposition, who, during a short and prosperous reign, chose Trajan for his successor. Trajan came to the throne in the year 98, and he has often been counted the noblest and one of the greatest of the Roman emperors. So eminent were his virtues that a well-known legend of the Middle Ages declared that, almost alone of the pagans, he had been allowed to enter Paradise. If we look at his domestic government, we see him by careful administration reducing the burden of taxation, and yet supplying abundantly the needs of the Roman state ; we see him living on easy terms with the Senate so that his eulogist could declare that he was not the master of the Roman world, but the most honourable of all the Senators ; we see him anxious to remedy the serious depopulation of Italy, and to provide for the maintenance of orphan children. We can see by his correspondence with Pliny, when the latter was governor of a province, with what care he followed every detail of provincial administration, and how anxious he was to provide for the prosperity of the provincials, and to maintain the authority of the central Government. At the same time, he added greatly to the architectural decoration of the city of Rome herself by temples, columns, and arcades, and yet these building schemes do not seem to have led him, as they had led his predecessors, to burden the Romans with heavy taxation.

The reign of Trajan.

Trajan's reign saw also the Roman armies engaged in foreign wars in which they showed that they had lost nothing of their former discipline and skill, and that in the emperor they had a leader of first-rate capacity. First he led the legions against the barbarians in the lands beyond the Danube which the Romans called Dacia, and which is now called Roumania. These barbarians had already on several occasions endangered the quiet of the Roman province in their neighbourhood, and their lands were eagerly coveted by Roman settlers for the gold which was to be found there. We have no full account of the campaigns left to us, but on Trajan's column which still stands amid the ruins of the Forum which he built, we may see sculptured representations of the movements of his armies. The war was a tough one ; he had to build a stone bridge across the

The conquests of Trajan.

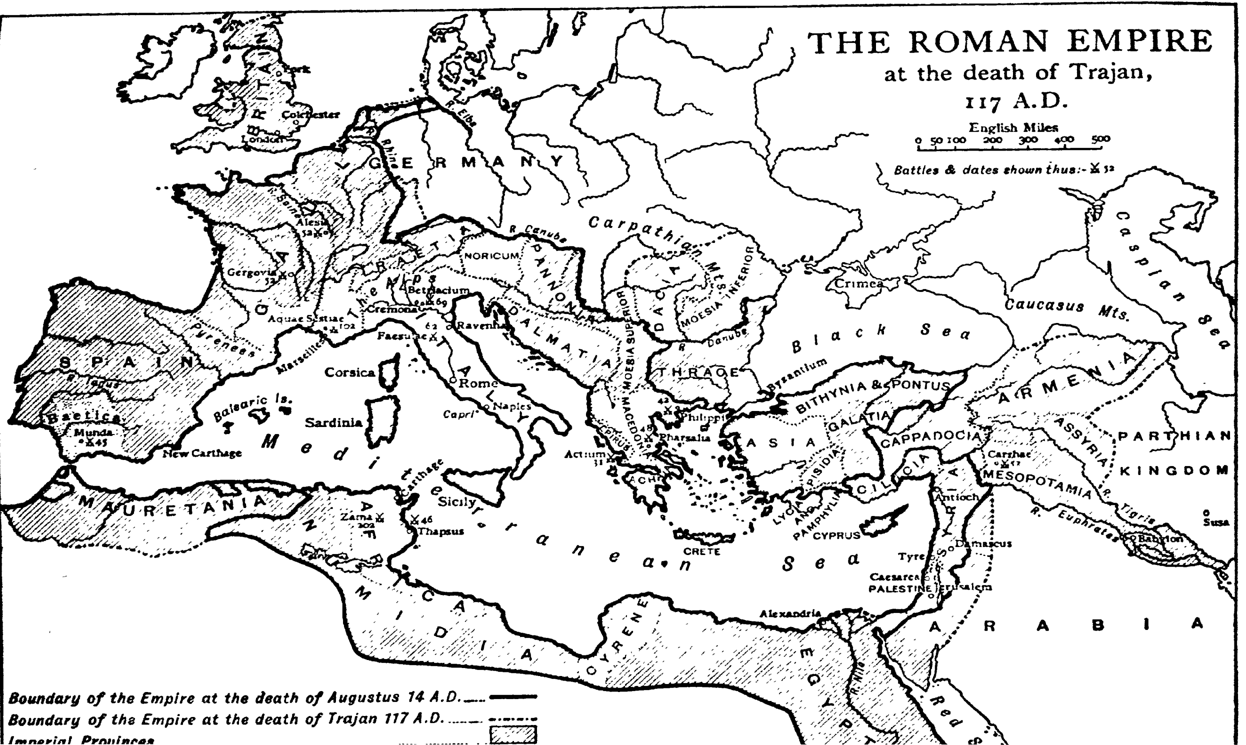
Dacia.

Danube—the first that had ever been erected—and it was only after two campaigns that the King of the Dacians was defeated, and Dacia became a Roman province. Somewhat later the military strength of Rome was called upon for war against the Parthians. This powerful race, descended from the Persians, whose defeat by the Greeks we saw in an early chapter, had proved itself for generations the most dangerous enemy of Rome, and had on more than one occasion defeated Roman legions and captured their eagles. But when Rome put forth all her might the Parthians were too weak to stand against her, and in 115 Trajan marched triumphantly across Mesopotamia and down the Tigris. He occupied Babylon, overcame all opposition, and declared Armenia and Mesopotamia Roman provinces. It was whilst he was away in these Eastern campaigns that the emperor died (117 A.D.).

The Parthians.

He was succeeded by his adopted son Hadrian, the most characteristic of the emperors of the age of the Antonines. He was of Spanish origin, thoroughly cosmopolitan in feeling, and more at home in Athens than in Rome. A great part of his reign was occupied in journeys throughout the extent of his empire, and there was hardly a province whose finances, organization, or defences were not benefited by his inspection. The famous Roman wall in Britain, from the Tyne to the Solway, owed its first form to him, though it was much added to by later emperors. He travelled with no parade and at slight expense; he declared that he regarded the empire, not as his own property, but as the estate of the Roman people, and no president of a republic ever showed more devotion to duty. But in character he was singularly unlike the Romans of the republic, for he was passionately interested in art, a curious inquirer into the riddles of philosophy and of religion, while his private life was far removed from the rigid morality which the old Roman standards of life enjoined. The only military trouble that we see during his reign is with the Jews. They were very numerous in the south-east of the empire, and in spite of the fall of Jerusalem, they still cherished hopes of the coming triumph of their race. There were massacres of Jews in Egypt

Hadrian.


THE ROMAN EMPIRE
at the death of Trajan,
117 A.D.
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Battles & dates shown thus:- ⚔ 52
GERMANY
GAUL
SPAIN
Baetica
Munda ⚔ 45
New Carthage
Pyrenees
Balearic Is.
Corsica
Sardinia
Mediterranean Sea
MAURETANIA
AFRICA
NUMIDIA
Zama ⚔ 202
⚔ 46 Thapsus
Carthage
Sicily
Rome
Naples
Capri
Ravenna
ITALY
Alps
Cremona
Aquae Sextiae ⚔ 102
Gergovia ⚔ 52
Alesia 52 ⚔
Colchester
London
York
R. Elbe
Rhine
R. Danube
RAETIA
NORICUM
PANNONIA
DALMATIA
MOESIA SUPERIOR
MOESIA INFERIOR
DACIA
Carpathian Mts.
THRACE
MACEDONIA
EPIRUS
ACHAIA
Actium ⚔ 31
Pharsalia
Philippi
CRETE
Byzantium
Black Sea
Crimea
Caucasus Mts.
Caspian Sea
BITHYNIA & PONTUS
GALATIA
ASIA
PISIDIA
LYCIA
PAMPHYLIA
CILICIA
CAPPADOCIA
CYPRUS
ARMENIA
ASSYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
Carrhae ⚔ 53
PARTHIAN KINGDOM
Susa
Babylon
R. Tigris
R. Euphrates
Antioch
SYRIA
Damascus
Tyre
Caesarea
PALESTINE
Jerusalem
ARABIA
Alexandria
EGYPT
R. Nile
Red Sea
CYRENE
Boundary of the Empire at the death of Augustus 14 A.D.
Boundary of the Empire at the death of Trajan 117 A.D.
Imperial Provinces

and in Cyprus, and a Jewish insurrection had to be beaten down in Palestine. The army was as efficient as it had been in Trajan's time, but Hadrian took the remarkable step of abandoning the provinces of Armenia and of Mesopotamia, which he probably regarded as likely to involve the Romans in continual trouble on their Eastern frontier; he retained the province of Dacia either because of the large number of Roman immigrants, or because of the value of the gold mines which were being worked there.

Hadrian's administration.

He introduced also a change of great importance into the administration of the empire. We have seen how the earlier emperors had used freedmen in posts of high importance, and how serious were the drawbacks and discontents produced by this plan. Hadrian instituted for the first time a regular administrative system and a civil service which attracted the upper classes of the Roman world, and was henceforth regarded as an honourable career for the free citizens of the Roman Empire. We shall see that in the course of rather more than a century this administrative machinery developed enormously, and became a burden and a cause of decline, but in the days of Hadrian and for some time after, it worked well and entailed no additional burden on the inhabitants. The philanthropic policy of Trajan was carried further; we hear now of legislation limiting the authority of masters over slaves, and like Trajan, Hadrian indulged in huge schemes of building, both in the city of Rome, in the great provincial cities, and also at his vast palace some few miles outside of the walls of Rome, and again we have to say that in his reign this expensive taste does not seem to have entailed ruinous burdens upon the people. On his death in 138 he was succeeded by Antoninus Pius, whom he had chosen and adopted. He reigned for twenty-three years, and his personal character and attention to duty has received the highest possible tributes from his better known successor, and his reign was so peaceful that it is practically without annals. It is claimed that the twenty-three years of his reign did not cost in battle a drop of blood from the veins of either Roman or foreigner. We can only notice that, like his predecessor, he was concerned

Antoninus Pius.

to alleviate the lot of the slaves, that he granted Roman citizenship to the provincials with lavish hands, that he stimulated the all-important development of the Roman legal system of his day, and that he died in the year 161.

His adopted son, Marcus Aurelius, succeeded him and reigned until the year 180. The prosperity of the Roman world began to break up in his reign, and at the end he had to fight fiercely, though successfully, against the barbarian races of the north. The victories that he won are, after the fashion of the time, chronicled for us upon the great bronze column which still stands in one of the squares of Rome. But it is not the memory of these wars that has endeared his name to posterity, but rather a tiny book of philosophic or religious meditations made up of jottings from his pen collected after his death. These meditations provide us with a manual of Stoic philosophy, not in its most intellectual, but rather in its most practical and most religious aspects. Stoicism, like all other philosophies of the Roman world, was Greek in its origin. To begin with, it was an attempt to explain the physical universe, but from the first it declared the existence of an over-ruling Providence. It had been associated at one time with a very harsh and rigid morality; it was often exaggerated and sometimes hypocritical; and in the earlier days of the Roman Empire, it had fiercely opposed the Imperial policy, had idolized the memory of Cato, praised the murderers of Cæsar, and spoken with approval of regicide and suicide. It had in consequence been persecuted by Nero and by Vespasian, but since then it had enjoyed security and had lost much of its early hardness and extravagance. Its chief exponents hitherto had been Seneca, the minister and the victim of Nero, and Epictetus, a Greek slave who lived in the reign of Vespasian; and now in Marcus Aurelius this philosophy or faith, once so despised and persecuted, was seen seated on the Imperial throne. It is an important sign of that fermentation in the minds and in the hearts of men which is really the all-important fact of this period, to which we shall soon return.

Stoicism.

Stoicism, to Marcus Aurelius, meant chiefly the following doctrines; that the world was the product of a Divine Will

to which man should subordinate himself in joyful obedience; that the will and reasoning faculty of man was independent of all circumstances, and that in consequence a man's happiness was always in his own power; lastly, that true happiness lay in equanimity and in keeping the mind unsullied by the chances of life. But along with these doctrines we see in Marcus Aurelius a wonderful sweetness of disposition, a deep sense of the brotherhood of man, and a universal spirit of benevolence to all races, nations, and classes. There are signs, too, that Stoicism itself did not satisfy him completely, and, though he rejected Christianity and perhaps persecuted it, he hoped for immortality, and in many respects came near to the Christian ideal.

The doctrines of Stoicism.

Of the external facts of his reign we need say very little. The danger from the Northern barbarians, the chief tribe of which was known as the Marcomanni, was really very great, and was rendered greater by a terrible plague which fell upon the Roman Empire, and devastated it throughout its length and breadth. The emperor may not have been a great soldier, but he faced the danger resolutely and in the end successfully; the enemy was defeated in a series of campaigns among the Alpine valleys, but while Marcus was superintending operations there he was seized by the plague and died in the year 180. We shall see that his death was not indeed the cause, but it was the signal for the complete overthrow of the system of government which had been established during the Age of the Antonines.

W. W. Capes, *The Age of the Antonines*, Gregorovius, *Life of the Emperor Hadrian*. *The Letters of Pliny* are the best mirror of the life of the time; they have been translated by Frith. The best translation of the *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius* is by G. H. Rendall. See also the essay of Matthew Arnold in *Essays in Criticism*. Merivale and Duruy give good narratives of the events of the period, but Merivale's analysis of the causes which were undermining the empire's strength is unconvincing.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Decline of the Empire

WITH the death of Marcus Aurelius the empire underwent a gradual but disastrous change. In place of the splendid peace and prosperity of the Antonine era we see the violent changes, the civil wars and the barbarian invasions of the third century. It becomes necessary, therefore, here to consider the causes of this change, and to deal with what is known as the fall of the Roman Empire.

The fall of the Roman Empire.

The fall of the Roman Empire was no sudden catastrophe: there is no single incident, no lost battle, no revolution which marks the end of this great institution. It is indeed difficult, if not impossible, to say exactly when the Roman Empire did come to an end. In the year 410, Alaric the Goth captured Rome, but the Roman Empire still subsisted in spite of this terrible and epoch-making disaster. In the year 476 the shadowy power of the empire disappeared from Italy, and this date has sometimes been taken as marking the end of the empire, but we shall see that after 476 the empire still existed, though its capital was at Constantinople, and indeed one of the greatest tasks of the empire, the completion of the fabric of the Roman law, was yet to be accomplished. In the year 800, while there still reigned at Constantinople rulers calling themselves emperors, a new empire in the West which was soon to be called Roman was founded by Charles the Great, and there were henceforth in the Roman world two Roman Empires. The Eastern Roman Empire fell to the Turks in the year 1453, and this date has been taken by Gibbon as the end of his long story. But when the crescent displaced the cross on the walls of Constantinople there was still in Germany the power calling itself the Holy Roman Empire, and in truth descended, if by a somewhat shadowy line, from the old Roman Empire of the Cæsars, and this Holy Roman Empire, though its form grows

more and more ghost-like, did not disappear from Europe until the year 1807. Since 1807 there has been no institution in Europe calling itself the Roman Empire, but the modern German Empire has in a real sense succeeded to it and claims for itself many of the traditions of the mediæval empire and is thus linked to that of the Cæsars. It will be seen, then, that instead of the Roman Empire coming, as is sometimes thought, to a sudden catastrophe, it underwent a long series of transformations, and showed itself singularly tenacious of life.

The meaning of the fall of the Roman Empire.

When we speak of the fall of the Roman Empire we usually mean the great transformation which passed over the empire in the third and fourth centuries whereby the empire became Christian, while at the same time a large portion of its territories in the West passed under the rule of the barbarians, and its whole social structure was transformed. It is not difficult to see that the splendid calm of the Age of the Antonines could not be indefinitely prolonged and that that settlement was liable to overthrow. This overthrow did not come from the revolt of the provinces, for the statesmanship of Rome had completely reconciled them to their connection with Rome: it did not come from the immorality of the inhabitants, though that is a view that has often been held, for there is every reason to think that the morality of the empire since the rapid growth of Christianity had improved and not deteriorated. Opinions will differ as to the comparative importance of the forces which produced this great and disastrous change, but there can be no doubt that the following are among the most important.

Not due to provincial revolt or immorality.

The nemesis of despotism.

We may note in the first place that the empire, though beneficent in intention and in result, was, nevertheless, despotic. There was no liberty in the sense of self-government at Rome itself. There was plenty of liberty in the cities of the empire, but even this had been seriously encroached upon, though with the best intentions, by the Antonine emperors. They had appointed Imperial magistrates to check financial mismanagement

and to represent the Imperial authority in the cities, and this was the beginning of a long process whereby, in the course of a century and a half, the cities were changed from centres of liberty to mere parts in the crushing machinery of despotism; and, even before this disastrous process had advanced far, there was no freedom of speech or initiative of action in the empire, and what was done was done by the emperors, while the wishes of the people and their consciousness of their own wants counted for little or nothing. The theory of Roman law as it moved towards its final shape was that law is the expression of the emperor's will. The empire thus shows us a logical and complete despotism, and history proves that however beneficent such Governments may at times be, they are peculiarly liable to sudden and complete overthrow.

Character of the armies.

If we turn from political to military considerations we see here, too, many serious features. For some time past the legions had ceased to be drawn from the inhabitants of Italy and Rome; it was the provinces which provided the greater part of the soldiery that defended the frontiers, and though they gave to Rome loyal service, they were far from identifying themselves with Italy. But from the first also the Romans drew soldiers from beyond the frontiers of the empire, from those races whom they contemptuously called barbarians. These barbarians, as a rule, served not in the legions, but as cavalry and auxiliary troops. At the end of their long term of service they returned to their native country, knowing the weapons, the tactics, and something of the strategy of the Roman armies and were able to teach what they had learnt to their fellow-countrymen. The Romans found as time went on that the barbarians became constantly a more dangerous foe, and it was largely by their own weapons and by their own methods of warfare that the Romans were finally overthrown. Nearly all the invaders of the Roman Empire had been at one time either the soldiers or the allies of Rome. We have thus a phenomenon that often recurs in history; the Romans taught their enemies to defeat them, as in a far distant epoch Napoleon

The barbarians learn the military methods of Rome.

was overthrown by the very means which had secured for him his early victories.

We must remember, too, that a very large though incalculable proportion of the people of the empire were slaves.

Slavery and its influence.

Their position was improving: imperial legislation was beginning to take them into account: there are signs that the very character of slavery was altering and was destined to disappear. But no slave population can feel itself supremely interested in the maintenance of the State, and the instability of the Roman system is in many ways closely connected with the institution of slavery.

Yet it may be maintained that the chief forces which undermined the Roman Empire were religious rather than political or military.

Religious causes for the overthrow of the empire.

We have already said that underneath the calm surface of the Antonine era there was vehement religious fermentation. Different philosophies competed for the adherence of the cultured classes of the pagan world. The principal of these were Stoicism and Pythagoreanism, the latter a much more mystic faith than Stoicism with its reasonable outlook on life and its high but practical morality. But far more important than these philosophies, which can only have affected the upper classes of Rome, was the movement of religion. Paganism itself was assuming a new character; the scepticism and indifference of the age of Cicero had given place to much greater zeal, much higher hopes, and a more mystic conception of the universe even among the pagans themselves. New religions from the East were eclipsing the native cults: the Egyptian deities, Isis and Osiris, claimed numerous devotees even in Italy and the West: the worship of Cybele had its passionate votaries; but in the third century among the pagans the strongest movement was that of Mithraism. This was Persian in its origin and was at first a form of sun worship, but connected with it were ideas of reconciliation to the Divine Power and a mystic revelation. It seems in the third century to have become the centre round which the revived paganism organized itself.

But of infinitely greater importance for the future was the

growth of Christianity as a faith, and the organization of the Christian Church. The Roman Empire was, as a rule, tolerant of religious movements and it cannot reasonably be charged with great cruelty in its dealing with Christianity as a whole; but like all despotic Governments at all times it was extremely jealous of any sort of organization which it did not itself control, and it was the organization rather than the faith of the new Church which brought it into collision with the Imperial authorities. There were no special edicts passed against Christianity until a period later than that which we have reached, but it was always liable to attack as being an unauthorized religion and a danger to the State: and, because its votaries regarded paganism with scorn and refused to pay worship to the emperors, they could at any time be accused of sacrilege or of high treason. There were persecutions of the Christians before the death of Marcus Aurelius. The best known is that in the reign of Nero, but the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, and of Marcus supply instances of the cruel punishment of Christians. We cannot wonder that as time went on the conflict between the Imperial power and the Christian Church became more definite and more bitter. Both were absolute and exclusive systems. The empire claimed the whole obedience of a man, and the Church spoke for an authority to which it claimed that all others must bow. When we remember that the Reformation plunged Europe into a century of warfare, and that the growth of nonconformity in the sixteenth century brought about our own puritan rebellion, and the execution of the king, we cannot wonder that this greatest of all religious revolutions was not accomplished without violent conflicts and upheavals in the empire. Ultimately indeed the empire and the Church were reconciled and became allies, but that was not until the incapacity of the empire to crush Christianity had been proved in more than one furious conflict. Certainly the working of the leaven of this new religion made the maintenance of the system, which we have seen and admired in the days of Hadrian, altogether impossible.

Christianity in the Roman Empire.

Marcus was succeeded by his son, Commodus, and this

substitution of hereditary succession for succession by adoption proved itself disastrous, for Commodus rivalled in vice and crime the worst of his predecessors. He was vain, pleasure-loving, and despotic, but the special mark of his evil reign was his devotion to the games of the gladiatorial arena. It was his pride himself to enter the arena as a combatant: his statues show him in the guise of Hercules: and his biographer tells us that he fought 785 times. He claimed also titles which the wiser Antonines would have refused. It was not enough for him that he was Princeps, he insisted also on being called "Lord and God" (*Dominus et Deus*). His private life was violent and scandalous; in his need for money he came into collision with the Senate; but it was a private conspiracy that led to his assassination in the year 192. It was at once plain how much the empire suffered from having no recognized principle of succession, and the situation repeated all the main features that we observed upon the death of Nero. First, the Senate nominated an emperor, then the Prætorian Guards thrust another man on to the throne in return for lavish promises of pay and booty, and again the provincial armies refused to allow the soldiers of the Metropolis to monopolize power, and the gains which would come from power. There were risings in Britain, in Syria, and in Pannonia, as the district south of the Danube was called. The Pannonian legions were nearer Rome and they were better disciplined than any others. After some fighting they gained for their general, Septimius Severus, the imperial throne and power (197). With him a new and a harder epoch of the empire begins. He derived his origin from the Province of Africa. No province was more imbued with Latin civilization than Africa, and it gave to the Church many of its noblest leaders in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. But Severus knew nothing of Christianity and cared little for Roman civilization. He was a soldier above all things, and he announced it as his motto "to secure the affections of the army, and to esteem the rest of his subjects as of little moment," and with him the empire assumed a nakedly military character which it was destined never to lose. He disbanded the

The Emperor Commodus.

Septimius Severus.

Prætorian Guards, took from Italy her special privileges, and entrusted Rome to an ordinary detachment of the regular army. He gave the soldiers higher pay and dangerous privileges; they were allowed to marry and to live in towns instead of in their barracks and we see from this time onwards a double military danger. The soldiers become increasingly conscious of their power, and they become more and more attached to that portion of the empire where they have been usually quartered, so that it is with difficulty that later emperors can transfer them to whatever frontier of the empire is in most need of assistance.

New regulations for the army.

After a reign of eight years Severus was succeeded by his son, who is known to history as Caracalla, though this was at first merely a nickname. He carried on the *régime* of his father, but with greater brutality and less ability. The army was his one sole interest, and yet the most important event of his reign is not a military one, for he gave the full rights of Roman citizenship to all the free inhabitants of the Roman Empire. This was the completion of a process which had been going on ever since the establishment of the empire, and indeed from an earlier date than that. It was a great part of the strength of the Roman polity that it had been ready to extend its privileges so widely. Julius Cæsar had made great grants of citizenship to the Gauls and others, and although the process had not been carried on so rapidly by his successors, large numbers of provincials had been admitted to the privileges of citizenship in all parts of the empire. The distinction between the provinces and Italy had already nearly disappeared and, though the action of Caracalla may have sprung partly from a contempt for Rome and Italy, it was thoroughly in harmony with what was best in the empire. It is further characteristic of the time that military and financial reasons play an important part in the change. The army could henceforth be organized without giving different treatment to citizens and non-citizens, and on the pretext of the new grant of citizenship heavier financial burdens were placed upon the shoulders of all the inhabitants of the empire.

Caracalla.

The Roman citizenship given to all free inhabitants of the empire.

When Caracalla came to that violent end which awaited nearly all the emperors of the third century, another period of confusion set in. But in 218 there came to the throne, raised upon the support of the legions of Syria, a strange young man who is known as Elagabalus. The meaning of his accession is that the Syrian soldiers exercised the power which the legions of Pannonia had used in the case of Severus. But the chief interest in this and the following reign is to be found in the religious policy associated with the names of the emperors. Elagabalus, before his accession, had been associated with the worship of the sun-god at Emesa, which was there represented by a black stone which was believed to have fallen from Heaven; and when his soldiers had made him emperor one of his first interests was to transport this stone to Rome and to introduce into the Capitol the worship which it represented. The Romans were now ruled by a man of that very type which in an earlier century they had most disliked and despised. He was a monarch of true Oriental fashion. He wore a lofty tiara, and was adorned with collars, bracelets and gems: his face was painted in a manner common in the East, but expressive to the Romans of the lowest effeminacy. He reigned from 218 to 222, and during these years the palace was the scene of strange religious rites and orgies of immorality, surpassing even what is recorded of earlier reigns. Rome seems to have accepted his rule, but the soldiers quartered in Rome rose against him and murdered him. He was succeeded by his cousin Alexander Severus, who reigned to 235. His personal character and his reign are alike a welcome contrast to those of his predecessor. He was much under the influence of his mother who was possibly a Christian, and he lived simply and honestly, and took much interest in literature and philosophy. During his reign a new force emerged. The Eastern frontier had, from the beginning of the empire, been the most vulnerable spot in the defences of Rome, and now it became more dangerous than ever. A revolution took place in the Parthian monarchy and brought to the throne a new dynasty and a new race. The new

Elagabalus.

Alexander Severus.

Revolution in Parthia.

kings are known as the "Sassanids," and the State is henceforth known again as Persia. It was inspired by a stronger national feeling, and it reverted to the old national Persian religion. Hardly had the new *régime* been established when it came into collision with the Romans. Alexander fought against the Persians with uncertain results, but the greatness of the new danger was apparent.

Religion in the palace of Alexander Severus.

A single incident, and one not in itself important, has, however, attracted more attention than his campaigns. His biographer tells us that in his private chapel upon the Palatine hill he honoured a strange collection of names. We are told of an outer chapel which contained the busts of Virgil, Cicero, and Achilles, whilst in an inner shrine he worshipped Apollonius, Orpheus, Abraham, and Christ. These four names represent the main tendencies of the religion of that day; the Pythagorean philosophy, pagan mysticism, Judaism, Christianity. The emperor seems to have believed that it was possible to honour them all by common worship; but their claims were, in that age at least, mutually exclusive, and the chief interest of the next century is the movement which finally gained the victory for the last named.

In the last year of his reign he was called by a sudden danger to the armies of the Rhine. A mutiny broke out, which the young and unwarlike emperor was unable to quell, and in resisting it he lost his life (235 A.D.).

The history of the third century is not well given in any English book. Gibbon's chapters are interesting, but far from final. The first chapter in Dr. Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders* is clear and suggestive. The histories of Christianity, Milman or Robertson, will supply much help.

CHAPTER XIX

Social Life in the Roman Empire in the Age of the Antonines

It will be well, before we pass from the splendid peace of the Antonine era, to consider some of the outstanding features in the social life of the time. It was in some ways a civilization like that of Europe in the twentieth century. We could more easily sympathize with the ideas, the manners, the pleasures, and the tastes of an educated Roman of the second century, than we could with those of western Europe during the next ten centuries. But no two periods are really alike. History does not repeat itself, and there was much even in the age of the Antonines that the twentieth century would have found strange, and much that it would have found repulsive.

The second and the twentieth centuries.

The establishment of the empire had made a great change in the lives of the nobles of Rome. They were still wealthy, they still played a large part in the administration of the Roman world, but their old independence was gone. If they commanded armies or ruled in the provinces, it was as servants of the all-powerful emperor. Many of them were too vain or proud to serve on such terms, and lived a life of idle luxury in the city of Rome, or in one of the great country houses with which Italy was covered over. The pictures of the satirists are chiefly drawn from the houses of the idle rich: we may see in Juvenal and in Tacitus, their ostentation and luxury, their crowds of servile retainers, their cruelty, vice, and gluttony. The capitalists of Rome had been a very important class for a century and a half before the fall of the empire. They were known as Knights (equites), and were organized, in our modern fashion, into companies for the collection of the taxes of the State, the lending of money, and the carrying out of industrial projects. Some of the worst

The empire and the aristocracy of Rome.

The Knights.

features of the last days of the republic were the result of the influence of this class, for the republic supported them in their operations, and the provincials had no protection against their high-handed proceedings, and their demand for high interest on the money they lent. The establishment of the empire had meant for them, as well as for the nobles, restraint and rigorous enforcement of justice. The old abuses do not come before us so often or in so flagrant a form as formerly. But the class still existed, and through its operations wealth flowed in from the Provinces to the capital.

All-importance of the city of Rome.

Rome was by far the most important city in the whole of the empire. There were important cities elsewhere—Athens, Antioch, Alexandria, Lyons, Carthage, and many others. But "all roads led to Rome," and it was only in Rome that any influence could be exercised on the policy of the empire; it was only in Rome that an ambitious man could find the road to power. Rome was the one great centre for art and literature, for religion and pleasure.

Roman art.

There was much fine work produced in architecture and sculpture during the second century. In portrait-sculpture, of a realistic kind, the Romans excelled the Greeks. The Emperor Hadrian was a great connoisseur and collector, and the remains of his huge palace give indications of good taste. But Rome was never a home of beauty and refinement, such as Athens had been in the age of Pericles. There was usually in the Roman something vulgar and philistine in his attitude to art. He confused magnificence and display with beauty, and thought of art merely as a distraction and a pastime. Rome had no distinctive art and no great drama. Her theatre was given over to variety shows, acrobatic exhibitions and dancing, and had no bearing on the intellectual life of the people. The most popular form of amusement were the chariot races and the gladiatorial arena.

Chariot races.

The chariot races took place within a small racing track, and in spite of the skill of the drivers were attended with great danger. The onlookers were eager partisans of the different charioteers, and this sport grew in popularity and importance until the sixth century. Pliny

describes, with the contempt of a literary man, his amazement, "that so many thousands of men should be eager, like a pack of children, to see horses running time after time, and the charioteers bending over their cars." There was no slackening in the interest for centuries after this, and the races reached their height of popularity in Constantinople in the sixth century.

But it is the gladiatorial games which have rightly attracted most attention, for they were the most characteristic amusement of the Roman people. The huge Colosseum had been specially built in Rome to accommodate the enormous crowds that flocked to them, and it is estimated that it would contain 50,000 spectators. Amphitheatres of the same kind, but on a smaller scale, were to be found in all parts of the empire. These buildings were used for various purposes. When the Colosseum was opened by the Emperor Titus, 5000 wild beasts are said to have been killed in the arena. But the crowning joy of the amphitheatre was the struggles of man with man, singly or in troops, and the shedding of human blood. The number of those who were "butchered to make a Roman holiday" passes belief, and all classes and both sexes seem to have taken an equal delight in the brutal show. Nor was there any strong opposition on grounds of morality or humanity to these spectacles. The more refined elements in Roman society did not enjoy them. Cicero expresses a sense of pity for the elephants that were butchered: Tiberius suppressed them in Rome, but it is not known what was the motive for his actions: Marcus Aurelius made himself unpopular by ordering that the gladiators should fight with blunt weapons. But no direct attack was made on them except by Christianity. Christian converts were expected to abstain from these shows. There is in Saint Augustine's Confessions (Bk. vi. chs. 7 and 8), an account of the fascination exercised by the game upon a young Christian at the end of the fourth century. He was dragged unwillingly into the games, and for long kept his eyes fixed on the ground until the shout of the crowd at the fall of a combatant startled him into looking. "And as soon as he

The gladiatorial shows.

Christianity and the gladiatorial shows.

saw that blood he therewith drank down savageness; nor turned away, but fixed his gaze and drank in fury unawares, and delighted in the wickedness of the conflict, and was intoxicated with the bloody pastime." Shortly afterwards a blow was given to the games by the death of a monk in his effort to stop the contests, and they are not heard of after the first quarter of the fifth century. In the second century, of which we are speaking, Christianity was too weak to make any effective protest; and the Romans enjoyed the games with untroubled consciences. In speaking of Greece we said that the Olympian and other games give us an attractive idea of the high level of refinement and humanity among the people. Upon Roman civilization, if we judge it from the associations of the Colosseum, it would be hard to pass too hostile a verdict. But such a verdict would rest on too narrow evidence, and we shall shortly look at considerations which lead to a more favourable opinion.

Higher Education in the Roman world.

The higher education of the Romans at this epoch deserves some attention. It was almost wholly given up to the empty study of rhetoric. This study had at one time been useful and necessary. In the republic of Rome, as in the democracy of Athens, persuasive speech in the law courts, or in political assemblies was the chief avenue to success. The study of rhetoric was transplanted from Greece to Rome, where it had at first aroused the keen opposition of Cato. But, in spite of all suspicion, it made way, and the young Roman of the age of Cicero was trained as a matter of course in the art of public speech, and in everything that directly or indirectly would conduce to success in it. Julius Cæsar himself had attended the courses of professional rhetoricians, and Roman eloquence found its finest exponent in Cicero, whose speeches, delivered in the forum, the law courts, and the Senate were a real force in Roman politics.

With the establishment of the empire the opportunities for public speech much diminished. The *comitia* lost their importance and the authorities jealously watched all addresses to the people. The Senate lost its old sense of independence, and its old freedom of speech. The law

courts were conducted in a more business-like way, and were no longer a channel for vehement orations on public affairs, as they had been in the days of Cicero. The emperor's favour, and a knowledge of the real business of administration were what most led to a man's advancement. The power of the spoken word declined and almost disappeared.

Decline of rhetoric under the empire.

But rhetoric, almost useless for politics and law, was pursued with perhaps increased energy as an elegant accomplishment. The teachers of rhetoric in Rome were prominent persons, who gained the respect and affection of their pupils. Quintilian (40–118 A.D.) is the greatest name. He was a man of varied powers and of wide reading, a penetrating critic of literature, and a force in the history of education. He defined the ideal orator as a good man as well as a clever speaker (*vir bonus dicendi peritus*). But even he sees in rhetorical exercises the chief instrument of education. For five centuries (from 100 B.C. to 400 A.D.) the educated youth of the Roman world passed a great part of their time in preparing and delivering orations on fanciful subjects from history or still more fanciful subjects drawn from the imagination of the teacher. The following are subjects taken from a manual of the age of Augustus. "Three Hundred Spartans deliberate whether they should run away with the rest of the Greeks at Thermopylæ." "Xerxes threatens that he will reinvade Greece unless the Athenians remove the trophies won from him in the late war." The pupils were trained to deliver speeches on either side of the subject. More ridiculous, but perhaps not intentionally so, are subjects such as the following. "A man, who had been shipwrecked, who had lost his three children and his wife, and whose house had been burnt down, hanged himself. A passer by cut the rope. The unhappy man thereupon brought against him an action for damages." "A man who had lost his three children, sat upon their tomb to weep. A fast young man dragged him from the tomb, and forced him to dress his hair, change his dress, and take his place at a banquet. When he got away he brought an action for assault."

Rhetoric as an accomplishment.

Rhetorical exercises.

The educational system and methods of a period are one of the important features in relation to national health or decadence. It is well, therefore, to note that the youth of the Roman world in Italy and the provinces was trained in these studies, which were not elevating to the character, did not provide a useful training to the mind, and did not throw any light upon the actual problems which faced the Roman world. The unreality of these studies secured them under the empire, which would have been jealous of speculation on actual political or social questions. But there was some vigorous thought on real problems too. The Alexandrine school of medicine culminated about this time in the great physician Galen, and Roman law was continually advancing on scientific and humane lines.

Plutarch and Pliny.

What has been said may seem to point to a hostile verdict on the civilization of the age. There were certainly many disquieting features; but there is also much that attracts us. The best side of the time is seen in the writings of Plutarch, a Greek, who was teaching in Rome about the year 100 A.D. and in the Letters of Pliny. Plutarch's "Parallel Lives of the Greeks and Romans," is one of the great books of the world, and has often proved a true moral inspiration to later generations. For it is not only interesting as biography and great as literature: it also instils in the most attractive way high lessons of humanity, piety, and heroism. Pliny was the friend of Tacitus and Juvenal, but his letters give a very different impression from their writings, and go far to show that their gloom and pessimism was a result of their own temperament, or a tradition of their art. Pliny's letters are full of genial warmth, and human kindness. The men and the women whom he introduces to us are nearly all kind and good. He delights in the beauties of nature, in art, and literature: he is humane and refined. The Rome which is reflected in his letters, which gave a warm welcome to Plutarch, which received with eagerness the sublime teaching of Stoicism, and saw the steady growth of Christianity, cannot be regarded as hopelessly decadent, and morally corrupt.

The age not decadent.

In what we have hitherto said of the social life of the

second century we have been thinking chiefly of Rome. It is much more difficult to speak of Italy, and still more difficult to speak of the Provinces; for government and literature are both concentrated in Rome. Italy reproduced the features of Rome in a modified way. Its towns were self-governing municipalities, and the excavations of Pompeii show us in every detail what the life of such cities was. Pompeii was overwhelmed by the eruption of Vesuvius, which had given no trouble before in human memory, in the year 79 A.D. It lay concealed by ashes and lava until the eighteenth century, and even now is by no means completely uncovered. But enough has been uncovered to reveal the characteristic features of an Italian city, which was a place of pleasure rather than of business. The gladiatorial arena with all its arrangements has been brought to light; there are temples old and new; the new one dedicated to Isis, gives evidence of the popularity of that cult. The paintings on the walls show the character of the pictorial art of the period, and some reach a fair height of taste and excellence. Lastly, it is noticeable that, at the time of the downfall of the city, a municipal election was approaching, and inscriptions still legible on the walls ask for votes for the rival candidates.

Italy.

Pompeii.

It was the deliberate policy of Rome to spread municipal government throughout the empire. It was already to be found everywhere in the East before the Romans came; but it was due to Roman influence that towns sprang up in great numbers in the West, with governments organized according to the model laid down by the municipal law of Julius Cæsar. We can trace the rapid growth of these towns in Africa, Gaul, and Spain; there were fewer in Britain than in other provinces. Their government fell far short of democracy. The chief authority rested with the *curia* or town council, and the families which gave members to this council formed the local aristocracy. There was an upward movement of the servile class generally throughout the empire. We cannot penetrate the darkness which surrounded the life of the Roman slave; but it is certain that his lot was improving.

The cities of the empire.

The curia.

Laws were passed for the protection of slaves. The tone of philosophy and religion was becoming decidedly sympathetic to them. Slaves and freedmen were everywhere specially organized for the worship of the emperors, and in many towns (perhaps in all), there was a kind of middle class called the Augustales, consisting partly of men of servile origin, who were organized for the carrying on of Cæsar-worship. An era of decadence and oppression lay ahead of the cities of the empire, and their financial difficulties were the cause or the excuse for the interference of the emperors, which finally led to the suppression of their liberties. But there is no reason to think that their finances were in hopeless disorder; and certainly the substitution of imperial control for liberty was a remedy more dangerous than the disease. If municipal liberties were suppressed wherever there was suspicion of financial mismanagement, there would be few free cities in modern England or in modern Europe.

The Augustales.

There are no sufficient data to allow us to generalize with confidence as to the condition of the provinces. There was distress in some places. In Greece especially we hear of a dwindling population and much poverty. But for the most part it seems highly probable that the peace of two hundred years, which came with the establishment of the empire, brought prosperity in its train. In Africa especially the remains of cities far within what is now the limit of the desert show that under Roman rule the country was far more fertile than it has been in the last thousand years.

The provinces.

The emperors were interested, even on selfish grounds, to maintain the prosperity of the provinces. Great military remains, such as the great wall from the Tyne to Solway in Britain, and the other great wall, which connected the Rhine with the Danube through the Black Forest, bear witness to the care for the protection of the Roman dominions. Except for the terrible year of revolution that followed on Nero's death the armies were kept in good discipline, and were not allowed to oppress the provincials. Pliny (to whose letters we have already alluded) was a governor of the unimportant province of Bithynia, and his correspondence with the Emperor Trajan

Character of provincial government.

Pliny as governor.

has been preserved. The honesty of the governor, and the careful supervision of the emperor are apparent on every page. It is amazing what small details are referred to the emperor or his secretaries, and how closely Trajan supervises and directs the action of the governor. The building of a bath, the repair of an aqueduct, the formation of a local fire brigade, are questions of sufficient importance to be referred to the Imperial decision. But the most interesting of all the letters is one in which Pliny asks for direction as to how he should deal with the Christians. The emperor's answer is firm, just, and humane. The Christians, he says, are not to be hunted out; no anonymous accusations are to be accepted; recantation is always to be accepted. The disquieting part of the correspondence is the overcarefulness of the government, and its constant interference in trifles. This was due to conscientiousness and a sense of duty, but it led on to the establishment of a rigid and stifling form of rule. The emperors had no suspicion that liberty is a necessary condition of good government.

Agriculture.

It is easy to ask questions about the social condition of Rome which cannot be answered, or can only be answered by conjecture. Especially we should like more information as to land tenure and the condition of the agricultural classes. There was doubtless wide variation between different parts of the empire. We read of depopulation and agricultural depression in Italy, and the Antonines attempted to introduce legislative remedies. There was a general tendency towards large landed properties, and while, on the one hand, the slaves were moving up towards liberty, the free farmers of Italy and the empire were, under the pressure of economic forces, sinking towards serfdom. This tendency was not fully observable in the Age of the Antonines. But already the free proprietor was becoming a tenant, paying rent either in money or kind to some large land-owner, and bound to him by various ties. Tenants of this class were known as *coloni*. The condition of land tenure was already developing towards the system that would be later known as feudalism.

W. T. Arnold's *Roman Provincial Administration* sketches the whole subject. Friedländer's *Social Life from the Age of Augustus*

to the Age of the Antonines is the great authority on the subject. Sir E. Dill's *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* is a delightful sketch of certain aspects of the time. Pliny's *Letters* are translated by J. B. Firth. For Roman education see any treatment of Quintilian. The extracts in this chapter are taken from *Seneca Rhetor.*

CHAPTER XX

Revolution and Recovery

WITH the death of Alexander Severus a period of still greater confusion opens for the Roman Empire, and it will be well to mark at once its chief features, though some of them are only developed half a century later.

We see in the first place that the central Government suffers complete collapse. The authorities in Rome are no longer able to control the armies, to defend the frontiers, or to perform the ordinary duties of government, and in consequence various parts of the empire established themselves in practical independence. Testimony is borne to this feature by the rather absurd name which is sometimes given to the whole period, for it is often labelled "the age of the thirty tyrants." There were at no time thirty separate governments, but the phrase is worth recalling because it indicates the dissolution of the empire into many separate units.

The collapse of the central Government.

Along with the weakness of the central Government, and largely because of it, we see at last the barbarian races beyond the frontier breaking into the empire and ravaging provinces which had known no enemy for centuries. We shall have shortly to examine the character and to note the chief divisions of these barbarians.

The invasions of the barbarians.

The armies of Rome, meanwhile, had grown fully conscious of their strength. They made and they unmade emperors with bewildering rapidity; their military efficiency still remained, and in actual conflicts with the barbarians they gave a good account of themselves; but they paid no heed to orders received from Rome,

The self-governing armies.

or to the interests of the empire. As a rule, they governed themselves; their officers depended upon their popularity with the common soldiers, and the civilian population suffered grievously at their hands.

Along with all this went, as we should expect, great financial distress; the movement of commerce was interrupted by the sense of insecurity; the increasing military needs of the empire brought heavy financial burdens, and the taxes were imposed with so much unwisdom that they tended to strangle trade, and to ruin the wealth of the empire. The Government endeavoured to meet the new situation by constantly increasing the number of its officials and of its tax gatherers, and the administrative system which had been begun by Hadrian developed to such an extent that it became an appalling burden upon the shoulders of the ordinary man. One feature of the change deserves special notice. Much of the strength of the earlier empire depended upon the free and vigorous life of its cities. Some check had been placed upon their freedom in the age of the Antonines, but during the third century a process began which turned their municipal organization into a crushing machinery of despotism. First we find the Imperial officials overriding the elective magistrates; soon the magistrates became no longer the elected servants of the city, but the agents of the central Government, nominated by the Government; soon afterwards the local Curia or Senate came to consist not of those who had been elected to office by their fellow-citizens, but of the larger landowners of the neighbourhood. But the worst step of all was taken when the magistrates and Senate of the innumerable cities of the empire were made in their own persons responsible for the payment of the Imperial taxes. At once what had once been the greatest honour became a burden to be feared and if possible avoided, and men had to be driven by Imperial orders and by the threat of heavy penalties, to hold office or to sit on the Senates of the various towns. The legislation of the later empire was much occupied with the position and the duties of these municipal magistrates, and the utter ruin of the municipalities in liberty,

Financial distress.

The ruin of municipal life.

government, and commerce is among the most serious causes of the decline in the prosperity of the empire.

Intellectual and artistic degeneracy.

We may notice, too, another feature, not important in itself, but significant of the general tendency of the age. Many of the external features of old Roman civilization tend to disappear; literature falls to a very low ebb; the writing on inscriptions becomes miserably poor compared with the bold characters of an earlier century; the coinage is mean; the sculpture, such as appears for instance on the triumphal arch of Constantine, shows lamentable degeneracy when compared with the art of Hadrian's period. The Romans seem even to have lost something of their old skill in architecture. The age was not only plunged into poverty, but it was also in danger of becoming barbarized before the victories of the barbarians.

Paramount importance of religion.

Yet one other feature must be emphasized. More and more religion and controversies connected with it become of absorbing interest. The old paganism had nearly disappeared, though its temples remained and its worship had not ceased. The new paganism was something very different; it had assumed a mystic tone, and endeavoured to establish a unity in its beliefs and organization. Stoicism had lost its hold; no trace of rationalism is to be found in the literature of the time. The whole age seems irresistibly to make for some form of ascetic and supernatural religion.

Barbarian invasions.

The era of the barbarian invasions began. Races which had hitherto been kept at bay by the Roman Empire were now able to break into it in occasional plundering raids, though as yet there was no sign of any set intention to make a permanent occupation of Roman lands. The names of most of the barbarians were new to the Romans. There had been movements in Germany that we cannot trace, and many of the small German tribes had organized themselves into larger confederations.

Alamanni.

Thus we hear on the upper Rhine of the race called the Alamanni, and these invaded Gaul, and afterwards ravaged Italy.

Franks.

Further down the Rhine was the powerful tribe or league of the Franks. They were thought by the Romans to be the

hardest, cruelest, and most deceitful of the barbarians; the time of their great power was not yet, but in 253 a band of them passed plundering through Gaul into Spain and crossed over into Africa. But for the third and fourth centuries, by far the most important of the barbarian races was the Goths. The centre of their power was upon the lower Danube, and in the neighbourhood of the Crimea. Though their name is usually regarded as typical of barbarism we shall see them afterwards more ready to accept the Roman civilization and the Christian Faith than any races outside the empire. But during the third century they were still thorough barbarians. They resembled to some extent the English when first they appeared in our island, but they were a less fierce and cruel race. They were worshippers of Thor and of Odin; they had a writing which is known as Runic; they were loosely organized under an elective monarchy; but the real strength of their polity is to be found in their free public meetings. In the year 250 the Goths crossed the Danube, and when the emperor Decius came against them he was defeated and slain. A few years later, they engaged in maritime expeditions in the Black Sea and beyond the Hellespont; they captured many of the great towns on the Ægean Sea; they burnt the great temple of Diana at Ephesus; they occupied Athens herself, and their raids penetrated even into the Peloponnese. At this time the Persians also took advantage of the disorganization of the empire and invaded the Province of Syria. Here in the year 260 a Roman emperor Valerian met defeat at their hands; he was taken prisoner and lived for some time a life of bitter humiliation at the Persian Court.

The Goths.

The Persians.

It seemed, meanwhile, as if the empire was about to dissolve. Different parts began to consider their own safety since Rome could no longer defend them. The empire was broken up into three main governments; there was in the first place Italy, with which Africa was usually connected; in the second place Gaul and Britain were united, and for a time seemed to promise the growth of a strong, independent State; thirdly, in the far East, Syria and Egypt were brought under the rule

Disruption of the empire.

of the city of Palmyra, an important trading station on the caravan routes which now came into importance. The height of its power and its fame was reached a little later under the rule of the great queen Zenobia.

Yet the empire had still in it great powers of recovery, and there was no strong desire anywhere to break the unity of the Roman name. In 268 the Emperor Claudius was raised to the throne by the soldiers, and he proved himself, in a military sense, well-fitted for the post. He had to face the invasion of the Goths, who were now designing a permanent settlement. He met them in a great battle in the Balkan Peninsula and defeated them with overwhelming loss. It seemed as though a better period for the Roman Empire might begin with him, but in the year 270 he was carried off by the plague, whose devastations during this period added to the troubles of the time. He was soon, however, succeeded by perhaps a greater soldier, Aurelian, who carried on his work and gained for himself the title, first of "Restorer of the Army," and then of "Restorer of the World." He managed to unite once more the fragments of the Roman Empire; he defeated the Goths again and again, and made a working arrangement with them, by which they were to occupy the province of Dacia, and to contribute a number of troops to serve in the Roman armies. Aurelian also fought with success against the Alamanni, and without fighting managed to secure the submission of Gaul and Britain. His most famous victory was, however, over Zenobia, the Queen of Palmyra. She had established an efficient power with its centre in the city of the desert. It would, perhaps, have been well for the future of civilization if this and others of the governments, which had been set up in this time of disorder, had been able to maintain themselves. For the empire was too large for efficient administration from a single centre, and the new states would probably have admitted some forms of liberty. But the restoration of the unity of the empire seemed the first duty to every capable ruler; and Aurelian, as soon as he could, turned his army against Zenobia. She was defeated and brought to

Claudius Gothicus.

Aurelian.

Reunion of the empire.

Rome in triumph loaded with golden chains, though afterwards she was kindly treated and allowed to live in a palace near Rome. The city of Palmyra was utterly ruined; its fine temples and public buildings were destroyed and its wells choked up. Its ruins lie now far within the desert. The military task had been admirably accomplished by Aurelian. He might, perhaps, have been successful also with the equally urgent political problem, but the mutinous armies of Rome chafed under his strong rule, and he was murdered in 274, and chaos broke loose again.

There was a confused period of ten years which we need not examine; then in 284 the armies of the Danube in their usual turbulent fashion raised their general, Diocletian, to the throne. It did not at first appear that this change would be of great importance. He might well have proved one of the many transitory emperors similarly exalted, who pass before us during the third century. But, as a matter of fact, with Diocletian begins a new and enduring epoch for the Roman world. He was a successful soldier, and heavy blows in the East and in the West welded again the unity of the Roman Empire. But it is not his military action that makes his name important. We will concentrate our attention upon his political changes and his religious policy.

Diocletian Emperor.

His father was a slave, and he himself, until the time of his elevation to the throne, had pursued the ordinary career of an ambitious soldier. Yet he showed political insight of a rare order, and he introduced into the Government of the empire changes as great as those of Augustus, though vastly different in aim and in character. During the three centuries that had elapsed since Augustus became master of the Roman world, the general tendency had been for the republican pretence to wear away, while the true monarchical and despotic character of the empire became constantly more apparent. This tendency is carried to its ultimate consequence by Diocletian. If it is technically wrong before his time to speak of the Roman "empire," and the right phrase is "Principate," there can be no question that from his reign onwards the Government is an empire indeed.

The empire a naked despotism.

The problem before the emperor was primarily a military one. The army was insufficient; it was constantly insubordinate; and the direction of the forces, which might be engaged on any frontier in the Roman world, was too heavy a task for one man. Diocletian essayed, and with a large measure of success, to remedy these evils. He showed no care for liberty or for the prosperity of the Roman citizens; it was of the efficiency of the army that he was always thinking. We may note first that he introduced the ceremony and the etiquette of an Oriental monarch; that which for centuries had been the scorn of the Romans becomes now an established practice among them. Thus he surrounded his brow with a diadem; he took for himself the title of Lord and God; he was ministered to by eunuchs, and by the keepers of the Imperial Silence; he exacted from all those who came into his presence, even from his most important ministers, a slavish form of prostration. It is strange, not that this should come, but that it should come from a man whose father had been a slave. It was due probably not to vanity, but to policy. Diocletian's object was to hedge the throne with that divinity which might induce soldiers to regard the emperor as a being of a superior order, and therefore to yield him a more ungrudging obedience. The ceremony thus introduced lasted without essential changes for a thousand years.

The new court ceremonial.

Diocletian also carried much further the elaboration of the machinery of the Government. There were to be henceforth in the Roman Empire two emperors, one resident at Milan, the other at Nicomedia in Asia Minor; and these two emperors, each with the title of Augustus, was to be supported by a coadjutor who was to bear the title of Cæsar, and who was destined to succeed the Augustus upon his death. The Roman world would thus in practice have four emperors and four Imperial Courts. The same principle of subdivision was carried everywhere. The empire was divided into twelve dioceses, and these dioceses were subdivided into a hundred provinces; the number of officials high and low was vastly increased. Moreover, a division was now made between civil and

Elaboration of the machinery of Government.

military authorities, while a long hierarchy of rank stretched up from the lowest to the highest. In all this there was no doubt an increase in efficiency, but there was also inevitably a vast increase in the already crushing burdens which fell upon the citizens, and a little later it was said, though doubtless with exaggeration, that the number of those who paid taxes was less than the number of those who lived on them.

Reorganization of the army.

The army was carefully reorganized, and henceforth fell into three main divisions; first there were the *Palatini*, who were technically the Palace guard, but who grew in effect to be a large body of perhaps eighty thousand men whose function it was to defend the heart of the empire. Then there was a section of the army called the *Limitanei* or frontier force, whose business it was to defend the limits of the empire; while between these was a force of a new type called the *Comitatenses*, a movable force, whose special task it was to deal with any barbarian foe which succeeded in passing the frontier. Such were the reforms of Diocletian, and although his fourfold empire broke down soon after his death, his system in other respects proved efficient and permanent.

Diocletian and Christianity.

Diocletian's dealings with religion remain to be noted. He was himself a pagan, but he did not show himself at first intolerant of the new faith which had many supporters in the Imperial family, but towards the end of his reign he engaged in the last and fiercest struggle for the suppression and extinction of this new and strange power. We must ascribe his action, not to any hatred for the tenets of the Christians but rather to a sense, to a large extent justified, that the organization of the Christian Church, which had been rapidly extending and consolidating during the whole of the third century, was becoming a rival force to the empire itself, and that it was necessary to reduce it to subordination. Earlier attacks upon the Christians had been local and spasmodic. They had con-

Persecution of the Christians.

tributed martyrs to the Church, but they had in no way weakened it. It was Diocletian's determination to destroy it. In 303 he issued his first edict; he declared that all churches were to be destroyed;

that the sacred books of the Christians were to be handed over to Government officials and burnt; and that all Christians who held office in the empire were to be degraded. A little later followed further decrees ordering that Bishops should be imprisoned, and allowing torture in order to force Christians to recant. It will be seen that Diocletian realized the importance of the Christian Scriptures and of the episcopal organization of the Christian Church. Persecution was driven home with energy and persistence, and the Church suffered severely. Many Christians perished, many were driven to recant, but before long Diocletian had to recognize that he was struggling with a power that was too strong for him, and that there was no sign of the real destruction of the Christian power. A little later, in the year 305, he decided to lay down his power and to retire into private life. The failure of his health, the collapse of his religious policy, and perhaps the desire to see his new regulations at work in the hands of his successors were among his motives. He lived in retirement from 305 to 313, and resisted all attempts to draw him again into the arena of politics and of war.

Failure of Diocletian's religious policy.

In addition to the histories already mentioned, Bradley's *Goths* traces the history of this people from their first appearance in history. The histories of Christianity are more valuable for this period than the ordinary secular histories.

CHAPTER XXI

The End of the Pagan World

Diocletian, from his retirement, saw the collapse of the external features of his new scheme. The machinery of administration and government lasted indeed for centuries to come, but the division of sovereignty between two Augusti and two Cæsars very quickly proved to be impracticable. It would have been difficult to work at any time, and it was impossible in an age of revolution which had destroyed mutual confidence.

The break up of Diocletian's system.

So the Roman world was again plunged into civil strife, and it was only after fierce contests among the various competitors that the empire was again united under a single head. We need not follow the conflict; we need only notice by what steps the great Constantine mounted to the Imperial title. His father, Constantius, had been an Augustus, and upon his death in 306 Constantine was stationed in York. It was apparently a spontaneous movement of the troops which acclaimed him emperor, and he, after some hesitation, accepted the dangerous title (306). The remains of Roman York allow us to identify within a very short space the spot where this momentous event took place. The assumption of the title of emperor, though at first accepted by his rivals at Rome and in the East, had in the end to be maintained by war against several rivals. In 312 he crossed the Alps, and attacked Maxentius in Italy. We may notice that on his march towards Italy he carried as his ensign, along with the eagles, the famous Labarum which was formed of the first letters of the name of Christ. We may notice, too, that Constantine is said to have related afterwards how upon the eve of his decisive battle he saw in the clouds the figure of a cross, and underneath it written in Greek characters the words, "Conquer in this." The great battle was fought in the year 313 at the Milvian Bridge near to Rome. Maxentius was defeated and killed, and by this victory Constantine became master of the Western Empire, but ten years later friction with the Eastern emperor Licinius, led to open war, and a series of battles in Thrace made him, in 324, supreme ruler of the united empire.

Constantine's rise to absolute power.

No other emperor, with the doubtful exception of Julius Cæsar, has so influenced the course of succeeding centuries, and yet it is not easy to be sure as to the character of this remarkable man. That he was a capable soldier and administrator is certain, and if he had not introduced into the empire the important changes which we shall soon notice, he would still have been considered one of Rome's efficient soldiers and statesmen.

The character of Constantine.

But great and permanent as Constantine's work was, there

is not much of what we usually associate with greatness in his character and methods. He was cautious, prudent, hesitating, though capable at times of decided action. His actual religious opinions are hard to determine. His Christianity was genuine, no doubt, but he was to the end of his life on friendly terms with paganism, and his private life showed little sign of the Christian virtue of mercy, or the sentiment of honour. His motives throughout were predominantly those of a statesman. In many respects he resembles Augustus, but the times were even harder and the problems more difficult than those with which Augustus had to deal.

The foundation of Constantinople.

The first of the momentous changes that is associated with his name was the removal of the capital of the empire from Rome to Byzantium, which henceforth is known as Constantinople. So great were the memories which clustered round the city of Rome itself, so closely was the city identified with the empire, so confident had the Romans been in their assertion that the city was eternal, and that with the fall of the city the world itself would end, that the change must have implied an immense dislocation in the thoughts and hopes of men; and yet the change was in many respects a natural and obviously useful one. For some time past Rome had ceased, as a matter of fact, to be the capital of the empire; it was still the greatest and most splendid city in the empire, but since the attacks of the barbarians had become serious, the more energetic emperors rarely passed much time there. Thus Diocletian had fixed his capital at Nicomedia on the Propontis, and his colleague in the empire had ruled at Milan. Rome was felt to be too far from the vulnerable frontiers, and if the centre of the empire was to be moved at all, no better place than Constantinople could be chosen or imagined. Its site was admirable both for military and commercial reasons. It lay on a promontory surrounded on three sides by deep water, and upon the fourth, the western side, it could be easily defended by fortifications of moderate length. Upon its north side lay the great harbour, the famous Goldern Horn, which has never ceased from that time to this to be one of the important harbours of the world.

The excellence of the site of the new city.

It was within easy reach of the corn supply of Egypt, and it controlled by its situation the whole of the traffic of the Black Sea. Moreover, it was situated about equal distance from the two frontiers where the barbarians were a really pressing danger. The Goths were posted upon the Danube and in the Crimea, while the Persians were threatening from beyond the Euphrates; Constantinople situated between them had very great advantages in dealing with both. So Constantine determined to plant his capital on this beautiful site by the swift flowing waters of the Bosphorus. There was a great ceremony of inauguration, and the public buildings and the temples of the East were plundered in order to provide precious marbles and decorations for the new city. Fanciful parallels were drawn between the new capital and the old, and Constantinople also was believed to possess her seven hills.

The toleration and patronage of Christianity.

One consideration has been purposely omitted in speaking of the reasons for this change. Constantine designed to introduce into the empire a great change in religion, or at least in its religious policy, and at Rome the traditions and the interests of paganism were so strong that such a change would have encountered bitter hostility and criticism. It was easier to make the change in a city which was not hampered by long traditions. We have seen that Constantine's own religious beliefs were vague, for he continued to patronize certain pagan institutions, and when, towards the end of his life, he received baptism, it was not from an orthodox, but from an Arian priest. Yet already there was much to show that he was attracted to Christianity or persuaded of its strength. His mother is reported to have been herself a Christian. We have seen his use of a Christian symbol in his march towards Rome, and in the year 313, before the decisive battle of the Milvian Bridge, he had already issued his famous edict of toleration from Milan, in which he declares "that no man shall be refused any legal facility who has given up his mind either to the observance of Christianity or to the worship which he personally feels best suited to himself." From this time onwards Christianity constantly received his patronage, and his new city was from the first

devoted to the Christian worship. While Constantine lived, no attempt was ever made to suppress paganism, but the Christians were relieved from all acts which pressed heavily upon them. The Christian clergy were allowed special privileges, and Christians generally were exempted from all obligation to recognize pagan ceremonials in any way; but doubtless more important than any specific act of legislation was the fact that a Roman emperor, ruling now over the united and loyal empire, gave to Christianity his patronage and his favour. Paganism endured yet for a while side by side with Christianity, but the whole trend of events was towards the new faith, and before the century is over we see Christianity triumphant and exclusive, and paganism, which in the time of Diocletian had tried to destroy its rival, itself struggling in vain to maintain existence in obscure corners of the empire.

Effect of the change of capital on Rome.

The emperor, in patronizing Christianity, determined also to maintain a large measure of control over it; and one of the prominent characteristics of Christianity, at Constantinople, from this time forward until 1100 years later Mahommedanism triumphed there, was the power and authority of the emperor in the councils, and even in faith of the Church. But it may be noted here—though to do so is to anticipate the future—that Constantine's action produced a directly opposite result at Rome. Rome was henceforth no longer the supreme city in matters political that she had once been; no emperor lived in her midst; the administration of the civilized world no longer emanated from her forum. The chief authority resident there was henceforth the bishop, and the Bishop of Rome took to himself a great many of the traditions of Roman greatness, and Rome won once more on the plane of religion, the supremacy which she had lost in secular matters. Moreover, the very fact that there was not at Rome any secular authority of importance, allowed the power of Rome's bishop to develop freely, and gave to the Church in the West that independence and complete self-government which marks it for many centuries to come, whilst the bishop, or as he was called, the patriarch, of Constantinople was reduced to a somewhat servile subordination to the emperor.

We have reached thus an epoch of the clearest significance and of the utmost importance, and there can be little question that we ought to mark here the end of the classical world, and the beginning of the Middle Ages. At no other point can we draw a dividing line so clear and so important. Hardly any of the characteristics of the pagan world of Greece and Rome were any longer to be found. The city state, with its various popular assemblies had completely disappeared; everywhere a direct despotic rule had taken its place. The old citizen armies, too, which had freed Greece from the Persian yoke, and had made Rome mistress of the civilized world, had disappeared, and their place had been taken by huge mercenary armies, ignorant of the very meaning of citizenship, little influenced by patriotism, serving for their pay, and loyal, if loyal at all, to their commander. Socially, too, a change almost equally great had come. The dividing lines between city and city, between nation and nation, between race and race, had grown dim and had almost died out. The economical character of the empire had utterly changed in consequence. Slavery was still the basis on which the economic structure rested, but slavery itself was changing, regulations were made now for the protection of slaves, and already that movement was in progress which before long was to convert slavery into serfdom.

The end of the ancient world.

Even more momentous was the change that had passed over the convictions and the religion of mankind. Even before the victory of Christianity the essential features of the old pagan faiths had been modified past all recognition. But with the triumph of Christianity the most important of all religious revolutions that the world has known was completed. In place of the old local cults had come a universal worship; in place of religious ideas that varied with locality, language, and race, had come a faith which proclaimed itself applicable to all men of whatever station, race, or language. The greatest and the strangest revolution in history is that which substituted for the radiant figures of the pagan deities—for Apollo and Athena, and Venus and Mithras—the figure of the crucified Christ. There are, it is true, tendencies in the

Religious contrast between the ancient world and the Middle Ages.

pagan world which prepare for the change, and the debt of Christianity to pagan thought is greater than the Christian Church was often willing to admit, but nothing can much diminish the extraordinary contrast between the old faiths of the European world and that exclusive religion to which it was now moving with so rapid a pace.

And it is to be noted that along with this change in religion had come into the world a new force and a new organization, of a kind, hitherto unknown. The ancient world had many religions and many temples, but it had no church. The idea of a body of men bound together by common beliefs, a common worship, and a common code of morals was almost entirely unknown. Assuredly neither ancient Greece, nor early Rome, nor paganism in its later developments had a glimpse of the institution which was destined now for more than 1000 years to occupy a central position in European history. In the empire down to Diocletian the state was omnipotent, it claimed the obedience of all men, and it claimed the obedience of the whole man. Government, as well as religion, laws, as well as morality, emanated directly from this supreme power. The change was as sudden as it was amazing, whereby a new power rose side by side with the state, claimed, from the first, a share in the control of the lives of men, and as time went on, claimed a larger share than that which fell to the lot of the state. Something, no doubt, in this change is to be ascribed to the victory of the barbarians and the failure in the efficiency of the empire. But the more important cause is to be found in a real change in the ideas of men, and in new convictions which were held with passionate faith. Division of history into periods is fanciful and to some extent unreal, though it is necessary. Such divisions may be made on various principles, but it is a true proverb which says that the great revolutions take place in the minds of men, and it seems best, therefore, to divide the pagan world from the mediæval world just at the point where Christianity won its most striking triumph, and the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages became firmly planted. We shall see that it is the break in the organization of this Church, the disappearance of the religious unity which was now so surprisingly won, and the

reappearance of religious diversity at the time of the Reformation which most clearly marks the passing of the Middle Ages and the rise of the modern world.

In addition to Gibbon, Hodgkin, Milman, Robertson, and the ordinary ecclesiastical histories, there is a *Life of Constantine the Great* by J. B. Firth.

PART II
THE MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER I

The Final Triumph of the Christian Church within the Roman Empire

THE religious measures of Constantine encountered no great opposition during his lifetime; the Pagan leaders and priests seem to have seen the rise of Christianity to a position of pre-eminence, if not with equanimity, at any rate, without any attempt at resistance. Yet the change was so great, and Paganism in its various forms was so linked with the life of the people, that it was not likely to disappear without some sort of struggle. Nor could it be said that the life of the emperor himself, during its latter part especially, was such as to recommend the Faith that he had adopted. He was, we have seen, a vigorous soldier and an excellent ruler; but his domestic life was as unfortunate as that of the worst emperors in the Imperial series. His last years were troubled by plots and conspiracies, and both the son and the wife of the emperor were executed on suspicion of complicity. Upon his death, in 337, the palace was for some time agitated by plots and struggles of the most violent kind, until, in 350, Constantius, the son of Constantine, reigned alone. We need not, however, pause to notice any of the details of the following years: we reach a more important event, when, in the year 355, Julian, the cousin of the emperor, was associated with him in the task of government.

The accession of Julian.

The career of Julian is interesting in many ways. He must have been a soldier of rare ability; in command upon

the Rhine frontier he invaded Germany again and again, and clearly showed that the superiority of Roman arms and discipline under a good general was not yet over. Between Julian and Constantius, who had put to death a number of Julian's relations and friends, there was naturally suspicion and friction; and in 359 Julian's legions, being ordered to move from their homes on the Rhine frontier to defend the Euphrates against a threatened incursion of the Persians, mutinied, and refused to march. In the tumult that followed they saluted Julian as emperor, and he at last accepted the dangerous title, and thus declared war against Constantius, whom he had hitherto served in a subordinate position. Julian marched on Constantinople with great rapidity, but before he arrived there Constantius had died a natural death, and in December, 360, Julian was master of the Roman world.

The last effort of Paganism.

The one supreme interest of Julian's reign is that Paganism made a last effort to overthrow the supremacy of the Christian Church, and to maintain itself as the religion of the empire. Many things seem to have contributed to this Pagan reaction. The high hopes which had been entertained of the peace and prosperity and virtue which were to come with the victory of the Christian Church, had been bitterly disappointed; there had been war, civil and foreign; and, as we have seen, the lives of the first Christian emperors rivalled in crime those of Nero and Domitian. More important probably was the fact that the Christians were now bitterly quarrelling with one another. There had, indeed, even before the reign of Constantius, been well-marked divisions among Christians, and eager rivalry between different doctrines and different ideas on Church government, but those rivalries and divisions had been intensified very greatly since the victory had been won. Africa, especially, was torn asunder by a religious struggle which had its obscure origin in the action of certain Christian officials at the time of Diocletian, who had handed over their sacred books to be burnt at the order of the emperor; but the meaning of the original struggle had long been lost, and different Christian factions were fighting against one another with a savagery which laid a large part of the province waste. Much more

serious than this obscure conflict was the great controversy which turned upon the definition of the nature of Christ. From the first the difficulty had been present with the leaders of the Christian Church, and the third century had seen various heresies turning on this point; but it is in the fourth century that it came to a head, in the greatest of all early heresies which is known as Arianism. Arius, who gives his name to the movement, was an ecclesiastic of Alexandria, where, more than elsewhere in the empire, religious controversy was pursued with heat. Arius defined the person of Christ as being of *similar* substance with the Father; whilst, on the other hand, the orthodox formula which was passionately, and in the end triumphantly, championed by Athanasius, declared that Christ was of the *same* substance with the Father. The difference has been by some regarded as a small one, and it is certainly a mistake to think of Arius as anticipating the views of modern rationalism; but it would seem that in this apparently verbal controversy, the character and the future of the Catholic Church were at stake. There was not at first any wide difference in ceremonies and ritual between the Arian and the orthodox churches; but if Arianism had triumphed there could have been no doctrine of transubstantiation, and no ceremony of the Mass: the priesthood would thus have been deprived of one of its chief titles to supremacy over the laity, and the growth of the Papal monarchy would have been rendered more difficult.

The rise of Arianism.

The General Council of Nicæa (325) had declared that the Arian views were heretical; but they were maintained nevertheless by great numbers, especially in the east of the empire. The authority of Rome was thrown throughout on the side of Athanasius. The controversy was not confined to professional theologians, but became, in a manner which is now difficult to understand, the excitement and passion of all classes. In the fury of religious controversy the unity of the Christian name was altogether forgotten, and followers of Arius pursued those of Athanasius with a bitterness of hatred, apparently greater than that which they directed against the Pagans. It was not unnatural, therefore, that many should

think that it was worth while considering whether, after all, some return to Paganism were not advisable.

The new Paganism.

It must be noted, too, that the new Paganism was something very different from the old. Cicero or Julius Cæsar—to go no further back—would hardly have recognized in the views of Julian any resemblance to the faiths and the practices which had sat so lightly on their own consciences. We have already noticed that Paganism during the third century had been adopting a mystic tone that had at first been foreign to it, and was trying to gain an organization which should give it some chance of resisting the episcopal government of the Christian Church. All these tendencies culminated in the time of Julian; he spoke of many gods, but he was himself essentially a monotheist, and he was especially devoted to the Sun god or Mithras, in whom he saw "the living and beneficent image of the intelligent Father of the world." What was strongest in Paganism was all working in this direction. In the earlier centuries of Christianity the Pagans had been "light half-believers in their casual creeds," but now among at least a large group of them their faith had become a real passion.

Religious policy of Julian.

Julian himself had imbibed these ideas during his residence at Athens, which was now again a great centre of education, and a stronghold of the new Paganism. His promotion to the service of the empire had called him reluctantly away, but when he became emperor, his chief object was to put into practice the ideas which he had so ardently embraced from his Athenian teachers. His reign was a short one, and we can hardly tell what his schemes would have developed into; but he declared religious toleration for all, and allowed the Jews to rebuild again their temple at Jerusalem. All Christian symbols disappeared from the coins and the inscriptions of the empire; sacrifice in the Pagan temples was renewed again with an ardour which arose in many from a desire to please the emperor. Julian, too, saw how great an advantage Christianity drew from the strictness of its organization and the special training of its priesthood, and desired to give to Paganism something of the same kind. He insisted on rigid rules of morality for the

priests, and proposed to bind them together in a common organization. The existence of Christianity did not at first seem threatened by these measures; but if Julian had lived much longer he would inevitably have been brought into direct conflict with Christianity, for he excluded Christians from all teaching posts, preferred Pagans to Christians for all offices in the State, and deprived the Christian priesthood of the financial privileges which had been given to it by Constantine.

Death of Julian.

The attempt at religious reconstruction was, however, soon cut short by military dangers. The Persians at this time under their king, Sapor, were a dangerous and an aggressive people. It was necessary for Julian to lead the armies of Rome against them. His campaign was conducted brilliantly, and for a certain time with success. He crossed the Tigris and prepared to strike into the heart of Persia, but was forced to retreat by want of supplies, and on his way back was killed under obscure circumstances.

"Galilean, thou hast conquered."

Legend says that his last words were "Galilean, thou hast conquered," and certainly with the death of Julian passed away the last chance for the victory, and even for the continued existence of Paganism. The truth seems to be that there was not in any large section of the people of the Roman Empire any vital belief in the old faith, or any strong desire to maintain it. It was one of Julian's most bitter disappointments to find that what was to him a passion and an enthusiasm was held by the majority of those who surrounded him in a very different and quite lukewarm fashion. It is clear from the ease with which the extinction of Paganism was carried out that there was neither faith nor zeal among its supporters.

Theodosius.

Other important things were happening at this time. The Barbarians were forcing their way over the frontiers of the empire, but we may turn away from them for the moment, and carry on the religious movement up to the final victory of Christianity. Julian was succeeded by emperors who reigned for a short time, and left no enduring mark upon the history of the empire; but then in 379, there came to the throne the Emperor Theodosius. His reign is in

many respects a very important one. We shall see in the next chapter how it marks an important stage in the relations between the empire and the barbarians. It is a reign, too, which saw a great step taken towards the completion of the majestic fabric of Roman law, and it is perhaps as co-operator in the work of codifying the Roman law that the name of Theodosius most deserves to be remembered with gratitude by posterity. In this chapter we are thinking only of his religious policy.

The end of Paganism.

He was a Christian, and a Christian not of the Arian type to which most of the emperors since Constantine had belonged, but a zealous adherent of Athanasian orthodoxy; and it was during his reign that Arianism was finally subdued and Paganism extinguished. There are no striking incidents in the last struggles of Paganism, and for the most part the victory of Christianity was won against a very feeble opposition. Paganism found its chief stronghold in the city of Rome itself, and even in the Senate of Rome the weakness of Paganism was shown, when, in the year 384, the statue of the Goddess of Victory was moved from the Senate house. Ten years later Theodosius himself came to Rome. A formal debate is reported to have been held in the Senate in the presence of the emperor as to whether Jupiter or Christ should be regarded as the patron of the city. The emperor's presence left no doubt as to the issue; the Senate declared for Christianity, and that declaration was at once put into effect by a series of laws. All Pagan sacrifices were henceforth forbidden upon pain of death, and worship of the old deities of Rome, even without sacrifice, was prohibited. The temples of the Pagan deities, many of them among the most wonderful structures that human hands have reared, were in all parts of the Roman Empire attacked, desecrated, and in many instances destroyed; the columns and marbles of some were transferred to Christian Churches, and a few, such for instance as the Pantheon in Rome, and the Parthenon at Athens, were converted entirely to Christian uses, and were thus preserved in their entirety. The victory of Christianity was unfortunately accompanied by acts of vandalism on a scale perhaps unexampled in

Disappearance of classical civilization.

history, and it was not only stone and carved work that suffered. The poets, and philosophers, and even the historians of classical antiquity had been put forward by the Pagan champions as rivals of the sacred books of the Christians. It was therefore natural that Christianity, in its triumph, should condemn these; and with few exceptions, of which Virgil's poem is the most important, the great works of classical antiquity passed into oblivion from which they were only rescued by the dawning of the Renaissance some thousand years later. It is wrong to think of the Middle Ages as being altogether a period of darkness; yet in one sense it is true that they were so. The light which had streamed from Greece upon Rome, and from Rome upon the whole civilized world, could not be altogether extinguished; but to a very large measure it was obscured, and the human race suffered thereby a most disastrous loss.

The humiliation of Theodosius before Saint Ambrose.

One detail of the life of Theodosius deserves a passing notice, for it reveals to us the nature of the new force that had entered the world with the triumph of the Christian Church. We shall see in the next chapter that Theodosius had established good relations with the Goths. He was, therefore, the more exasperated to hear that the people of Thessalonica had risen against Gothic soldiers stationed there, and had murdered several officers. The Emperor determined to exact a terrible revenge and thousands of the citizens were slaughtered in cold blood. It was a terrible deed, but in itself would not deserve to be chronicled in an age that sees so many terrible deeds. What is of importance is the protest which it met with and the punishment which it incurred. The leading figure in Christianity at this time was St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan; he expressed in strong terms his abhorrence for the emperor's deed, and when the emperor presented himself at the Church of Milan, he was excluded by the Bishop's orders from entrance, and from participation in the sacraments of the church. Nor was he readmitted into the Christian communion until he had expressed his sorrow for what he had done and submitted to public and humiliating penance. The successor of Julius Cæsar humiliated himself

before a priest! The master of all the legions of Rome prostrated himself before the representative of the crucified Jew! No revolution in History is so important as that which is represented by these facts. From this time onward, emperor and Church, sometimes in alliance and often in opposition, are the two great forces of the Middle Ages, and it is not until the claims of both of them had been overthrown or weakened that the Middle Ages can be said to come to an end.

The Church histories of Robertson and Milman; Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; Miss Alice Gardiner's *Life of Julian*. Gibbon's treatment of this period is one of the best parts of his history, and, in spite of his own strong opinions, surprisingly fair. For Arianism, see Professor Gwatkin's article in the *Cambridge Mediæval History*, Vol. I.

CHAPTER II

The Gothic Victories and the End of the Roman Empire in the West

In the last chapter we saw how the Christian Church achieved a complete victory over its Pagan opponents. But during the years covered by these important events the Roman world was also occupied with a great struggle against her barbarian foes from beyond the frontier. The victory of the Christian Church no doubt contributed to the victory of the barbarians, for the attention of the Roman government was distracted, and it was not able to devote the whole forces of the empire to the struggle against the intruders from the north.

From the year 250 onwards, various races which had hitherto stood beyond the frontiers of the empire—most of them of Germanic origin—forced their way gradually within the empire, and many made for themselves permanent homes there. These events are sometimes called the barbarian invasions, sometimes the migration of the peoples; it is these

events which are usually alluded to when the Fall of the Roman Empire is spoken of.

Before we trace the steps by means of which the barbarians in their different divisions made themselves masters of certain parts of the Roman Empire, it will be well to consider some of the general features of the movement. We may notice, in the first place, that the barbarian invasions did not by any means come as an irresistible flood; there was no single moment when the defences of the empire fell, and the barbarians rushed in.[1] The Romans, indeed, maintained for a long time their military superiority over these enemies. But in spite of the Roman victories the barbarians gradually pushed forward, and soaking into the Roman Empire rather than overwhelming it, they dispossessed the Roman authorities, and made themselves masters of some of the fairest provinces of the empire. We may note further that these barbarians had nearly all of them been in the service of the empire, before they became its enemies and conquered it. We have noted already the Roman practice of enrolling in their ranks soldiers from beyond the frontiers, and we have said that in this way dangerous lessons as to Roman discipline and tactics were carried back beyond the frontiers. The victories of the barbarians were due very largely to the fact that they had learned from and in the Roman armies the methods of warfare which they now used against them. It is also curious to note that these invaders who are represented, and for the most part rightly, as courageous warriors, were in nearly all cases themselves fleeing from a more dangerous foe. They flung themselves upon the empire partly, doubtless, because the defences of the empire were growing weaker, and they desired to possess themselves of its wealth, but largely also because

General characteristics of the barbarian invasions.

[1] It may be noted that Milton's fine lines (P.L., I. 356)—

> "A multitude like which the populous North
> Poured never from her frozen loins to pass
> Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
> Came like a deluge on the South and spread
> Beneath Gibraltar to the Libyan sands,"

give a misleading impression of the movement.

they were attacked in the rear by an enemy more numerous, more warlike, and much more barbarous than themselves, and were driven by defeat to find a refuge within the empire.

Character of the Goths.

The word barbarian is in itself often misleading. The invaders of the Roman Empire were far behind the Romans in culture and knowledge, but they were nearly all of them ready to receive what Rome could teach. They were impressed by the knowledge and the splendour and the order of the Roman world, and were not anxious to destroy Roman civilization but rather themselves to claim a part in it. This is especially true of the Goths, who were the first to gain decisive victories over Rome, and whose name is sometimes used to cover the whole of the barbarian invaders. Since they had attacked Rome in the third century they had settled in a loosely organized kingdom which stretched across the centre of Europe from the Black Sea to the Baltic, and had its chief seat of authority near the Crimea. When first the Romans knew them they were heathens, but when, 100 years later, they invaded the empire again, they had accepted the teaching of Christianity. The great missionary of the Goths was Ulfilas (311–381), who lived in Constantinople at the time when the city was Arian, and had himself learnt Christianity in the Arian form. It was in that form that he carried it back to his fellow-countrymen, hardly aware probably of the gulf which separated Arianism from orthodoxy, and little dreaming of the consequences that would flow to the Gothic nations from their acceptance of the Arian heresy. He translated the Bible into Gothic, and the new faith seems to have spread, with great rapidity, and without encountering serious difficulties, to the whole Gothic race. The Goths, then, of the fourth century, were Christians whose lives often did credit to the religion which they professed. They were probably not much lower in the scale of culture than the English in the days before Alfred the Great, and they were ready beyond any other people to absorb the civilization of the Romans.

Ulfilas.

They were attacked in their homes in central Europe about the year 374 by the Huns, a central Asiatic race of Tartar origin, which now, driven by some unknown impulse, flung

itself upon Europe. The Goths were overwhelmed on the banks of the river Dniester; and soon they came down to the Danube, imploring the Romans to admit them. There were many Goths already within the bounds of the empire; the northern parts of the Balkan Peninsula were devastated by war and largely uncultivated; and the demand of the Goths was granted. In 376 they began to pour into the lands south of the Danube, as many in numbers, says a contemporary, as the sands of the seashore. The emperor, Valens, who had granted them permission to come, was alarmed at their unexpected numbers, and soon destroyed by his suspicious and irritating policy the friendly feeling which he had created by admitting them. War soon broke out between the Goths and the Romans, and in 378 there came the decisive battle of Hadrianople. The Romans were the attacking party, and at first victory seemed likely to crown their efforts, but then they were overwhelmed by the unexpected attack of a large body of Gothic cavalry, and their army was utterly broken. It was a defeat as complete as that which the Romans had suffered at Cannæ from Hannibal, but from this defeat there was no recovery; the Romans had lost their old elasticity and endurance, and, though the Romans in the future sometimes gained victories against their barbarian foes, the tide of success ran, from this date, more and more decisively against them.

The Huns.

The Goths admitted into the empire.

Battle of Hadrianople, 378.

The death of their leader and the outbreak of plague prevented the Goths from reaping as great advantages from their victory as might have been expected, and in 383 the emperor, Theodosius, after having gained some successes against them, made with them an important treaty. By this treaty a large territory in Thrace and in Asia Minor was to be ceded to them, and they on their side promised to provide the Roman armies with forty thousand men, who were to be commanded by Gothic officers, but were to be subject to the general direction of the Roman emperor. It was a dangerous experiment, thus to turn the victorious enemies of the empire into its defenders; but while Theodosius

Theodosius and the Goths.

lived the arrangement worked well, and had he found efficient successors, might have proved a permanent gain. But on his death in 395 the empire was divided between his sons Arcadius, who reigned at Constantinople, and Honorius, who reigned in Italy. It is interesting to note that though Honorius reigned in Italy he did not reside in Rome. Rome was no longer thought impregnable, and the emperors therefore, from this time on, preferred to live in Ravenna, a city with no beauty of situation, situated among dreary marshes and fever-haunted swamps, but for this very reason safer against an invader than the proud city of the seven hills. The transference of the capital from Rome to Ravenna was not the only thing which marked the decadence of the Roman power, for more and more the Romans entrusted their defence against the barbarians into the hands of men of barbarian origin. We have seen how large a body of Goths had been admitted into the Roman armies, but apart from this, we find that there were vast numbers of barbarians serving in the Roman legions, and that not only the soldiers but even the officers and the highest generals are usually men not of Roman, but of barbarian birth.

Arcadius at Constantinople: Honorius at Ravenna.

Barbarians in the Roman Army.

The year 395 which saw the death of Theodosius and the succession of his feeble sons, saw also the elevation to the Gothic monarchy of the great Alaric, the most famous name in the whole of Gothic history. He belonged to the Visigoths or Western Goths. He was a man ambitious and ardent in war, but at the same time honourable in his dealings, and a sincere Christian. He was on bad terms with the Eastern Empire, and his first enterprise, directed against Constantinople, was foiled by the fortifications of the city. He marched southward into Greece, and after having done great damage there, he returned back and settled in the Northwest of the Balkan Peninsula. Then in 401 he turned his attention Westward to Italy, owing, perhaps, to the incitement of the Emperor Arcadius, who wished to relieve his own dominions from so dangerous a neighbour. Alaric was not by any means always, or at once,

Alaric, the Visigoth.

Alaric in Italy.

victorious in Italy. He was met in the neighbourhood of Verona by Stilicho, the Vandal chieftain of the Roman armies, and was defeated and driven out of Italy with considerable loss. Stilicho enjoyed a great triumph, and boasted that the race of the Goths had been for ever destroyed. But a few years later came an event which opened up a prospect of easy success to Alaric. The Roman emperor was naturally jealous of his great soldier, whose influence doubtless left little real power to the weakling who sat on the Imperial throne. In 408 Stilicho was put to death by the emperor's orders, and his soldiers thereupon indignantly refused to serve the emperor any longer and streamed in many thousands into the armies of Alaric. Thus, when Alaric re-invaded Italy in the year 408 there was neither a general nor an army to resist him. He passed down through Italy, making no attempt upon Ravenna, and arrived before Rome. Thrice he laid siege to Rome, and had he wished to do so, he might have mastered the city some time before he did. But it is a striking feature of Alaric's character that he admired the civilization of Rome, while he fought against her armies, and desired nothing better than to find some place of honour and of power within the limits of the Roman dominion. Thus the siege of Rome was broken up a first and a second time, when Alaric believed that he had gained the position which he sought. Disappointed in his hopes and deceived by the emperor and the Romans, he resumed the siege for the third time in 410. We know little of the details of these great events, for the Goths had no historians, and the Romans did not care to tell the story of their disaster, but we know that, when the forces of the city had been reduced by starvation, Alaric assaulted the gates, and at last the barbarian made himself master of the most famous of the world's cities. There was no doubt slaughter, and there was plunder, but Alaric kept his soldiers in some order, and soon passed out from Rome to complete the conquest of Southern Italy, and there, in the far South a fatal disease fell upon him, and he died and was buried in the river bed of the Busento, whose waters were turned aside by the labour of his army to allow of the preparation of his grave.

Murder of Stilicho.

Fall of Rome.

Death of Alaric.

Alaric's conquest of Rome is in no sense the end of the Roman Empire, and yet of the events that lead to the disappearance of the Roman Empire in the West, it is the most striking and perhaps the most important. So great was the fame of Rome, so general the belief which identified Rome with the world's government, that its fall was an event which seemed to show men that the very foundations of the society which they knew were being shaken under them. The Christians specially had to meet the charge that Rome, victorious while she held to her old gods, had fallen as soon as she accepted Christianity; and it was to meet this charge that St. Augustine, one of the greatest figures in the early history of Christianity, wrote his book, *The City of God*. The death of Alaric relieved the Roman world from the pressure of a great danger, for the Visigoths, deprived of their leader, were far less dangerous. Yet there was no sign of any recovery of the power of Rome, or of any probability that she would be able to drive the barbarians from their territories. Rather, other barbarians followed in the tracks of Alaric and the Visigoths, until before long all Roman territories west of the Adriatic passed into the hands of one or other of barbarian races, and at last the Imperial name, after having been reduced to the most empty form, entirely disappeared in the West. The successor of Alaric as king of the Goths was Ataulfus. He procured the hand of Galla Placidia, the daughter of the Emperor Theodosius, and by her Ataulfus was induced to leave Italy, and to establish a Visigothic kingdom in the south of Gaul and the north of Spain. There it endured for three centuries until finally it was overthrown, not by the Roman power, but by new and more strenuous barbarian swarms.

Effects of the fall of Rome.

The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain.

Meanwhile, another barbarian race cut off from Rome one of her fairest provinces. Africa had become, under Roman rule, one of the most civilized parts of the empire, and it contributed much especially to the literature and the organization of the Christian Church. In 429 the province of Africa was over-run by the army of the Vandals. The Vandals were akin to the Goths, and had at first been

The Vandals in Africa.

considered more sluggish and unwarlike than the men who had followed Alaric on his great enterprise. They had, however, under their leader Genseric, marched through Gaul, and made themselves masters of large districts of Spain, and it was from Spain that they were invited into the province of Africa in consequence of disputes between the Governor of that province and Rome. They made themselves masters of the land with surprising ease, though the chief city, Carthage, did not fall into their hands until 439. The Vandals make none of the appeals to our sympathy that are made by the Visigoths; they were a cruel, plundering, piratical horde, and the civilization of Africa was almost effaced by their conquest, though that conquest would hardly have taken place if the province had not already been torn asunder by religious feuds. It was amidst these disasters that St. Augustine, himself an African by birth, and Bishop of the town of Hippo, wrote *The City of God* to justify the Christian faith.

Shortly after the conquering raid of the Vandals, came the first assaults of an enemy more terrible, and it seemed at first more dangerous, than either the Vandals or Goths. We have already spoken of the Huns. Victorious on the Dniester they had pressed westward, and now began to attack the Roman Empire itself. They had in Attila a great ruler: his is the one name among the Huns which is remembered by posterity. The Huns deserve the name of barbarians which is erroneously attributed to the Goths. They were a nomad race, not caring to settle long in a single place, knowing little of the arts of life, contemptuous of Roman civilization, and held together by a rudimentary government. It was only when controlled by some great soldier such as Attila undoubtedly was, that they became an overwhelming danger to their neighbours. In 446, Attila invaded the Eastern Empire, swept along the north of the Balkan Peninsula, and made his way even to the walls of Constantinople. The land became a desert where he passed. Then in pursuit of fresh plunder he turned northward, and marching through Germany, flung himself in 451 upon the frontiers of Gaul. A portion of Gaul was still in the hands of Rome, while, as we have seen, a portion of it had also been

The Huns.

Attila in Gaul.

surrendered to the Visigoths, and as Attila's assault equally threatened Romans and Visigoths, they joined to resist him. In 451 the united forces of the Visigoths and the Romans, under the last great soldier that the Roman race produced, Aetius, met the invading Huns probably near Troyes, though the battle which followed has passed into history as the battle of Chalons. It resulted in the repulse of Attila; Gaul was saved, and Attila retired by the valley of the Danube. The Hunnish danger, however, had only vanished from one point of the Roman world to re-appear at another, for in 452 Attila penetrated through the eastern passes of the Alps and invaded Italy. He destroyed the city of Aquileia; he pushed on as far as Milan, and there he was said to have been turned back by the supplications of Pope Leo and the religious awe which was connected with his name and office. He retired beyond the Alps and died in 453.

Withdrawal and death of Attila.

But no victory and the death of no single opponent could save the Roman world from its barbarian foes. The Roman emperor at this moment was Valentinian, but it is characteristic of the time that we hardly need to know his name or to consider his character. He was jealous of Aetius as Honorius had been jealous of Stilicho, and in 454 Aetius was murdered. His death immediately preceded, though apparently it did not cause, the second barbarian occupation of Rome. Genseric, the Vandal leader, was settled in Carthage and looked round for more plunder. The Vandal power was strong upon the sea, and in 455 a Vandal fleet appeared at the mouth of the Tiber and a Vandal army marched on Rome. The city could make no resistance. Genseric was induced by the entreaties of Pope Leo to abstain from massacre; but he plundered the city as it had never been plundered before, and many of the treasures of Rome passed to Carthage and disappeared.

Sack of Rome by the Vandals, 455.

Yet for twenty-one years the phantom of the Imperial name still subsisted on Italian soil, and still within the protection of the marshes of Ravenna there was some one who called himself emperor, and surrounded himself with something of the pomp of a Court. But the reality of power during these

dreary years rests not with the emperor, but with the great soldiers of barbarian origin, who in succession commanded his armies and exercised power in his name. In 476 one of these soldiers, Orestes by name, raised his own son, Romulus Augustulus, to the Imperial title, and intended, no doubt, to govern in his name. But the real power lay with the soldiers, and these men, irritated by an attempt to curtail their pay, rose in mutiny under a chieftain called Odoacer. Orestes was killed; his son, the puppet emperor, was deposed; and Odoacer was master of the situation. Had he wished he could have made himself emperor, or have thrust that empty honour upon any candidate he chose, but he cared to take neither of these courses. He took the Imperial crown and the purple robe and the other insignia of office, and sent them to the emperor at Constantinople with the intimation that Italy had no further need of an emperor of its own, asking only for himself the title of "Patrician." The application to Constantinople was a recognition of the supremacy of the Eastern Emperor over Italy; but his authority was purely nominal, and it was Odoacer who held the reality of power.

The end of the Roman Empire in the West.

Odoacer, Patrician, 476.

Such were the events of 476; not important in themselves, nor attracting very keenly the attention of contemporaries, they nevertheless mark the end of the Roman Empire in the West where it had arisen, and wherein its greatest strength had been found. It is not indeed the end of the Roman Empire, for the rulers at Constantinople still called themselves Roman emperors, and the empire continued to exist there in changing forms, for close on a thousand years. But in the lands west of the Adriatic Sea the Roman Empire passed away. Britain, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and Italy itself were in the hands of the barbarians. The emperors in Constantinople did not acquiesce in the new state of things. They regarded Vandals and Visigoths and the government of Odoacer as intruders on territory that belonged of right to them; and soon, as we shall see, an attempt was made, attended with brilliant though transitory success, to reconquer the lost lands of the West. But the ruler of Constantinople had no hold

on the loyalty of the Western people, alien from himself in race, language, and character. The future of Western Europe lay with the barbarian peoples, who soon were to be reckoned as barbarians no longer.

Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders* gives a brilliant narrative of these events which is a great contrast in style to Gibbon's history. Hodgkin's *Dynasty of Theodosius* consists of lectures summarizing the history of the time. Bradley's *Goths* in the *Stories of the Nations* is a useful résumé. Bury's *Later Roman Empire*.

CHAPTER III

Italy in the Sixth Century

THE victory of Odoacer left Italy completely in his hands, but he was almost immediately challenged by a new barbarian enemy, the Ostrogoths. These were closely related in race to the Visigoths, whose career we have traced. They had been forced to serve in the ranks of the Huns, and had shared in the triumph and the repulse of Attila. They had been for some time settled on the Eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea, and Theodoric, their great ruler, had resided for ten years at Constantinople, at first as a hostage, and then as the ally or servant of the emperor. This long experience of the government and the land, the religion and society, the strength and the weakness of the Imperial capital, exercised a far-reaching influence on all Theodoric's career. In 489 he invaded Italy at its most vulnerable point, through the passes that is of the north-east. He had been urged on to the exploit by the Emperor Zeno, who desired to overthrow—by whatever means—the usurping power of Odoacer.

Theodoric and the Ostrogoths.

The Ostrogoths were victorious after a long and confused struggle. Odoacer was defeated in three battles; he retired to Ravenna and defended himself there for some time, but

the city was forced by famine to surrender, and Odoacer was treacherously slain by the conqueror. Theodoric was master of Italy.

Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, was king of Italy from 489 to 526, and his reign presents many features novel and interesting. The centuries from the second to the eighth show us for the most part nothing but the failure of the old Roman order and government in the Western world; but the career of Theodoric shows us an attempt, for some time successful, to build as well as to destroy, and to create a stable order out of the ruins of the Roman Empire by the energy of the Goths.

The Constructive effort of Theodoric.

He fixed his capital at Ravenna, and that strange city of the marshes, already decorated by various churches and public buildings, received notable additions to its architecture from him. In his buildings and in his political work he associated with himself eminent men of Roman origin. His chief minister was Cassiodorus, a Roman; his chief secretary was the Roman Boethius, the last important name in Latin literature. He assumed the ceremonies and he adopted the forms of government which had been developed by the Eastern Empire. He aimed at uniting Gothic strength with Roman culture, and he came near to founding a stable state on this promising basis.

Theodoric in alliance with Roman culture.

His dealings with religion are especially noteworthy. He was himself an Arian, and showed no inclination to abandon that form of Christianity, which had special attractions for the Goths: but he did his utmost to establish good relations with the orthodox church, and declared himself against all measures of persecution. He was on friendly terms with the bishops, and he treated the Pope with respect, and even with deference. There is no such instance of religious toleration in Europe for another thousand years, and yet his religious policy was not successful. The Catholic Church claimed exclusive dominion, and was quite unwilling to tolerate the separate existence of an Arian Church in Italy. It remained aloof and hostile; and thus the force of religion, usually the strongest uniting force in the Middle Ages,

Religious policy.

worked in Italy for disruption and estrangement. Among the causes of the failure of Theodoric's plans his Arianism was one of the chief.

The Ostrogoths occupied, for the most part, the country districts. One-third of Italy is said to have been appropriated to their use, while the main part of the old Italian stock lived in the towns. Until nearly the end of Theodoric's reign Italy enjoyed unwonted quiet. With peace and security, commerce, which had been long declining, began to revive. Even the Pope declared that Italy "breathed again after the tempest of continual wars." It almost seemed as though the era of war and of invasion was over, and there are few promises whose failure history regrets more than that which Theodoric's rule for a time held up. He ruled with justice and with success. In Italy and in Western Europe his was unquestionably the first power. He was related by marriage or alliance to most of the barbarian states which had recently been formed: with the Burgundian, the Frank, the Visigoth, the Vandal; and he exercised over them a sort of precedence.

Prosperity of Italy.

Yet the last years of his reign present us with a disastrous contrast. The old Roman population and the Church remained still hostile; and as Theodoric drew towards old age the question of the succession raised great difficulties. He had only one legitimate daughter, and that daughter's husband died. The next claimant to the throne was a child five years of age. Theodoric believed himself to be surrounded by plots, and he struck, perhaps blindly and cruelly. Boethius was executed. John, the Pope of Rome, was thrown into prison under accusation of intrigue with Constantinople and died there. Thus the future was full of grave problems when Theodoric died in the year 526.

The gloom of the last years of Theodoric's reign.

To understand the next chapter of Italian history we must go to Constantinople. There was no sign of decay there; rather the empire seemed to be recovering its strength, and the barbarian attacks ceased to alarm. The admirable situation of Constantinople was working its natural effects. The wealth of the

The Emperor Justinian.

Asiatic provinces flowed into the city: Syria and Egypt provided it with corn and various sources of wealth. The West was indeed lost, but the empire was probably stronger because it was smaller. In the year 527 there came to the throne Justinian, who reigned until 565. In the long imperial annals there is hardly a more conspicuous name than his, though it may be doubted whether his triumphs did not bring rather harm than good to the empire. He was married to Theodora, who was at first a dancer on the stage, and whose rise to the Imperial throne was an event unparalleled in the annals of the Roman world. It was her beauty which attracted the emperor at first, but she showed later a strength of character and a political insight which made her a worthy helpmate for him.

Belisarius.

The name of Belisarius also will always be closely associated with that of Justinian. He has been called the world's greatest soldier, and though this is an untenable exaggeration, he won amazing victories with apparently small resources, and raised the glory of the Roman arms to a height which might seem to rival all that had gone before. The Imperial armies were composed of many and strange elements; barbarians filled up nearly half the ranks—Huns, Gepids, and Heruli—but the empire had also discovered in the Isaurians of Asia Minor a population of splendid military qualities, and these hardy mountaineers formed the backbone of the Roman armies.

Nature of his armies and tactics.

The armies of the sixth century offer a strange contrast to those which had triumphed under Julius Cæsar and Trajan. The legionary with the famous short sword had disappeared, and his place was taken by the mounted archer, and it was with this novel weapon that Belisarius won his chief victories. Nor were his armies ever large. It is amazing with how few troops he achieved conquests which added vast tracts of territory to the dominions of his master. He trusted to skilful tactics, to the mobility of his troops and to the rapidity of his marches to overcome the larger and more clumsy masses of his barbarian opponents.

The emperor had serious difficulties with the city population in the early years of his reign, and Belisarius achieved his first victories against the unruly mobs of the city, who

were excited by religious fanaticism and social distress. But when these dangers were past, and he had become conscious of the strength of his army and his general, he turned towards the reconquest of those western provinces which he had not ceased to regard as his legitimate possessions. It was upon Africa that his first blow fell; and when Belisarius, in 533, landed on the African coast he found the Vandals utterly unable to resist him. These people of the North, once so terrible under Genseric, had become disorganized, luxurious, and incapable of military effort. Two battles were enough to decide the fate of the rich province, and before the year was over Africa seemed firmly joined again to the Imperial fabric. Then from Africa Belisarius turned to a greater booty. He passed with 7500 men to Sicily in 535, and occupied it without difficulty; then in 536 he landed in South Italy.

Imperial reconquest of Africa.

The Ostrogoths, like the Vandals, had quickly lost much of their early vigour, but they had not fallen so low, and they showed themselves much more capable of recovery. The cause of the decline is difficult to discover, but we have already dwelt on the hostility of the Church, and of the Roman population, and victory as usual had destroyed something of the unity and vigour which the Ostrogoths had possessed when they attacked Italy. Belisarius carried all before him. Theodahat and Witigis, the successive leaders of the Ostrogoths, showed no skill in the defence. Naples and Rome fell. In vain the Goths tried to recapture Rome, though their army numbered 150,000, while Belisarius had only 5000 soldiers. In 540, owing to mutiny in the Gothic ranks and the pressure of famine, Ravenna itself, the administrative capital of Italy, fell into the hands of Belisarius. He returned to Constantinople and enjoyed a vast triumph. The military glory of Justinian seemed the greatest in Europe. We may add here, though out of proper chronological order, that the recovery of the Imperial power extended beyond Africa and Italy; a portion of Spain was also conquered, and in 550 the south-east of that peninsula came into the hands of Justinian.

Conquest of Italy.

But from this time on the fortunes of Justinian and his

general began to be somewhat obscured, and the end of his reign by no means fulfilled the promise of the early years. There was serious financial difficulty. Justinian was a constant and ambitious builder, and the great cathedral of Santa Sophia in Constantinople and many churches in Ravenna and elsewhere still survive to testify to the skill of the Imperial architects; but the drain of these building operations exhausted the Imperial Exchequer. Then war came with the Persians, and though success in the end attended the Imperial armies here also, the Persians were not driven back without a struggle. But the true cause of the comparative failure of the later years of Justinian's rule in Italy is probably to be found in the condition of Italy itself. The Italians, in their dislike of their Ostrogothic rulers, had welcomed the invaders, who were at least in name Romans. But with the war had come desolation, famine, and plague. The revived prosperity of Italy, which we have noted under Theodoric, gave way to misery never surpassed in the unhappy land during the Middle Ages, and when the Imperial restoration was completed they found that the burden of the new government was much greater than that of the old. There were complaints of the exactions of the tax-gatherers, and the general discontent gave the Gothic power a chance of revival. Above all, the Ostrogoths found a great leader in Totila, who is, along with Theodoric and Alaric, the glory of the Gothic name. He was a soldier of real power, and a Christian of sincere piety, just and humane beyond the standard of the time. Under him the Gothic armies once more spread over Italy. Belisarius was sent out to Italy again, but he had not sufficient forces at his disposal to stem the tide of Gothic victory. He succeeded indeed in reoccupying Rome which had been seized and then abandoned by Totila, but the success was transitory. He was no longer on good terms with Justinian, and in 548 he was recalled, and Rome fell once more into Totila's hands.

The decline of Justinian's power in Italy.

Totila.

All Italy was subject to Gothic rule with the exception of Ravenna, which now as always seemed nearly impregnable behind its fortifications and its swamps. The empire, however, was not yet resigned to the loss of Italy, and in 552 a

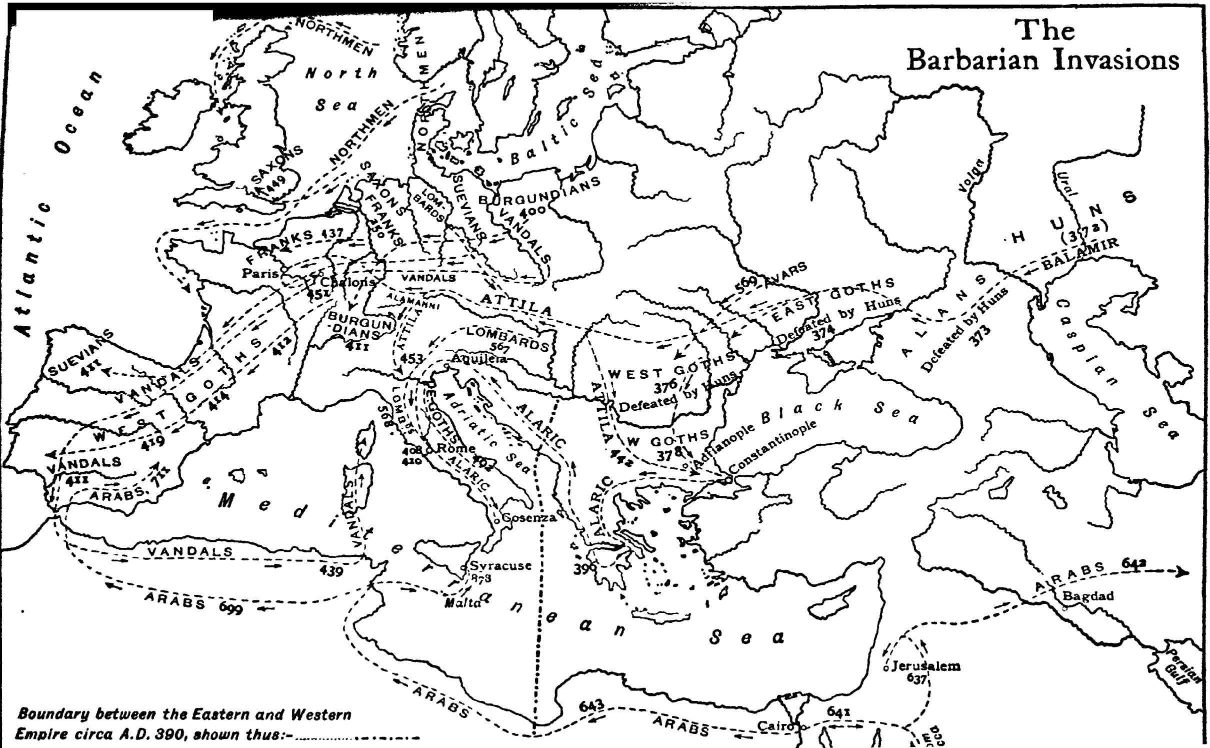
larger army was sent over under the command of an old man, Narses, once a servant of the palace, but clearly possessed of real military genius. He marched by land into Italy, and having reached Ravenna, advanced upon Rome, and at Taginæ, near the summit of the pass across the Apennines, he met Totila. In the battle that followed the Goths were defeated, and Totila died of the wounds which he received. There was much fighting after this; but the Goths could not maintain themselves, and in the year 553 they applied for permission to leave Italy. It was granted, and they marched across the Alps, joined themselves perhaps to the Visigoths, and disappeared from history. Thus Justinian's reign ended with success. Theodora died in 548, and in 565 death carried off both Belisarius and Justinian.

Narses succeeds Belisarius.

We have said that it is questionable whether the victories of Justinian did not weaken the empire, and whether he should not be regarded rather as the cause of the ruin than of the restoration of the Imperial power. But there is one task to which he set his hand which proved of vastly greater and more enduring importance than all the victories of his armies. It was during his reign and largely through his guidance that the work of codifying the laws of Rome was brought to an end. The work had been begun centuries earlier; it had been carried forward by Theodosius, and great Roman lawyers had continuously laboured at the task. It was now at last concluded, and the whole fabric of Roman law was made accessible to the world in a form logically arranged and not too large for comprehension or reference. Among the forces that acted upon the mediæval world, and indeed upon all the world, from this time forward, Roman law was one of the most important. It was not until somewhat later that it began to be studied by the nations of the West, but when they awoke to its importance, its reasonableness, its justice, and its humanity, seemed to them like a second revelation for the guidance of the destinies of man.

The codification of Roman law.

To return to Italy: its reconquest by Narses brought no settled order, no prosperity to the country: but it brought a heavy burden of taxation; and when the Imperial armies were withdrawn the country was without any strong defence. Soon



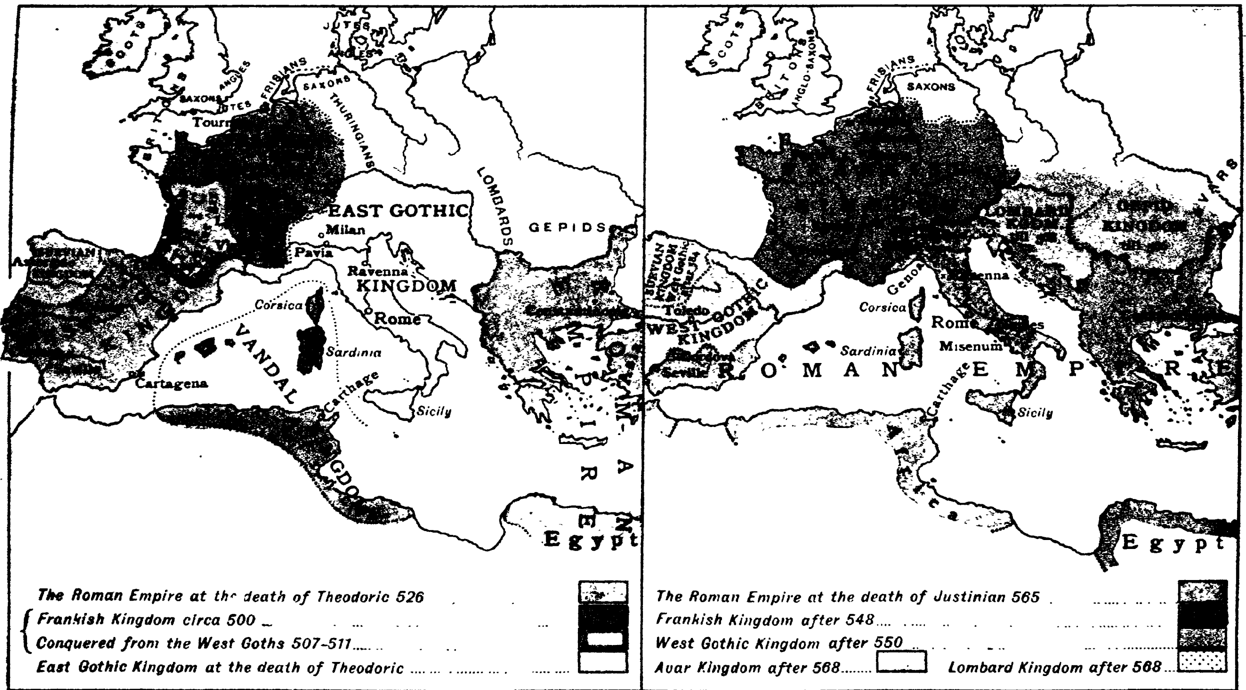
Boundary between the Eastern and Western Empire circa A.D. 390, shown thus:- .... - . - . -

a new barbarian enemy prepared to take advantage of the situation. Among those who fought for Narses at Taginæ, was a large band of Lombards, a German race, whose earlier obscure fortunes and wanderings we need make no effort to trace. They had seen the richness of the land, and though they withdrew after the victory had been won, fifteen years later they invaded in force. The country was desolate and helpless. Little help came from the East, and little by little the Lombards found themselves, if not the masters of the whole peninsula, at least the strongest force there. The Lombards did not form a single kingdom, like the Visigoths and Ostrogoths. They had indeed a king; but they yielded him a doubtful obedience; and their bands spread without plan of campaign or unity of design throughout Italy. The Eastern Emperors still clung to important places where they held garrisons; thus Ravenna remained in their hands until 742, and they always endeavoured to maintain the connection between Ravenna and Rome. They held also Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia, and important fortresses in the heel and toe of Italy; their navy was supreme, and the sea coast was always liable to their raids. But except in the places that we have mentioned, the Lombards held sway. Their capital was Pavia in the Northern plain, and south of the Apennines, Tuscany, and the lands of Central Italy fell into their hands. Their power was more loosely organized than that of the Visigoths or of the Ostrogoths, and the Lombard king from his capital at Pavia in the north held but a shadowy control over the Lombard dukes of Trent, Benevento, and Spoleto. On their first arrival many of the Lombards were heathens, but gradually they adopted Christianity, and though their Christianity was at first of the Arian type, it passed ultimately into orthodox Catholicism. This must be regarded as one of the most important facts in the development of their nation. In character and in talents they are far less attractive to us than their Arian predecessors, the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, and they seem to have been more hated by the population of Italy. But the religious barrier which separated the Goths from the Italians was ultimately removed from between the Italians

The Lombards in Italy.

The religion of the Lombards.

EUROPE IN THE VI CENTURY



and the Lombards. The two nations were thus able to blend and to intermarry, and whilst the Goths have left little or no trace on the development of later Italian history, the Lombards have left their name stamped on the northern plain of Italy, and have contributed permanent elements to the population and the civilization of the peninsula.

Gibbon and Hodgkin as before. Hodgkin's *Life of Theodoric.* Dr. Hodgkin has also published a translation of the *Letters of Cassiodorus*, which are of great value for the administration and ideas of Theodoric. For Justinian, in addition to Gibbon, Oman's *Byzantine Empire* is useful. For the codification of Roman law, see Gibbon, Ch. XLV.

CHAPTER IV

The Constructive Forces of the Middle Ages—the Papacy; Islam; the Franks

The ruin of Roman civilization.

ALL that the Gothic powers had attempted to build had proved unstable and transitory, nor were the efforts of the Eastern Empire to restore its organization and power in Italy and the West successful for long; the old civilization lay everywhere in ruins. At first sight there seems no sign of any new structure that was to emerge from among them. But there is no period of history which is merely one of decline and failure, and when we look more closely into the sixth and seventh centuries we may see already those forces growing which were destined, by action and reaction, to produce the characteristic features of the Middle Ages.

The Catholic Church.

It is the organization and the power of religion which mark, above all, the Middle Ages, and it is to this topic that we must first look. The Christian Church had been progressing uninterruptedly during the whole of its existence, but during the sixth century it began to assume a much stronger organization and to exhibit much more obvious power. There are two chief agencies by which

it assumed that mighty authority which it was to possess for so long: the first is the Monastic system, the second is the Papacy.

Origins of Monasticism.

Monasticism was no new thing; long before Christianity groups of men and women had withdrawn themselves from the world in order to live a purer life. India knew them well, and even in Rome the Vestal Virgins present some analogies to the convents of later years. Soon after the rise of Christianity we may observe, especially in the east of the empire, the same tendency strongly developed. We see hermits fleeing in great numbers into the Egyptian deserts; we see individual recluses, such as St. Simeon of the Pillar, establishing themselves in various forms of solitude and self-denial; even in Italy we may dimly see various groups retiring from the world for religious reasons. But what had happened hitherto was spasmodic, without discipline and liable to grave excesses. In some instances those who called themselves hermits were little better than robbers. It was St. Benedict (480–543) who gave to monasticism the form in which it proved later to be one of the formative forces of European history. He was not the founder but he was the law-giver and the organizer of monasticism. The monasteries which were established under his rule marked a great change from the ascetic practices of an earlier period. Those who entered them took perpetual vows and pledged themselves, not for a period, but for life, to celibacy and obedience to their chief. In the second place, their life was to be one of constant labour, of labour in the Church and in the Monastery, but of labour also in the fields; they were the teachers and the farmers of their age. In the third place, although the monastic system in Protestant countries is often associated with the solitary life, there was nothing against which St. Benedict so clearly fought as solitude for the monk. His followers lived together, prayed, slept, worked, and taught together; they were to act in every detail, not as individuals, but as a community. We may note further—though this feature is not so important at first as it proved subsequently to be—that each monastery managed its own affairs and admitted the authority of no bishop of the neighbourhood,

Saint Benedict.

but only of the head of the Church, the Pope himself. In admitting to his order St. Benedict shows the most absolute disregard for station, rank, wealth, or race. Within those walls at least barbarian and Roman, bond and free were equal.

The social influence of the monasteries.

The social influence of monasticism was very great, though it is difficult exactly to analyse it. The services rendered by the monasteries to industry and to agriculture are plain. By establishing convents for women, and by allowing women to hold high authority in them, it is certain that the position of woman was indefinitely raised, nor can it be doubted that, in an age when literature and education were sinking lower and lower, it was in the monasteries that the sparks were kept alight which subsequently lit the revival of learning in Europe. But historically the importance of the monasteries is to be seen chiefly in the service which they rendered to the spread of the Church itself, and especially to the maintenance of the authority of the Pope. They were often in conflict with the neighbouring bishop, but they always preached the duty of obedience to the head of the whole Church. Each phase in the history of the Papacy is characterized by some corresponding development of monastic institutions, and each monastery may be regarded as an outpost or a fortress of the authority of papal Rome.

Their services to the papacy.

Gregory the Great.

Soon after St. Benedict had done his work, the organization of the Church, as a whole, received a great impetus from one of the greatest of the Popes, Gregory the Great (590–604), who may be regarded as the founder of the Papacy as distinct from the Bishopric of Rome. It was Gregory from whom came the first impulse towards sending the missionaries to England, by whose means the Faith was planted again in the south of the island, though in the north and west it had not been wholly trampled out by the invasions of the heathen Saxons. It was also due to his efforts that the Lombards drew near to the Catholic Church, if they did not quite enter it. Their King Agilulf was an enterprising and ambitious ruler and frequently in conflict with the Pope on questions of policy and territory. But his wife,

Theodelinda, was a devout Catholic, and through her agency the king allowed his eldest son to be baptized as a Catholic, and the conversion of the whole race was prepared.

If we look to his development of the papal power, the chief features are these. We see the Pope gaining an authority in Italy greater than that of any other single ruler. The Bishops of Rome had received from Justinian large powers in secular and judicial matters; but never before had the authority of the Roman See been nearly so great as it now became. Italy was still scourged by the rivalries and contests of her rulers. The Eastern Empire was represented by the Exarch who resided in Ravenna. He was in constant strife with the Lombard king in the north, and the Lombard dukes in the centre and south of Italy. The Franks—that great German race which was destined so powerfully to affect the history of Italy—were already in occupation of certain districts in the north. In the north-east a new Turanian race, the Avars, akin to the Huns, poured down on to the Lombard plain and did frightful damage. The power of the Eastern Empire was sinking, the Lombards were divided against one another. Amidst this political chaos the Bishop of Rome, or as he must henceforward be called, the Pope, appeared as protector of the people and the maintainer of order. The Church, too, advanced in power and in wealth; great possessions came into its hands, and a large part of the Pope's energy was devoted to the excellent and humane administration of the "patrimony of St. Peter." He devoted, too, much attention to the ritual, the music, and the services of the Church, and doubtless by these means the Church was able to make an appeal to the non-Christian world more powerful than she had hitherto made. It was not only what he did but what he was that made St. Gregory one of the greatest figures in the early history of the Church; the reverence which was felt for him subsequently raised him to the rank of a saint. It is certain that the organization of the Church has never lost the trace of the impulse given by his powerful hand.

The growth of the papacy.

Gregory never knew of the existence of his most important contemporary, for Mahomet (it is of him that we must now speak), though thirty-four years old at the time of Gregory's

death, had not yet forced himself and his faith upon the attention of mankind. The story of its rise is in every way an amazing one. There was little preparation for it, and its victories were won against enemies that seemed strong and well prepared. The Eastern Empire had come, in the year 610, into the hands of Heraclius, and he proved himself one of the most successful soldiers in the Imperial line. He had to fight against the Persians, who had recently invaded Palestine and Syria, and he defeated them in a brilliant campaign. He penetrated to Nineveh, and in 628 forced peace upon the Persian king on terms eminently satisfactory to the empire. Yet immediately after these splendid victories the Imperial armies came into collision with the forces of Mahomedanism, and soon lost in the conflict their former prestige and confidence.

Mahomedanism.

Heraclius.

The new religion rose in a part of the world that was almost unknown, for Arabia had never offered inducement enough to the Romans to try and conquer more than a small stretch of it. The inhabitants lived an almost nomad life, withdrawn from the attention of civilized powers; but it was in this unpromising region that Mahomedanism arose. The population had been affected by the religious currents of the time; there was some Judaism, some Christianity, and along with both, many lingering superstitions of a primitive type. At Mecca special worship was paid to a large stone, the Kaaba, which was believed to have fallen from heaven. Here in 570 Mahomet was born. He lived for some years an uneventful life as camel driver and merchant, and at the age of twenty-five married the widow Khadija. Soon afterwards his musings and preachings began. We get little idea of their power by merely analysing their doctrines, yet we know that he preached the existence of one God only, and of many prophets, the chief of which were Moses, Jesus, and himself; he insisted on a higher morality than that which was habitual among his tribesmen, and he denounced slavery; he accepted the polygamy which was already in existence, but placed restrictions upon it. His character must have been one of amazing energy and persuasiveness, and we may catch

Arabia.

some sense of the power which he exercised over his tribesmen from the more personal utterances of the Koran in which his preaching is enshrined. He held up with strange oriental eloquence the pleasures of heaven and the terrors of hell, and his fiery rhetoric allowed no one to doubt his words. We may catch perhaps something of the manner of his preaching in a passage like the following—

> "When the Heaven is rent asunder
> And when the stars are scattered
> And when the seas are let loose
> And when the tombs are turned upside down
> The soul shall know what it hath done and left undone,
> O man! what hath deceived thee respecting thy Lord, the Generous,
> Who created thee and fashioned thee and moulded thee aright?
> Verily the righteous shall be in delight
> And the wicked in Hell-Fire.
> They shall be burnt at it on the day of doom,
> And they shall not be hidden from it.
> What shall teach them what is the Day of Judgment?
> A day when no soul can avail aught for another, for the ordering on that day is with God."[1]

In 622 he was driven from Mecca, and his flight, the so-called Hegirah, has been taken ever since by Mahomedans as the first year of their era. In his exile he gathered his disciples round him and administered to them an oath of obedience and of morality. In 630 he re-entered Mecca in triumph, and died two years later in 632.

The Hegirah, 622.

However we explain it, his preaching had kindled a fire in the hearts of the tribesmen of Arabia which made them a different people, which made them above all things a body of warriors, irresistible for over a century by all enemies that they met. The idea of propagating the faith by the sword is implied in much of Mahomet's own words, but he had no time to carry any such plan into execution. But after his death his successors and especially the Caliph Omar fell upon the Roman Empire of the East with deadly effect. The empire had just shown itself supremely vigorous and successful in war; but the way was prepared for the acceptance of Mahomedanism in many of the provinces by

The conquests of Islam.

[1] From Mr. S. Lane-Poole's version of the *Speeches and Table Talk of Mohammad.*

the furious theological controversies of the time. These were far more eagerly prosecuted in the East than in the West, and those opinions were embraced by a large part of the population which emphasized the unity of God and refused to recognize the complete divinity of Christ. These views had been combated and denounced by the Popes, but they were held by many who now preferred the strong Monotheism of Islam to the elaborate theology of Rome. In 634 the province of Syria was lost in spite of the efforts of the Emperor, Heraclius; in 637, Jerusalem was taken and Persia was overwhelmed. In 640 Egypt was conquered, and before the soldier emperor, Heraclius, died in the next year, he had seen all his early victories more than undone, by this new and strange force. With the conquest of Egypt there came a check in the advance of Mahomedanism, to be accounted for probably by the deserts which lie to the West of that country, but half a century later the movement began again. In 695 Carthage was taken by the infidel, and the imperial power, which, as we saw, Belisarius had planted anew there, availed not to resist it. Westward still the Mahomedan horde streamed, and in 711, under their leader, Tarik, they crossed the Straits and landed at Gibraltar. In two years' time their bands had occupied the whole of the peninsula, had reached the Pyrenees, and were preparing to cross that mountain barrier. Would the future show that the centre and north of Europe was as powerless to resist as the East and the South had been, or would some new power arise which would be able to cope with these children of the desert? Such a power was found in the Franks, and it is to the Franks we must turn as the third great formative force of the early Middle Ages.

Conquest of Carthage.

The Franks were a German tribe of whom the Romans knew nothing until the third century. They were formed probably by a confederation of smaller tribes who took to themselves the name of Franks. We need not follow their dim early history and their occasional raids into the Roman Empire; their real history begins in 481 with the accession of their king Clovis. At this time the home of the Franks was upon the lower Rhine, both

The Franks.

banks of which they occupied; those who lived towards the sea coast were known as the Salians, those who lived on the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Cologne were called Ripuarians. Gaul at this time was divided amongst various powers. In the valley of the Seine and on either side of it the Roman standard was still upheld by a patrician of the name of Syagrius, and this was the only fragment of the Roman Empire left beyond the Alps. South of the Loire was established the kingdom of the Visigoths; the valley of the Rhone and the land to the east of it were in the possession of the Burgundians. A little further north, the upper waters of the Rhine were in the hands of the Alamanni. Before his death Clovis had made himself supreme in all these lands. We need not follow the career of conquest by which this great achievement was performed. There is in his war against the Alamanni, however, one incident which outweighs, in its importance for the history of the Franks, all his victories. He was married to Clotilda, a Burgundian princess and a Christian, and he had vowed that if the God of the Christians gave him victory in battle he would accept the Christian Faith. He saw in the victory which followed the answer to his vow, and he kept his word. In 496 he was converted and baptized, and the Frankish people followed his lead in religion as they had followed it in war. It is a momentous incident. Clovis does not indeed seem to have been a much better man after his conversion than before; his career was full of vice and of crime, but the importance of the incident is that he thus entered into friendly relations with the organization of the powerful Catholic Church, for it was as a Catholic that he had been baptized. The Arianism of the Ostrogoths and Visigoths had contributed much to their ruin; the orthodoxy of Clovis goes far to account for the very different fate of the Frankish power. It is to a great extent by the support and the statesmanship of churchmen that the Frankish monarchs were assisted in the great tasks which awaited them.

Condition of Gaul.

King Clovis.

In 511 Clovis fixed his court at Paris, and died, and with his death the Frankish power fell rapidly from the high place

which he had won for it, and for a century its record is one of civil strife and almost impenetrable confusion. The words of Gibbon on this period are justified: "it would be difficult to find in any age more vice and less virtue." The royal line of Clovis, which is known as the Merovingian dynasty from a fabled ancestor Merwing, inherited little of his power and soon faded into insignificance, and, if the weakness of the royal line is strange, still stranger is the emergence by the side of the royal power, of another force greater than its own, that of the mayors of the palace. The origin of these officials is obscure. They seem first to have been what their name implies, domestic officers connected with the palace of the kings. Before the end of the century they came to be more powerful than the kings themselves, and, in an age when everything tended to become hereditary, their power also was handed on from father to son. By the side of the hereditary powerless monarchs there thus grew up another line of hereditary mayors, vigorous, powerful, and ambitious. The first great name among these mayors was Pippin of Heristal, who, in 687, by the battle of Testri, united again the northern Franks into one state lying on both sides of the Rhine. In 714 Pippin of Heristal died and bequeathed his authority to his son, Charles Martel.

The Franks after Clovis.

Mayors of the Palace.

Charles Martel may be regarded as the founder of the great dynasty which was to rise to the first position in Western Europe and re-establish there the imperial title. The great actions of his life took place in France, and his name is closely associated with the destinies of that country. But it is important to remember that he was himself a Frank, a man, that is, of pure German origin, speaking the German tongue, and unconnected with the old Gallo-Roman race. During the whole of his life-time the destinies of Frankland were in his hands, and it is hard to remember that there was always living at the same time some phantom king in whose name and by whose authority Charles nominally acted.

Charles Martel.

The authority of the royal power was by him raised to a much higher point. We see him, as we may see every strong

ruler of the Middle Ages, struggling with the great nobles of the land, and bringing down the barons and the dukes into subordination to his authority. Before his death the one strong power in the land was that of the mayor, speaking in the name of the king. He extended the boundaries of Frankland by a series of wars beyond the Rhine against the Saxons and the Bavarians, and though his work here was not final, it prepared the way for the very important conquests of his successors. The warm support which he gave to the Catholic Church and to the papacy within and beyond his own dominions is typical too of his whole house. It was a time of great missionary zeal and enterprise; many of the best-known missionaries were drawn from our own island, some sprung from the old British population, others from the newly converted Saxons. Thus in the low lands to the north of the mouth of the Rhine St. Willibrod laboured with success, and Holland regards him as the founder of its faith. Further up the Rhine we see St. Boniface, an Englishman of Devonshire, preaching and carrying the Christian religion among German races to the east of the great river. The efforts of these men were seconded by those of the great mayors of the Franks, and the missionaries in their turn did not a little to increase the prestige and the strength of their patrons. Between Charles, therefore, and the papacy there were relations of friendliness and mutual support, even before the great service which he rendered to the Christian faith by driving back the Mahomedan Moors in the battle of Tours (732).

Power and conquests of Charles Martel.

English missionaries in Germany.

Before we speak of this battle it may be noted that just about this time the Mahomedan advance was checked both in the East and in the West. In 718 a great Mahomedan army marched against Constantinople, and the city seemed in great peril; the infidel army, however, met with a most energetic resistance at the hands of the emperor, Leo the Isaurian, and in the end was repulsed from the walls of the imperial capital. Then, fourteen years later came the great triumph of Charles Martel. The Moors had overrun all Spain: they had passed beyond the Pyrenees and had taken many of the old Roman cities of the south of Gaul;

Battle of Tours, 732.

thus Carcassone, Nîmes, and Autun fell into their hands. It is unquestionable that the Christian civilization in the West was in very great danger. The Moors might turn their efforts against the central portion of Frankland, or they might pass through the Alps into Italy and threaten Rome herself. Their attack fell upon Aquitaine, the district lying to the south of the river Loire. The duke of this land was defeated in his first encounter with the Moorish leader, Abderahman. The forces of Islam poured northward in apparently irresistible force and threatened the lands of the Loire. The Duke of Aquitaine had not been on good terms with Charles Martel, but now he appealed to him, and in 732, Charles led the Frankish forces to his assistance. The allies met the Moors near Poitiers, though the battle has always been called the battle of Tours. The struggle was a desperate and confused one, and when night fell victory did not seem to have declared itself, and Charles was prepared to renew the battle the next morning; but the Moors had suffered more heavily than he knew, and in the night they retreated, leaving the battlefield and victory to their Christian opponent. It was a severe check, and it was followed by others only less severe. Town after town was wrested from their hands; little by little the whole of the South of France came once more into the possession of Christian rulers, and for the present the Pyrenees and the Bosphorus seemed limits impassable to the Mahomedans. In 741 Charles Martel died, leaving behind him two children, Carloman and Pippin, and his territories were divided between them. The unity of Frankland was thus threatened, but not for long; Carloman determined to abandon his power, and retire for his soul's health into a monastery, and thus from 747 onwards, Pippin reigned alone.

Consequence of the battle of Tours.

Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; Margoliouth's *Life of Mohamet* and *Mahomedanism*. *The Speeches and Table Talk of Mohammad*, by Stanley Lane-Poole (with valuable introduction). For St. Benedict and St. Gregory, the Ecclesiastical Histories of Milman and Robertson. St. Benedict's *Rule* is in Henderson's *Documents of the Middle Ages*. For the Franks, see Gibbon and Hodgkin.

CHAPTER V

Charlemagne and the New Empire

THE great development that was in store for the power of the Franks, and the change of the title of their ruler from mayor to king and then from king to emperor, depend upon the relation between the Franks and the papacy, and the mutual services which each rendered to the other. We must look, therefore, first to Italy, and understand the position of the papacy there.

The Church in Italy in the eighth century.

The spiritual authority of the papacy was rising continually higher; the monasteries and the missionaries everywhere asserted the authority of the Pope as supreme within the Church; but in Rome and in Italy the position was full of great difficulties and dangers. The turbulence of the city and the rivalry of the nobles threatened the authority of the Pope within the walls of Rome; and outside of Rome he was continually in conflict with the power of the Lombards. The Lombards were not organized into a single monarchy: the duchies of the South, Spoleto and Benevento, were in practical independence. But the Lombard power had made of late rapid advances. Liutprand, the Lombard king, was a ruler of real power. Nearly all traces of the power of the Eastern Empire were swept away in the north of Italy, and even Ravenna itself was hard pressed. Liutprand forced his authority even upon those territories which the Pope had been accustomed to rule as representative of the emperors, and the bitter hostility which was expressed by the Pope against the Lombards sprang from a rivalry in power and not from difference of faith. The Lombards were indeed by this time Christians of the orthodox Catholic type, and yet the Popes poured upon them the most bitter invectives; they declared that they were "lepers"; that they were "a race cast out from the family of nations," and they doomed them with confidence to everlasting punishment.

Liutprand.

If the papacy was to be safe from Lombard dominion, and if it was to enjoy independent rule over any part of Italy, it would need to find outside assistance, and yet this assistance could hardly come from the Eastern Empire. It is true, as we have already seen, that the ruler of Constantinople, the Emperor Leo, was a good soldier, and had waged a vigorous and successful campaign against the Mahomedans, but a theological quarrel prevented the Popes from seeking assistance at Constantinople. There had broken out a strange movement, known as Iconoclasm, which bears in many ways a striking resemblance to the Protestant movement of eight centuries later; it was partly a reaction from the superstition and asceticism of the Church in the East, and perhaps it was partly due to the influence and the success of Mahomedanism. Those who accepted this new movement rejected the worship of the sacred images, or Icons, which played so large a part in the ceremonies of the Eastern Church; they refused to worship the Virgin Mary, and they demanded the marriage of priests. The enthusiasm of the new movement increased the vigour of the Eastern Empire, but it conflicted directly with all that was insisted upon most eagerly at Rome. The Emperor Leo himself adopted the new ideas, but they were condemned in 732 by a council at Rome, and the emperor with all those who supported them was solemnly excommunicated. Leo died in 741 and was succeeded by a Constantine, but the movement of Iconoclasm only grew stronger under the new ruler, and the breach with Rome grew in consequence wider. In 785 the Empress Irene mounted the throne by means of murder; she was orthodox, and restored the worship of the sacred Icons. But the relations between Constantinople and the papacy continued very much strained, and the Pope would not willingly look for help to a dynasty which in his eyes was stained by heresy, by vice, and by crime.

The papacy and the Eastern Empire. Iconoclasm.

The Empress Irene and the end of Iconoclasm.

But while relations with the East were thus strained the Popes had never hesitated to admit their great indebtedness to the mayors of the Franks, and it was to the mayors of the

Franks therefore that they appealed for rescue from the intolerable pressure which the Lombards were putting upon them. Pippin ruled for some ten years as mayor, though during a part of this time the throne of the Franks was vacant. Then, however, a new king was crowned, by name Childerich III.; but it was clear that this farce of monarchy must soon cease, and Pippin's power and authority were so great that it was only natural that he should claim the royal title for himself. He had unquestionably the power to take the crown, and yet the traditional sanctity of the monarchy was still so great that he hesitated as to the manner in which the step was to be taken. Here the Pope rendered him great assistance. The reigning Pope was Zacharias, a powerful ruler to whom the papal authority owed a great advance. When the question came from Frankland as to whether or no Pippin should be called king, the Pope answered without hesitation that he who had the power should also have the title, and the Pope's word was sufficient to remove all lingering scruples. The king was deposed and tonsured and sent into a monastery: Pippin was raised upon the shoulders of his nobles in the old Frankish manner at Soissons, and was anointed king by the English missionary St. Boniface. Then, two years later, the successor of Zacharias, Pope Stephen himself, came north of the Alps to the Court of Pippin and crowned him with his own hands; henceforth his dynasty reigned without opposition. It is known by the rather strange name of the Carolingian dynasty, a name which is derived from his great son, Charles or Charlemagne, and owes its form to the Merovingian dynasty which had preceded it.

The papacy and the Franks.

The last of the Merovingians.

Pippin King of the Franks.

So the Pope had made Pippin king, and now Pippin had to render to the Pope a great service in return. He was appealed to for help against the "unspeakable" Lombards, and in 754 a Frankish army passed into Italy. The Lombard king, Aistulf, was defeated without difficulty, and surrendered to Pippin. The Lombard monarchy was not destroyed, but the king was compelled to restore to Pope Stephen a large portion of his

Pippin in Italy.

territory, those lands namely which lay between Ravenna and Rome, recently seized by the Lombards. This territory the Pope held not nominally as an independent power, but rather as the representative and dependent of the Frankish king. This was in 754; Pippin lived yet fourteen years and administered his dominions with success and extended their boundaries. He died in 768, and again, as upon the death of his own father, the unity of the Frankish monarchy was threatened. He left two children, Charles and Carloman, and his dominions were divided according to Frankish rule in about equal portions between these two. But Carloman, after two years of rule, died of disease, and Charles was left to rule in single and undisputed sovereignty. Thus in 770 the reign of Charlemagne begins—for it is by this name that he is best known to posterity, and by this name we will usually speak of him, though it is a name that was not applied to him until long after his death. His real name was Karl or Charles, and Charlemagne is a corruption of Carolus Magnus or Charles the Great, and is perhaps also due to some confusion with Carloman. He was himself of pure German descent: he lived for the most part to the west of the Rhine, where he made his capital at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), and he is a more thoroughly German ruler even than Charles Martel or Pippin; yet not only Germany, but also France looks back upon him as a great national figure, and sees in his reign and policy the beginning of a great epoch in their history.

Accession of Charlemagne.

A pure German.

There is no more important reign than his in the Middle Ages. He extended the dominions of the Franks far into Germany, and even may be said to have created the mediæval German state. He carried the armies of the Franks victoriously into Italy and into Spain, and in both countries left behind him an enduring influence. His reign, too, saw a new movement in literature and culture, whereby, if only for a moment, the darkness of the early Middle Ages was broken and an impulse given which never entirely died away. Lastly, his power in western Europe became so great and so unrivalled, his services to the Church were so important, that in order to mark his

The life-work of Charlemagne.

position the title of emperor was bestowed on him, and this assumption of the old title proved to be a more important thing even than it seemed at the time. In nearly every direction a new epoch begins with his career. The constructive forces of the Middle Ages are combined in him; the long disintegration of the old Roman power is at an end; the building up of many features of the mediæval modern world may be traced directly to him.

The personality of Charlemagne.

We have, from his secretary, Eginhard, an account of the man and his work. He was tall, strong, and agile, delighting in the athletic exercises of the Germans; an unwearied rider, a great hunter; fond of swimming in the baths of his capital. He was, for the time, temperate in eating and in drinking, and did much to raise the standard of manners among the rude German nobles. His interest in culture was great, and he induced the great scholar, Alcuin of York, to come over from England and found schools for the training of the sons of the Frankish nobles. He was himself proficient in languages, and had even some knowledge of Greek; he was specially devoted to Augustine's great work *The City of God;* but it is a strange and, for the age, a characteristic detail that with his considerable interest in culture, and his great intellectual power, he never succeeded in learning to write. His character shows us great magnanimity and a genuine piety and devotion to the State; a higher standard of personal morality than was to be found as a rule among the nobles of his day; though his private life was in many respects irregular, and his record as a ruler is stained by more than one act of cruelty.

The conquests of Charlemagne.

He ranks in history as a great conqueror, though probably not as a great soldier. His campaigns were often delegated to others, and his own contribution to them was that of director and organizer. We will enumerate his chief conquests without regard to chronology. First, he fought against and thoroughly subdued the duchy of Aquitaine, which had hitherto been in loose dependence upon the Frankish monarchy. Next we see him attacking with success the Mahomedan power in the north of Spain. The Moors were troubled

Aquitaine.

with fierce dissensions and civil wars, and it was these which gave Charles his opportunity. He crossed the Pyrenees more than once. In 797 he took Barcelona and organized a strip of territory on the south side of the Pyrenees as the Spanish march. The work was permanent, but it was not accomplished without difficulty, and the death of one of his officers, Roland, as he was repassing the Pyrenees has become one of the most famous incidents in epic legend. It was of permanent importance that Christianity won a victory in Spain. From this point onward it developed gradually but unceasingly until many centuries later Spain became Christian once more. Still more important were the wars waged by Charles in Saxony. The Saxony of his time was very different from that which appears on the maps of Europe to-day; it included the lower valleys of the Ems, the Weser and the Elbe, and was a wide tract of heath and of marsh covered by forests and hardly penetrated by roads; the inhabitants were fierce heathens who clung to their old faith with much greater tenacity than the Goths and the Franks had done, and made a stubborn resistance to the Christian missionaries and the military forces by which they were supported. Charles fought against them in a long series of campaigns, which were marked by at least one serious disaster to his forces, for in 782 an army of his was unexpectedly attacked and destroyed. But the Saxons were unable to maintain their independence. The crucial point came when the Saxon leader, Widukind, surrendered and accepted baptism; a subsequent insurrection of his followers was punished by the cold-blooded execution of over four thousand of them. The conquered land was held down by the transplantation of the population and the building of monasteries. The work had been done by harsh and cruel means, but it proved permanent. The Christian Faith and the Frankish dominion struck firm root, and we shall see how subsequently it was the Saxon people which took up and carried on the imperial work of Charlemagne when his own descendants no longer availed to do it.

Spain.

Conquest of Saxony.

Other campaigns were directed against Bavaria which was now definitely annexed to the Frankish monarchy, and became

henceforward one of the most progressive parts of German territory. Nor was Charlemagne satisfied to rule over all Germany, but he passed the Elbe and struck down many of the Slavonic peoples beyond that river, and penetrated into Bohemia and subjugated the Czechs. Further, he fought in a notable series of campaigns against the Avars who were resident in what we now call Austria and Hungary. They were a powerful people, and were believed to hold within their vast fortifications an enormous treasure, which they had inherited from Atila the Hun, and they were still a danger to the more cultured peoples of Germany. Their fortifications were forced in a series of attacks; the great treasure was taken, and brought into circulation; their ruler was forced, after his defeat, to accept Christian baptism.

Bavaria, the Slavs, Bohemia.

The Avars.

And now, quite out of order, we come to his conquest of the Lombards, and we place it here because it leads us up to the great and important change in the title of Charles. The victories of Pippin had not settled the relations between Pope and Lombards, and Charles himself had a quarrel with their king, Desiderius, whose sister he had married and subsequently repudiated. In 773, upon an appeal from Pope Hadrian, Charles marched into Lombardy, and legend for long retained the memory of the invincible iron-clad host which poured into the north Italian plain. The Lombard king was blockaded in Pavia and forced to surrender; his territories were now definitely annexed to those of Charles, who, in 774, took to himself the title of "King of the Franks and Lombards, and Patrician of the Romans." He increased at the same time the territories and power of the Pope, and for a quarter of a century was satisfied with the title that he had thus assumed.

Charlemagne and the Lombards.

His next great step came, not from any quarrel between Pope and Lombards, but from the bitter strife between the Pope and the nobles of Rome. Between the relations of the last Pope, Hadrian, and the new Pope, Leo III., there was bitter antagonism, and Leo was attacked by his enemies and half blinded by them just outside the city of Rome. He was imprisoned

Charlemagne becomes emperor.

but escaped, and in 797 fled beyond the Alps to Charles at Paderborn, and there implored him to come to the help of the Vicar of Christ, who had been thus grievously insulted and maltreated by his enemies. In the year 800 Charles marched again to Italy and to Rome; there was no resistance of any kind; Leo the Pope appeared before him in Rome, defended himself against the charges that his enemies brought against him, was declared innocent, and solemnly restored to his papal authority. Once more the Pope owed a great debt to the Frankish ruler, and now, as in the case of Pippin, he repaid that debt by facilitating the adoption of a higher title.

Christmas Day, 800.

On Christmas Day of the year 800, Charlemagne attended High Mass in the old church of St. Peters at Rome, and after the ceremony the Pope rose, and walking across to him placed the crown upon his head and saluted him by the title of "Emperor." There is something a little mysterious about the occurrence, and there was something in the manner of it which Charlemagne himself did not like, for he said afterwards that if he had known what was going to take place he would not have gone into the church. But it cannot be doubted that the title was one which Charlemagne had already determined to take, and the Pope only did in fact what had been previously agreed upon. Henceforth, with short intervals, until the year 1806 there was again a Roman emperor in Western Europe.

Importance of the Imperial title.

At first the change must have seemed a very small one. The Imperial title added no new subject and no atom of fresh power to the monarchy which Charlemagne already possessed. It must have seemed at first little more than a title of honour, and yet as we look back upon it we see that it was no mere ceremony but an incident of first rate importance in the history of Europe. The successors of Charlemagne in the title regarded it as something far more than an empty distinction, and however small their actual power, they thought that it gave them a rightful claim to supremacy in Western Europe. The Middle Ages, as we know them, could not have pursued the course they did had it not been for the revival of the

Imperial title by Charlemagne. It is of course in no true sense a continuation of the old Roman Empire; there is little in common between the powerful German king who now called himself emperor, and the old rulers of Rome from Augustus to Constantine, who spoke Latin, administered Roman law and regarded the Germans as their most dangerous enemies. But those who came after Charlemagne regarded themselves as successors of Julius Cæsar and of Constantine as much as of Charles himself, and their belief was one that influenced their actions and the course of history.

The statesmanship of Charlemagne.

Charlemagne showed himself a great ruler, not so much in the winning of his vast empire, as in the ruling of it. It was obviously difficult to hold together so enormous a territory and one so recently won; there was a perpetual danger that local rulers and local feeling would assert themselves against the central authorities. In order to counteract this, he invented the system of Imperial agents (*Missi Dominici*). These were men appointed by himself, who constantly travelled through the empire carrying the orders of their master, and seeing that those orders were performed. Twice a year the armed force of the empire was called together; once in autumn and again in the following spring in the famous Mayfield (such was the title of these national assemblies). The appearance of the common soldiers gave to these assemblies a popular and even a democratic appearance; but the deliberations were conducted by the magnates and great ecclesiastics. The welfare of the people at large was probably better cared for by the emperor himself than by this assemblage of notables. He did his utmost to diminish the power of the old national dukes, and the empire was governed largely by means of his counts, who were in his time not the great hereditary rulers that they afterwards became, but were the nominees of the emperor and ruled only while they retained his confidence. The name

Feudalism.

of Charlemagne is sometimes associated with the beginnings of feudalism; but in truth he did his utmost to prevent the growth of feudalism, for feudalism implies, above all things, the almost independent authority of the local landowner, and it was Charles' effort to assert

everywhere the authority of the central government. We possess a large number of the laws or capitularies of Charlemagne, and in them we see his anxiety to promote learning, to preserve books, to maintain order and good government throughout the length and breadth of his empire. Since the fall of Rome, Western Europe had seen nothing like it: the vast extent of territory, the good order that was maintained, the high ideals which, on the whole, guided his policy, his effort to plant or develop learning and culture amid the population; all these make of his rule a bright period in the darkest section of the Middle Ages.

He died in 814. His work, as we shall see, was soon ruined by his successors; but in the confusion that followed, his own name and the memory of his deeds only grew greater in men's memories. Hardly was he dead before legend began to gather round his name, and all through the Middle Ages a large number of epics were written, in which the historical features of the great king were almost forgotten, and he became a mythical hero, going on the Crusades, fighting against the Moors, and even defending the city of Paris against them. Wide as all this is from the true work that he accomplished, it is nevertheless a tribute to the abiding reputation of the great Charles and the impression he produced upon the contemporaries.

Charlemagne's reign and period can be studied in English in Gibbon, in the last volumes of Dr. Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders*, in Dr. Hodgkin's small *Life of Charlemagne* and in *Charlemagne*, by H. W. C. Davis (*Heroes of the Nations*). Grant's *Early Lives of Charlemagne* consists of translations of the Lives by Eginhard and the Monk of Saint Gall. For Charlemagne's relations with the East, see Finlay's *Byzantine Empire.*

For German history, which now begins to form a main part of European History, the books in English are few. Henderson's *History of Germany* and his *Germany in the Middle Ages* are useful summaries. Müller's *Deutsche Geschichte* provides a valuable outline in German, and Lamprecht's *Geschichte Deutschlands* may be consulted throughout. It may be well, too, to mention Freytag's series of historical romances, dealing with the history of Germany, called *Die Ahnen*; and his historical sketches entitled *Bilder aus der Deutschen Vergangenheit.*

CHAPTER VI

The Disruption of the Empire of Charlemagne

THE empire of Charlemagne was one which it required a man with the greatest energy and ability to manage, but after his death none such was forthcoming. He was succeeded by his only legitimate son, who is known as Lewis the Pious, a man too subservient to the clergy and the Church, and generally deficient in energy and will-power, who soon allowed his dominions to fall into disorder. There was recurrent civil war, and though the unity of the empire was not broken during his reign, it is clear that its organization was much weakened, and on his death, division quickly followed. He left behind him three sons: Lothair, Lewis, and Charles, and according to the Frankish custom his territories were divided among these three, though only one could hold the Imperial title. There was bitter strife as to the line of the division, and in 843 this was temporarily settled by the Treaty of Verdun. By this treaty Lothair, who had succeeded to the Imperial title, held the central portion of the empire, the lands namely, that stretched along the banks of the Rhine, the whole of what we should now call Switzerland and the north of Italy; a small portion of this still retains as Lorraine, the memory of his name. Lewis ruled over the lands that lay to the east of this, and Charles over all that lay to the west. The Treaty was no permanent settlement, but it has always attracted attention because it foreshadows so much of the history of the future. We may see here for the first time the existence of Germany and of France, and the lands that lay between them and fell to the lot of Lothair have been fiercely disputed between these two powers almost ever since that time.

Lewis the Pious.

Treaty of Verdun, 843.

The disruption of the territory of Charlemagne was no accidental thing due to the rivalries of his three grandchildren; there were permanent forces at work which would

have made the maintenance of the empire even by a second Charlemagne, a matter of great difficulty. We may note, in the first place, that the territories themselves were so vast, and varied so much in character and needs, that the maintenance of a single authority—especially in a time when communication was difficult and slow—would have been a matter of the greatest

General causes of disruption.

CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

Charlemagne's Empire and the Division at the Treaty of Verdun.

possible difficulty under any circumstances; and, secondly, immediately after the death of Charles, there broke upon the empire another series of barbarian invasions, almost as dangerous and destructive as those which the German invaders themselves had carried out against the old Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries. The Moors, though they had been checked by the Franks at the battle of Tours, were nevertheless still dangerous enemies, and south Italy, especially, suffered terribly at their hands. In the year 846 St. Peter's Church in Rome itself

New Barbarian invasions.

was occupied by them. They were driven off, but for a long time remained to plague and harass the centre of Italy. Upon the east the Magyars (the ancestors of the modern Hungarians), who had succeeded the Avars in what we call Hungary and Austria, were constantly striking into the more settled districts of Germany and of Italy, and carried everywhere with them ruin and devastation. Even more important than these were the invasions of the Northmen, whom we usually call the Normans or Danes. Driven from their homes in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and the Baltic coasts generally, by a spirit of adventure and perhaps by the growing strength of their own governments, these adventurers, who were often known as the Vikings, or men of the Fiords, passed out in daring raids towards the lands of the West. Both in their immediate and remote consequences these raids are of great importance for European history. The beginnings of Russia may be traced to the voyage of Rurik the Northman, who penetrated into the country in 862. We know how immensely the history of our own island was changed by its conquest at the hands of the descendants of these sea-rovers in the eleventh century. Before that date they had planted stable governments in Normandy on either side of the river Seine, and also in Naples and in Sicily; they had already carried their conquering raids as far as Iceland, and there is now little doubt that from Iceland they made their way to the northern coasts of America, centuries before Columbus set out on his more famous expedition. It is not, however, of these remote consequences that we must now think. In their early raids they had no desire to found a permanent state, but they came to plunder and to slay. They sailed with their vessels up the chief rivers and landed to plunder: the coasts of England, of France, and to a lesser extent, of Germany, suffered unspeakable things at their hands. Thus in 841 they captured Rouen; in 847 they took Bordeaux, and from that time forward never ceased to harass the coasts of France. Their most destructive raid upon the German lands came in 881, when they penetrated up the Rhine and destroyed Liège, Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, and

The Northmen.

Attacks of the Northmen on the empire.

many other important towns, but ten years later (891) they were heavily defeated by a German army under Arnulf, and this defeat served to turn them away from Germany and perhaps to intensify their attacks upon France. When we remember that Charles' empire had been built up by a series of victorious military expeditions conducted by himself and his predecessors, we shall see that the failure of his followers to maintain the defence of the land against these barbarous invaders must necessarily have shaken the very existence of the Imperial power. The disruption of the empire and the constant subdivision of it into smaller and smaller units rapidly followed. For, in the first place, the three large divisions, that we have already seen established by the peace of Verdun, were soon broken into a number of others. Thus the kingdom of Arles was set up on the river Rhone. South of the Alps was established the kingdom of Italy, whilst a little further north came the kingdom of Burgundy. But more important than this establishment of separate kingdoms was the process whereby was established that system of society and government which is known as Feudalism. The origins of this system are to be traced far back into the past, and some of its features will be explained when we have reached the period in which they were more fully developed. It is enough here to say that under feudalism, the government and the whole social system were intimately connected with the ownership of land. The owner of land was not merely possessor of property but became a ruler and a judge, a commander of troops, even a collector of taxes. Upon his own estates he was supreme: and though he recognized as superior to him the king of the land, and the emperor, and though he would be bound to yield to them in certain judicial matters, and to render them service in time of war, he would not permit any interference with his own tenants or with his own lands. This system varied much from place to place and from time to time. It began to show itself in its chief features at the time of the break up of the Carolingian empire, and it seems clearly to be due in the main, not to any theory of government or law, but to the needs of the moment. The barbarian invasions were dangerous; from the weak

The beginnings of Feudalism.

central government no help was to be expected, and thus society organized itself for defence round the strongest force that was to be found, and that force was usually the landlord in his fortified castle. The system once adopted spread very rapidly and if feudalism was, to begin with, a consequence of the disruption of the old empire, it soon became a cause making for ever greater and greater subdivision.

The end of the Carolingian dynasty.

From 843 for some time the empire remained in the Carolingian house, but the Imperial power sank lower and lower, and the title was tossed about from one successor of Charles to the other. Until 888 some legitimate successor was always to be found. In that year the Imperial title passed to an illegitimate branch, the Arnulfings, and even there it did not persist for long; at the beginning of the tenth century the house of the great Charles had died out, and we shall find that his Imperial title and his Imperial mission were taken over by those Saxons against whom he had fought so many desperate campaigns.

Rome and Constantinople.

The Church was to be one of the great forces moulding European society in the future as it had been in the past; but at the close of the ninth century it was faced with many grave troubles. There was in the first place the relation of Rome to the Eastern Church. We have already seen that there had been differences between them and that these differences had contributed to the recognition of Charlemagne as emperor. In addition to the theological differences which perhaps would not have led in themselves to schism, there was doubtless real and serious rivalry between the authorities of Rome and Constantinople. In 866, a synod was held at Constantinople and there certain decisions were taken which proved to be the occasion of a serious breach between the two Churches.

The Theological issues.

The synod of Constantinople protested against the celibacy of the clergy, which it declared to be a snare of Satan; it protested against the formula of the Western creed, which spoke of the Holy Ghost as "proceeding from the Father and the Son"; it desired to omit the words "and the Son" altogether, declaring that they amounted to a heresy

"so awful as to deserve a thousand anathemas"; it declared also its determination to celebrate Easter on a day different from that of the Western Church. There were constant efforts from time to time to heal the breach which was thus created, and sometimes these efforts seemed likely to succeed, but in the end they proved fruitless, and the Churches have remained separate until the present day.

866. Quarrel of Eastern and Western Churches.

The Pope was also harassed by the turbulence of the populace of the city of Rome itself and of Italy. We have seen how the Saracens invaded Italy, how the nobles of Rome were claiming an authority over the Popes, and how their different factions often managed to convert the papacy into their tool. Scandals were constantly occurring in the life of the Popes and of their courts, and, as so often happened, nowhere did the papacy seem weaker than in the city of Rome itself. Yet despite the breach with the Eastern Church, and despite these difficulties at home, the Popes were at this time putting forward greater claims than ever to temporal sovereignty and to authority within the Church. It is at this time that certain documents appeared which are generally known by the name of the Isidorian Decretals. They appeared in Rome about the year 860, and they purported to be early utterances of Popes or of Councils, all tending to establish the same conclusions, namely, the independence of the Church and the sanctity of its possessions, the power of the bishops, the supreme authority and dignity of the Popes and their freedom from secular control. It is now universally recognized that the majority of these documents were false, and it shows how little the age knew of history that they could, even for a moment, be accepted as genuine. An even more important forgery of this period is the so-called "Donation of Constantine." This strange document begins by telling how "Cæsar Flavius Constantine, faithful, merciful, supreme, beneficent, Alamannic Gothic, Sarmatic, Germanic, Britannic, Hunic, pious, fortunate, victor and triumpher, always august," was healed of leprosy by the personal action of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, when the Pagan priests had told him that he could only be

The Isidorian Decretals.

The Donation of Constantine.

cured by bathing in the blood of children; and how in gratitude for his recovery he had decreed that "he who for the time being shall be pontiff of the holy Roman Church shall be chief over all the priests of the whole world," and that "Sylvester, the universal Pope," shall possess "our palace, as also the City of Rome and all the provinces, districts, and cities of Italy or of the western regions," and that this shall "remain uninjured and unshaken until the end of the world." It was on this document that the temporal claims of the papacy were often based in the future, and until the revival of learning in the fifteenth century, there was no one, even among those who most deplored the consequences of the document, who ventured to dispute its authenticity.

The Mahomedan World.

We may complete our survey of Europe in the ninth century by noting that the Mahomedan world was not more united than the Christian world at this time. The Mahomedan kingdoms fall mainly into three groups: the Khalifate of Bagdad, the Khalifate of Cairo and the Emirate of Cordova. Great things were being done by the Mahomedans and great contributions made by them to the maintenance and progress of civilization in Spain, where the Moors at their best gave an example of religious toleration that the Christian states might have followed with great profit. They devoted themselves to the pursuit of knowledge, and mathematics, astronomy, and chemistry trace gratefully to them important steps in their origin or growth. But already there were signs of disruptive tendencies within the Mahomedan world; something like the feudalism of Western Europe was observable there also, and in addition, their states were shaken by constant struggles for the succession, by the fanaticism of religious sects, and by the insubordination of their armies. For the moment the danger from Mahomedanism seemed passing, but we shall see how there came a revival of the Faith and the energies of Islam, and how two centuries later Christianity had again to put forward all her forces to resist its great enemy.

German and ecclesiastical histories as in the last chapter. The Donation of Constantine is printed in Henderson's *Documents of the Middle Ages*. Scheffel's *Ekkehard* gives an interesting picture of the ravages of the Magyars.

CHAPTER VII

The Saxon Kings of Germany and the Establishment of the Holy Roman Empire

AT the beginning of the tenth century little of the work of the great Charles remained intact. His empire had been broken up into several kingdoms, and a number of duchies and other powers, which were in effect independent. The culture and education which had been planted under his auspices had almost died out; the barbarian invasions were increasing in intensity; the situation in Europe seemed very much what it had been in the fourth and fifth centuries, but the civilized and organized states had little of the strength and self-consciousness which had been possessed by the Roman Empire.

The beginning of the tenth century.

But the work of Charlemagne had not really been swept away, and the next upward move towards order and civilization owed much to his memory and example. It is strange that he found his real successors, not in those of his own blood, nor in Germans of the old Frankish stock, but among those Saxons who had been his fiercest enemies, and whose overthrow had been the most difficult task of his life.

Germany at this time was bounded upon the east by the river Elbe, for beyond that came various Slavonic races wholly alien from the Germans. The country was divided into six great duchies, each representing a certain amount of national feeling; they are often called from their German name the Stem-duchies. They were Saxony, Franconia, Thuringia, Swabia, Bavaria, and Lorraine. Each of these was a practically independent unit, and though they had recognized some king of Germany ever since the Treaty of Verdun, they had allowed as a matter of fact little interference with their own affairs. Now in 918 the throne of Germany was vacant, and there was no obvious candidate. The idea of hereditary succession had made much

The national Duchies of Germany.

progress of late, but it was not yet applied to the kingship of Germany, nor, on the other hand, was any other method of appointment recognized. In 919 at Fritzlar at an assembly of the Saxon and Franconian peoples, Henry of Saxony, better known as Henry the Fowler, was chosen as king, and his title was soon afterwards recognized by the other dukes.

Henry the Fowler, 919.

There was nothing to show that this election was to mark an important epoch in the history of Germany. Yet so it was; an able man and a powerful and vigorous race had gained possession of the royal title, and from this time onwards for more than three centuries the unity and prosperity and strength of Germany made rapid progress. Henry's own reign is not in itself of the first importance, but it forms an important introduction to that of his son and successor. His chief energies were devoted to the defence of the country. The Normans were no longer dangerous, but the non-German peoples beyond the Elbe were pressing in upon the native population. Henry opened a road for German colonization across the Elbe, and in a series of wars defeated the Abotrites, the Wiltzes, and other Slavonic races, and thus took up once more the task of Charlemagne himself. He conquered the territory which was later on to be known as Brandenburg, and from which in far distant centuries was to come another series of rulers who would give to Germany greater unity and power than were given even by his own powerful house.[1] He occupied the southern portion of Denmark and Christianized it. But his chief difficulty was with the Magyars, who now occupied the lands on the Middle Danube, and in wild undisciplined bands were working great havoc in the south of Germany, and often spreading their devastations far into the centre. Henry endeavoured to cope with them by two means: first, he built upon their usual line of attack a number of strongly fortified towns of which Quedlinburg, Merseburg, and Goslar were the chief, and he organized also a large body

The work of Henry the Fowler.

The Magyars.

[1] The allusion is, of course, to the Hohenzollern family whose representatives became in turn Electors of Brandenburg (1415); Kings of Prussia (1700); and Emperors of Germany (1871).

of cavalry to pursue the rapidly moving forces of the enemy. In 933 his long preparations proved their efficiency, for the Magyars were beaten in a great battle on the river Unstrut. In the government of Germany his chief effort was to win the allegiance of the other dukes; he treated them almost as independent powers, and Germany was more like a federation of duchies than a central monarchy. He had thus done a great and a permanent work before his death in 936.

Battle on the River Unstrut, 933.

He was succeeded by his son Otto I. (Otto the Great) who carried on his father's work, defended and organized Germany, increased the strength of the monarchy, and then, like another Charlemagne, placed upon his head the Imperial crown. He pushed further beyond the Elbe colonizing and conquering bodies of Germans; the bishopric of Magdeburg was founded by him, and it was important not only as a great religious centre for the newly won lands, but also because it commanded the chief passage across the river Elbe. On many of the frontiers of his kingdom he organized new forms of government which in the west were known as Palatinates, and in the north and east went as a rule under the name of Marks; thus in the east he founded the North Mark and the East Mark, in the south he founded the Bavarian East Mark, which was later on to gain great importance under the title of Austria, in the north of Italy he founded the Mark of Verona, and in all these frontier governments the rulers were given greater and more independent powers than they would have been allowed in the central and more settled portion of Germany. For him, as for his father, the Magyars were the great enemy, and against them he used the same methods of defence that his father had used. When in 955 they pushed up the Danube, as they had so often done before, he met them at Lechfeld, not far from Augsburg, and inflicted upon them a defeat so crushing and decisive that it may be said to mark the end of their danger to central Europe. They ceased henceforth from their raids, they settled into a permanent state in the lands which they had occupied on the Middle

Otto the Great.

The Marks of Germany.

Battle of Lechfeld: end of the Magyar danger.

Danube, and formed ultimately the important kingdom of Hungary.

Otto had more difficulty than Henry had had in his relations to the great dukes ; he managed indeed to secure their territories for his relations or to marry them to princesses of his house ; but, as has so often happened, such ties proved insufficient to maintain their loyalty. He had to fight against them on more than one occasion, for whilst they regarded themselves as independent rulers, the king wished to make of them merely hereditary officials of the empire. He succeeded in beating down their revolts, but their ambitions remained, and throughout the whole of the history of mediæval Germany, the contest between the kings and the great nobles is a feature that is rarely absent. The personal ambitions of the great nobles made Henry look to the ecclesiastics of Germany for his chief agents. They were the best educated, and, indeed, the only educated class in Germany ; the celibacy of the clergy made it impossible for them to found families or to share in the feudal ambitions of the nobles ; and the weakness of the papacy made it in effect possible for the king to appoint whom he liked as bishops and church dignitaries. More and more then as his reign advanced he placed the actual administration of Germany in the hands of his great ecclesiastics, and the bishops of Germany were busied henceforth not merely with the religious duties which belonged to them, but also with the collection of taxes, trials at law, the organization of armies, and the general work of administration. This close union between the German kingdom and the Church made the king particularly interested in the fortunes of the papacy in Italy, and it is to this land that we must now turn.

Otto and the German clergy.

Its condition was deplorable. There needed, indeed, only peace, and the maintenance of order for Italy rapidly to develop into one of the most advanced and prosperous districts of Europe ; but peace and order were just what were wanting to Italy and what the country was destined to lack yet for many a long century. In the north there was indeed a king of Italy, an inheritor of the power of Charles the Great to the south of the Alps, but he was far from ruling over the whole land. The

Condition of Italy.

north of Italy was constantly devastated by the invasions of the Magyars, the centre of Italy for a long time was the helpless prey of Mahomedan invaders, and for some thirty years at the beginning of the century was held by Moors and Saracens. Nor was the condition of the south any better. There were still a few strong places in the hands of the eastern empire, but the land was harried by the raids of Mahomedan pirates, and unity, order and strength were quite absent. In the past the divisions of Italy had often been to some extent compensated for by the strength, and the public spirit of the Popes, but at the beginning of the tenth century the papacy suffered as much as any other part of Italy from disorder, and had certain evil features peculiar to itself. It is indeed the darkest period in the whole history of the papacy. The city of Rome was the constant scene of ferocious disputes between rival factions who regarded the papacy as their prey. The Popes seemed in danger of forgetting their spiritual duties and thinking only of the power which their office brought them. Characteristic figures of the time are Marozia, a Roman lady, who controlled the papacy for some time, and Pope John XII., who became Pope at the age of nineteen and united with it the government of the city.

The condition of the Papacy.

Now all this was a matter of deep concern to Otto, the German. Relying as he did upon the churchmen in his own land, he could not desire to see the character of the Church sink at its centre, nor could he wish to see the rule of the Church come into the possession of any one who was strong and hostile to Germany. On the other hand, if he could himself secure a paramount influence at Rome he would be in a stronger position than ever with regard to the ecclesiastics of his own land; he had recently had experience of the unwillingness of the chief of them, the Archbishop of Mainz, to serve submissively his royal will. Hence came those interferences of the German king in Italy which lead up to some of the most striking scenes in mediæval history. But Otto's first visit to Italy had nothing directly to do with the papacy. The last king of Italy, Lothair, had left a widow, Adelaide, and the successor

Otto's interference in Italy.

of Lothair (Berengar) claimed her hand for his son. From this unwelcome union she appealed to Otto, and he readily used this as an excuse for invasion. He came and without difficulty mastered Italy: he did not depose King Berengar but allowed him to remain as a vassal, while Otto himself was crowned king of Italy at Pavia, and married the widow Adelaide. From this time he was clearly the strongest power in Italy as well as in Germany. He was, moreover, now a close neighbour of the papacy, and took a more direct interest than ever in the affairs of the city of Rome.

Otto King of Italy.

In 962 there came a sufficient excuse for his interference there. John XII., who sat upon the papal throne, was at daggers drawn with Berengar, and was also struggling against the various factions of the city. He himself was charged with various crimes and vices, but he appealed to Otto to help him against his enemies, and Otto came. He occupied Rome without difficulty, secured the Pope against his enemies of every kind, and restored him to the papal throne. Compare the position of Otto the German with that of Charles the Frank in 800. Both were the greatest rulers of their time, both had fought with success against the heathen enemies of Europe, and Otto's greatest victory at Lechfeld may be compared to the battle of Tours which was won against the Saracens by Charles' grandfather, Charles Martel. Both had rendered great services to the advance and the consolidation of the Church, and now Otto was to receive at the hands of the Pope the same reward which Charles had received 162 years earlier. On 2nd February 962, Otto was crowned as emperor, and the fabric of the empire of Charles seemed restored to Europe. But if the comparison between the positions of the two men is close, great also are the differences. The empire of Charles was far more cosmopolitan than that of Otto. Charles was indeed a German, but he ruled, as we have seen, over Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians, and Burgundians; whereas Otto, until he undertook the invasion of Italy, was a purely German king, ruling over an almost exclusively German population. His assumption of the Imperial

Troubles of Pope John XII.

Otto crowned Emperor.

title seems therefore less warranted than that of Charles, and it was destined to have disastrous results for his successors. Had they ruled in Germany alone, it is probable that the German monarchy might have grown into a vigorous and permanent state. It was their connection with Italy, and all the vast and indefinite ambitions that were inspired by the Imperial title which constantly drew them away from their immediate task and involved them in struggles with Italy and the papacy, in the course of which their work was compromised, the unity of Germany was broken up and the empire itself at last dissolved in all but name.

Otto's troubles in Rome.

These dangers were many of them in the far distant future, but immediately after his coronation Otto found that he had many difficulties to face in Italy; the Pope proved disobedient to the wishes of the emperor, and through Otto's influence was deposed. Another Pope was appointed, and Otto exacted from the people of Rome an oath that they would never recognize any Pope to whose election the emperor had not consented. The oath was taken and broken, and Otto found that his attempt to rule in Rome and in Italy would involve him in constant disputes. He died in Germany in the year 973.

Otto II. and Otto III.

He was succeeded by his son Otto II., and he in turn by his son Otto III. Their reigns are not of great importance, but they saw the appearance of many of those dangers against which the empire was later to struggle so hard and in vain. During the reign of Otto II. the danger of the Italian connection was apparent. The Saracens invaded the south of Italy, and the emperor fought against them at first with success, and then with entire failure; and whilst he, a German king, was thus occupied with a task really foreign to his position, his own land had been invaded by the heathen barbarians from the East, and the country had suffered very severely. The reign of Otto III. shows us the influence of Italy still more paramount. The emperor was a strange creature: his mother was a princess from Constantinople, and it must have been from her that he derived many ideas of government that were wholly foreign to Germany. He had been much influenced also by Gerbert,

an ecclesiastic of the time who subsequently became Pope as Sylvester II., and from him and from his mother he derived the idea of making the empire a strong centralized government after the model of that which ruled in Constantinople, and something wholly different from the feudalized monarchy which prevailed and developed in Germany. He lived in Rome in a palace on the Aventine Hill, and there surrounded himself with the ceremonial and rigid etiquette that had for centuries prevailed in the East. Yet he had no intention of weakening the German control of the papacy, and one of the first acts of his reign was to make his cousin Bruno Pope at the age of twenty-three. Bruno, who took the significant name of Gregory V, was the first German Pope and in conjunction with the young Emperor (he was only sixteen) planned great reforms in the management of the Church. His ascetic character, the proposed changes, and his German origin all offended the Roman populace, who expelled him and, under a leader Crescentius, tried to establish an independent power. Otto returned, attacked Rome, and hanged Crescentius. Had he lived longer his reign could not have been a success, but he died in 1002, at the age of twenty-two.

The dreams of Otto III.

We may note before passing from him that on the eastern frontier of Germany there grew up during his reign two powerful states which were destined to come into frequent collision with Germany. On the river Oder and to the east of that river there rose the kingdom of Poland, organized as an independent state partly through the help of the papacy; and further south the Magyars made an advance towards settlement by the acceptance of the Christian Faith. Thus Germany no longer was in touch with a vague body of barbarian peoples, but with two definite states which were destined to grow into great strength and importance.

Poles and Magyars.

The German and ecclesiastical histories mentioned in the last chapter will be the best guides for this. Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* is specially valuable for the whole of the Middle Ages. *A Short History of the Italian People* by Mrs. Trevelyan is of great value for all Italian history.

CHAPTER VIII

The Eve of the Great Struggle between the Popes and the Emperors

HITHERTO the empire and the papacy had rendered great services to one another, but soon the rupture was to come which was to bring confusion and suffering on both Germany and Italy, and which forms the chief thread which will conduct us through the central portion of the Middle Ages. It will be necessary to consider the general position in both countries before the great contest began.

We have seen the circumstances under which the King of Germany claimed the rule over a large portion of Italy and assumed the title of emperor. His action had not sprung merely from greed or ambition; and by establishing his influence at Rome the emperor had rendered valuable services to both the papacy and Germany. But the difficulties of the situation were there from the first, and became more apparent and insoluble as time went on, for Germany and Italy were countries of a widely different past, and in the present of a widely different social condition. Germany had only been for a very short time under the dominion of the Roman Empire, and preserved in her government and in her social institutions little or no trace of the influence of ancient Rome. Feudalism had rooted itself there, and had become the basis of the whole social and political structure. Italy, on the contrary, had been for ages the centre and the seat of the Roman dominion; her language and her institutions were derived from ancient Rome. Every part of the life of Italy still bore traces of the impression of the old Roman rule, and this was especially the case with the large number of cities, which, as we shall see, rapidly moved forward to power and advanced claims to an almost independent position. The institutions of feudalism were not unknown, but they had not nearly so great an influence

Contrast between Italy and Germany.

as belonged to them in Germany. Then again in Germany the rulers, whether kings or emperors, had co-operated easily and naturally with the organization of the Church in the country, whereas in Italy almost from the first, though they came to help and even to rescue the papacy, there was the greatest difficulty in establishing a friendly and useful relation with it. The Popes were not only heads of the Catholic Church, they were also temporal rulers in Italy, and both as temporal and ecclesiastical rulers they desired to be independent of the influence, or at least free from the coercion of the empire. This feature of the situation became clearer and more important as time went on, and every advance in the power and organization of the papacy made a conflict with the empire more inevitable. Lastly, we must note that the Italian peoples resented the rule of a German master. It is true indeed that in the eleventh century the sense of nationality had hardly begun to develop and that mediæval institutions were international to an extent that the modern world finds difficult to realize. But though there was no common Italian nationality, nor a German nationality either, still the Italian people resented the presence in their midst of conquering soldiers and rulers, who spoke a foreign tongue, represented alien institutions, and came from a distant country. Out from these and other elements of antagonism there gradually evolved that struggle between emperors and popes which forms the central movement in two centuries of European history, and which came on without the desire of either of the chief combatants.

Causes of conflict between Popes and Emperors in Italy.

After the death of Otto III. the German monarchy and the Holy Roman Empire was in the hands successively of Henry II., Conrad II., and Henry III. Their reigns in Germany were quiet; there was indeed constant friction with the great nobles whom they tried to keep in subordination, but it will not be necessary to give any details of this. It is more important to notice that the kingdom of Burgundy came into the possession of the empire in 1006, and that its rule was organized by the successors of Henry II. so as to give the emperors

Acquisition of Burgundy, 1006.

control over the western passes of the Alps, and thus at all times to secure entry into Italy. But these reigns show us considerable trouble in Italy. Before the emperors there lay in Germany a plain and useful task, the maintenance of order, and the advancement of the unity of the state ; but they were constantly turned aside from their work to deal with the problems of Italy which they were really incapable of solving. If we follow their reigns we find them called upon again and again to interfere in the squabbles of the factions of the city of Rome, and leading armies to extend their sway among the jarring elements of southern Italy. But these movements are only a prelude to the greater contest that was soon to come, and may be dismissed without detailed notice.

Rise of the Italian communes.

In Italy itself, meanwhile, new political elements were rapidly coming to the front. We begin now to see clearly the rise of the Italian communes, the development, that is, of municipal life in Italy. The origin of this municipal government is difficult to trace, and it is even questionable whether it is directly connected with the city life which flourished so splendidly during the second and third centuries of the Christian era. If there is a connection, the towns of Italy had at any rate lost their former unity and closeness of organization and had to work their way through constant confusion and conflict to a new unity. But it is important here to mark that cities such as Milan, Bologna, Verona, Florence, Pisa, Genoa, and many others became factors in the Italian problem which could never again be neglected.

The Normans in Southern Italy.

These communes, as the names given above will show, were to be found in their most vigorous form in the north. In the centre of Italy their growth was prevented by the jealousy and power of the papacy. The communal movement had begun in promising form in the south of Italy, especially in Naples, but here it was checked by the development of the new Norman power, at which we must now look. Even before the arrival of the Normans, southern Italy presented a strange mixture of races and a conflict of various powers. The Eastern Empire still held important places upon the coasts,

and armies commanded by men who spoke Greek came occasionally to the country; the Lombard duchies of Spoleto and Benevento were strong and ambitious; the Saracens held Sicily and harassed Italy with their raids and had settled there in considerable numbers. The bulk of the population belonged to the old Italian stock, and, having suffered under the hard rule of its various masters, was ready to join itself to any power which promised it security and peace. In 1016 the Normans appeared in Italy for the first recorded time. By this time, as we know, they had settled on either side of the lower Seine and had formed there the compact duchy of Normandy. But the spirit of adventure was still strong upon them. It would take them fifty years later to England; it drove them now in detached bands as pilgrims and adventurers through the Mediterranean towards Palestine and the East. The Normans who appeared in 1016 had been on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but they were as ready to fight as they were to worship, and they readily took a share in the contests of southern Italy. Their help was welcomed and their armies were at first victorious, though not permanently so. Neither victory nor defeat, however, made much difference; the wealth of the land and the opportunity for adventure had been reported in Normandy, and ever fresh bands came out to fight for others and for themselves. About the middle of the century (1046) there came to Italy Robert Guiscard, son of the famous Tancred, and himself, next to William the Conqueror, the greatest name in the history of the Normans. For some time he led the life of an adventurer and almost of a robber, joining himself now to one and now to another of the warring elements in southern Italy. So threatening, however, did the Norman bands become that at last all parties were willing to join for their expulsion. The Lombards and Greeks were assisted in 1053 by the forces of Pope Leo IX., and it seemed that the Normans must be overwhelmed. They were saved partly by the sympathy of a section of the population, partly by the over-confidence of their enemies, and partly by their own courage and skill. In the battle of Civitate which followed, their

Their first appearance, 1016.

Robert Guiscard.

Battle of Civitate, 1053.

enemies were decisively beaten and the Pope shortly afterwards fell into their hands. But the result of the battle was a strange and unforeseen one. There was in the Normans a strong religious vein and a deep reverence for the papal power. Pope Leo found himself well treated by his captors, and the reverence which they felt for the Church which he represented allowed him soon to make with them terms of the most favourable kind. From this time onward until the thirteenth century, usually though not invariably, the Normans are to be reckoned as the allies of the papacy. In 1059 the Pope invested Robert Guiscard with the duchy of Apulia and Calabria, which he thus held as a feudal possession under the papacy. Sicily was at the same time promised to him if he could conquer it from the Saracens. This was done in a series of campaigns which began in 1062. The fighting force of the Mahomedans had in this part of the world sunk very low, and the Normans made themselves masters of the island without much difficulty. They succeeded in establishing there and in Italy a government of great strength and excellence. The country flourished under them as it had not flourished for centuries; architecture, science, and literature all owe much to them, and their government was of a much more strongly monarchical kind than was to be found elsewhere in Italy. The communal movement had little chance of developing itself under their power.

Alliance of the Normans with the Papacy.

Conquest of Sicily.

Further north another force must be noted, that of Tuscany, for here there grew up a feudal power that embraced a very wide territory and was for a time one of the most important factors in the balance of power in Italy. Boniface, the count of Tuscany, was a supporter of the emperor, and through the emperor he had received many great towns, such as Mantua, Ferrara, Brescia, and Modena. This great territory made him the most important force in central Italy. Upon his death his power came into the hands of his daughter, the famous Matilda of Tuscany. She was married to Godfrey of Lorraine, but they had no children, and they were devoted to the authority

Matilda of Tuscany.

of the Church and of the Pope. All the money and all the power that was represented by their great territories was at the disposal of the Popes when the hour of their conflict with the emperors arrived.

Difficulties of the Papacy in Rome itself.

We must turn our attention now to the papacy itself. The establishment of the empire had done something to improve the condition of things in Rome, but much remained to be done. The supreme authority of Rome was by no means recognized in northern Italy; and the bishops of Milan and of Ravenna claimed for themselves a position almost equal to that of Rome. Worse still were the scandals which so frequently occurred in Rome itself. The papacy never succeeded in establishing right relations with the secular authorities of the city, for these, although they knew how great a part of their importance was derived from the presence of the Pope in their midst, could not endure to be dominated by the Pope. They could neither, it was said, do with him or without him, and there was therefore for a long time constant tension between the ecclesiastical and municipal authorities in Rome, and a problem presented here which proved nearly insoluble. No precise rule had as yet been laid down as to the methods of papal election; the emperor, the people, the nobles, and the clergy all claimed a part; but exactly what part should be allotted to each was not as yet determined. Much that is legendary has probably collected round the Popes of this time, but what is certainly true is strange enough: thus Benedict IX. was chosen Pope at the age of twelve, and lived a life of open infamy, and finally resigned on condition that an annual income should be allowed to him. The emperor, Henry III., had to interfere because the papacy was disputed among three claimants. He managed to dispose of all three, and it was hoped that a better condition would be established by the election of a German pope, Clement II. Other German popes followed and scandals were for a time avoided, but there was no security for the good rule of the Church while the elections to the papacy remained in their unsettled condition. Thus, while the Catholic Church as a whole was extending its

The papal scandals of the eleventh century.

boundaries, strengthening its organization, and constantly acquiring a greater prestige in Europe, Rome itself seemed to be the plaything and the victim of the passions of the different parties. From Rome itself it was difficult to see how any real reform could come, but on this occasion as on so many others, what Rome could not do for herself the monastic movement did for her.

The Cluniac Reform movement.

There had recently risen up a new monastic movement which had its centre in Cluny, in Burgundy. Monasteries were naturally liable to periods of depression and degeneracy, when the old ideals of St. Benedict grew faint and the rigorous discipline upon which he had insisted was felt to be burdensome. The whole history of monasticism shows us periods of depression followed by movements of revival, and the history of the papacy has always been closely dependent upon these variations in the character of the monasteries. One of the most important of revival movements was this of Cluny. It was essentially revivalistic: it added no new ideas on life or doctrine to those of St. Benedict, whose rule was still followed, but it brought to those ideas a new energy and enthusiasm and attached to them a different form of government. Whereas each of the earlier monasteries had been self-contained and self-governed, all the houses connected with Cluny were bound together by a strict organization; no monastery was allowed to elect its own head; each was governed by a prior, who was appointed by the Abbot of Cluny. It was hoped that in this way the errors of one house might be corrected by the vigour of the others. Ideas of strong monarchical rule were thus implied in the movement, and we shall see that they were soon transferred to the government of the Church as a whole.

Hildebrand (Gregory VII.).

The Cluniac movement owes much of its celebrity and influence to the career of the monk Hildebrand, who subsequently was raised to the papal throne, and there took the name of Gregory VII. The religious history of the Middle Ages has no more notable, no more influential figure. He came first to Rome as the secretary of Pope Leo IX., and from that time until his death in 1085 his was the chief influence in ecclesiastical affairs. The

independence of the Church was his aim throughout, and he saw two great enemies to that independence, and against them he fought his whole life through. The first was called Simony, the power of money in the Church, the influence generally, we may say, of secular power in the appointment of clergy and in the control of their action; and the second was the irregularity in the lives of the clergy, the frequent and open breach of their vows of celibacy and other similar disorders. Hildebrand and the Cluniacs insisted upon the necessity of celibacy for all priests partly as moral discipline, and partly because they were thus removed from entanglement with secular powers, which would not have allowed them to think and to act solely in the interests of the Church.

Insistence on the celibacy of the clergy.

Before he himself ascended the papal throne Hildebrand had secured one important change. In 1059 the method of papal elections was defined. The nobles and people of Rome were excluded from all direct influence upon the choice: the right of the emperor to confirm the election was very doubtfully acknowledged: the whole responsibility for the election was placed in the hands of the cardinals. Thus the independence of the Church at the centre was assured, and though there were in the future, as there had been in the past, disputed elections and occasional scandals in the life of the Popes elected, the system of Hildebrand on the whole worked well and has never been abandoned. It may be noted, too, that at the same council where this arrangement was made the doctrine of transubstantiation was clearly announced and defined. The ideas of Hildebrand found their ardent champions in Italy, but they also encountered much opposition. Bishop Aribert in Milan claimed for that city an independence in Church government and in the life of the clergy, which ran absolutely counter to the wishes of Hildebrand. In 1073 Hildebrand was raised to the papal throne. He was popular with the people as well as with the clergy, and he was acclaimed Pope by the people of Rome before he was formally elected in the manner recently laid down.

Papal elections reformed

Troubles with Milan.

The Pope who thus ascended the papal throne is one of

the most noteworthy figures in mediæval history, and may be taken as representing the papal ideal at its highest and best. He is described as a small man of no very striking appearance, but in him there burned an intense will and an unshakeable belief in the righteousness of the cause that he represented. The Church was for him the supreme institution in the whole world, deriving its authority directly from God, and in its turn giving power to the kings and the princes of the world. To assert the power of the papacy, to give to it in reality the influence which in theory always belonged to it, was the lifelong effort of Gregory VII. We are not left to conjecture in order to determine what his ideas and aims were. From a contemporary document, which expresses his ideas though it was not probably written by his hand, we may extract the following sentences: "The Roman pontiff is unique in the world. He alone can depose or reconcile bishops. He can be judged by no one. The Roman Church never has been deceived and never can be deceived. The Roman pontiff has the right to depose emperors. Human pride has created the power of kings, God's mercy has created the power of the bishops. The Pope is the master of emperors." A man with such ideas as these, with a large power and strong alliances behind him, could hardly fail to throw Europe into confusion in his effort to realize them.

Personality of Gregory VII.

To the books referred to in the last chapter add Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages;* Stephens, *Hildebrand and his Times;* R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought.*

CHAPTER IX

The First Collision between the Emperors and the Popes

THE Emperor Henry IV. had come to the throne in the year 1056 when he was only six years of age, and the empire was in consequence submitted for many years to the weak rule of a regency. The early years of Henry IV.'s reign were full

of troubles with the baronage, and for a time it seemed as if the Imperial power would go down in this struggle, even before the power of the Pope was thrown into the balance against it. For the Saxons regarded with jealousy the rule of an Emperor who was not sprung directly from their race, and rose in rebellion against him. He was more than once defeated and forced to grant his enemies what they claimed. By the end of the year 1075, however, his difficulties had been for the moment overcome, and it was in this year that the great struggle with the papacy began.

Henry IV.

Meaning and importance of the struggle between Pope and Emperor.

The struggle between Gregory VII. and the Emperor Henry IV. may be regarded as the very centre or watershed of mediæval history, and it is important to grasp its real meaning. There was no personal hostility between the two men: the emperor was a good Catholic, the Pope was quite ready to treat the emperor with respect and even deference, and yet causes lying outside of their own personal characters drove them into a fierce struggle. The fact is that the relations between the emperors and the popes presented difficulties of which the world was as yet hardly aware, and which certainly there had been no attempt to settle. The emperor claimed that he was secular head of the world; the Pope claimed that to him was given the supreme ecclesiastical authority, and it turned out in practice that the powers which each claimed were not compatible with one another. The emperor claimed certain powers which the Pope also claimed, and when they became gradually aware of that, the question arose which was to give way. The contest is due therefore, to the difficulty of defining exactly where the authority of the one ended and the authority of the other began. It is the most striking phase of the perpetual contest, which runs through all history, between the spiritual and temporal powers, between Church and State, between authority which rests on persuasion and authority which rests on force.

The actual point at issue was the position of the bishops in the Catholic world generally, and especially in Germany, and their relation to the Pope on the one hand, and to the various temporal rulers on the other. As Gregory VII., full

of the importance of his office, and anxious to advance the claims of the Church at every point, surveyed the European world, he saw that in many places, but especially in Germany, the bishops, whose nominal task it was to administer the sacraments and to act as the greatest of the officials of the Church, were in fact appointed by a king or an emperor and employed by him as his ministers or his agents for the ordinary business of administration. There were, no doubt, reasons for this, and we have seen some of them; but to Gregory it only appeared that the men who ought to have been jealous for the honour and the power of the Church, and who ought to have been guarding it against all possible encroachment, were themselves the agents of the most dangerous rival of the Church. He issued, therefore, in 1075, a papal decree against lay investiture, that is to say, against the practice whereby laymen from the emperor downwards appointed Church dignitaries and gave them the ring and the crosier as symbols of their office. Such a method of appointment distinctly implied that a bishop so appointed was bound to render obedience to the emperor first, and that his duty to the Pope was subordinate to that. So Gregory VII. declared that, "if any emperor, king, duke, marquis, count, or any lay power or person has the presumption to grant investiture, let him know that he is excommunicated." The issue was, therefore, clearly stated. The Pope announced his determination to take from the emperor the agents through whose hands the empire had been most efficiently administered. No wonder the contest soon grew hot.

The question of the position and election of bishops.

Decree against lay investitures.

The Pope's letter of protest was answered by Henry IV. in terms which amounted to a declaration of the Pope's deposition: "Henry King, not through usurpation but through the holy ordination of God, to Hildebrand, at present not pope but false monk . . . descend and relinquish the apostolic chair which thou hast usurped. Let another ascend the throne of Saint Peter who shall not practise violence under the cloak of religion, but shall teach the sound doctrine of Saint Peter. I, Henry, King by the Grace of God, do say to thee descend,

descend, to be damned throughout all ages." The Pope's reply is in much better taste, and sometimes pathetic in its tone. "O Saint Peter, chief of the apostles, incline to us I beg thy holy ears and hear me thy servant, whom thou hast nourished from infancy and whom until this day thou hast freed from the hand of the wicked who have hated and do hate me for my faithfulness to thee." The letter ends by a sentence of deposition, "I absolve all Christians from the bonds of the oath which they have made to Henry, the Emperor, and I forbid any one to serve him as King. And, since he has scorned to obey as a Christian, and has not returned to God whom he deserted, I bind him with the chain of anathema."

The forces on either side.

It was an audacious act, for the physical support of the papacy at first sight seemed to be ridiculously small in comparison with the overwhelming power that rested in the hands of the emperor. But the situation was not so unequal as it appears at first sight. We must lay great stress on the fact that the age was pre-eminently an age of faith; that men regarded the head of the Church and the powers that he wielded with unquestioning and superstitious awe, and trembled at the thought of being cut off by excommunication or interdict from the body of the Church.

The Italian allies of the Papacy.

Then, too, nearly all Italy came to be leagued with the Pope in his struggle with the German Emperor. The Normans drew near to the Pope, Matilda of Tuscany gave him ungrudging assistance, and even the great towns of the north soon came to see in the papacy their champion against the foreigners from beyond the Alps. Nor was Henry IV. at all sure of the united support of Germany itself; the troubles with the nobles soon broke out again and were fomented by princes of the royal household, and even by the emperor's sons.

The enemies of the Emperor in Germany.

It was the alliance of the papacy with the discontented elements of Germany which, at the most critical moment, brought the emperor to his knees. That moment came in the year 1077. Henry IV. was struggling against his nobles in a diet of the empire which had been called at Tribur. The feeling against the emperor had been outspoken, and it had

been decided to hold another diet shortly at Augsburg, where it was hoped that the Pope himself would appear and depose Henry from the throne. The forces against the emperor seemed overwhelmingly strong. He might very likely be thrust upon one side, like the last of the Merovingian kings, and see one of his great nobles raised by the support of the papacy to the position from which he had been driven. Henry IV. decided to meet these grave dangers by an abject surrender. The Pope was residing at the castle of Canossa, on the northern slopes of the Apennines, with Matilda of Tuscany. Thither in the winter the emperor went, and approaching Canossa, he asked to be allowed to present himself before the Pope and to sue for pardon. Gregory did not yield until the emperor had been subjected to the deepest humiliation. On three consecutive days the emperor presented himself before the door of the castle, and stood, the Pope tells us, barefoot in the snow, only to be driven away again by the stern command of the Pope. At last, upon the mediation of the Countess Matilda, the emperor was admitted. He threw himself at the feet of the Pope, he was raised and pardoned, and concord seemed established between the two great representatives of Church and State. "Conquered by the persistency of his compunction and by the constant supplications of all those who were present, we loosed the chain of the anathema and at length received him into the favour of communion, and into the life of the holy mother Church." Such is the account given of the event by Pope Gregory VII.

The Penitence of Canossa.

This famous scene, "the penitence of Canossa," has remained in men's memories ever since. It seems to mark the very highest point of papal powers, and gives us an unsurpassed instance of the humiliation of the highest of temporal powers before the claims of an ecclesiastic: and yet the situation was not quite all that it appeared to be. Henry IV. had gained much by his timely surrender: he had prevented Gregory VII. from undertaking a journey to the diet of Augsburg, and from co-operating with the nobles of Germany in his deposition. The penitence of Canossa gave him breathing space in which to prepare for

Renewal of the struggle.

the further struggle, and very soon the struggle was resumed, and resumed with all the old bitterness. Gregory again declared the emperor deposed, and he appointed another man in his place. Henry IV., on his side, declared that Gregory was no longer Pope and bestowed the title upon another bishop. The troubles in Germany having for the moment settled, Henry IV. was able to undertake an expedition against Rome in 1081, and he proceeded to blockade the Pope in his own city, but when victory seemed within his grasp, the ravages of malaria forced the emperor to withdraw. A few years later (in 1084) he was again before the walls of Rome, and this time mastered nearly the whole of the city and laid siege to Gregory VII. himself within the walls of the castle of St. Angelo. It seemed as if in a short time the Pope would be in the hands of his great antagonist; but a rescue appeared. He had summoned the Normans to his aid, and Robert Guiscard received his appeal when he was laying siege to Durazzo upon the eastern coast of the Adriatic. He came back at once to Italy; it was not only religious zeal and devotion to the papacy which urged him to do so, though these were unquestionably serious sentiments with him, but he saw in the emperor the great rival whom he did not desire to see victorious in central Italy, and so he returned quickly and marched upon Rome. The Imperial troops could not resist the assault of the terrible Normans. Henry IV. retired, and Gregory VII. was saved. But the Normans, though they had saved the Pope, proceeded to plunder the Holy City with dreadful thoroughness; neither Alaric nor Genseric had done such damage to Rome as these devout allies of the Pope. Gregory VII. retired with them from the execration of the Roman people, and shortly afterwards died in Salerno. "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity," are said to have been among his last words, "and therefore I die in exile." His death did not bring the struggle to an end, for the contest was not between Henry IV. and Gregory VII., but it was between the Emperor and the Pope, and we shall see that in spite of all well-meaning attempts to establish peace, the

The Pope rescued by Robert Guiscard.

Death of Gregory VII.

contest was constantly renewed until nearly two centuries later it ended in the destruction of one of the combatants. We may notice here that in 1095 the first Crusade was preached, and the enthusiasm called out by that event, and the success which attended the arms of the crusaders raised still higher the prestige and the authority of the Pope.

Henry V.

Henry IV. died and was succeeded by Henry V. in 1106, and the relations of the new emperor with the papacy were strained and hostile. But soon thoughts of compromise and conciliation came to the front, and it was hoped that negotiations with Pope Paschal had really found out the road to peace. The clergy, it was stated, were willing to resign all their temporal possessions, and then the emperor on his side would resign his claim to investiture. Believing that these terms had been accepted, Henry V. went to Rome and was there crowned. But the peace was short lived. There was a vigorous protest made against what seemed the abject surrender of the Pope, and perhaps there had never been any real intention of putting the terms into operation. The ceremony of the coronation itself was interrupted by riot and bloodshed; Henry V. fled from Rome, and the matter was again submitted to the decision of arms. We must not follow the ensuing years which reproduced the main features of the earlier time. There were excommunications and royal letters, there was an anti-pope and there was an anti-emperor. There were negotiations and proposals which never touched the real point at issue. But on both sides there was deep weariness of the struggle and its consequences, and at last in 1122, Pope Calixtus II. managed to negotiate an arrangement, the so-called "Concordat of Worms," which brought the long struggle at any rate to a truce. The arrangement was made possible by taking a narrow view of the point at issue, and refusing to consider the wider question of the conflict between the two powers. It was agreed that the election of the bishops should be left in the hands of the authorities of the Church, and that the ring and the crosier, the insignia of their spiritual office, should be given them by the Pope. But, on the other hand, a representative of the emperor was to be

The Concordat of Worms, 1122.

present at all elections, and disputed elections were to be referred to him. All bishops, moreover, were to do homage to the emperor for the lands which they held within his dominions, and for their temporal possessions were to receive from the emperor a separate investiture.

The Concordat a truce not a peace.

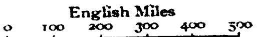
The Concordat of Worms was a well-meaning attempt to settle a struggle which was doing much damage, and the arrangement that was made worked for a time fairly well, but there were great issues which still remained unsettled, and indeed, untouched. The Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire claimed for himself by his very title, a sort of universal sovereignty. He took to himself the traditions of the old Roman Empire, and aspired to control every department of the life of man, and on the other side the Popes could be satisfied with nothing less than universal dominion, and they also were unwilling in theory, and when they saw their opportunity, in practice, to admit any limitation or boundary of their authority and power. While such beliefs were held, and such claims advanced, peace was not in the long run possible.

Many of the documents relating to the struggle between Gregory VII. and Henry IV. are translated in Henderson's *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages.* It is from this volume that the translations given above are taken.

CHAPTER X

The Second Phase in the Struggle between the Emperors and the Popes

"In your kingdom," wrote the Pope, shortly before the passing of the Concordat of Worms, to the Emperor Henry V., "Bishops and Abbots are so occupied in secular cases that they are compelled to frequent the County Courts and to engage in soldiering. The ministers of the altar have become ministers of the court." Frederick I., whose career now claims our attention, declared that the bishops appointed by


EUROPE
at the end of the 12th. Century
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Boundary of the Empire
Kingdom of Germany
Mark of Brandenburg
Duchy of Austria
France and Vassal States
Dominions of the Angevins
East Roman Empire (c.1190)
Venice
Atlantic Ocean
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Black Sea
Mediterranean
Adriatic Sea
NORWAY
DENMARK
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
IRELAND
Dublin
Edinburgh
London
LORDSHIPS MARCHER
LITHUANIA
RUSSIA
POLAND
HUNGARY
SAXONY
THURINGIA
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
SWABIA
BAVARIA
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
CROATIA
DALMATIA
SERVIA
BULGARIANS
ITALY
PATRIMONY OF ST. PETER
Rome
Corsica
Sardinia
Naples
Salerno
Tarentum
Messina
Palermo
Syracuse
Malta
Barcelona
Cartagena
Toledo
CASTILE
Bayonne
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Arles
ARLES
BRITTANY
NORMANDY
MAINE
POITOU
Paris
Rouen
Boulogne
PONTHIEU
Aachen
Cologne
Trier
Mainz
Worms
Spires
Bremen
Hamburg
Brandenburg
R. Elder
Rugen
POMERANIA
Danzig
PRUSSIA
Thorn
Posen
Cracow
SILESIA
LAUSITZ
MEISSEN
Ratisbon
Augsburg
Salzburg
AUSTRIA
Vienna
STYRIA
Danube
Dniester
Drave
Save
Rhone
Elbe
Loire
Aquileia
Milan
Pavia
Genoa
Verona
Venice
Ravenna
Bologna
Florence
Pisa
Cherson
Constantinople
Adrianople
Nicaea
Smyrna
ARMENIA
Antioch
Tripolis
CYPRUS (Latin Kingdom 1191)

Imperial mandate were superior in learning and spirituality to the nominees of the chapters, and there is reason to believe him. But the character of the clergy was only one point at issue in the contest though an important one. The policy of the Popes aimed at wresting from the hands of the Emperors their most efficient instrument of government.

The struggle was one between the Pope and the Emperor, between the Imperial crown and the Papal tiara, between one who claimed the obedience of all the world as the descendant of the Cæsars, and one who claimed equally universal obedience because he was a successor of St. Peter. But although it was on this high ground that the issue was usually argued when the advocates of either side issued books or made speeches, it was in practice largely a matter of balance of power and diplomacy. The Pope was for a long time able to rely upon allies of great military strength whose interest coincided with his own, so far, at least, as resistance to the empire went, and the catastrophe to the papacy at the beginning of the fourteenth century arrived when this alliance failed him. It will be necessary therefore to look at the condition and the supporters of the two great combatants upon the eve of the renewal of their struggle.

Issue at stake in the war struggle.

Henry IV. was succeeded in Germany by Lothair of Saxony, in 1125, and in 1138 Conrad III. of Hohenstaufen was elected to succeed him. Conrad's power lay chiefly in Franconia and Swabia, and the house to which he belonged drew its origin from a castle in the south-west of Swabia, called Hohenstaufen. This family, with short intervals, occupied the Imperial throne henceforth so long as the mediæval empire was a strong and living force. In 1152 Conrad III. was succeeded by his nephew, Frederick I., who was known to subsequent ages, though not to his own, as Frederick of the Red Beard (Barbarossa). He was the most splendid of all the mediæval emperors, if not the strongest or the most successful, and in the disastrous period that was shortly to follow, Germany looked back to his reign as to a time of military glory, commercial prosperity, and intellectual and artistic splendour. The cities of Germany

The Hohenstaufen.

Frederick Barbarossa.

were now reaching a development analogous to that which we have observed in the cities of Italy. Cologne, Mainz and Augsburg were the most important, and these cities had an independence of government and of life, and a keen interest in all the arts, little if at all inferior to what we have noted in Italy, and these three are only typical of the general municipal movement which was to be found in Germany, especially in the west and in the south. As the cities in France looked to the king, so the cities in Germany looked to the emperor as their friend and protector, and regarded the feudal nobles as their chief enemies or rivals, and the Imperial authority in its turn found its chief support among the German cities. They may count, therefore, as a distinct and strong force which was working against feudalism and aristocracy. Another force working in the same direction, though not destined for the present to produce much result upon German soil, was the revived study of Roman law. We have already spoken of the importance of this, and we have said that, as men turned to it, it seemed to them by reason of its splendid order and reasonableness, like another revelation from Heaven. It is important here to see that its whole tendency was anti-feudal. It had been developed at a time when Roman emperors ruled with no nominal check upon their power, and when their edicts were accepted as final. Roman law, therefore, had taken as its maxim, the famous sentence "what the prince decrees has the force of law," and, wherever Roman law was taught, its tendency was to efface or to reduce the powers of nobles and of all authorities except the central authority of the king or prince. Feudalism, indeed, found no place in Roman law because feudalism did not exist at the time when Roman law was growing to maturity.

The cities of Germany.

Roman Law.

There were, therefore, forces at work in Germany—and strong forces too, which were distinctly favourable to the advancement and development of the Imperial power. But it found at the same time a very serious rival in the powers and pretensions of the great aristocratic houses. This is the force against which the empire had had to fight ever since the days of Charlemagne,

The nobles of Germany.

and still more clearly, since the time when Otto the Great had assumed the Imperial crown. The great national dukes, it is true, had been reduced in power, and their territories had to a very large extent been broken up, but there was always the tendency for large estates to be joined together again in a single pair of hands, and in the time of Frederick Barbarossa, feudalism was an even more dangerous and disruptive force than it had been under Charlemagne and Otto I. Henry the Lion was its greatest representative. He was the head of the house of the Guelfs, and a cousin of Frederick. By inheritance and by marriage he had come into possession of the two great duchies of Bavaria and Saxony. To these original possessions he had added others. He had carried the arms and the civilization of Germany far into the East, and was the chief agent in that Germanization of the Eastern lands which is one of the great features of this time. He ruled over territories which were as large and nearly as wealthy as those territories in Franconia and in Swabia over which the Emperor Frederick ruled in his own personal right. The Emperor was bound, therefore, to feel towards him as towards a possible and dangerous rival, but at first there was nothing but friendship between them, and the early victories of the emperor owed much to the support of the Lion's sword. But when, later, that friendship gave way to rivalry, the result was quickly seen, not only in the confusion of Germany, but in the deep humiliation of the Imperial authority south of the Alps. During the early years of Frederick's reign, however, the empire possessed a great force, and it was in the hands of a man, capable, imaginative, and ambitious, who would not be content if it did not produce some great result in the European world.

Henry the Lion.

If we turn to Italy, we find at first no representative of the papacy who is to be compared for force of character and statesmanlike power with Gregory VII., and the names of the popes who followed immediately after him need not be recounted. But though there was not at first any great pope, there lived at this time a great churchman, second to none in importance in the whole of the Middle Ages. St. Bernard (1091–1153) dominates the Church

Saint Bernard.

politics of his period as completely as Gregory VII. had dominated those of his own age. He owed much to his own character and genius, and much also to the monastic order to which he belonged. We have laid stress already upon the close connection between the fortunes of the papacy and the rise or fall of the various orders. Its growth and greatness are closely connected with St. Benedict and with the later monastic movement which was set on foot in Cluny. Now another monastic movement, the Cistercian, had come up and was spreading on a great wave of enthusiasm throughout all western Europe. One of its earliest names is that of an Englishman, Stephen Harding, who was a friend of the founder, and who procured from the Pope the famous Charter of Love in 1119, which is the basis upon which the order henceforth rested. The Cistercian movement, like the Cluniac before it, was essentially a revival: it took up in the main once more the ideas of St. Benedict, and insisted upon their being strictly carried out. The Cistercians in many instances broke away from some Benedictine house already established in a large city, and fearing the distractions and temptations of society, fled into a desert for meditation and prayer. The new order brought no essential novelty into the monastic life. But the Cistercians were on friendly terms with the bishops to whom the monks of an earlier period had shown great opposition. They were not like the Cluniacs wholly dependent upon the will of a single man; rather, they established an aristocratic form of government, in that the heads of all Cistercian houses met together in a common chapter to decide upon matters which concerned the whole order. A special feature, too, of the Cistercian houses was their devotion to the worship of the Virgin Mary.

The Cistercian order.

The Cistercian order would in any case have been important, but it owes its European celebrity to the name of St. Bernard. He entered the order at an early age, became the abbot of the great Cistercian house of Clairvaux, and throughout his life was one of the most powerful influences in European affairs. He interfered to crush and to confound the great heretic, Abelard, who was maintaining at Paris the thesis "that faith is an opinion."

The influence of Saint Bernard.

He was strong enough to bring to an end a schism which threatened to divide the Church through the rival claims of two men to the papacy. It was he who induced the powers of Europe to participate in the second crusade, and although he was dead before the struggle between emperors and popes again reached an acute stage, we cannot fail to see in the power of the Church a result of his influence and his work.

The popes in the coming struggle would be without the help which had been so devotedly rendered to them by Matilda of Tuscany. Upon her death her territories were claimed by various competitors, and no longer could they count as a force upon the papal side.

The Normans in Naples and Sicily.

In the south the Normans were advancing from strength to strength. Roger of Sicily reigned until 1154, and during the latter part of his life he had often not been on the best of terms with the papacy. But in 1156 his successor, William I., after a quarrel with the Pope, and a victory over him, made a treaty with him and promised him his support against all his enemies. He was succeeded by William II. of Sicily (1171–1189) and under him the Norman dominion reached its most splendid development. Its population was a strangely mixed one, and contained men of various languages, races and religions; for there were in Southern Italy and Sicily not only Italians, but Normans, Greeks and Saracens, and the essential feature of the Norman government was that it showed a practical toleration to these different faiths and modes of life, and found in this toleration a cause of its strength and progress. It was found to be possible for men of different languages, races, and religions to live together, to fight side by side with one another, and to contribute mutually to the strength of one state. Palermo was enriched with splendid architecture, and the whole of the south of Italy entered upon an era of intellectual and artistic greatness which has never been repeated in its history. The Norman kings as we have noted had their own quarrels with the popes, and their devotion to the Church was not quite so simple as it had once been. But when they had to choose between the Pope and the Emperor, they saw with alarm the possibility that the King of Germany

might establish his rule without a rival in Italy, and they unhesitatingly drew their swords on the side of the Pope.

The force upon which we need most carefully to fix our eyes is that of the Communes or cities of northern Italy.

The Italian Communes.

They had been rising into importance for some time, as we saw in the last chapter. The twelfth century saw them making their way to a position of unrivalled importance and wealth in Italy. Their rapid development is to be ascribed largely to the volume of commerce which rolled through the cities of northern Italy. This had been very much increased by the movement of the crusades, one result of which was to bring to the maritime cities of Italy the wealth of the East, and thus Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Milan and Venice became rich and splendid beyond any cities in Europe. They claimed for themselves the management of their own affairs; they were no longer content to be ruled, even for their own good, by their bishops. Feudalism had never been very strong in north Italy, and the cities had for the most part triumphed over the power of the neighbouring nobles, forcing them in some instances to leave their castles and to live within the city walls. It was not only in the north of Italy that this communal movement was to be found: it had had a moment of great brilliance in Naples, and Rome itself had striven to realize the same sort of life as had been attained by the more fortunate cities of the north.

Arnold of Brescia in Rome

Arnold of Brescia, a pupil of the great schoolman and heretic, Abelard, had stirred up the city of the Seven Hills to claim the control of her own affairs independently of nobles, and independently of the papacy too, and for a moment it had seemed as though his effort would be attended by complete success.

These cities in their advance had shaken themselves free, as we have seen, from the control of nobles and of bishops: they came also into conflict with the emperor.

Conflict of the Communes with the Emperor.

The empire claimed over them certain rights (the so-called "Regalia"), such as control of roads and bridges, the control of the armed forces, the right even of appointing certain magistrates; and, if the ambitions of the cities were not to be checked, it would

be necessary to repudiate the claims which the emperors advanced. We may say therefore of them what we have said of the Normans. Their relations with the papacy were not always entirely harmonious, but as between emperor and papacy they were altogether on the side of the latter, and the popes found in them some of their most eager and efficient allies.

Frederick I. and the papacy.

The relations between Frederick and the papacy had been strained early in his reign. Pope Hadrian IV. in 1157 had sent a letter to Frederick, in which he used words which seemed clearly to imply that the emperor was subordinate to the Pope ; for he spoke of the empire as a "benefice" (*beneficium*) which the Pope conferred upon the emperor. This was language which seemed to imply a complete condition of feudal subordination, and against it the emperor naturally protested, declaring that the empire belonged to him by the election of the princes and the gift of God alone, and recalling the verse of scripture which bade men fear God and honour the king. The Pope explained away his words as not having the technical meaning which was ascribed to them : by *beneficium* he had meant, he said, not benefice, but benefit ; but friendly relations had not been completely established at the time of Pope Hadrian's death.

Position of the Emperors in Italy.

The relations of the emperors with Italy were always a difficulty. They were kings of Italy as well as of Germany and Burgundy ; and they felt their dignity incomplete until they had received the imperial crown at Rome at the hands of the Pope. Nor were they, Germans though they were, always felt to be foreigners in Italy. The sense of Italian nationality had hardly begun to be developed ; and there were always Italian cities to be found which were ready to join with the German Emperor in an attack on their own countrymen. But generally the Italians resented the Imperial claims, and the Romans especially felt that they ought to have some share in conferring the title of Roman Emperor, and should at least receive something for the grant of the title. The Germans would only answer that they bought the empire with steel, and not with gold. The cities of Italy were so rich that the

emperors desired to possess, to rule, and to tax them, and thus they came into collision with the desire of the Italian communes for independence.

Frederick I. entered Italy six times. The first occasion was to receive the Imperial crown (1155), and even that was not accomplished without loss in Rome from fighting and pestilence. In 1158 he came again, that time to show to the proud cities of Italy the might of the Roman Empire, the restoration of whose former glory he declared to be the chief object of his reign. All went well with him on this occasion. Assisted by the jealousy of many Italian towns he reduced Milan to submission, and then held a diet at Roncaglia, near Bologna, where he asserted the rights of the Imperial crown in Italy. The emperor was henceforth to enjoy the reality of sovereignty in Italy as in Germany; and all that emperors had ever possessed in Italy was to be restored to Frederick. He was to collect tolls on highways and rivers, in ports and in markets. The cities were to receive at his hands magistrates to be called *podestàs*, who were to hold in check the ordinary municipal officials. Had these intentions been carried out the destiny of Italy would have been entirely changed; it would have enjoyed peace and prosperity perhaps, but its glorious achievements in art and letters could hardly have grown except from the soil of freedom. Many of the cities of the Lombard plain resented the new regime; and Milan resisted the emperor's arms in a siege of three years (1159–1162) before it surrendered to the pressure of famine. Frederick decreed that the proud city should cease to exist; that its fortifications should be destroyed and its population transplanted elsewhere. The emperor seemed without a rival in Europe; but he had reached his zenith, and the rest of his reign saw in Italy little but failure.

Frederick's first Italian journey.

His second journey.

The Diet of Roncaglia.

Rebellion and siege of Milan.

Rome was to be the storm-centre for the rest of his reign. In 1159 a papal election had resulted in the choice of Pope Alexander III. But certain discontented cardinals declared that the election was invalid, and that the true Pope was one Victor IV. Alexander III. had already

Alexander III.

shown himself an opponent of the empire, and Frederick pronounced in favour of the claims of Victor. Hitherto he had had little trouble with the papacy. He was a devout Catholic of unquestioned orthodoxy; but henceforth Alexander III. was his enemy, and joined the Italian cities of the north in opposing him. At first Alexander III. could not maintain himself in Italy and retired to France. But soon troubles arose among the Lombard communes which gave him his chance.

The Lombard League.

The cities of the north, taught by their experiences of the last years how powerless they were singly, forgot their mutual animosities and formed a league, which is known as the Lombard league. It was a movement which clearly threatened the position of the emperor. In the year 1165, Alexander III. came back to Rome from his exile in France. It was necessary for the emperor once more to interfere, and in 1166 he came to Italy. It was the fourth of his Italian expeditions. Again all went well with him at first: the newly-formed league could not oppose his passage through the north: he passed down towards Rome and again his armies entered within the walls. But just in the moment of his triumph there fell upon him a great disaster, in which contemporaries saw the finger of God. The plague struck his victorious troops and swept them off by thousands. With forces reduced almost to nothing he had to creep away through Italy towards the Alps again, and all his enemies raised their heads as he fled, for the work of his expedition was quite undone. "Never since the world began," wrote Thomas Becket, "have the power and justice of God been more clearly manifested than in the destruction by so shameful a death of the authors of this great persecution." In the year 1167 the Lombard league was formed in its most elaborate and final form, embracing nearly all the cities of the north from Venice to Milan, and from Brescia to Bologna, and, they decided to establish a new city to be called Alessandria, in honour of Pope Alexander III. high up in the Lombard plain, destined to watch the hostile city of Pavia. It was clearly necessary for the emperor to appear yet once again.

Frederick's fourth Italian expedition.

Failure of the Emperor.

He marched into Italy for the fifth time in the year 1176. His chances of success were seriously diminished by the quarrel which had broken out between himself and his great subject, who had hitherto been his friend, Henry the Lion. Henry had given him valuable support in his Italian expeditions of an earlier time, but now he refused to accompany him. Frederick met the forces of the Italian communes at Legnano, not far from Milan, and there fought the decisive battle. It was in the main a struggle between German knights and Italian foot soldiers. The Lombard troops had been carefully organized, and many had bound themselves by an oath to defend their cause to the death. They were grouped round a great car on which were displayed the banners of the various cities. After a long battle the courage of the Italians and the treason of some of the emperor's followers determined the issue, and the emperor was utterly routed. He saw all his high hopes of dominion in Italy disappear: he accepted the mediation of his great opponent the Pope, and at last, in 1177, he met Pope Alexander III. in the portico of the Cathedral of St. Mark, in Venice. It was just a hundred years since the great humiliation of Canossa, and this was a humiliation almost as complete. He knelt before the Pope and begged for his forgiveness, and when the Pope mounted his mule he held the stirrup, and would have held the bridle if the Pope had not declined the compliment. A few years later, in 1183, the victory of the cities was defined and declared by the peace of Constance. The cities were now recognized as practically independent; they governed themselves; they had their own armies, their own fortifications, their own jurisdiction. The emperor had not technically abandoned any territory but his real dominion south of the Alps was reduced to a shade.

Battle of Legnano.

The struggle between Frederick Barbarossa and his enemies, who group themselves round the Pope, is the most picturesque and the most important event of his reign, and we have already seen that it prevented him giving to German affairs the attention which could have been profitably bestowed upon them. But many things, important in view of their future influence, were

Frederick I.'s reign in Germany.

happening in Germany during his reign. We will briefly enumerate some of them. Hardly had Frederick made terms with the papacy at Venice than he turned to face his enemies north of the Alps, and the chief of these was Henry the Lion.

Territories of the Guelfs and Ghibellines

Emery Walker sc.

Territories of the Guelphs and Ghibellines.

So great were Henry's personal possessions that some German historians have thought that it would have been better for the unity of Germany if he had succeeded in resisting the emperor's attack. But after much fighting the emperor was successful, and the territories of his rival were broken up and divided amongst various claimants. This was by no means the end

of the Guelf power, but never again were the Guelfs serious claimants for the leading position in Germany.

Connected with this struggle against Henry the Lion are to be noted certain events which contribute to that spread of German civilization eastward, which is one of the most important events of this period. Since the time of Charlemagne, German civilization east of the Elbe had gradually disappeared before the onslaughts of Slavonians and Magyars, but now the eastern movement had begun again. Two points chiefly deserve notice. In 1156 the territories lower down the Danube, and to the east of Bavaria, were made a separate and hereditary duchy. This territory which was first called the Bavarian Eastmark, came soon to be known as Austria, and it came later into the hands of a family which succeeded the Hohenstaufens, as the dominating force in Germany, and indeed in Europe. For it was in this Eastmark that the Hapsburgs, whose home lay in the south-west of Germany, first made themselves a great power. They gave to the empire a long series of emperors from the fifteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century; and then on the same basis there arose the present Austrian Empire. At first the Bavarian Eastmark was merely an outpost of German civilization against the Magyars, and as such it was given from the first an almost independent life. A little earlier were planted further north in Germany the beginnings of a power, which, after an obscure early history, was destined to be the rival, and at last the successful rival, of Austria. When the lands east of the Elbe had been occupied again by the Germans, it was necessary to establish some stable form of government there, and the chief representative of German civilization, and the chief ruler in those lands, which were then so wild, was the Margrave of Brandenburg. The first Margrave was Albert, known as the Bear, and the power which he attained was recognized in 1141 by the title of Elector. Albert belonged to what is known as the Ascanian house, and this after many variations of fortune, died out. It was not until Brandenburg came, some two centuries later, into the hands of the Hohenzollerns that it found itself upon the road which has led it to

The Duchy of Austria.

The beginnings of Brandenburg.

the empire of Germany and the highest military position in Europe.

At the end of his reign Frederick was induced to embark upon the Third Crusade in which he co-operated with Richard I. of England, and Philip II. of France. This crusade, which promised so brilliantly, ended without achieving anything of importance. His allies went by sea. Frederick took the land route across Asia Minor, and there, while fording a stream, he was drowned, borne down, it is said, by the weight of the heavy armour which he wore (1190).

Death of Frederick on the Third Crusade.

In addition to the references of last chapter, note Freeman's Essay on Frederick I., in the first volume of his *Historical Essays*.

CHAPTER XI

The last Phase in the Contest between the Popes and the Emperors

A MARRIAGE which Frederick had arranged for his son, was destined to exercise an immense influence upon Italy, Germany, the papacy, and indeed the whole of European civilization. He had arranged that his son, Henry, should marry Constance, the heiress of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and thus the great Norman kingdom of the South, which had hitherto counted as one of the most dangerous and inveterate foes of the emperor, was now indissolubly bound up with the fortunes of the Hohenstaufen emperors, and this ally, which had rendered such valuable service to the papacy would henceforth, it was clear, stand upon the side of the empire in any contest that took place between it and the papacy.

Marriage of Henry VI. and Constance of Naples.

Henry came to the throne at his father's death in 1190 as

Henry VI. He ruled over vast possessions, and he entertained ambitions of the widest scope. He dreamed of converting the

Henry VI.

empire, which at present rested upon vague methods of election, into a definite hereditary monarchy, and if he had succeeded in this, Germany would, in all probability, have been saved from those many divisions which were to break its power in the coming centuries. He dreamed also of a great expedition against that Eastern empire which still ruled in Constantinople. But these distant aims could not be readily or immediately pursued in view of the difficulties which he encountered in making himself master of those dominions which were admittedly his. The popes had seen with alarm the union of Germany, Naples, and Sicily in the same hands, and they attempted to prevent Henry VI. from establishing his rule in either country. He had civil wars to fight in Germany; and in the south of Italy he encountered a rival candidate for the throne in the person of Tancred, who had been put forward as a claimant by the papacy itself. He succeeded, however, in overcoming his enemies after a good deal of hard fighting, but before his death in 1197, it was apparent that the popes would view with determined hostility the new Norman-German power which he had established.

When Henry VI. died in 1197, his son Frederick was only a child, and for some time could have no personal influence upon

Pope Innocent III.

the destinies of Europe. In the next year, 1198, there came to the papal throne one of the most powerful men who ever sat there, Innocent III. Along with Gregory the Great, and Gregory VII., he brings before us the power of the mediæval papacy at its very highest, and in many respects, at its best. The claims of the papacy were put forward by him in the most uncompromising manner. He compared the relations between the empire and papacy to those between the moon and the sun. As the moon shone only by the borrowed light of the sun, so the strength of the empire was merely derived from the papacy. In the Middle Ages such metaphors as these were regarded as arguments, and henceforth all defenders of the Imperial power had to deal with this comparison as though it were a serious contention. Innocent III. made himself the spokesman of the Italian

dislike for the Germans, and declared it his aim to drive from Italy the hated German race. In his writings such phrases as these occur : " Ye see what manner of servant this is whom the Lord hath set over His people, no other than the vicegerent of Christ, the successor of Peter. He stands in the midst between God and man, below God but above man, less than God, but more than man. He judges all and is judged by none, for it is written ' I will judge.' " And again he writes : " The Lord left to Peter not only the government of the universal church, but of the whole world." A pope who held such views as these was bound to come into sharp contention with the temporal powers, and chiefly with the greatest of all temporal powers, the empire ; and it is to be noted that no emperor, however friendly he might be at the time of his accession to power, was able to maintain for long, relations of friendliness with the Pope. The contest was not one of personal opinion or of sentiment ; it was a collision between irreconcilable claims.

Rival claims to the Empire.

The empire was thrown into much confusion by the impossibility of finding a candidate agreeable to all the electors. There were two candidates, Philip of Hohenstaufen, and Otto of the house of Guelf, son of Henry the Lion. The Pope threw his influence on the side of Otto, and he became recognized as emperor in the year 1208. He was loud in his protestations of gratitude to the Pope. " My kingship," he wrote, " would have dissolved in dust and ashes had not the authority of the Apostolic Church weighed the scale in my favour." He came into Italy, made many concessions to the papal authority there, and was crowned at Rome in 1209. But friendship between a pope and an emperor could not long endure. Otto IV. claimed the inheritance of the Two Sicilies, and the Pope was determined not to allow this union between Germany and south Italy to be established. He raised up enemies against Otto in Germany, and above all he appealed to Frederick, the son of Henry VI., whom in 1211 he declared king and emperor with the title of Frederick II.

Frederick II. made Emperor by the Pope.

He had thus in the heat of the contest, in order to overthrow

Otto IV., raised up one who was destined to be among the most dangerous opponents that the papal see ever knew. Frederick had to fight long and hard before he could obtain the reality of Imperial rule, but the alliance of the papacy and of the King of France were strong forces upon his side, whilst Otto IV. had no ally except King John of England. In 1214 the battle of Bouvines, so important for English and French history, wrecked the hopes of Otto IV. and gave to Frederick secure hold on the Imperial title and power.

Power of Innocent III. in Europe.

Innocent III. exercised in Europe an authority greater than that which had ever belonged to a pope before him: he had given to the empire the man of his own choice, and had taken it from an opponent: the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Sweden, Denmark, Aragon and Portugal all recognized, even though in vague terms, the feudal suzerainty of the Pope. His interference in England had been decisive and successful; he had forced Stephen Langton into the throne of Canterbury; he had procured from King John the promise of a yearly tribute and the submission of the crown of England. The strongest sovereign for the moment in Europe was Philip Augustus of France, and even this strong king was forced by papal opposition to dismiss his second wife and to take back Queen Ingeburga whom he had wronged.

Rise of the Franciscans and the Dominicans.

It is necessary also to notice that upon the eve of the third and most desperate struggle between empire and papacy, a new religious movement and the formation of new religious orders vastly strengthened the Pope's hands. What the Cluniac movement had been for Gregory VII., and the Cistercian movement for Alexander III., the Franciscan and Dominican orders were for Innocent III. and his successors. These orders came to the help of the Catholic Church at a time of great danger. In spite of—perhaps even in consequence of—the immense power which the Church had won, great masses of the population were being alienated from her. The use of the Latin tongue in her service and even in her sermons made a direct appeal to the people difficult, if not impossible. The poorer classes, especially in

the cities, were largely careless or hostile: and in the south of France, in the districts called Languedoc and Provence, religious or irreligious movements had begun which seemed to threaten the very foundations of the Church. Views were being openly preached which the Church regarded as heretical, and though some of these were probably purer and more Christian than the official teaching of the Church itself, it is certain that some of the views which go by the general name of the Albigensian Heresy, attacked the very foundations of religion, and even of morality. We must not exaggerate the extent of the danger: these movements were strong only in the south of France, and even there probably would soon have declined even if left to themselves. But the movement inevitably gave great anxiety to the authorities at Rome, and seemed to demand some new method of treatment. To win back the poorer classes to the Church, to appeal to men in their own tongue, and to combat the heresies that had rooted themselves in the south of France, these were the chief objects of the orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic.

Dangers threatening the Church.

St. Francis was born at Assisi in the centre of Italy: his father was a merchant dealing with France, and he himself seemed destined for the same career. But there came then a great change in his life; he renounced all worldly ambitions and any career which might lead to gain; he embraced a life of the most complete poverty, and devoted himself to the service of his fellows and of Holy Church. Around him there quickly grew up a considerable amount of legend and of myth, but the historical features of the career of St. Francis bring before us one of the purest, most beautiful, and most attractive figures that ever moved upon the face of the earth. At first there was little of organization in the movement; he gathered round him a few men of ideas like his own; he moved from place to place preaching and serving, relying everywhere upon alms for the sustenance of himself and of his followers. Only gradually did the idea of the formation of a special order emerge, and when he asked to be allowed to form an order which he desired to call the "order of the poor men of Assisi,"

Saint Francis of Assisi.

the Pope at first hesitated to sanction the new movement or to accept the alliance of a force so different from anything which the Church had hitherto known, since at least the very earliest days of the Church. But soon the sanctity and the sincerity of St. Francis were apparent, and in 1209 the new order was formed.

Saint Dominic.

The career of St. Dominic is contemporary with that of St. Francis, and his movement has many points of similarity with that of the Franciscans. The Albigensian heresies, to which allusion has already been made, had called out a crusade, and in this crusade St. Dominic had played a part. From the first he had maintained that, though the use of violent methods was permissible, other weapons could be used with more effect against the zeal of the heretics. Zeal, he said, must be met by zeal, humility by humility, false sanctity by real sanctity, the preaching of falsehood must be met by the preaching of truth, and in 1213, his order, the order of the preachers, was founded with the special object of combating the heretical views which had their centre in the south of France.

Characteristics of the Friars.

We may speak of these two orders of Friars together, for their general characteristics are the same. They differed very widely from the monastic orders which had preceded them, in that their aim was not meditation and the salvation of the souls of their members, but social service and the redemption of others. The friars were not to enclose themselves within the walls of any cloister, but to live in the world and to serve God by serving their fellow-men. At first it was ordained they were to have no settled home, no building of any kind devoted to them; and when later such buildings did arise they were a sign that these orders were falling away from the ideals of their great founders. In their organization we may notice especially the following points. First, they were to possess no property, and they were to live by begging. Secondly, they were to pay special attention to preaching, and they were to preach to the people of each country in the common language of that country. Thirdly, they were to take special vows of obedience and mutual love. A fourth feature which is

important as explaining something of their power is the division of the order known as the Tertiaries. These were men and women who did not wear the dress nor take the full vows of the order, but who, living in the world and living the ordinary life of the world, were connected with the order and were pledged to support it in every way.

These orders spread and developed with amazing rapidity. The Grey Friars and the Black Friars, as they were respectively called, were soon to be found established in all the towns of Western Europe, and they were especially numerous and strong in the south of Europe. Their organization is interesting and in many ways efficient, but their organization does not go far in accounting for their influence. The memory of their founders was a permanent force. Men remembered for long St. Dominic, the great "athlete of the faith"; but it was especially the life and character of St. Francis which came to men as a second revelation of purity, devotion and love. The stories of how he served the poor, how no disease was too repulsive for his attentions, no class too hostile or too miserable for his service, and how, in spite of all, he was ever gay and happy with his companions, not only loving men and women, but loving all animals and preaching even to the birds: all this amounted to a new force of the most important kind in the thirteenth century, and its influence has never entirely died out. To return to the point from which we began, we must regard the formation of these mendicant orders as a great force working on the side of the papacy in its next great contest with its secular opponent.

Spread and influence of the Friars.

The secular and Imperial power in this new contest was represented by a very remarkable man, the Emperor Frederick II. We have seen that he owed his elevation to papal favour and support: but the worst enemies of the papacy were often found among those who had been its closest allies.

The Emperor Frederick II. is described as being a man of mean appearance; he was short in stature, and he inherited the red hair of his family. But he was a man of exceptional powers, and showed such originality in his actions and in his thoughts that he gained from his contemporaries the title of the "wonder of the world."

Character of Frederick II.

There is no one like him in mediæval history; he stands apart from the ideas and the enthusiasms that characterize the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and seems to anticipate rather a ruler of the later age, a Henry VII. of England, a Louis XI. of France, or perhaps one of the Italian tyrants of the Renaissance. He was a writer of poetry in the common language of the south of Italy, and he may thus be regarded as one of the pioneers of the movement which was soon to give Europe a great literature in the common tongue. He was interested in the development of science and philosophy, with which the south of Europe was much occupied. He founded the University of Naples, declaring in his charter that he did so "in order that those who have hunger for knowledge may find within the kingdom the food for which they are yearning, and may not be forced to go into exile and beg the bread of learning in foreign lands." He founded also a school of medicine at Salerno, and made a collection of wild animals at Palermo. Under his rule the south of Italy and Sicily became a progressive centre of thought and art such as they have never been again. Not only did Christians, such as Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of the mediæval schoolmen, contribute to this movement, but Saracen scholars were also patronized and supported, and the emperor was throughout on the most friendly terms with them. These scientific interests and the way in which he advanced them would perhaps have called down upon him the suspicion of the Church, even if he had not come into furious conflict with it on other grounds. He was later on branded as a heretic in many a furious papal document, but it is very hard to make out what his religious standpoint was.

Frederick II.'s religious opinions.

The Pope in his wrath maintained that he disbelieved in the immortality of the soul, that he spoke of Moses, Abraham, and Christ as the three great impostors. But these seem to be little more than the wild outpourings of anger; he himself always professed to be a Christian and a faithful supporter of the Catholic Church. It was not, he said, against the Church that he fought, but against the corruption and luxury of the Church. "I am no enemy of the priesthood; I honour the priest, the humblest priest, as a father, if he will keep aloof

from secular affairs. It is by evil lusts, by avarice and rapacity that the Church is weakened, polluted, corrupted; against these evils it is my mission to contend with the sword. I will give back to the sheep their shepherd, to the people their bishop, to the world its spiritual father. I will tear the mask from the face of this wolfish tyrant, and force him to lay aside worldly affairs and earthly pomp, and to tread in the holy footsteps of Christ." It is certain that his ideas in religion went beyond the assertion of the obligations of poverty of the Church. Later, in his struggle with the papacy, he spoke in a way which implied that a layman might be the head of the Church; that the Emperor was worthy of as much reverence as the Pope, and he perhaps even claimed that reverence for himself. In these utterances there is much which seems vaguely to anticipate a secular headship of the Church such as was introduced into England by Henry VIII.

Frederick II.'s conflict with the papacy.

Frederick II. ruled over Germany and the north of Italy as emperor, and over Naples and Sicily ("the two Sicilies" as they were called) as king, by hereditary right. We see in him, therefore, those difficulties at their worst which confronted the emperors from the time of Otto the Great, through the divergent interests, and characters of Germany and the Italian peninsula, and we may see during his reign more clearly than in any other what evils came upon Germany through the preoccupation of the emperor with his personal dominion in Italy. Frederick had made promises to the Pope that he would not make the connection between Sicily and Germany permanent, and that he would confer the southern kingdom on his own son, Henry, to be held as a fief of the papacy. But he broke his promise and preferred to live and to rule in Italy rather than in Germany; for in Naples he was a king indeed, whereas in Germany his Imperial power was much reduced by the rival power of the greater feudatories. In the two Sicilies he developed the strength of the monarchy against all rival powers. He weakened, where he did not overthrow, the powers of the feudal nobles; royal castles displaced the castles of the nobles; the cities found their independence limited; all the inhabitants of the kingdom were brought

into subordination to the royal law and to the king's courts. The provinces were ruled by his agents; the whole administration was supervised by his justiciar. The work was perhaps premature, and it was certainly not favourable to liberty. But Naples and Sicily enjoyed in consequence of it an order and a prosperity unsurpassed by any other part of Europe. The forces of Frederick, however, did not avail to govern both Sicily and Germany, and in order to have a free hand in Sicily, he at times almost abdicated his functions as ruler in Germany. Hence arose a curious contrast between the development of Sicily and the development of Germany during his reign.

The two Sicilies.

Germany.

Whilst feudalism was crushed or tamed at almost every point in Naples and Sicily, in Germany it became again the dangerous rival of the emperor. In 1239 Frederick issued a statute in favour of the princes of Germany, and by this he gave to them such large judicial and military powers, that the chief of them were henceforth practically independent of the central authority. The empire had hitherto seen in the great towns of Germany its warmest support; but now, the privileges of the towns were clipped in order to favour the nobles and in some instances suppressed. In spite of these attempts to win their support the nobles rose in a dangerous insurrection against him, and they found, strangely, an ally in the emperor's own son, Henry, who, like many heirs apparent, saw in an alliance with the discontented elements of the State an opportunity of winning power without waiting for his father's death. Henry was defeated and sent into lifelong imprisonment (1235), and the emperor made an attempt to restore the prestige and authority of the Imperial crown in Germany. But the nobles had already gained too much power, and the emperor soon found more than enough upon his hands in Italy. This attempt failed, like every attempt that was made before the nineteenth century, to give the German Empire an efficient government.

Between Frederick and the papacy there was no quarrel which turned on any dispute as to constitutional forms. Henry IV. had fought the papacy on the question of the election of bishops; Frederick I. had refused to recognize the

election of Pope Alexander III.; but the contest between Frederick II. and the papacy, when it broke out, was a direct rivalry of power, and the two fought almost consciously and openly for the lordship of Italy. Frederick II., soon after his elevation to the throne, had taken the cross in obedience to the promptings of the Pope, to whom he owed so much, and the Pope urged upon him the accomplishment of his vow. We shall turn in a subsequent chapter to the history of the crusades, and we shall see how at this time the crusading fervour was burning low, and how the whole crusading movement was being driven from its early high aims, and was made to serve the purpose of commercial gain, and national advantage. Frederick II. was wholly unlike the crusader of the earlier type, and as he felt no enthusiasm for an expedition against the unbeliever, so, doubtless, he saw that his presence in the south of Italy was necessary for the consolidation of his power. The papacy, however, was urgent with him to go crusading, and in 1227 he embarked at Brindisi, nominally for the East; he returned, however, in a few days, alleging a sudden attack of illness, and the Pope, in indignation against what he thought a mere subterfuge, at once excommunicated him. No man living under excommunication could properly go on a crusade, but, nevertheless, Frederick II. sailed in 1228, and his action on the crusade was as unusual as the circumstances of his departure. He professed no animosity against the Saracens, and undoubtedly he felt none. His second wife, who was the daughter of the titular King of Jerusalem, gave him a sort of claim upon the royal title there, and by diplomacy and negotiation, he won from the Saracens more privileges for Christian pilgrims than the early crusaders had won by the sword, and gained for himself the nominal crown of the kingdom of Jerusalem. He went up to the Holy City, but no priest could be found to crown an excommunicated king, and he therefore took the crown from the altar with his own hands, and with his own hands placed it upon his head. He returned home to find that the Pope had declared a crusade against him, and that a papal army was ravaging the territories of Naples. They were driven out,

The crusade of Frederick II.

Crowned King of Jerusalem.

and the Pope consented in 1230 to make peace with him and to release him from excommunication.

The peace was of short duration, and was followed by a still fiercer contest. The Pope was Gregory IX., who, almost to his 100th year, remained an active force in the politics of Italy. But it was not against him in the first place that Frederick came into conflict, but rather against those Lombard towns which had had so large a part in the humiliation of Frederick I. The communal movement had spread rapidly in Italy since the defeat of Frederick I. and the Treaty of Constance. There were city-leagues now in central Italy, corresponding to the Lombard League in the North, and all were defiant of the power of the emperor. A change had passed over the cities of Italy during the past half century. They were richer, more splendid, more conscious of their own powers. But their liberty had often degenerated into anarchy, owing to the fierce spirit of the parties, and they had in many instances gained temporary peace by giving the chief authority to a native of some other state who was called a *podestà*. In some cases tyrants had established themselves, and the chief of these was Ezzelino in Verona. Frederick II. determined to reduce the Communes to subjection. Their divisions allowed him to find allies among themselves, and Ezzelino supported him vigorously throughout. The fighting was often conducted with the greatest ferocity. Its early stages were favourable to Frederick. In 1237, the Communes were defeated at the battle of Cortenuova, and it seemed as though Frederick's triumph would be complete. But then, and for the same motives as formerly, the Pope joined hands with the cities, the emperor was excommunicated, and although Gregory IX. soon died, and Pope Innocent IV., friendly to the Emperor, succeeded him, he soon forgot in his office the feelings which he had entertained as a private person. In 1245 a Church Council was held at Lyons, and Frederick was denounced in terms of the utmost violence, and declared to be a Pharaoh, a Herod, a Nero. The emperor was not slow to reply. He declared that the popes had no right to depose him. "I hold my crown," he said, "from God

Frederick II.'s struggle with the Communes of Italy.

Collision of Emperor and Pope.

alone, neither the Pope, the council, nor the devil shall rend it from me." "Shall the pride of a man of low birth degrade the emperor who has no superior nor equal upon the earth?" The Pope, however, declared Frederick deposed, and set up another emperor in his place in Germany. The contest which followed was conducted with the utmost fury. The friars, whose influence was at its height, stirred up the people to hatred of the emperor's party. Frederick found allies in some of the towns of Lombardy, but the majority stood against him. In 1247, Frederick was sharply defeated at Parma which he was besieging, and when he died, three years later, in 1250, the issue of the struggle was still doubtful.

The end of the Hohen-staufen.

It is extraordinary to see what a change was made in the situation by his death. The power of the kingdom of Naples was the same; the situation in Italy and in Germany was the same; and yet, while Frederick II. could meet his foes at least on even terms, his successors very quickly collapsed before the Pope and his allies. The truth seems to be that the excellent government which he had established in Naples and Sicily had irritated the aristocracy against him, and the common people were not yet an important factor. All had depended upon Frederick's own strong will and power of organization, and when this was removed, the fabric that he had reared with such care, quickly fell in ruins. His son, Conrad IV., succeeded to him. He was in Germany at the time of his father's death, but found little chance of establishing a strong rule there, and came to try his fortune in Italy. He entered Naples, and seemed to have some chance of gaining the support of the kingdom when death cut short his career in 1254. He left behind him a young son who is known as Conradino, but the royal house was represented in Naples and Sicily by Manfred, the illegitimate son of Frederick II. Pope Urban IV. succeeded to the throne in 1261. He was a Frenchman, and was ready to use any means to expel from power what he called the "viper brood" of the Hohenstaufen. He offered the crown of the kingdom of Sicily to Charles of Anjou, the brother of the saintly King of France,

Conrad IV.

Manfred.

and the offer was accepted. It was thus primarily against French troops that Manfred had to struggle. With Charles, the Pope made a very strict contract, and it marks the degradation of the papal policy, that it was stipulated that if Charles failed in his payments to the papal treasury his kingdom should be laid under an interdict. Manfred, for a time, made head against the French army, but in 1266 there came a battle not far from Benevento, and there Manfred was defeated and slain. Charles of Anjou occupied Naples and Sicily, and soon his heavy taxation and his ferocious cruelty made him bitterly hated, and turned the memories of the people fondly towards Conradino, who, in 1268, was only sixteen years of age. He was, however, a capable and ambitious youth, and he determined to take up the inheritance. He invaded Italy from the north. He was received with enthusiasm in Rome itself, but when he encountered the French army at Tagliacozzo, his forces were easily defeated and he himself taken prisoner. In August of the same year, he was beheaded in the market-place at Naples, and with him the great house of Hohenstaufen that had played so great a part throughout the central portion of the Middle Ages became practically extinct. The papacy had triumphed, but to secure that triumph it had used weapons which were more disgraceful, and in the long run more ruinous, to its power, than defeat itself could have been. The highest motives of religion, the supremest spiritual powers in the hands of the Pope, had been prostituted to personal and ambitious ends, and it is not surprising to find that the triumph of the papacy was followed in less than thirty years by the most severe defeat which it received in all its career, and we shall find that that defeat was administered by the French power which had been the instrument of the papal triumph.

Pope Urban IV. and Charles of Anjou.

Conradino.

Battle of Tagliacozzo.

Before we go further it will be well to notice certain happenings in Germany which are full of importance for the future of that land. A chief feature of German history from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries is the expansion of the influence and the nationality of Germany eastward. We have seen

already how the Elbe was no longer the eastern frontier of Germany. Its place had been taken by the river Oder. But beyond the river Oder, along the whole of the eastern frontier, Germany was confronted with non-German, and in part heathen races. The Hungarians (Magyars) were situated to the north of the Danube; to the north of them came the Bohemians (Czechs); then the Poles; and further to the north, on the shores of the Baltic, an agglomeration of Slavonic races of which the chief were the non-German and heathen Prussians. Against these last a singular and powerful force was now called into activity. We shall see how one of the strangest results of the crusades had been the establishment of military religious orders. The best known of these are the Knights Templars and the Knights Hospitallers; less known but in their ultimate influence not less important were the Teutonic Knights. Their first object had been to protect German pilgrims to the Holy Land: but the Christian conquests in the East had soon been swept away, and on the soil of Palestine there was nothing for them or for any other order to do. In 1228 they were allowed to transfer their crusading zeal from the shores of Syria to the Baltic, and they were given whatever lands they could conquer in Prussia from the heathen there; and so under their grand-master Hermann of Salza they proceeded to conquer the land and to rule it. Their action was indeed characterized by great brutality; they showed little desire to convert the heathen Prussians; their chief object seemed to be to slay and dispossess them. But in a long series of campaigns they won for Christianity and for Germany a large tract of land beyond the Oder and the Vistula, and looking forward into the distant future we may see (though no one at that time could have foreseen it) that these Prussian lands would form one of the two bases upon which the mightiest of all German powers was to be built, a power which would at last succeed in the task of uniting Germany under one government, in which the Hohenstaufen had disastrously failed.

The Teutonic Knights in Prussia.

For Frederick II. see Tout's *Empire and Papacy*, and Freeman's Essay in the First Series of his *Historical Essays*. For Innocent III.

the Ecclesiastical History of Robertson and Milman. The Friars are also treated in these histories; Sabatier's *Life of Saint Francis* is the chief modern study of its subject; the *Little Flowers of Saint Francis* are translated and published in the Temple Classics. Miss Selfe's translation of *Villani's Chronicle* is useful throughout, though its first object is to illustrate the writings of Dante.

CHAPTER XII

Great Britain from the Roman to the Norman Conquest

BRITAIN has passed through all the main phases of European History. She was almost entirely absorbed into the Roman Empire, and was influenced by its culture and its language; she was attacked and conquered by the Germans and the Danes; the Catholic Church played an important part in moulding her life; feudal institutions developed on her soil; she rose to unity and importance in Europe through the action of a strong monarchy. But in certain respects Britain has stood apart from the rest of Western Europe, and her history has characteristics that are not exactly those of Spain or Gaul or Italy. The sea has been all through a profoundly important influence on her institutions and development.

I

The clear light of history first strikes our shores with the coming of Julius Cæsar. He was as skilful with the pen as with the sword, and two books of his Commentaries give us invaluable information about the condition of the people of Britain. Those whom Cæsar came in contact with were mostly Celts, akin in race and language to the Gauls whom he was subduing on the other side of the

Julius Cæsar.

channel, and like them submitted to the influence of their priests, the Druids. It was this close connection between the two peoples, as well as the spirit of adventure, which made Cæsar undertake his expeditions to Britain, which were rather raids to impress the islanders with the strength of Rome than any serious attempt to add the country to her domains. When he returned to Gaul in 54 B.C. the country fell back into its former condition. A century later, when the Roman Empire was strongly established and the Emperor Claudius was occupying the throne, a more serious effort was made. There was no unity in the island, and no military organization sufficient to allow the nation to resist with any chance of success. So, in spite of much brave fighting, the Roman conquest flowed on, and in the course of a century reached its final limits. The larger island was brought under the Roman administrative system up to the line of the Clyde and Firth of Forth. No attempt was made to conquer the barren Highlands of Scotland and their fierce inhabitants, nor any part of Ireland. The Romans marked the boundary of the province by drawing two great ramparts across the island; the one running from the Clyde to the Forth, of which only slight traces remain; the other, and more important, from the Solway to the Tyne, the ruins of which are among the most impressive Roman monuments in Europe. South of these great military works the country was governed much as Gaul or Spain or any other Roman province. There is no work of Roman literature which gives us any vivid idea of the life that was lived by the inhabitants of Britain; though Tacitus, the great Roman historian, has written in his "Agricola" an admirable account of an episode in the conquest. The numerous remains of the Roman towns and houses allow us to reconstruct the life of the time. In Britain, as everywhere in the Empire, there came a great peace, interrupted by a few attempts to throw off the power of Rome, such as the rising of Boadicea in the year 61 A.D.; certainly a great contrast to the inter-tribal struggles which must have been constant before the coming of the Romans. Great roads were made throughout the island; intended at first for military

Roman conquest of Britain.

purposes, but serving equally well all the ends of commerce and social intercourse. Town life was introduced and developed. Some of the towns rose to the dignity of full municipal freedom. Roman traders, tax-gatherers, and money-lenders made their way into the country in considerable numbers; and along with them there came missionaries of Christianity. The remains of a Christian church have been identified among the ruins of the Roman town of Silchester. But most of the remains show us the military side of the Roman occupation; camps and fortifications; the villas which the Roman officers and settlers built in close imitation of those which they knew in Italy; the tombstones of the soldiers who died here; the altars to strange and foreign gods erected by the troops who, according to the Roman practice, were brought from distant provinces—even from Syria—to defend the frontiers of Britain. There is nothing to tell us what were the relations between the Romans and the natives, nor what degree of civilization was reached by the Britons; but probably, though not so far advanced as the Gauls or the Spaniards, they were ready to follow them in their acceptance of the culture and the language of Rome.

The Roman occupation lasted close on four centuries. There is no sign of any movement in our island that would have had the strength to shake the Roman power, nor probably was there any desire to attack it. But for reasons which we have examined elsewhere, the Roman power was decaying during the third and fourth centuries. Rome herself was in danger, and her legions could no longer be spared to defend distant frontiers. It was the attack of the Visigoths under their great chief Alaric which led to the recall of the Roman legions from Britain, about the year 410 A.D.

Influence of the Romans in Britain.

It is difficult to determine how far the later history of the island has been influenced by the Roman occupation. The great Roman roads were certainly the arteries through which the life of the island flowed for centuries afterwards. Trees and fruits had been introduced which were valued and kept by the next comers; it is not impossible that from the villas of the Romans may have come an influence which moulded the subsequent

social institutions of the island. But Britain was not Romanized as Gaul and Spain and many other Roman provinces were. The Celtic language had not been overlaid by the Latin to anything like the same extent as in Gaul. It is strange that a Latin language survives in Roumania—the last of the conquests of imperial Rome—while the Roman occupation of four centuries left hardly any trace on the language which was spoken in our islands during the next epoch. Latin has influenced our language immensely, but the influence came through the Church and, later, through the Norman conquest and the revival of learning. The next invaders soon destroyed whatever knowledge of the Latin tongue the Roman soldiers left behind them at their departure.

II

The coming of the English.

It was the Goths, the Southern Germans, and the Franks who had hitherto made the chief onslaughts on the Roman Empire. But the Romans were well aware of the dangerous character of the northern Germans, and had already had some experience of their raids on the British coast, for they had established a Count of the Saxon Shore to cope with them. Now the retirement of the legions left Britain at their mercy. The Roman Empire had undertaken the whole burden of the defence of the provinces, and had disarmed the provincials themselves. The Britons therefore, during the four centuries of the Roman occupation, had become unused to the task of self-defence, and, when the German invaders came, were powerless to repel them. The wealth and the defencelessness of the country allured swarm after swarm of raiders from the mouths of the Elbe and the base of the Danish peninsula. They had a long stretch of sea to pass, and their boats would have seemed to a later period little suited for the task, but these men were wonderfully daring and adventurous, and they soon came in large numbers. They were untouched by Christianity; much fiercer and more cruel than the Goths who penetrated the defences of Rome; more like the terrible Franks, who were at the

same time trampling down the Roman culture of Gaul and establishing the bases of a new one. In spite of the sea and its dangers the fighting men who came first were soon followed by women and children. It was no mere military raid that Britain had to face, but a real wandering of a people.

The next four centuries form the dark age of English and British history. It is hard during this time to disentangle history from legend. If only we could see more clearly what was done between 500 and 800 in England, and how it was done, many problems that are now dark would be solved. How did Roman civilization disappear? What became of the old British population? How far were the institutions which the invaders brought with them modified by what they found here? How far and in what districts did Christianity survive? To none of these questions can a certain answer be given.

The dark age of English history.

Disarmed though the British were, they did not yield their land without some hard fighting. The civil population of Italy did not struggle so hard against the Goths. It was a century and a half before the newly arrived race had definitely established its supremacy in the island. The legends of King Arthur probably rest on this base of fact, that the Celtic inhabitants, Christian and more civilized than the German invaders, offered a prolonged resistance which had its moments of triumph. The invaders can be divided into three racial groups. The Jutes attacked in Kent and in the neighbourhood of the Isle of Wight; the Saxons overran the rest of the south and east of England (the county of Essex or of the East-Saxons marks their northern limit along the coast); the centre and north of England right up to the Firth of Forth was occupied by the Angles or English. Little by little the invaders pushed the British back. The decisive blows were when in 577 by the battle of Deorham they occupied the Severn valley, and thus separated the Britons of Devon and Cornwall from their fellows in Wales; and when in 607 the battle of Chester thrust in a wedge between the Welsh and the Celts of Cumbria.

The resistance of the Britons.

This continuous victory of invaders, who must at first have been in a small minority, is difficult to understand, though it finds its parallels in the story of the Goths and Franks. It is not to be explained by any supposed innate racial superiority of the Germans over the British; but chiefly by the loss of military training and habits in the British during the long Roman peace. The invaders—whom we shall henceforth speak of as English—showed by-and-by the same decadence that we noted in the Goths and the Vandals, and to a smaller extent in the Franks, and proved in their turn an easy prey to the Danes.

The conversion of the English.

We have noticed how great a part is played by religion and the Church in the history of the Franks and the Goths. Their importance is not smaller in the history of the English. When they came they were pagans, and delighted in the sack of monasteries and the burning of churches. But northern paganism was everywhere yielding to Christianity. The English had, it seems, destroyed the Christian institutions from the territory that they occupied, though the old Celtic Christianity still held its own in Wales, in Scotland, and in Ireland, and made missionary expeditions into the lands of their conquerors. Without doubt there were Christians even among the English before the year 597, but in that year the mission came from Rome which was soon to make of the English ardent Christians, eager to carry their faith into their original German home. The evangelization of the English is connected with the name of Gregory the Great, who, it is said, was struck by the beauty of English slaves in the Roman market, and was moved to send the monk Augustine to convert a people of such great possibilities to the true faith. He landed in Kent and found a ready welcome, for the King of Kent, Ethelbert, was married to Bertha, a Frank and a Christian; she had Christian priests with her at Canterbury. It was through the influence of a woman that the Frankish king Clovis was turned to Christianity; but Ethelbert's conversion is purer in its origins than that of Clovis. Augustine was given permission to preach, and the new faith soon struck deep roots, and passed from one part of the country to another.

Edwin, the King of Northumbria, was converted in 627; but in Northumbria the Christian Church was brought face to face with a serious difficulty. The converts of Augustine were loyal to Rome, and followed in every way her example and her guidance. But the Celtic Christians, and those of the English who were converted by them, stood apart from this new movement in certain particulars. The presence of two separate church organizations in the island would have been a most serious thing. Religious differences in those days easily took on the tone of fanaticism, and long and furious civil war was often their result.

Ecclesiastical unity of Britain.

We have seen that Arianism was a strong contributory cause of the ruin of the Goths; in Africa murderous struggles went on about religious differences that are to us meaningless. The Celtic Christians were separated from the English by details that seem trivial; they kept Easter at a different date; they were tonsured differently; they had certain peculiarities of ritual. What underlay these points and made them serious was the antagonism of the two races. It was Oswy, King of Northumbria, who brought to an end this threat of danger. He called the priests of the two rival organizations into council in the Synod of Whitby (664). He heard the pleadings on both sides, and then decided in favour of the Roman usage, and he was strong enough to enforce the decision he had taken. From this time onwards the Church in England becomes a unity, and the growing political unity of the land owes much to the example and influence of the Church.

Progress towards political unity.

The Synod of Whitby was held 150 years after the arrival of the English. During this time the country had made political as well as religious progress. Soon after their arrival we see the English falling into seven main groups, which are called kingdoms. These were East Anglia, Essex, Kent, and Sussex, and—names which are far more important than the first four—Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex (the kingdom of the West Saxons). The history of England is summed up in the rivalries of these three, until the coming of the Danes brought a new and terrible force into the life of the island. Mercia

occupied the middle of England up to the Welsh border. Its great king was Penda, who for long maintained the cause of Paganism against the advancing power of Christianity. He gained two great victories against the Christian kings of Northumbria, but in 655 was himself defeated and slain by King Oswy. Northumbria, under a series of fine rulers, had identified itself with the new faith and gained by its victory. Then, and for the only time in the long history of our land, it was in the north that the centre of gravity was to be found both for politics and intellectual culture. York and the Ouse seemed as if they might play the part which destiny held in store for London and the Thames. It was by Northumbrian armies that Penda was slain and paganism overthrown; the first of English poets was Caedmon of Whitby; the first and one of the greatest of English historians was Bede, a monk of Jarrow-on-Tyne; when Charlemagne wanted to introduce education among his rude Franks, it was in York that he found Alcuin, who proved the instrument that he needed. However, early states were even more unstable than modern ones, and the power of Northumbria soon passed away, and its place was taken by Wessex. It was by Wessex that the revived Mercian kingdom was defeated. It was King Egbert who gained the decisive battle of Ellandune against the Mercians in 825, and he was a king the like of whom England had not seen up to that time. He had known Charlemagne well, and we can imagine that some of the political wisdom of the great Frank was reflected in Egbert's handling of the smaller problems of English politics. But those problems were not small, either in themselves or in their remote consequences. Out of Wessex came the modern British Empire, and it was already a great thing when Egbert made himself the overlord (or Bretwalda) over all the English and many of the Welsh.

The greatness of Northumbria.

The supremacy of Wessex.

III

Egbert's England seemed to hold the promise of a great future. The English had shaken off their barbarism, and were well abreast of the culture of the rest of Europe; the Church was ready to give the guidance that it gave elsewhere; under the Wessex monarchy large advance had been made towards national unity. Egbert was doing on a smaller theatre the same sort of work that was done by Charlemagne in Central Europe. But legend tells us how Charlemagne wept when he saw the galleys of the Northmen sailing along the coasts of France. Before Egbert died in 839 these same invaders had begun in grim earnest their desolating attacks on the shores of England. We have seen something of the doings of the Norsemen in Europe already, and how their wanderings carried them to Iceland and to America, as well as to our islands, to France, to Sicily, and to Italy. They were a great race; terrible in battle; daring in the face of dangers of every kind; destined to shine in peace as well as in war. But they fell upon mediæval civilization while it was yet in its cradle and seemed likely to destroy it. They contributed most powerfully to the destruction of the empire that Charlemagne had built up, and Egbert's England was unable to maintain itself against them. They passed round the north of Scotland and fell upon Ireland, and for long wrought havoc there. The east coasts of England were most exposed to the fury of their attack. Northumbria in her weakness was an easy prey, and the towns and monasteries from Edinburgh to the Humber told by their ruins of the destruction that the Danes had wrought.

The coming of the Northmen.

Wessex was a more strongly organized state, and offered a more stubborn resistance. But even Wessex suffered severely, and seemed likely to meet the same fate that had already fallen on Northumbria and Mercia. It was King Alfred who saved Wessex—Alfred who holds the title of Great without challenge—and he saved more than Wessex. He saved English civilization, and gave to early

King Alfred and the Danes.

mediæval history its purest ruler and one of its greatest. It is true that England was destined to fall under Danish rule; but the work of Alfred postponed that fate until the Danes were Christians and partially civilized, and were ready to accept and to extend much of the work that Alfred had accomplished. Alfred was the fourth son of Ethelwulf, who had succeeded Egbert. His three brothers had had short and troubled reigns when he succeeded to the throne in 871, at the age of twenty-three. He faced the hitherto unconquered foe with new methods and soon with great success. In 871 he with his brother fought against them seven times, and induced them to accept terms and withdraw. Alfred used the precious interval to reorganize the forces of Wessex. When the Danes attacked again in 878 they at first carried all before them, but then Alfred defeated them in the great battle of Edington. It is one of the most important battles in English history, and holds the place for us which the great struggle and final victory of Charlemagne against the Saxons holds in German history. Guthrun, the leader of the Danes, agreed to retire from Wessex and the south-west of England and withdraw into the north-east, where he would still occupy the country that had once been Mercia and Northumbria. Also, after the fashion of the time which seems so strange to the twentieth century, it was one of the conditions of the peace that he should accept Christian baptism. This treaty—usually known as the Treaty of Wedmore—marks the passing of the Danish peril in its worst form. It is true that the Danes still held more than half of England—which was known as the Danelaw—and that by this means the Danes soon invaded again, and, finding no Alfred to resist them, conquered the whole land. But the Danes of the second era of the invasions were Christianized, and in part civilized, and were not the peril to the soul of the nation that they were in Alfred's time.

The Treaty of Wedmore.

Alfred was much more than a successful fighter. He also organized the military and naval resources of Wessex as had never been done before. He built a navy, which consisted of better ships than those which the Danes had used. He rearranged the native militia—

Alfred's work.

the fyrd—so that there was always a force ready for action. The victories of the Danes had been due in a large measure to the unpreparedness of the English; but now for some time the power of aggression lay with the forces of Wessex. And yet Alfred's greatest claim to the praise of posterity is not to be found in the measures whereby he organized defence and victory. He stands supreme in his age for the value which he attached to education, to learning, and to religion. Even in this sketch we must not pass over in silence his labours for the better education of the clergy; his building and restoration of churches; his interest in voyages of discovery; above all, the impetus he gave to literature in English by the translation of Latin works into the native tongue, and the inception of the English Chronicle, which is henceforth the most precious authority for our history.

English victories over the Danes.

For nearly a century after Alfred's death in 899 the kings of Wessex carried his work forward. His son Edward pushed hard at the Danish power in Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria, and before his death in 924 he reigned over all the English population of the island. Then Athelstan, the son of Edward, defeated at Brunanburgh the effort of the Danes, in alliance with the Scots and the British, to recover their lost power. The next three reigns built higher the structure of English unity and power upon the basis of the authority of the royal house of Wessex. The glory of the house culminated in the reign of Edgar (959–975), which is almost as much the reign of Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury and later Archbishop of Canterbury.

Dunstan.

The close alliance of Church and monarchy, which had done so much for the Saxon house in Germany, which during Edgar's reign reached the dignity of the Holy Roman Empire (Otto the Great was crowned emperor in 962); and which a little later was to lay the foundations of the royal house of France (for we shall see how closely the fortunes of the house of Capet are linked with those of the Church); that alliance is seen at its best in the co-operation of Dunstan and Edgar. Dunstan was enthusiastic for the reformation of the monastic life of England by a return to the rule of Saint Benedict, but he worked

indefatigably also for the unity of the realm and the advancement of the house of Wessex.

Edgar died in 975. The year marks the end of a really glorious century in our annals, and we should recognize its importance more generally if it had not been followed by a period of great humiliation and disaster. The causes of the collapse of the Wessex monarchy are difficult to determine. No states were stable in the early Middle Ages. What was achieved was the work of an enlightened few. The peoples were not taken into partnership; their time was not yet. Nearly everything depended on a few individuals, and thus civilization suffered from that instability, which in later ages we associate with absolute monarchies.

The second Danish invasions.

Ethelred, known as the King of ill-counsel, came to his father's throne in 978, and reigned for thirty-eight years. A large measure of the disasters of the time must be ascribed to him, for he showed none of the great qualities that we associate with the house of Wessex. But we must recognize that he was faced by a more dangerous foe than any that England had known since Alfred's great victory. The Danes attacked again, and they attacked now not in isolated or loosely allied bands, but with the whole force of a compact nation behind them. Denmark and Norway had settled down into two strong kingdoms, and, a little later, King Canute ruled over both of them. This was one of the few occasions when it seemed that the Scandinavian race might really play a decisive part in the politics of Europe; but their union did not last long, and it was only a close union that could give their thin population a position of importance.

New organization of the Danes.

For the third time our island knew the horrors of a cruel invasion. What the English had inflicted upon the Britons, what they had already suffered once from the Danes, that they suffered now at the hands of King Sweyn and his son Canute. The advance of the Danes towards civilization and religion was at first hardly perceptible, for we read of indiscriminate slaughter and the murder of Alphege, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Yet we must say in fairness that the Danish

cruelties are partly explained by a massacre of the Danes of England which had been brutally and foolishly ordered by Ethelred.

On Ethelred's death his son Edmund Ironside fought for a year with great valour against the Danish king, Canute. It seemed that again, as in Alfred's day, England would be divided between the English and the Danes. But Edmund died, and in 1017 Canute became king of all the English. The country accepted him without resistance. There was as yet very little national feeling. Canute's military power was already known, and soon he showed himself a wise and humane ruler.

King Canute.

Canute ruled over Norway, Denmark, and England. The Emperors had a wider territory, but did not at this time possess so powerful a military and naval force. Canute hoped to establish a great empire in his family. It was the size of his dominions, and the frequent journeys it entailed, which led to an important feature in his method of government. He made no attempt to overthrow the political sytsem of England nor to subordinate it to Denmark; but he gave its great divisions, Northumbria, East Anglia, Mercia, and at last Wessex, into the hands of great rulers who represented in their districts the royal power and were called Earls. It was probably wise and even necessary to decentralize power, but these great earldoms proved a great danger to the unity of the English nation, and led to the division of the forces of England, when the Norman William invaded our shores.

The new Earls.

We must go forward to that invasion without more than a glance at the years which intervened between the death of Canute in 1035 and the battle of Hastings in 1066. The newly founded Danish power proved even more unstable than the Wessex monarchy. There was civil war at the death of Canute, and the division of his wide kingdom deprived it of its power of compelling obedience. The great Earls that Canute had established, and especially Godwin, Earl of Wessex, exercised a powerful influence. It was chiefly through the influence of Godwin that in 1012 Edward the Confessor, the son of Ethelred

Weakness of the government.

the Unready, was made king. He had no children, and was interested more in religion than in politics. The question of the succession was in men's minds during the whole of his reign.

The claimants to the succession.

There were many claimants for the prize, and their chances seemed not unevenly balanced. Edmund Ironside had left children; the royal house of Denmark naturally desired to take up the inheritance of Canute; Godwin, Earl of Wessex, and his son Harold clearly hoped to rise to the throne, and their vigour and pure English blood gave them some right to hope. But beyond the English Channel, in Normandy, there had grown up, as we shall see in Chapter XIII., a vigorous power closely akin to that of the Danes but called Norman, nominally subordinate to the French king, but really independent, and now in the hands of William, soon to be known as the Conqueror. He could make out some sort of a claim to the English throne. The Confessor's mother was a Norman, and William asserted that the Confessor had promised to bequeath him the English Crown. A doubtful story was told that Harold, son of Godwin, had promised his support. It was at any rate undeniable that William was a fine and successful soldier, backed by a race as brave as the kindred Danes, but, owing to their long contact with the French, much more skilful in the arts of life and government. Why should not he win the English Crown as Canute had done?

The Norman conquest of England.

The crisis came with the death of Edward the Confessor in 1066. Harold, the son of Godwin, was chosen and crowned king. He knew that he would have to fight hard for his crown. First the Danish king, Harold Hardrada, descended upon Yorkshire. King Harold, with the English army, marched north and defeated him at Stamford Bridge, near York. Whilst he was in the north news came that William the Norman had landed in Sussex. Harold came south with what speed he could. On October 14, 1066, the battle of Hastings was fought. William the Norman was henceforth William the Conqueror, and soon King of England.

IV

We have seen how the Romans, the English, the Danes, and the Normans had in turn conquered our island. Since 1066 we have been more free than any country in Europe from foreign invasion. Very rarely has any foreign force landed: none has left any important or permanent traces on our development. The genius of the Norman and the sound organization of the native population are jointly responsible for this happy result.

William clearly saw the dangers that would threaten his power. These came from two sides. The English would long resent the victory of the foreigner, and would try by various expedients to overthrow him. On the other hand, William would have trouble from his own barons. They had followed him in a spirit of ambition and adventure. They had been promised estates from the conquered lands. William well knew from his experiences in Normandy—and from his own unruly behaviour towards his overlord the King of France—how rebellious was the temper of the race, and how ready they would be to resist the action of his government. It is strange that the second danger proved much more serious than the first. There were risings of the English, but they were never more than local and they were easily beaten down. Soon the English became reconciled to the new order of things, and this reconciliation is the basis on which the mediæval power of England rests.

William the Conqueror.

To explain this feature we must remember that the country had undergone many invasions, and that William's rule must have seemed almost a continuation of that of Canute and the Danish dynasty. National feeling was very little developed. If the new government was strong, if it secured order and promoted the prosperity of the country, the English would not resent the use of the Norman tongue in their rulers more than they had resented the use of Danish. King William took care not to offend the English unnecessarily. His treatment of them offers many analogies with that of Canute. New institutions were introduced; old ones were modified; the estates of the nobles were

The submission of the English.

confiscated; but the life of the ordinary man went on in much the old way. The national militia (the fyrd) was carefully preserved: the old courts were maintained. Everywhere, at first, Normans were supreme. But they had not come in sufficient numbers really to permeate English life. These proud conquerors showed, moreover, a curious willingness to accept the life and the ways and the language of the English among whom they lived: in much the same way as the Normans had accepted already much of the language and the culture of France, and later would blend with the Italians and the Sicilians and the Irish.

William's difficulties with the barons.

Far greater were the difficulties presented by the Norman barons who came over with William. The victory of the Normans gave a great impulse to the institutions of feudalism. There was already a strong trend in that direction, for feudalism was not a system of life and government, imposed from above, but rather the shape into which social and political life naturally fell, when the land was the only source of wealth and the central government was too weak to enforce its will against the great owners of land. Even before the Conquest, therefore, we can see some signs of the identification of sovereignty with the ownership of land; of the holding of land on condition of military service; of the small freeman sinking towards the condition of serfdom. But after the Conquest what had been vague and spontaneous became definite and systematic. Most of the English landowners were dispossessed of their lands, and these were transferred to Normans who were already well accustomed to the ideas and practices of feudalism. This rendered the transition to the new state of things much easier. The great lords, who were now usually called barons, held of the king and were tenants-in-chief; they granted out such part of their lands as they did not care to manage themselves to others, who were vassals or sub-tenants. At the bottom of the social scale were men of various titles, but all tending to fall into the condition of serfdom. Now, according to the conditions of continental feudalism, each tenant gave his superior military service and was bound to follow his call to battle, as well as to submit all law cases

Development of feudalism.

in which he was concerned to be tried in his feudal superior's courts. Thus each baron was a little sovereign, and fell little short of the powers of a sovereign state. Hence came the anarchy of feudalism, and the difficulty of establishing a stable government in a thoroughly feudalized state.

The repression of feudal anarchy.

It was the great triumph of William that he managed to avoid this. He did not suffer at the hands of his barons what the King of France had suffered at his own. By what measures did he win this notable success? First, as we have seen, he maintained and encouraged the military organization of the English and their separate judicial courts. Next, in the division of the conquered lands he kept for the Crown so great a territory that his superiority over any of his barons was beyond challenge. Further, he avoided the massing of the lands of any particular Norman baron in one part of the country. His lands, on the contrary, were given him in parcels that were scattered in different parts of England. It will be seen at once how much this weakened the barons for attack and defence, and how it prevented them from becoming the representatives of the old local feeling of Mercia or East Anglia or any other part of England. It was only when the Welsh or the Scotch threatened the newly won territories of William that greater powers were given to certain barons by the establishment of certain counties palatine, in which the barons were granted large military and judicial powers. Such were Chester and Durham among others.

Domesday Book.

These were the general administrative arrangements of the great conqueror. Two more specific acts must be mentioned which also tended to the control of the barons. In 1085 the inquiry into the condition of England was held, the results of which are known as Domesday Book. "So narrowly did he cause the survey to be made that there was not a single rood of land, nor was there an ox or a cow or a pig passed by that was not set down in his book." The great census was intended primarily for purposes of taxation, but it contributed in many ways to the strengthening of the Government. We know how essential the careful drawing up of statistics is to the efficient action of a modern government.

Then, in 1086, came the Moot and Oath of Salisbury. This cut deep into the traditions of feudalism, as known and practised on the Continent. It was the very basis of that system that a man must follow his feudal lord into the field against all comers. If a baron were at war with his king it was the recognized duty of the baron's tenants—a duty which the king himself would recognize—to fight against the king. But henceforth it should not be so in England. At Salisbury "all the land-owning men there were over all England" sware oaths of fealty to the king, whether they were tenants-in-chief or sub-tenants to any degree of sub-infeudation. Now, in case of a struggle between the king and his barons they were bound to follow the king, not their own feudal superior, and, if they broke their oath, the law had the heaviest penalties, of confiscation and death, against those who rebelled and failed.

The Moot of Salisbury.

William found, too, a valuable ally in the Church, which, as we have seen, was at this time gathering great strength from the Cluniac revival and the policy of Hildebrand. The papacy had supported William in his attack on England, and after his victory the ritual, the architecture, and the government of the Church were brought into harmony with what was usual in Normandy. Lanfranc, Prior of the Abbey of Bec, in Normandy, was made Archbishop of Canterbury, the Church was given separate ecclesiastical courts, and henceforth for a long time was reckoned one of the main supports of the English Crown.

The Conqueror and the Church.

The constitutional life of England is continuous beyond that of any country in Europe. It is therefore interesting to note, even in 1066, the early form of that institution which was to be the greatest of all parliaments and the model of most of them. In the pre-Conquest days there had been a council, called the Witan or Witenagemot, the assembly of wise men, without whose concurrence the king rarely performed any important act. It consisted of the nobles of the king and of the bishops. The Witenagemot of Edward the Confessor became the Great Council of William the Conqueror, for, as we have seen, the new king was conservative of the old forms. But now

Continuity of the English constitution.

there were called to this Great Council all the king's tenants-in-chief, including the great ecclesiastics who held their lands from him. It might thus have become a large and unwieldy body. But the poorer tenants-in-chief found it difficult to attend, and political power was not much desired at that time. In practice the Great Council consisted of the bishops, the great abbots, and the wealthy landowners of England.

CHAPTER XIII

The Rise of the French Monarchy

France, the successor of the Empire

WE have followed the struggle between the papacy and the empire in order to bring into clearness the central thread of mediæval history. But while emperors and popes were struggling with one another, and Germany and Italy were suffering or profiting by their rivalry, great things were happening elsewhere in Europe. In England the unity of the nation had been achieved at an early date, and the country was advancing steadily towards strength and influence. In Spain, the contest which was to endure for centuries between the Mahomedan and the Christian powers, was in progress, and at last the scales began to incline in favour of the Christians. But the most important thing for European history was the development of the power and of the monarchy of France; for when the empire failed with Conradino, and the popes seemed to have won a final victory over their great antagonist, it was France which stepped into the position of Germany as the leading power in Europe; it was France which inherited the quarrel of the emperors against the popes; it was France which inflicted upon the papacy a terrible and irretrievable blow and revenged Frederick II. and Frederick Barbarossa. We now go back therefore three centuries in order to see what was happening west of the Rhine and Rhone, and specially what was the condition of things by the banks of the Seine.

We have seen that what we call France had formed part of the territories of Charles the Great; we have seen, too, how

at the Treaty of Verdun in 843, in the triple division of the territories of the great Charles, the district to the west of the Rhine and Rhone for the first time formed a kingdom by itself. We may say that the existence of France dates from the year 843, but for a century and a half its history is a troubled one.

France after the treaty of Verdun.

It had suffered much more than the eastern half of Frankland from the attacks of the Northmen and of the Saracens, and the central government proved utterly incapable of maintaining the defence of the land. More completely, therefore, even than in Germany, feudalism developed unchecked. The central Government counted for little: the one all-important force in the country was that of the great landowners with their tenants and retainers grouped round them. The attacks of the Normans provide us with the chief thread which conducts us through this tangled, dreary period. In 885 they laid siege to the city of Paris itself, and the city would have fallen if its fate had depended only upon the energy of the king. But what the king failed to do, a great nobleman succeeded in doing. Odo, Count of Paris, drove off the enemy, and for this service he was shortly afterwards elected king. In 911 the Norman invasions were practically brought to an end by the cession of the rich territory which lay either side of the lower course of the Seine to the terrible invaders. This district is henceforth known as Normandy, and the dukes of Normandy, though they ruled in their duchy as practically independent powers, nevertheless recognized the kings of France as having a vague feudal pre-eminence over them. But again for many years after this, the history of the monarchy of France shows us nothing but weakness, and the kings were little more than the titular heads of the State. Side by side with the kings of France were the great nobles of whom the chief were the rulers of Flanders, Champagne, Normandy, Burgundy, Aquitaine and Toulouse; and each of these men seems to possess a power equal to that of the king, and it seemed little likely that the royal power would ever succeed in reducing them to subjection.

The settlement of Normandy, 911.

A great event—or rather an event which ultimately produced a great consequence—came in 987. In that year, Hugh

Capet was appointed king. He had previously been ruler of Paris and the surrounding region, and possessed a feudal territory which was not one of the largest, but was compact and strong. All the kings of France, from this time until France had no kings at all, were descendants from this prince. Yet at the time there seemed little to show that a new era had begun. The significance of the event lies in the fact that between Hugh Capet and the Church there was a close alliance. When a century later the Church fought against the empire, it was at the same time throwing all its weight upon the side of the new King of France. And then, next, Hugh Capet was himself an important and powerful feudal chief. It was therein that his power lay, not in his empty royal title. But he and his successors put his feudal power at the service of the crown, and little by little the authority of the crown was advanced until the feudal chieftains were beaten down, and the monarchy was made the one supreme institution without rival and almost without check, in the whole land. That is the great fact in the political history of France, and must be looked at a little further. Hugh Capet, at his election, possessed certain territories lying between the Somme and the Loire, and containing the important cities of Paris and Orleans. Over these he ruled directly; these were, in the language of the time, his "demesne." Outside of this demesne, the great nobles had their estates over which they ruled with almost absolute power, while they gave to the king only a very limited obedience and rendered him occasional service. During the course of the next three centuries the kings of France, by various means extended the royal demesne and encroached upon the feudal territories of the nobles until the whole of France was royal demesne, and there were no real feudal nobles left in the old sense of the word; all Frenchmen thus became in a real sense the subjects of the kings, and the nobles, though they retained their old wealth and much of their old possessions, were, nevertheless, without question, subjected to the royal authority. It is a long road that will lead us to this goal, but it will help

Accession of Hugh Capet.

Its importance.

The French monarchy and feudalism.

us to understand the road if we realize clearly what the goal will be.

The first king in whose reign we see clearly the development of the monarchy, is Philip I. (1060–1108). Two events during the course of this long reign contributed indirectly to the advance of the crown. First, in 1066, William, Duke of Normandy, the dangerous neighbour and the most powerful subject of the kings of France, invaded and conquered England. This conquest, no doubt, enormously increased William's importance, but it also removed the centre of his power away from France across the Channel; and though it made him for a time, an even more dangerous neighbour, it ultimately made possible the absorption of his French possessions in the royal demesne. Next, in 1095, the first crusade was preached at Clermont, and a vast force poured out by various routes to the Holy Land. In this first crusade the French played by far the most important part, and the King of France saw a large number of his most powerful and unruly subjects depart, many of them never to return, and their absence allowed him thus to strengthen his position against that of the feudal leaders.

Philip I.

Norman Conquest of England.

The First Crusade.

We may pass over the next reign and come to that of Louis VII. (1137–1180). It is in externals a somewhat inglorious and even unfortunate reign. He was unwise enough to join in the second crusade, and it brought upon him nothing but defeat and loss, and apparently more serious loss came upon him in France itself. He had married, by his father's arrangement, Eleanor of Aquitaine, the heiress of the greatest of the feudal powers of the south of France, and it seemed that in this way a vast and permanent addition had been made to the royal territories. But then there came a quarrel between the King and Queen, and Louis VII. persisted in getting the marriage dissolved on the ground that he was related to his wife "within the prohibited degrees." The territories of Aquitaine were thus for the time lost to the crown, which was bad, but it was worse that after the divorce, Eleanor of Aquitaine was married to

Louis VII. and Aquitaine.

Henry II. marries Eleanor of Aquitaine.

Henry II., the great King of England. Henry was already possessed of the territories of Normandy and Anjou, and he now came into possession of those of Aquitaine, and thus possessed a power in France very much larger, and apparently very much stronger than that which yielded direct allegiance to the King of France himself, though it must be remembered that for all his lands in France, Henry II. yielded a nominal allegiance to the French king. But though the French crown made no external progress in the reign of Louis VII., those forces were already maturing which were ultimately to give the crown its great triumph. Briefly, these are the points to be noted: the machinery of Government was more carefully organized than it had been; all authority centred in the royal court which came now to consist not merely of great nobles, but of ecclesiastics and lawyers who rendered the king unquestioning service. At the same time, there was springing up upon the royal demesne a large number of new towns (*villes neuves*) which were peopled by traders, and often by serfs who found there refuge from the tyranny of ecclesiastical or feudal masters. Both these tendencies were developed much further at a later time. We need only point out that in the reign of Louis VII. the crown was already in close alliance with the Church and the middle classes, and it is on these supports that it was ultimately carried forward to victory.

Philip Augustus.

Louis VII. was succeeded in 1180 by Philip II., who is usually known as Philip Augustus, and mediæval France owed probably more to him than to any other of her rulers. He enormously added to the royal demesne as the result of a series of wars. The great territory that had been built up by Henry II. of England was ruled by his weak son John, and Philip fought against John with success. We need only recall how Normandy was overrun by the French, and how, in 1214, when John joined himself with the emperor

Battle of Bouvines, 1214.

Otto IV., Philip Augustus found a warm supporter in the papacy, and gained against his enemies the decisive battle of Bouvines. There are few more important battles in European history than this; it gave the Imperial crown to Frederick II., whose career we have already

noted; it gave England Magna Charta; and it assured to the French crown the possession of the Norman and Angevin territories of the English royal house. But Philip II. gained other victories only a little less important than this. In the north and in the east, as well as in the west and centre, by conquest and inheritance large territories were annexed by the crown. Whereas the King of France, a few years before, had seemed only to be one and perhaps not the most powerful among a number of feudal chiefs, the kings were now by their own personal possessions in a position to struggle with success against all feudal rivalries.

But while the territory of the crown increased, the machinery of Government was also skilfully elaborated. The alliance with the Church was maintained in spite of sharp friction at certain periods, and the alliance with the middle classes was carried still further. No king of France ever gave charters to so many towns as Philip Augustus; he encouraged trading associations and allowed a certain measure of self-government. Paris itself was by far the greatest of the towns of France, and in size, in wealth, and in importance it gained immensely from the policy of Philip Augustus. But further, Philip gave the crown of France the weapons by which its future conquests were to be won; for he gave it regular officials; he gave it money; he gave it an efficient army. The regular officials were dependent upon the royal court, and were only a development of what had gone before, but the development was a large one; the nobility were pushed away from the service of the crown, which chose its chief agents among men of the middle classes. New officials known as *baillis* were sent down into the provinces of the royal demesne there to represent the royal authority, and to maintain it against all rivals. The king, too, secured a full exchequer, partly through the vast extension of the royal demesne which we have already noticed, partly by substituting direct payment for various feudal services. The Jews, too, were patronised, and had to pay for the royal patronage, and means were found of inducing the clergy themselves to contribute. The army which Philip

Encouragement of the middle class.

The new royal officials.

New sources of revenue.

used was not, as a rule, the usual feudal levy. He formed an army of men directly recruited and directly paid by himself, which was far more trustworthy than the forces contributed by his feudal dependents could possibly be. A French writer has thus summed up the great success of his reign:—"The royal demesne was stretched up to the frontiers of the realm. The royal authority was enforced up to those frontiers. Victory had been won against feudalism, England and the empire combined. The dynasty had been established upon solid foundations. France had been founded."

The new royal army.

After Philip, his son Louis VIII. reigned for three years, and then in 1226 his grandson, Louis IX., succeeded and reigned until 1270. Louis IX. is usually and rightly known as Saint Louis, and we see in him a type of mediæval catholicism at its very best. He may, indeed, be compared to St. Francis, though the one sat upon the most powerful throne in Europe, and the other was pledged to the life of a beggar. In both of them the influence of religion was paramount, and was allowed to guide their every action, without discussion and without resistance. St. Louis devoted a large part of every day to the services of the Church; he refused fine apparel, and rich living; he rejoiced in performing the most menial occupations, provided that the Church enjoined them. Especially, he was often known to wash the feet of beggars, and of the sick, nor did he shrink from them though they were covered with loathsome and dangerous sores. But the religious life in him was associated with great sweetness, joy, and humanity. He is not indeed free from that taint of religious persecution which is the dark shadow thrown by the Catholic Church throughout the whole period of its domination; but there is less of the persecuting spirit in him than in almost any other prominent religious figure of the Middle Ages, and the beauty of his character and of his life was the best recommendation of the faith in which he so ardently believed. It is important to notice, however, that the saintliness of St. Louis did not prevent him from being really a great ruler. He was anxious

Louis IX. (Saint Louis).

His character.

Statesmanship of Saint Louis.

to be just to all men; he was especially anxious to serve the best interests of the Church; but he was equally determined that others should yield its just rights to the crown, and he would not permit the Church itself to encroach upon what he believed to be his own rightful prerogative. He was anxious to convince the feudal nobles of France, that their privileges would be safe from any encroachment at his hands. But when, in 1242, the great nobles of Flanders, Brittany, Burgundy, Gascony, and Languedoc joined in an attempt to overthrow him, they found in him a vigorous and determined antagonist, and they were overthrown at the battle of Saintes. This has been taken by some as marking the final overthrow of French feudalism; never again was there any noble in France who could treat with the crown on terms of equality, and although the crown had in future much trouble and contention with its nobles, their resistance never again rested upon the old feudal basis, nor was it ever again likely to secure a decided advantage. He showed, too, a good deal of independence in his dealings with the papacy, and was unwilling to sacrifice anything of the royal power. The most serious charge against him in this relation is that he introduced the Inquisition into France, for he was as anxious as the popes themselves to repress and extirpate heresy, and the Inquisition was destined to have an evil influence not only upon the lives and thoughts of Frenchmen, but also upon the organization and the law of the monarchy of France. He became recognized as distinctly the first power in Europe. He was appealed to during the course of the Barons' War in England to decide between the combatants, and no one disputed the honesty of his verdict, though it failed to establish a durable peace. We have already seen how, towards the end of his reign, his brother Charles of Anjou became King of Sicily and Naples, and though he was in this position quite independent of France, his promotion no doubt tended to raise the prestige of the French Crown.

Overthrow of feudalism.

The Inquisition in France.

One division of the activity of the king will be noted in another chapter. He was the last of the genuine crusaders. Twice he went on crusading expeditions; on the first occasion

he landed in Egypt, and after an early success, suffered a complete overthrow. On the second occasion he embarked upon an unwise expedition against Tunis, and upon his arrival there, perished from plague with a large portion of his army.

Crusade of Saint Louis.

It is important to follow the development of the constitutional machinery of France during his reign. It was, indeed, St. Louis who created the engine of government which was to be used by his grandson Philip IV., to establish what may fairly be called tyranny in France, and to humiliate the papacy for which St. Louis held so profound a veneration. Again, we must note that the king's court is the all-important power. The free institutions which existed in France were of little importance, nor were they destined to anything like the development which ultimately created parliamentary government in England. We have already seen how the king's court had driven out or subordinated the feudal nobles, and was formed chiefly of clerks and lawyers. In the time of St. Louis we see the king's court adopting a special formation for dealing with special subjects. We begin to see the establishment of a Royal Council for the consideration of foreign affairs and general policy. We see quite distinctly a Chamber of Accounts, which was technically the king's court acting for financial purposes, and which contained those members of the king's court who had special knowledge or aptitude. More important still, we see in this reign the clear beginnings of the Parlement. This was, to begin with, another phase of the royal court, and it consisted of those members of the court who were specially suited for judicial work. The Parlement was divided into various chambers, but its organization need not here be considered in detail. It is enough to see in it a great royal court of justice, and to note that legislation, which we connect so closely with the English parliament, was no part of the duties of the parlement of Paris. It acted as a court of appeal for all within the royal demesne. More important still, it acted as an instrument for maintaining the rights of the crown against the claims of the feudal nobles, and even

The new Monarchy.

The Parlement of Paris.

Its work.

for encroaching upon the privileges of the nobles in the interests of the crown. It was maintained that a large number of the cases which hitherto had fallen within the competence of the feudal courts really belonged to the king's courts; they were claimed as royal cases (*cas royaux*), and as such were taken away from feudal courts and brought before the Parlement. In all early history, judicial procedure is one of the chief agencies of government. In England the itinerant judges of Henry I. and Henry II. were specially organized for the maintenance of the rights of the crown: this function was performed in France by the Parlement. It holds a very high place among those forces which overthrew feudalism and established the monarchy as the one supreme and unrivalled institution in France.

During the reign of St. Louis a process was nearly completed whereby a vast territory of the utmost value came into the hands of the crown. To understand this, we must go back for a moment, and in a few sentences sketch one of the most interesting episodes of the thirteenth century.

Religious condition of Southern France.

The south of France was one of the richest and most cultivated territories in Europe; it was the home of poetry and of the Troubadours; its towns were rich and flourishing, and the castles of the great and small nobles were centres of refinement, of luxury, and sometimes of vice. In this district, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, religious movements of a strange kind had made their appearance on the western slopes of the Alps, and in what is called Provence. The movement that was strongest in the east was that of the Waldensians, who advocated a return to primitive Christianity, and protested against many of the doctrines as well as against the pomp and ceremony of the Catholic Church. Further to the west, round the city of Toulouse, in the district that was known as Languedoc, those views of religion and life were to be found which are usually known as Albigensian, from the little town of Albi. Under this one name, several varieties of view were included. It seems that the germs of these heresies had been brought by various channels from the East, and that for the

The Albigensian movements.

most part the heretics asserted the existence, not of a single God, but of two rival and almost equal powers of good and evil. Various practical consequences were deduced from this. Some held that a life of the strictest morality was necessary for them; others found in these views an excuse for plunging into every kind of vice. The great power in Languedoc was Raymond, Count of Toulouse, who lived in great splendour, but with a license that reminded men of what was to be found among Mahomedan rulers. His own views were indefinite; he declared himself later a convinced adherent of the Catholic Church; but certainly the heretics found favour at his Court.

The Albigensian crusade.

The matter was brought to a head in 1208 by the murder of a papal emissary called Peter de Castelnau. Innocent III., the reigning Pope, preached a crusade against the heretics of Languedoc, and declared that those who fought against them would enjoy the same privileges as if they went to the Holy Land. The chief agent in this crusade was Simon de Montfort, the father of the man who played such a conspicuous part in the foundation of English parliamentary institutions. Under his guidance the crusade assumed features of horrible barbarity. We read of towns that were wholly destroyed without regard to guilt or innocence, age or sex; we read of the ferocious crusaders preparing for their work of indiscriminate bloodshed by the singing of hymns to the Holy Ghost. The Count of Toulouse was unable to resist the armies that poured in upon his lands, and even after he procured the alliance of his neighbour, the King of Aragon, it fared no better with him. The battle of Muret in 1213 took from him his last hope of victory.

Battle of Muret, 1213.

The gains of the French Monarchy in the South of France.

The crusade had been directed against the Count of Toulouse who was a feudal subject of the King of France, but the King of France had played no part in it; the moving force has come from the Pope, Innocent III., and in justice to him it must be said that he had in the end protested, though in vain, against the bloodshed and the torture that were employed. But though the King of France took no part in the war at first, it was to him that all the profit came. The

French monarch had become so great that when any feudal power within the frontiers of France was broken up, the fragments were inevitably drawn into the orbit of the greater power. The chief stages whereby the territories of Toulouse became the demesne of the Crown of France are as follows: Simon de Montfort died in 1218, having seized the lands of the Count of Toulouse and introduced into them the northern nobles who had followed him in the war. But soon the population, exasperated by the oppressive rule of men whom they regarded as foreigners, rose in rebellion on behalf of the son of the Count of Toulouse; and the war entered on a second phase. Amaury de Montfort, Simon's son, conscious of his inability to hold the lands which his father had won, ceded them to the King of France, Louis VIII., who succeeded Philip Augustus, in 1223. The war then became clearly one for the acquisition of a vast territory by the French Crown. Louis VIII. died before the end was reached; but in 1229 Blanche of Castille concluded on behalf of her son Louis IX. the treaty of Meaux (1229). By this treaty it was arranged that certain rich territories immediately to the west of the Rhone were to come at once into the hands of the king. It was further arranged that the daughter of the Count of Toulouse, his only child and heiress, should be married to the brother of the French king. When he died in 1247 without heir, the whole of these rich territories came into the royal possession, which consequently stretched continuously from the German Ocean to the Mediterranean.

Toulouse added to the royal demesne.

France is peculiarly rich in histories in which a single author has told the whole story of the land from the beginning to the present day. The chief of these are those by Martin, Michelet, Sismondi, Dareste. All these are in many volumes: the short and brilliant history of Lavallée (six smaller volumes) deserves mention. All earlier histories of France have been to some extent superseded by a series of volumes, written by various authors under the direction of Lavisse. Hutton's *Philip Augustus*, and Perry's *Saint Louis*, are short and useful biographies. The *Life of Saint Louis*, by Joinville, is an interesting chronicle, and has often been translated. Tout's *Empire and Papacy* is valuable for French history. The institutions of France may be studied in Gasquet's *Institutions Politiques de la France*. The best histories of France in English are those by Kitchin (3 vols.), and an excellent summary by W. H. Jarvis, revised by Hassall, called the *Student's France*.

CHAPTER XIV

The Catastrophe of the Mediæval Church

We have seen how victory crowned the struggle of the popes against the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. Henry IV., Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II. had all suffered humiliation at the hands of the papacy; the descendants of Frederick II. had been defeated, and the race extinguished, and the rich territories of Naples and Sicily had passed by papal grant into the hands of a French prince. Now we have to see how, shortly after this crowning triumph, the papacy came to blows with the royal house of France to which it was bound by so many mutual services, and how in this struggle it suffered a sudden and irretrievable disaster.

The papacy and the French monarchy.

In this new struggle the papacy found itself without effective friends of any kind. Germany lay prostrate and divided, incapable of effort as a whole, and not likely to render services to a power from which it had suffered so much. Not much was to be expected from the French house which had received at the Pope's hands the south of Italy and Sicily; for Sicily, exasperated by the oppression of the French, had risen against them, massacred a great number of them in what is known as the Sicilian Vespers, and transferred the crown to the house of Aragon (1282). The cities of Italy which had served the Pope so well in the past saw no longer any reason to continue their alliance, now that all danger from the emperors had disappeared. Further, it seems plain that at the beginning of the fourteenth century there was a decline in religious enthusiasm and in devotion to the papacy. There was no new monastic movement, no new mendicant order: the old monasteries were inert and the orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans were weakened by internal quarrels, and had fallen away from their early ideals. The use which the popes

Condition of Italy after 1270.

had made of spiritual weapons, such as excommunication, interdict, and the preaching of crusades, for purposes of private gain, or even of personal revenge, had certainly weakened the influence and blunted the edge of those weapons.

At the end of the thirteenth century the papal throne was occupied by one who maintained the claims of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. to the utmost. This was Pope Boniface VIII. who came to the papal throne in 1294. Before his election he was thought to be a friend of France, but after his election he pursued the aggrandizement of the Catholic Church, and consequently his own, without regard to former connections. He maintained the claims of the papacy to superiority over all crowned heads in the most direct way. "God has established us above all kings and emperors that we may in His name pull up and destroy, bring to nothing and disperse, or build and plant." Such were the words that he used in 1301, and later, in a more famous Bull, he declared that to the papacy were to be applied the words of the prophet: "I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms." He declared that if the earthly power erred it was to be judged by the spiritual power, but if the spiritual power erred it could be judged by God alone. In 1300 there was held a great Jubilee at Rome, and an immense influx of people thronged into the Eternal City. The Pope seems to have been carried away by the enthusiasm which was displayed. He is said to have claimed that he possessed the two swords—that is, the temporal power as well as the spiritual—and to have presented himself to the people in the robes both of emperor and of pope. Such a man holding such views was bound to come into conflict with the temporal powers of Europe in proportion to their strength. It was inevitable, therefore, that he should soon find across his path the royal house of France, hitherto the strongest supporter of the Catholic Church, but now, since the overthrow of the house of Hohenstaufen, the occupant of the leading position in Europe.

Pope Boniface VIII.

Philip IV. came to the throne of France in 1285. The policy of his reign was throughout vigorous, unscrupulous, and cruel; especially it attacked the Pope with a direct brutality

such as had never before been shown in the history of the Church. But we know little of the character of the king himself, and his actions seem to have been guided by his chief ministers. Of these the most important are, Pierre Flotte for the early part of the reign, and Nogaret for the later part. These men were both of the middle class, separated from the feudal aristocracy by birth and by interest, but well-versed in those principles of Roman law which had now come into such vogue, and which declared the authority of the king to be supreme above all rivals. The reign of Philip IV. in France has some close analogies with that of Henry VIII. in England, and Flotte and Nogaret have a certain similarity to the agents of the Tudor monarchy—to Empson and Dudley, and, above all, to Thomas Cromwell. The influence of Roman Law was doubtless one of the strongest forces during the whole reign. Another was the need of money. The machinery of the monarchy had much developed of late, it was requiring a larger income, and this necessitated a heavier taxation. In his anxiety the king had recourse to the dangerous and dishonest expedient of debasing the coinage, and of issuing gold and silver coins containing less of the precious metal than they professed to contain.

Philip IV. King of France.

The chief semi-independent feudal powers which were now left in France were, Brittany, Guienne, and Flanders. It was the last which especially attracted the envious eyes of the king. It was a land rich in manufactures, full of towns bursting with industrial and political activity, almost independent in the management of their affairs, and beginning already to distinguish themselves in the domain of art. The cities of Flanders and the Netherlands were for northern Europe what the communes of Italy were for the south; and the kings of France were destined to find in Bruges and Ghent an antagonism as serious as the Emperor Frederick I. had found in Milan and Brescia. A quarrel with the Count of Flanders arising out of the French king's need of money led to war, and in 1300 the Count yielded before an invasion of the royal armies, and all Flanders was for the moment annexed to the royal demesne. But the citizens of Flanders soon found their municipal liberties

Flanders and its Count.

and activities curtailed or repressed by the royal authority; they were not accustomed to yield obedience to any one, and in 1302 an insurrection came, not of the Count, but of the people against the royal authority. The royal army marched into Flanders, confident of its power to overwhelm the burghers who had so daringly challenged it. They found the Flemish army drawn up near Courtrai, and with rash confidence the French knights spurred forward to the attack. The commons of Flanders had, however, skilfully protected their position by a canal, and in the confused struggle which followed, the chivalry of France suffered an entire defeat. Pierre Flotte was himself among the slain. For the moment, Flanders was abandoned: later, another French army was collected, the country was invaded and the honour of the French armies was to some extent avenged at the battle of Mons-en-Puelle. But the resistance of Flanders was far from broken, and the king accepted a peace, whereby the greater part of Flanders remained independent under the nominal rule of its Count, though a small stretch in the south passed into the hands of the French king.

Revolt of Flanders after annexation.

Battle of Courtrai (1302).

Final arrangement with Flanders.

While the war with Flanders was in progress, the king was already engaged in a more important conflict with the Pope. Its first stage was in 1299, when in answer to an attempt of the king to tax the clergy of France, the Pope issued a Bull known as *clericis laicos*, forbidding the clergy to pay taxes to any lay power. The king or his ministers answered the Bull by refusing to allow any money to pass out from France into Italy; the Pope was thus deprived of valuable revenues from the Church in France, and soon withdrew from the position which he had taken up and made peace with the French king.

The Bull "clericis laicos."

The struggle was renewed before long. Some sort of struggle was unavoidable between popes who thought as Boniface VIII., and kings who possessed the power and pursued the ends of Philip IV. of France. The next phase in the struggle is connected with Bernard, Bishop of Pamiers. He was opposed to the new ecclesiastical arrangements which had been made in

The question of the trial of the Bishop of Pamiers.

the south of France in consequence of the annexation of Toulouse, and especially he was at variance with the new Bishop of Toulouse. He was accused of plotting against the life of Philip IV., was arrested, and was placed upon his trial.

The methods of Nogaret.

We see here, and in all the events that followed, the hand of the king's chief minister, Nogaret, who was skilful and wholly unscrupulous in poisoning public opinion by bringing charges of the foulest kind against those whom he wished to destroy. So constantly did he pursue this plan, not only with regard to the Bishop Bernard, but later with regard to the Pope, and later still with regard to the Templars, that it is impossible to distinguish truth from falsehood, and it is wise to suspect the foundation on which the wild charges of the time rested.

The great quarrel with the papacy.

The Pope demanded that Bishop Bernard should be tried in Rome, and declared that the lay courts had no jurisdiction over an ecclesiastic. The legal question at issue was the same as that which had thrown England into confusion in the reign of Henry II., when Thomas Becket claimed for all clerics immunity from the ordinary courts of the realm. Fierce papal Bulls were met by fierce answers from the side of the king and his agents, and in 1299 the Pope in his Bull *Unam sanctam*, declared that it was "altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff." It was a contest not unlike that between Henry IV. and Gregory VII., but it was to be waged in a much fiercer mood, and by different weapons, and was to be brought to a different issue. Nogaret devised a plan of the greatest daring. He proposed to enter into relations with the Pope's private enemies in and near Rome, to attack the Pope himself and gain possession of his person, to bring him as a criminal before a general council which the King of France was to summon, and thus to force the papacy to recede from the position which it had taken up with regard to its authority over secular powers. In pursuit of this plan, in the year 1303, Nogaret joined the retainers of the Colonnas in Rome. The Pope was in his castle at Anagni, a few miles out of Rome. Nogaret and the Colonnas penetrated with an armed force

into the town and forced their way into the Pope's presence, A contemporary Italian chronicler thus describes the scene: "Pope Boniface hearing the uproar and seeing himself forsaken by all his cardinals . . . caused himself to be robed in the mantle of Saint Peter and, with the crown of Constantine on his head, and with the keys and the cross in his hand, he seated himself upon the papal chair. And when Colonna and the others, his enemies, came to him, they mocked at him with vile words, and arrested him and his household, which remained with him." The rumour was even circulated that the aged Pope, Christ's vicar, standing in full pontifical dress, had been struck in the face by the mailed fist of Colonna. The stories widely current to the discredit of the life and character of Boniface were forgotten and his sufferings only recalled. Dante was the enemy of Boniface, and yet he speaks in his great poem with awe of the outrage: "Christ," he says, "had been again crucified among robbers; and the vinegar and gall had been again pressed to his lips."

Assault on Boniface VIII. at Anagni.

It did not seem at first as though Nogaret's scheme would be successful. A popular rising liberated Boniface VIII. The old man, however (he was in his 80th year), soon afterwards died, and Nogaret pressed forward unscrupulously to win a further victory for his master. The next Pope, Benedict II., was not sufficiently amenable to the pressure which the French put upon him. But he soon died, and in 1305, Clement, Bishop of Bordeaux, was elected Pope as Clement V. Before his election there had been negotiation between him and the King of France, and though its exact nature can never be known, it is certain that he had promised to serve the French king's purposes. Whether as a result of that promise or not, he established the residence of the Pope in Avignon, and removed the papal court from Rome. Avignon belonged to the papacy, but it was geographically in France, and actually within the power of the French king. The authority of the popes had depended so much upon their independence of any secular power that it is a matter of immense moment that now for some seventy years the popes

Death of Boniface VIII. Beginning of the Babylonish captivity.

were in such a position that all Europe saw in them the pliant agents of the French crown. It is this subservience to France, with all that flowed from it, which is the chief feature of that residence of the popes at Avignon, which is known in history as the "Babylonish captivity."

Events soon threw light on the promises which the Pope had made to the king before his election. The king was reconciled to the Church: even his agents were forgiven the violence that they had used against the person of the Pope; and soon there came in France a famous assault upon the order of the Templars.

The Knights Templars.

The Knights Templars had been founded in 1118 as a result of the first crusade, and their duty was to assist and protect pilgrims to the Holy Land. But, as we have already seen, the Mahomedan tide had surged back again and destroyed the weakly rooted Christian states of the East, and the military orders had no longer foothold in Palestine. The knights of St. John still held out in Rhodes, but the Knights Templars were no longer engaged in the struggle against the infidel. There were some fifteen thousand of them in all, of whom a third resided in France. Amidst much that is doubtful concerning them it is clear that they were very rich, that they rivalled the Jews as bankers and money-lenders, and that their lives showed, as was natural, a great falling away from the strict principles which they professed. But beyond these charges for which there is sufficient evidence, other wild charges were brought against them about which it is difficult to judge. They were accused of having adopted the religious beliefs of the East; they were accused of denying Christ and of spitting upon His image; they were accused of the foulest personal vices. No certainty is procurable here, but it must be remembered that these charges are brought against them by their enemies who were anxious to find an excuse for their spoliation, and even for their murder, and it seems reasonable, as well as charitable, to believe that there is little or no foundation for these views. They were arrested; they were tried in Paris, and the Pope in vain demanded that the trial should be transferred to the Papal

Charges against the Templars.

Court. In 1310, fifty-four of them were burnt in Paris, and then pressure was put upon the Pope to induce him to abolish the whole order. Unwillingly he consented: the order was abolished, its property confiscated to the crown, but even this did not prevent the burning of the master of the Templars, Jacques de Molay. It was said that from the midst of the flames he summoned the king and pope to appear with him before the throne of God.

Their execution and spoliation.

Constitutionally, the reign of Philip IV. carries forward and develops the methods of Philip II. and of St. Louis. Parlement was carefully organized and became more clearly than before the agent of the crown in all its efforts to win supreme power. During the struggle with the papacy, the germs of a new institution appeared which was destined to have a great name, and to play occasionally an important part in the history of France. Philip IV., like our own Henry VIII., under similar circumstances, wanted the support of his people in his struggle with the Catholic Church; and in 1302, there was called together for the first time a body known as the "States-General," consisting of the three orders or "estates" of the realm—the clergy, the nobility, and the commons. They met in these three separate groups, and they did little more than express their approval of the policy of the king, and of the arguments by which he supported his claims against the Pope. We shall see how in future reigns, especially at times of great crisis, this institution of the States-General emerges again. It was a body as fairly representative of France as the contemporary parliament was representative of England; and upon certain occasions it exercised great power and claimed a control over France greater than the Houses of Parliament possessed in England; but it was not destined, like the English parliament, to become the basis of the political life of France. The causes of its failure are manifold: we need only notice here that its roots were not struck deep down into the ordinary life and habits of the people as was the case in England. It was a royal expedient to meet a sudden

Constitutional history of Philip IV.'s reign.

The States-General.

emergency, and there was in the whole history of the States-General—down to the time when in 1789 it became the instrument for the overthrow of the royal power—a weakness which reminds us of its origin. The really important institutions in France were those which emanated from the royal court, not those which sprang from the choice of the people.

The histories of France all give much attention to the reign of Philip IV. Michelet's treatment of the reign deserves special mention. There are interesting documents relating to the struggle with the Papacy translated in Henderson's *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*. Villani's *Chronicles*, translated in abridgment by Miss Rose Selfe, are of much interest and value for the period.

CHAPTER XV

Feudal Society

Extent and duration of feudalism.

FEUDALISM is a word loosely used to cover a form of society existing over a large part of the surface of Europe for many centuries. Its roots may be found in the time of the Roman Empire; it took definite shape in the ninth century, and it did not quite disappear from Western Europe until the end of the eighteenth century. It was thus an important feature of European life for nearly a thousand years. It extended also over a very wide area. It lay at the foundation of the life and institutions of Great Britain, though it was always restrained from full growth in our island by the strength of the monarchy; France and Germany were the countries where it could be seen in its freest development; it was important in Spain and Italy; and though Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and Russia were not technically feudal countries, they exhibited some of the characteristics of feudalism in a striking manner, and retained them when they had died out elsewhere in Europe.

In the attempt, made in this chapter, to bring out some of the main features of feudal society we will think chiefly of the thirteenth century, and draw most of our illustrations from France.

Feudalism a spontaneous growth.

Feudalism, and the society that went along with it, are usually described in legal phraseology derived from Latin or early French. Its institutions thus come to have an artificial appearance, as though they were the work of lawyers who imposed a system of their invention upon Europe. But feudalism was in fact a spontaneous development, the result of the forces, needs and ideas of the time. The institutions and practices were in existence before lawyers gave Latin names to them. No attempt can be made here to discuss the origin of feudalism; but it may be well to recall the saying of J. S. Mill that "government is always either in the hands, or passing into the hands, of whatever is the strongest power in society, and what this power is does not depend on institutions, but institutions on it." Among the forces which influenced its growth the following may be noted.

Feudalism the negation of central government.

Feudalism is the negation of central government and administration; and in the ninth and tenth centuries the governments of Europe were weak and ineffective. The Roman Empire had collapsed. Charlemagne's effort to establish an efficiently administered state had failed immediately after his death. And we have seen how the attacks of the Northmen and the Magyars had broken down the feeble governments which faced them in France and Germany.

Personal service instead of money payments.

Feudalism is marked by the rendering of certain personal services where the modern world makes money payments. The Middle Ages were without a sufficient supply of coined money, and they knew nothing of the methods, such as notes and cheques, whereby the supply of coined money is now so largely supplemented. There was little capital in the Middle Ages, and when capital began to be a force it was always hostile to feudalism.

In early civilization tradition is more important than the

stipulation of written law, and feudalism shows us custom and tradition controlling society with scanty reference to law, reason, or utility.

Tradition.

The unit and base of feudal society was everywhere the landed estate, where the feudal noble, of whatever rank, lived in his fortified house, surrounded by dependents, servile or free, over whom he ruled with supreme authority. A French writer has said that feudalism means "the identification of landed property with sovereignty." In modern times the possession of land gives the owner certain powers over those who live on it; he exacts rents from them; he can turn them off from it, and can influence their lives in many ways direct or indirect. But in the Middle Ages ownership of land gave most of the rights which we associate with sovereignty. The feudal lord could tax those who lived on his land; he could call on them for military assistance; he could force them to work on his land; he could try them in his courts. Without the sovereignty of the landowner over his dependents feudalism could not have existed.

Identification of property with sovereignty.

The serfs were the largest and most important class of those who worked upon the land, though free labourers were not unknown. It is difficult to generalize about the serf's condition, for it varied from time to time and from place to place. In one respect the serf was superior to the modern wage earner. He had security of tenure. Custom rather than law forbade the feudal noble to deprive him of his cabin and the land which belonged to it, and the principle of heredity, which was so general in the Middle Ages, assured the descent of the serf's property from father to son. The serf must often have had a life of security and some comfort; but he could never escape from complete dependence upon his lord. At every turn he had to contribute to the well-being of his master. There was no limit to the taxes (*taille* is the most general word for these) which could be placed upon him. When he ground the corn or pressed the grapes which grew upon his plot of land, he must use his lord's mill, his lord's wine-press, and pay what custom demanded of him. The labour that he had to perform for his master (known in France

Serfs.

as *corvée*) had no limits (he was *corvéable à miséricorde*), and he could only give to his own land the time which was not demanded by his master. Further, for any quarrel with his fellows or any dispute with his master, he had to appear in his master's court, there to be tried according to the forms laid down by custom, and to pay the fees demanded.

Military ideals of the ruling class.

The ruling class rarely attended directly to the administration of the estate. This task was left to an overseer, bailiff, or attendant, while the lord devoted himself to the one honourable occupation, the practice of arms. Until the fourteenth century the armour-clad knight was the one force in war of real importance, and poor men were of necessity excluded from such employment. From youth upwards the feudal noble looked to war for distinction and the gratification of his ambition. He served an apprenticeship in the service of his father or of some other noble, attending to his master's horse, serving at his table, assisting in his toilet. Then at the age of eighteen or twenty he became a knight and entered into the ranks of chivalry.

Chivalry.

The ceremony of admission was at first a simple one—a light blow on the shoulder from the lord who had trained him, followed by the mounting of a horse and the performance of some martial exercise. But in the thirteenth century the influence of the Church added a religious ceremony. The aspirant to knighthood passed the eve of his admission in prayer. Next day he heard Mass; the sword with which he was girt was taken from the altar. The ceremony was completed by prayer and a sermon, in which the newly "dubbed" knight was urged to remember his duty towards the Church, the poor, and widows. The Chronicles of Froissart give us the brightest picture of the moral virtues of chivalry, and it did much, no doubt, to raise the warfare of the age above mere brutality and plunder. But the same writer will also show us how insufficient its standard was, and how frequently the soldiers of the time fell below that standard. The English Black Prince, who is described as the very flower of chivalry, was capable of the massacre of Limoges.

The essential feature of feudalism is to be found in the

relations of the members of the noble class to one another, founded as these relations were upon the system of land tenure. No one, except the king, was the absolute owner of his land. The lord of each estate held it as vassal of some other and usually of some greater lord.

The essential of feudalism.

Homage.

The ceremony of homage is significant of the whole relation. The vassal came before his lord, bare-headed and unarmed, and declared on his knees that he became his "man." The lord then kissed him and raised him from his knees. Then the vassal swore fidelity (fealty) to his lord, who gave him some object—a glove, perhaps, or a lance—as a symbol of the landed property (or fief), of which he now became the occupier. The relation thus established between master and vassal was defined by custom, which varied from place to place.

Vassalage.

The vassal was always bound to render military service to his lord. He must serve him in arms against all with whom he might be at war. But this assistance was not indefinite. It was limited in time and did not usually extend beyond forty days; it could also be only demanded within a certain distance from the lands for which he did homage. By this stipulation of military service the armies of the Middle Ages were brought into being, consisting of contingents sent up by individual nobles, often widely different in character, often disobedient to the authority of the commander, and inefficient against a more united force. The victories of the English in the Hundred Years' War were largely due to the fact that England had procured a royal army, while France still fought with a feudal one.

Feudal aids.

The obligations of the feudal inferior did not end with military service. He had also to render him aid on various other occasions; and aid was usually interpreted to mean money payment. When a new heir succeeded to the fief there was usually a heavy payment required, and the payment was the heavier if the heir was not a direct descendant of the last tenant. The vassal had to give lodging and hospitality to the lord and his followers on his journeys or his hunting expeditions. Moreover, there were certain incidents or accidents in the feudal lord's life which

were the occasion of payments from the vassal. If he were made prisoner of war, the vassal had to contribute to his ransom; if he went crusading he demanded an aid for his expenses; there were payments to be made when his daughter was married and when his son was knighted.

The vassal had to give not only aid, but council. He was bound, that is to say, to come at the call of his lord to deliberate with him on grave questions of peace or war, and he was bound to sit with him and to judge cases that were brought up for his decision.

Council.

Such are the essentials of the feudal system; but it is important to notice that it was not really a system at all, but a great confusion, which the principle of land tenure above described was powerless to bring into order. As explained by the theorists, there was a long hierarchy of ranks and powers, stretching up from the serf, through many gradations of nobles, to the king on his throne; and some writers carried the logic of it further, and made the kings the tenants of the emperor, and the emperor of the pope, who was himself the tenant of God. But no such symmetry is to be found in Western Europe. The tenant was sometimes more powerful than his lord, as when Henry II. of England did homage to the French king; a man often did homage for different estates to two lords, and there were cases where a man was both lord and tenant to the same person for different lands.

Feudalism in theory and practice.

Feudalism, it has been said, "was not a disease." It was a spontaneous stage in the development of society, and at a time of toppling governments and barbarian invasions it performed a necessary service in the maintenance of some sort of social bond. But feudalism was always liable to the disease of anarchy. Each feudal lord upon his estates was in effect sovereign, and he feudal tie was wholly insufficient to maintain harmony. Private war was a recognized right of a feudal chief. The strong government set up in England by the Norman Conquest prevented this plague from ravaging our island except on rare occasions; but in France, Spain, and Germany it was common. So obvious were the disastrous effects of it, and so incapable

Anarchy of feudalism.

was the state of putting a stop to it, that other expedients were tried to destroy it or mitigate it. One of these was the Truce of God. The Church, the best organized of all mediæval institutions, attempted to do what the rulers of Europe were unable to do. First the attempt was made absolutely to prohibit private war, and then to limit it within certain periods. The kings often gave the movement their support. In 1085 the emperor Henry IV. proclaimed the Truce of God for Germany. His object, he said, was, as a permanent peace could not be established, at least to exempt certain days from warfare. It was ordained therefore "that from the first day of the advent of our Lord until the end of the day of Epiphany, and from the beginning of Septuagesima until the eighth day after Pentecost, and on every Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday until sunrise on Monday, peace shall be observed." The Church was strong, but not strong enough to restrain with a word the warlike passions of feudal barons, though the Truce of God had some effect in limiting and mitigating warfare.

The Truce of God.

The administration of justice was not more successful under feudalism than the maintenance of order; and nowhere is there a greater contrast between the Middle Ages and the classical world on the one hand and the modern world on the other than in the character of trials and the conception of justice. The administration of justice was in the hands of the feudal noble and the vassals whom he called to his council. His superior in the feudal hierarchy would sometimes interfere, but each nobleman was tenacious of his judicial rights, which were a valuable property. M. Seignobos writes of justice under the feudal *régime* as follows: "The court makes no effort to probe the question to the bottom and to determine what really has happened; it judges not according to equity and reason, but according to the forms established by custom. Feudal justice is essentially an affair of forms, and has its strict rules, like a game; the only business of the judges is to see that the rules are observed, to judge the points and proclaim the winner. Every trial consists of several acts consecrated by tradition and accompanied by a solemn form of words. A movement or a word contrary to the rule

Feudal justice.

is enough to condemn the litigant. At Lille a man who moved his hand, which rested upon the gospels, while he took his oath, at once lost his case."

Ordeal and trial by battle.

The most characteristic of the legal processes of feudal society were the ordeal and the trial by battle. There were many forms of ordeal, all irrational and superstitious. The most common was the ordeal of fire, wherein the accused person had to subject some part of his person to the operation of fire; either by walking through burning logs or plunging the hand into boiling water, or holding a heated iron in the hand. Innocence was proved by the healing of the part affected within a certain number of days. The trial by battle or the duel was the usual result of trials among the noble class, but was often used in the case of litigants who were not noble. Reason, evidence, justice had here no place. The function of the court was merely to decide the conditions and to register the result. The practice must have given an evil and dangerous advantage to mere physical strength and placed no check upon the bully.

Feudal and Roman law.

When the men of the Middle Ages, accustomed to such methods of procedure, became acquainted with the principles and methods of Roman law, they were amazed at the difference. For Roman law acted in the interest of society at large, sought after the truth, balanced evidence, and aimed at justice. It seemed to the twelfth and thirteenth century like a new revelation, and the admiration for Roman law partly accounts for the readiness of many of the best minds of Europe to accept the claims of the holy Roman Empire.

The forces against feudalism.

1. The Church.

In conclusion we must consider the forces that were undermining feudalism. The Church had passed to some extent into the framework of feudalism, and was often in league with the feudal chiefs; but it was in essence anti-feudal. For it was universal, and feudalism was local; it excluded succession by heredity, and it wielded an authority that had no necessary connection with the ownership of land. The monarchies of Europe were always anti-feudal in proportion to their power.

They had their origins in Western Europe in feudal ideas, but their aim was always to bring all the inhabitants of the realm into subjection to the crown and to break down the local sovereignty of the landowner. We have seen how the kings of France succeeded in these aims and how the emperors in Germany failed; but, even in Germany, what the emperor failed to do for the whole country was done to a large extent by the individual electors and rulers.

2. The monarchy.

Another anti-feudal force is to be found in the towns which grew up so rapidly in all parts of Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The splendid city civilization of the Roman Empire had died out under the pressure of the fiscal exactions of the empire and the invasions of the barbarians. But the city is a natural form of human organization, and as Europe settled after disorder, and commerce began to move again, city life reappeared, turbulent but vigorous, in all parts of Western Europe. There were a great number of differing types of city life and constitution. Some were entirely self-governing republics; others were kept in considerable subordination by some king or noble. But all had a large measure of control over their own affairs, and though they were at first a part of the feudal *régime*, they were from the first its decided enemies. Feudalism sprang from and was always connected with the life of the landowner. Liberty, commerce, democracy, art, co-operation, were ideas that flourished in the towns, and feudalism broke up at their approach.

3. The towns.

For a general sketch of feudal institutions, see chapters i. and viii. in Vol. II. of the *Histoire Générale* of Lavisse and Rambaud; *Medieval Europe*, by H. W. C. Davis; *Le Moyen Age*, by Seignobos; *Medieval Europe*, by K. Boll.

CHAPTER XVI

The Crusades

THE spread of Christianity differs from that of Mahomedanism in the methods by which it was effected. From the early days of Islam the Mahomedan faith was propagated by the sword and by conquest. It was by the triumphs of soldiers that the Christian faith had been driven out from Asia, Africa, and Spain, and the crescent substituted for the cross as the symbol of faith. The great victories of early Christianity, on the other hand, had been won by persuasion and by attraction. The Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Vandals, and Franks had accepted Christianity voluntarily. When the Franks in their turn carried Christianity further East, it was doubtless forced on an unwilling people by hard blows; and Charlemagne made baptism a condition of submission. Yet even here it was the conversion of the heathen that was aimed at by Boniface and Wilibrord. "We seek not yours, but you," might have been their motto. The heathen were to be won to Christianity, with little scruple indeed as to the means employed; but they were to be won, not exterminated. The use of force as the chief method of propagating Christianity begins with the crusades: from this time on, the effort of the Church was too often not to convert the heathen but to destroy them.

Contrast in the propagation of Christianity and Islam.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries armed bands of Christians were constantly attacking the Musulman powers in Palestine, Asia Minor, Egypt, and elsewhere, and this movement is known as the crusades. Seven chief crusades are usually counted, but the number is arbitrary, and the hostility of the Christian and Musulman power in the East was almost continuous.

What were the crusades? By what motives were the

crusaders impelled ? One writer has said that the movement

Causes of the Crusades.

can only be explained by supposing that an epidemic of madness passed over Europe at this time. But strange and romantic as the movement is, fanciful and unreal though it often was, it is not difficult to understand it.

At the end of the eleventh century, the Church was at the very zenith of its power. The influence of Gregory VII. filled

The Age of Faith.

the middle of the century, and we have seen how high were the claims which he made for the papacy, and how far he succeeded in realizing them. When the Church spoke through its great representative all Europe listened and thought it a duty to obey. It was pre-eminently the Age of Faith.

It was also the Age of War. Society rested on the feudal basis ; and the core of feudalism was the armed knight. Men

The Age of War.

embarked then on a war with a readiness hardly conceivable now. War took the place of sport and politics, and even of commerce. The growth of monarchies was curbing the opportunities of private war. When an opportunity arose which allowed the feudal nobility of Europe to fight and to conquer territory in the rich East, with the sanction and under the orders of religion, there is no difficulty in understanding why it was eagerly embraced.

The Church had its own reasons for urging on the enterprise. Pilgrimage had come to be an important part of the religious

Pilgrimages.

life of the time. The shrine of Thomas Becket, cf St. James of Compostella, and many other saints attracted their crowds. But the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem was the greatest of all objects of pilgrimage. Hitherto, though Jerusalem was in the hands of the unbeliever, access to the Holy Places had not been difficult. But at the end of the eleventh century Islam was again advancing both in the East and in the West. A cry for help came from Constantinople, and the pilgrims to the Sepulchre were either stopped altogether or advanced only in face of manifold dangers and insults.

The popes and the Eastern emperors—these were the real authors of the crusades. And the crusades are best understood if we look at them from Constantinople. The Eastern

Empire fell out from the centre of the European story after the time of Charlemagne, but it was still the chief bulwark of European culture in the East against the forces of barbarism. Feudalism had made some headway even in the East; but the East was not feudalized as France or Germany were. The emperor was the great centre of the administration; his relations with the Church were so close that there was no possibility of such struggles between the spiritual and temporal power as rent Western Christendom in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries; the principles of Roman Law formed the basis of the administration. Greek was the official language. A well-organized mercenary army drawn from various races was usually an efficient weapon. In Constantinople a high level of culture, erudition, and art was maintained down to the end of the twelfth century.

The Eastern Empire.

Constantinople itself was an impregnable fortress, but wave after wave of barbarians swept over the Balkan peninsula. In the eighth century an invasion of Slavonians had penetrated even to the Peloponnese and a large number of them settled permanently in Greece. At the end of the ninth century there came the new and dreaded race of the Bulgarians. They swept on in a conquering horde as far as Corinth, and it seemed as though they would become a dominating force in the peninsula. But a powerful emperor arose—Basil "the slayer of the Bulgarians" —and in 1014 they were defeated with huge loss, and all the sufferings that they had inflicted on the empire were avenged with horrible cruelty: the eyes of many thousands of them were put out, and they were sent home as evidence of what came of attacking the empire. In the tenth century, too, another enemy—ominous of danger in the far distant future—had appeared before the walls of Constantinople. Russia had been recently occupied by the Northmen, and in 941 a fleet of their vessels from the Black Sea appeared before the city. They were driven off by "Greek Fire" and this particular danger did not appear again. We have already seen how the empire had lost her possessions in Italy and Sicily. In Asia Minor the empire still ruled over a rich country, and in the

Bulgarians.

mountains of Isauria over a warlike population. But in the eleventh century a new danger arose even there. A new race —the Seljukian Turks—had seized Bagdad and infused new energy into Mahomedanism (1055). Syria and Palestine soon fell to them, and their ignorant fanaticism brought danger and oppression to the pilgrims to the Holy Places: Europe soon rang with the stories of their sufferings. The Turks then penetrated Asia Minor, and in 1071 an imperial army was crushed at Mansikert and an emperor taken prisoner.

The Seljukian Turks.

The Mahomedans had not been so dangerous since the eighth century, and it was not only in the East that their arms were successful. In Spain the Christian states had been slowly gaining ground, but here, too, there was a revival of Musulman energy, and in 1086 the Christians lost the great battle of Zallaca. Europe, as in the eighth century, was threatened on both fronts. An effort was really needed to drive the heathen back. Gregory VII., the author of so much that is most important in the eleventh century, called on Europe for a great effort, but the hour had not yet come. In 1095 Pope Urban II. held a great Council at Clermont. So great was the gathering that no building could contain all who came. After some business of minor importance the Pope addressed the crowd and called for a general attack upon the Mahomedans. He quoted (with a strange perversion of meaning such as was frequent in the Middle Ages) the text, "He who will not take up his cross and follow me cannot be my disciple." In a frenzy of excitement those present cried, "It is the will of God," and, attaching to their dress strips of red cloth in the form of a cross, prepared for the great enterprise, in which they believed themselves certain of the support and the direct guidance of God.

Recovery of Mahomedanism in Spain.

The preaching of the first crusade.

A noble enthusiasm was nearly always the motive of those who embarked on the crusades; but when the movement was once begun personal ambition, the hope of gain, the animal instinct for fighting, greed, hate, revenge, and cruelty all cloaked themselves under the pretext of the crusade. It was not only against the Mahomedan that violence was let loose.

The Jews who resided in the west found their lot changed for the worse, and had to suffer pillage and sometimes even torture at the hands of those who set out to rescue the land where Christ died for all mankind.

The prelude to the first crusade.

Before what is usually called the first crusade, a great throng of men, women, and children set off under Peter the Hermit, whose preaching had done much to rouse the enthusiasm for the crusade by his account of the sufferings of the pilgrims. They marched without organization, expecting miracles at every turn, and suffering dreadfully on their route. Those of them who reached Constantinople were sent across to Asia Minor by the emperor, who was glad to get rid of such strange allies, and there they quickly fell victims to the sword of the Mahomedans. Peter the Hermit escaped and lived to see the realization of his dreams.

The first crusade.

Meanwhile, the first real crusade was preparing. No king took part in it; but the great nobles of Western Europe eagerly offered their services. They came in greater numbers from France than from any other country, and the number of French who took part in the crusades warrants the name which is given to the whole movement by a chronicler, "Gesta Dei per Francos."

Raymond of Toulouse led a band of Provencals and Italians. The Normans, Bohemond and Tancred, led an army from the South of Italy and Sicily. Hugh of Vermandois, the brother of the French king, and Robert of Normandy, the brother of the English king, led French and Normans. Godfrey of Bouillon was the leader of French and Germans from the Rhinelands: he was not the commander of the host, for the host had no single commander; but his name came to be the most prominent in the great adventure. The crusaders made their way by various routes to Constantinople: some by the Danube which had been opened to a Christian army by the recent conversion of the King of Hungary; some by the sea which was secured against Mahomedan attacks by the recent development of the navies of the maritime states of Italy, such as Pisa, Genoa, and Venice.

At Constantinople a difficulty at once appeared, which was

ultimately to endanger the success and the stability of the whole effort of Christian Europe against Islam. If lands were won from the Turks to whom should they belong? The Emperor Alexius demanded that the crusaders should do homage for all that they won: they, on the contrary, looked forward to carving out independent possessions for themselves. At last they took the oath of fealty to the emperor, but the future was to show how little it weighed with them.

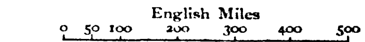
Difficulties of the crusaders.

The numbers of the crusaders had already shrunk far below the vague myriads which are ascribed to them at the beginning of their enterprise. They were in many ways ill-prepared for the contest that lay in front of them. They trusted to the heavy armed knights who had become the chief arm of Western armies; and they were to find that those knights were often ineffective against their more nimble opponents. Yet when it came to blows the crusaders were decidedly the stronger. They advanced across Asia Minor, captured Antioch, and defended it against a relieving force, and at last appeared before Jerusalem; their numbers had shrunk to some 25,000. They found a fleet of Genoese ships at Jaffa, and from them they got the timber required for their siege apparatus. They marched round the city in religious procession with Peter the Hermit at their head. But the walls could only be carried by heavy fighting. The furious attack came on 15 July, 1099. Godfrey of Bouillon was among the first to mount the walls. Their great enterprise was crowned with success. Passionate religious zeal and fierce hatred of the heathen enemy combined to rule their actions. To slay the enemy was to do God a service. They wrote to the Pope: "God was appeased by our humility, and on the eighth day after our humiliation he delivered the city and his enemies to us. . . . And, if you desire to know what was done with the enemy who were found there, know that in Solomon's porch and in his temple our men rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses."

Jerusalem reached.

The capture of Jerusalem.

It remained to distribute and to organize the conquest. The disruptive ideas of feudalism controlled the action of the



The greatest extent of the
SARACEN DOMINIONS

victors. No single strong state was founded, but the newly won territory was divided into four Latin (that is, Catholic) states. Baldwin occupied the County of Edessa; Bohemond the Principality of Antioch; Raymond occupied Tripoli; all these owed allegiance to the kingdom of Jerusalem, which fell to Godfrey's share, though he refused the title of king and accepted only that of Defender of the Holy Sepulchre.

The new states founded by the crusaders.

Special religious orders were founded, first for the assistance of pilgrims, and then for the defence of the hardly won land. The chief were the Knights Templars, the Knights Hospitallers (Knights of St. John), and the Knights of the Teutonic order. These men proposed to join the virtues and the rigorous asceticism of the monk to the courage and vigour of the soldier. Religious enthusiasm has often inspired the most heroic courage; but the effort to blend in permanent union the characteristics of the monk and the knight proved a failure. The orders prospered in numbers and wealth, and all have an important history, but in all it was the knight and not the monk that triumphed.

The military orders.

The Latin states of the East soon showed themselves unstable. The number of the Christian conquerors was small; they were only a garrison of occupation. The nobles were jealous of one another, and the presence of the enemy could not keep them from private war. The Eastern Empire which they had saved for the time from the pressure of the Turks, regarded them with jealousy and alarm. Its territory had been increased; but its trade had been ruined. Venetians, Genoese, Pisans, had established themselves in the harbours of the East. The course of commerce was diverted from Constantinople, and the trade of the city is said to have fallen by nearly a half. In the future the emperors were sometimes ready to join with the Saracen enemy against their Christian allies.

The weakness of the crusading states.

The divisions and jealousies of the crusading states soon allowed the Mahomedans to recover some of their lost ground. In 1144 Edessa fell into their hands. Saint Bernard preached a new crusade. Louis VII., King of

France, and the Emperor Conrad responded to the call; but the second crusade effected nothing, and St. Bernard saw in its failure the punishment of God for the sins of the Christian powers of the West. But soon there came news from the East which called peremptorily for another effort. A great Mahomedan ruler had arisen, who succeeded for a time in welding the dispersed Mahomedan states in the East into a compact whole. This was Saladin, whose courage, generosity, and comparative humanity have passed into legend, which exaggerates, but does not misrepresent the character of the great soldier. He advanced from Egypt into Syria. The Christian powers were quarrelling bitterly about the succession of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Count of Tripoli even allied himself with Saladin. A great battle by the sea of Tiberias decided the issue. The Templars and the Knights rallied desperately round the fragment of the true cross. But all availed nothing against the terrible leader and the greater numbers of their opponents. Saladin advanced next against Jerusalem, forced it to surrender and used his victory with humanity. Soon there was little left of the victories that had given Christian Europe so much glory and had cost so much blood. The cry for another crusade rose at once.

The second crusade.

Saladin.

Loss of Jerusalem, 1187.

The third crusade, like the second, was conducted by kings. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Richard Cœur de Lion of England, Philip II., the great King of France; all consented to go out on this holy war. They had all three much to do in their own countries, but the pressure put upon them by the papacy was strong, and they left for the East, postponing their quarrels and ambitions. Without the motive of religion and the influence of the Church the crusade could never have taken place; but, once embarked on their adventure the leaders displayed no singleness of purpose, nor was their action controlled by thoughts of religion. The crusade was a failure. The Emperor Frederick was drowned during his march across Asia Minor; Richard Cœur de Lion and Philip II. of France quarrelled on the road to the Holy Land, and quarrelled when they got

The third crusade.

there. They won some victories. Cyprus was taken (1191). The army of Saladin could not prevent them from taking Acre. United action might perhaps have given them Jerusalem. But Philip was anxious to get back to France. He saw in Richard's power in Normandy an enemy much more dangerous than Saladin. Richard remained a little longer. He left behind him a memory of great courage, of military prowess and the knightly virtues. But in humanity he fell far below the standard set by Saladin; he slaughtered his prisoners at Acre, whereas Saladin had freed those who fell into his hands at Jerusalem. A study of his career shows how fantastic was the whole enterprise of the crusades, how little religion influenced the soldiers of the Cross, and how evil was the influence of the action of the crusaders on the repute of the Church.

Failure of the third crusade.

The second and third crusades produced no important results. But the fourth was an event of great E[illegible]n importance.

The fourth crusade.

Innocent III. was the real author of the fourth crusade. Amidst all the many troubles of his pontificate it was his constant hope to unite again the armies of Christendom against the Mahomedans who remained in unshaken possession of the Holy Land. He partially succeeded in his enterprise; but he unchained forces which he could not control and he regretted at last the results of the movement which he had labelled with the holy sign. The fourth crusade was an aristocratic, not a royal movement, and again the chief actors in it came from France and her borders. Theobald, Count of Champagne, Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and Simon de Montfort were the chief leaders. They made their way to Venice and sought there ships to take them direct to the Syrian coast. The commercial states of north Italy had played a great part in the crusading movement and had profited vastly by it. They had secured trading rights in all the chief towns of the East, and had diverted trade from Constantinople into the harbours of Venice and Genoa. Venice, above all other cities, had found advantage in the holy wars. The city of the

Venice and the crusaders.

lagoons was conscious of her strength and of her opportunities. Secure in her fastnesses she had resisted the attacks of the maritime powers of the Adriatic. She had drawn all the population of the islands under a single government, and had given to the government a strong aristocratic and commercial character. Already she held important trading rights at Constantinople, and her ambitions were looking to further triumphs when the crusaders asked for ships to take them to the Holy Land. Venice drove a hard bargain with them. They had no ready money, and the Venetians would only furnish ships on condition that the expedition sailed in the first instance against the city of Zara, on the east of the Adriatic, a Christian city, but a naval and commercial rival of Venice. The Doge of Venice, Dandolo, an old man said to have been nearly ninety and totally blind, but vigorous still, and burning with ambition for Venice, accompanied the expedition. The Pope in vain protested against the misuse of the army of the Cross. Zara was besieged and taken and handed over to Venice. But even then the expedition did not sail for the Holy Land. There came to the camp at Zara information which opened up the prospect of a greater adventure, in which Venice would certainly be a gainer. There had been a fierce palace struggle at Constantinople, and Alexius, the son of the late emperor, and the nephew of the reigning emperor, came to ask the help of the crusaders against his usurping uncle. He promised trading concessions to the Venetians, pay to the crusaders, and salved their consciences (if that were needed) by the prospect of the union of the Eastern with the Western Church. Again, therefore, these soldiers, signed with the cross and pledged to fight against the infidel, moved against a Christian city, and this time against one which for centuries had been the chief defence of Europe against the Mahomedan. They succeeded in deposing the reigning emperor and setting up their candidate, Alexius IV., instead. He reigned as their puppet, and the population rose against him and his supporters. Alexius IV. was slain, and his death gave the crusaders a welcome excuse for an assault upon the city in their own interest. The city had never yet

The attack on Zara.

Appeal from Constantinople.

been taken during its life of nine centuries, and if properly defended was still impregnable; but the defence was weak and corrupt, and the city fell into the hands of the crusaders. Never, said an eye-witness, had there been such plunder in any city since the world began. Priceless treasures of art and monuments of antiquity, for which the Venetians and their allies had no care, were destroyed; but the gold and silver, the precious tapestries for which the city was famous, were systematically sought out and divided. The citizens were submitted to indiscriminate slaughter. Then the crusaders determined to set up a new government. The schismatic Church of the East was replaced by Catholicism after the Roman model. A new emperor was chosen from the ranks of the crusaders—Baldwin of Flanders, Venice occupied a large district of the city for her commerce, and the old Doge realized his most ambitious dreams. But it was a dreadful and a fatal deed, "an act of colossal brigandage on the part of adventurers, who had hypocritically taken the crusading vow." The defences of Christian Europe were seriously weakened, for the new empire was not nearly so strong as the old one. Large territories both in Europe and Asia never obeyed the new "Latin" rulers. The new state lived a weak and troubled existence from 1204 to 1262. Then the Greek Church and the national sentiment of the East overthrew the feeble Latin empire, and a new Greek empire was set up under the *Palæologi*. But it never recovered its old strength. When two centuries later Constantinople fell to the Turks (1453), the causes of that great disaster are largely to be found in the evil effects of the fourth crusade.

Capture of Constantinople.

Restoration of the Greek Empire.

With this lamentable success the great period of the crusades was quite over. After the fourth it is impossible to distinguish the crusades by number. The popes fell into the evil habit of declaring any war in which they were interested "a crusade," and the expeditions sent out against the Mahomedans are none of them on the same scale as the first four crusades. There was an expedition against Egypt in 1218, which is usually called the fifth crusade. Egypt was chosen as the point of attack, because the centre of the

The "fifth" crusade.

Mahomedan power was in Egypt. This expedition was conducted by a papal legate, Pelagius, and it was his implacable temper which prevented it from achieving a solid success. Damietta, at the mouth of the Nile, was taken. The Sultan offered to hand over Jerusalem to the crusaders if they would restore him Damietta; but they refused, and were soon overwhelmed, and lost Damietta and all. Frederick II. (whom we have seen as Emperor and King of Sicily and Naples) was wiser when he went to the Holy Land in 1229. He was urged on to the crusade by the Pope, and excommunicated because he returned in a few days. Still lying under excommunication he sailed again. Arrived in Palestine he showed himself ready to treat with the Sultan of Egypt, for in his own dominions he lived on such good terms with the Saracens that he was not likely to reject all terms with them in Palestine. He secured free access to the Holy Places for pilgrims, and to gain this made a defensive treaty with the Sultan. No one had done so much for Christianity in the East since the first crusade; but on his return Frederick found that the Pope had punished him for going on the Holy War while lying under sentence of excommunication by placing the kingdom of Naples under an interdict.

The crusade of Frederick II.

The victories of diplomacy in Palestine proved as transitory as those won by arms. There was violent civil war among the Mahomedans, but the Christians could take no advantage of it. When the Sultan of Egypt was master of the situation again he easily swept away the scanty remains of Christian power in Syria. In 1244 Jerusalem was again in Mahomedan hands, and was never again in Christian hands until 1918.

But before the crusading movement expired it was associated with one of the greatest names of mediæval Christianity and directed by him with the purest possible motives. Saint Louis of France sailed for Egypt in 1248 with a French army, and with him went Joinville, the chronicler of the expedition. We get from him a most attractive picture of the saintly king, but we get also a clear conviction of the hopelessness of the whole crusading enterprise. Damietta was retaken. Then the French army advanced on Cairo. At Mansourah the Mahomedan army

Saint Louis as crusader.

inflicted on the crusaders a decisive defeat. A fragment only of the force escaped and tried to make their way to the coast, but, harassed by the enemy and weakened by loathsome disease, Saint Louis surrendered in order to get better terms for his men. He had to abandon Damietta and to pay an enormous ransom. As soon as he was free, Saint Louis made his way to Palestine to organize and strengthen the few garrisons still remaining there. He did his work devotedly and well; but all was of no avail. Hardly had he left the East when a new invasion swept over the land; commanded this time by the Mongolian Bibars. Antioch and Jaffa fell into his hands (1268). Acre held out a little longer, but it also fell in 1291, and then there was nothing left in Palestine for all the efforts and all the blood that had been spent in the crusades. Before the end came Saint Louis, with the support of Edward of England, son of Henry III., made one last effort and led an expedition to Tunis, in the hope of effecting the conversion of the Sultan. The plague fell on his army. The king himself died in 1270. The last of the genuine crusaders died with him.

Death of Saint Louis.

There were, even after this, many movements which were called crusades, but none that deserved the name. The popes had learnt that they could strengthen their arms, in many struggles in which they were interested, by calling them crusades and giving to those who fought in them the privileges which had been accorded to the followers of Godfrey of Bouillon and Saint Louis. But Europe, as a whole, no longer responded to the call, and the credit of the Church was injured by the attempt to regard as "holy wars" expeditions which were prompted by the secular motives of ambition, greed, or revenge.

What was the result of it all? It is very doubtful whether the cause of Christianity in the East had profited in any way. There was no Christian force left on the continent of Asia. Rhodes and Cyprus were in Christian hands, and remained so for some time longer (Rhodes until 1522, Cyprus until 1571). But if these acted as valuable checks to the growth of the Ottoman Turks in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there must be set against them the weakening of Constantinople by the

The results of the crusades.

fourth crusade. There is no good ground for the claim that "the crusades saved Europe."

The indirect results of the crusades were great and lasting. The cities of Italy owed to them the rapid advance of their commerce, and with their commerce, of their municipal government and their artistic achievements. Venice gained most of all, though she had to fight hard with Genoa before she could maintain her hold upon the spoils she had won. The contact of the East and West had been fruitful too in other ways. New grains, fruits, trees, spices, stuffs now came for the first time into Europe. The art of the East influenced and stimulated the art of the West, especially the art of Venice. It was said, too, that the ideas of the East had not been without their effect on the West. Christian Europe had gone out to the war confident in the support of the God of Battles in the struggle waged in His cause. But the result had been disappointing: shortlived triumphs, lasting defeats, the waste of life and treasure, and the boundaries of Christianity not materially expanded. There was food for thought in all this. It was said later that the Mahomedan victories in the East had had an influence in producing the strange Albigensian heresies of the South of France

The gain of Italy.

Heresy.

Lastly, the crusades marked and caused a deterioration in the relation of the Church to its enemies. They stimulated immensely the temper and the practice of religious persecution. No declaration of war was necessary against the infidel: his religion was a sufficient ground for drawing the sword against him. The massacres of the Jews during the first and third crusades, and the so-called Albigensian crusade show that this principle could be applied in Western Europe. The inquisition in all its forms is only an application of the same spirit.

The crusades and religious persecution.

The story of the crusades is told by Gibbon and in the ecclesiastical histories of Milman and Robertson. Archer and Kingsford; *The Crusades* in the Story of the Nations. G. W. Cox; *The Crusades.* Stanley Lane-Poole's *Saladin.* Villehardouin's *History of the Conquest of Constantinople* and Joinville's *Life of Saint Louis* are two delightful chronicles. The article on The Crusades in the Encyclopaedia Britannica deserves mention.

CHAPTER XVII

British History from 1066 to 1307; the beginning of National Unity and of Parliament

THE history of England during the period that we consider in this chapter has three distinctive features. Firstly, the monarchy was stronger than was to be found in any other considerable state; secondly, the nation became more united and more conscious of itself; thirdly, it established a form of representative government which, though it has analogies elsewhere, is far more successful and permanent than any that is to be found in any other European state.

I

The first two features are closely connected, and are indeed different phases of the same fact. The nation was united because the monarchy was strong. It was the great service which the sometimes oppressive Norman monarchy rendered to England that it crushed out the separatist tendencies in the different districts of the country; that it prevented feudalism from exhibiting the anarchical character which is associated with it in French and German history; that town and country, noble and commoner, could so soon join together and establish a common form of government. It will make the situation in England plainer if we compare and contrast it with the contemporary condition of France and Germany. There feudalism had grown up spontaneously as the result of the disintegration of the Empire of Charlemagne. The chiefs of the feudal nobility were great and practically sovereign powers; representing often local and even racial feeling; engaging in private war when it suited their purposes, and bringing their tenants into the field by as full a right as that by which a king called

The service of the Norman monarchy.

on his subjects for support; exercising supreme judicial power, and sometimes symbolizing their sovereignty by a separate coinage. In France as late as the middle of the thirteenth century there were districts that were technically "within the obedience of the king" and other districts which were not within his obedience.

Very different was the situation in England. William the Norman was determined not to allow the evils of feudalism, as he knew them in France, to reappear in England; and after the conquest the country was in his hands to fashion as he chose. We have seen with what clear-sighted skill he had arranged the estates and clipped the powers of the feudal barons, and the future gave proof of the efficacy of his measures. The barons of England were as eager as their fellows in France to assert their own power against the state as a whole, and the reigns of William II., Henry I., and Stephen are full of the struggles which fill up so much of French history. It was not only with the ordinary nobles that the English kings had trouble; their worst foes were often those of their own household. Thus, in 1088, William II. [Rufus] was attacked by his brother Robert, who ruled in Normandy, and by the English barons under the leadership of Bishop Odo of Bayeux. It is noteworthy that William II., brutal and oppressive ruler though he often showed himself, was able to call on the English for help; and it was English help that gave this Norman king victory over his Norman barons. Another typical rising came in Henry I.'s reign, when once more Robert of Normandy was in arms against the English king. He was in loose league with malcontents in England, and they had a powerful leader in Robert of Bellême, who ruled over wide estates in England and Normandy, and, as Earl Palatine of Shrewsbury, had more independence than the king allowed to most of the baronage of England. The struggle was a severe one. The danger would have been very much greater if the insurgents had been supported by the native English, but, as usual, these stood aside or gave active help to the king. Robert of Bellême's great castle at Bridgenorth (as an Earl Palatine he

Peculiar features of English government.

Risings of Norman barons.

had an unusually strong castle) was taken, and he was driven to take refuge in Normandy. But it is the reign of Stephen that shows us from what evils we were saved by the rough strength of the English kings. Henry I. had no legitimate son to survive him, and he had tried to secure the throne for his daughter Matilda. She had been married first to the Emperor Henry V. (and is hence usually known as the Empress Matilda), and subsequently to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, to whom she bore a son who was afterwards the great King Henry II. But the rule of a woman was unpopular, if not unprecedented, and on Henry I.'s death the nobles gave the crown to Stephen, who was the son of the Conqueror's daughter. He was a brave, popular, chivalrous man ; much to be preferred as a friend and comrade to Henry II. ; but he was also one of the most fatal rulers who has ever sat on the throne of England. The one great feature of his reign is the outbreak of feudal anarchy. Stephen had to face throughout his reign the efforts of Matilda and her son Henry to win the English crown, which they regarded as belonging to them by right. Against these attacks from beyond the channel Stephen relied, not on the help of the English, but upon the feudal baronage, and, in consequence, he gave to them liberties and privileges which they had not known since the Conquest. Especially they proceeded to build for themselves castles and to rule there, as, doubtless, they thought a baron ought to rule. Their cruelties may have been exaggerated, though a contemporary chronicler describes the reign as one of desolation and crime which went unchecked and unpunished. For this short period England was what large tracts of Germany and France usually were. The death of Stephen's son was a great gain for England, for it made him ready to accept a compromise whereby he was to keep the throne for his life, and Henry was then to succeed. So Henry II. became king without challenge in 1154.

The reign of Stephen.

The anarchy.

The mediæval world had hardly a more remarkable ruler than Henry of Anjou. We have already glanced at the importance of his position for French history, and the vast extent of his dominions is indicated on the

Henry II.

map on p. 270. His reign is important for England in many ways; for his foreign policy; for his bitter quarrel with Becket; for his invasion of Ireland; but above all for his organization of the government of England. It is this last point only that we will examine here. He gave to the twelfth century its great example of a really strong monarchy; he was the state as really as Louis XIV. of France, centuries afterwards; and his building up of autocratic government prepared the way for the uprising of the nation, for the development of a national parliament, and ultimately for the rule of the people.

Reorganization of the government.

First he settled accounts with the nobles. Their newly built castles were destroyed (we shall find Richelieu in France doing the same thing in the seventeenth century); many grants of land were revoked; the barons felt themselves in the hands of a strong ruler, and accepted their fate without much resistance. What had hitherto been done had rather aimed at preventing the development of the power of the nobles than at building up the controlling power of the Crown. It was the special task of Henry II. to accomplish this. His chief interest was the administration of law. No single system had as yet been established. The popular courts of the English lasted on side by side with new introductions from Normandy. It was Henry II. who laid the foundations on which the later administrative and judicial system of England has been reared. He established the rule of Law.

Itinerant judges.

First in importance comes the regular despatch of itinerant judges to go throughout the land and preside at the various courts. We have seen something like them in Charlemagne's *missi dominici*. This meant that there would practically be an end of baronial and feudal justice in cases of importance; the law that would be administered everywhere by the judges would be the King's Law, and the barons' courts would henceforth dwindle in importance.

Juries.

Next the judges were to be assisted on their rounds by "juries." This famous word, which has gone the round of the world, did not at first carry the same meaning that it has for our ears to day. The juries that

Henry II.'s age knew were Grand Juries or Juries of Presentment, consisting of a certain number of the most prominent men of the district whose business it was to give to the travelling judges the names of the evil-doers of the district, who were then accused and tried. Trial by jury was substituted in some cases where the barbarous method of trial by battle had previously been practised.

Important changes, too, were made in the organization of the fighting force of England. The Assize of Arms of 1181 made it incumbent on every free man to provide himself with arms, and to be ready to take his part in the defence of the realm against foreign or domestic foes. More and more the feudal obligation of military service from the lesser landowners of England fell into the background. For foreign expeditions Henry relied on a tax called *scutage* or shield money, which took the place of military service and allowed the king to raise a force more dependent on himself and more efficient than the old feudal levy.

The army.

As a result of such measures as these the unity of the country was rapidly being built up. There were still wide differences of language and custom between the English and the Normans, but these tended to be effaced. The baronage found the road to independence decisively closed against them by the power of the king, and hence they were driven to find support in the alliance with the English Commons. While Henry II. ruled this was not of much consequence; but when a weak and unpopular king was on the throne the results of the reconciliation of the races quickly showed themselves.

National unity.

II

In this section we shall examine some of the prominent features of the years between the death of the Conqueror and that of Henry II. (1087–1189) other than those concerned with the development of the system of government and administration.

First the relation of the Crown to the Church, which is so important for all Europe at this time, caused much trouble

to the rulers of our island. The Norman kings valued the Church, and found in it a useful ally. They were great builders of churches; they had given the Church a larger measure of independence than it had previously possessed; they found in the great ecclesiastics their most trusted ministers On the other side the Pope and the prominent churchmen in England and Rome viewed the Norman monarchy with approval and hope. Yet a conflict came which had incidents almost as tragic as those which marked the struggle between Gregory VII. and the Emperor Henry IV. The English events are indeed a part of that larger struggle.

The Crown and the Church.

The names of two great churchmen emerge in the conflict. First, Anselm, who was afterwards called Saint. He was abbot of Bec, in Normandy, and was honoured for his learning and his character. On the death of Lanfranc the archbishopric of Canterbury was kept for a long time vacant in order that King William might enjoy its revenues. Then in a moment of royal repentance, caused by a serious illness, Anselm was appointed. There was soon strife between them. This was the time when the Investiture Contest was at its fiercest, and we have seen that the question at issue in that controversy was whether the loyalty of the bishops belonged to the king or to the Pope; it was not a question that could be solved by good intentions; it required hard thinking and much experience before the line could be drawn with tolerable success between the functions of the Church and those of the State. Anselm asked permission to go to Rome to receive his pallium at the hands of the Pope, and William refused it. In the end Anselm had to find an exile in Normandy.

Saint Anselm.

The accession of the more learned and religious Henry I. did not dispose of the trouble. Still the question was there. Is the archbishop the king's servant or the Pope's? The contest was not conducted with such brutality as in the days of Rufus; and before long a compromise was reached, which was very nearly that which was subsequently accepted by the Pope in the Concordat of Worms. The king renounced the claim to invest the archbishop with the symbols of his spiritual

office, and on his side the archbishop consented to do homage for his lands to the king.

In Henry II.'s reign a somewhat similar quarrel reached a more tragic issue. Thomas Becket was born in London of Norman parents. He is a strange, enigmatic figure. He had learning, charm of manner, and much practical ability. He was at first the king's chancellor, and had served him so well and had championed the rights of the Crown with such zeal that when the see of Canterbury became vacant the king secured his appointment, thinking that Becket would be the man to bring the power and influence of the Church to the support of the Crown. But Henry had mistaken his man "Whatever he did, he did with his whole heart. He served many masters, but only one at a time; first his bishop, then the king, then his God."

Becket.

The quarrel came over the question of the independence and separate government of the Church. The clergy demanded that they should be tried only by their own tribunals, and that the ordinary law courts should have no jurisdiction over them. But as the Church law was very mild, and the law of the land often very cruel, that meant that clergymen who were guilty of theft or murder or any other serious offence escaped with a light penalty, while an ordinary man who committed the same crime would suffer death. To our modern sense the king's protest against this system seems wholly justified, but to Becket it seemed that the Church's duty was to conduct its affairs on a different and a higher plane than the State, to live its own life and to be an example to the State. In 1164 the king put forward the sixteen articles of the "Constitutions of Clarendon." Their general tendency was to subordinate the clergy to the State, but the chief article was the third. By this a clergyman who was accused of crime was to be tried by the ecclesiastical courts, and if he were found guilty he was to be degraded from holy orders and then punished by the State, as any one else would be. Becket yielded at first, but then withdrew his agreement with these proposals. There followed efforts at reconciliation; then Becket fled to the Continent. For a time it seemed as though the quarrel might be patched up. But

His quarrel with the king.

Becket became more and more decided in his challenge of the royal authority. In 1170 four knights, acting as they believed in accordance with the wishes of the king, went to Canterbury and murdered the archbishop in his own cathedral. The sensation produced by the event was prodigious. Until the time of the Reformation Becket's name was one of the most revered in Europe, and his shrine the scene of some of the most popular of pilgrimages. Henry, passionate and determined though he was, found that he had provoked an enemy that was too strong for him. He was master of immense material force, but he was defeated by the moral indignation which was called out by the stories of the martyrdom of Becket. He found it necessary to visit Canterbury and do humiliating penance at the tomb of Becket. Henceforth the clergy were tried and sentenced in their own courts as before the Constitutions of Clarendon, and the Church retained its own complete organization apart from the State until the Reformation.

Murder of Becket.

Henry was primarily rather statesman than soldier ; but he used war readily enough to reach political ends. It was probably well for England that Scotland, Wales, and Ireland had hitherto remained to a large extent outside of the control of the English Crown. Had these foreign races been included in the kingdom the assimilation of English and Normans could not have gone on so rapidly. Now Henry carried out attacks upon all three, and the Norman methods of warfare, which had overthrown the English, proved victorious everywhere. An independent national state was maintained in North Wales, but nowhere else. The King of Scotland, William the Lion—a brave and skilful soldier—was taken prisoner at Alnwick and forced to do homage for his kingdom to the King of England ; an English garrison was even admitted into Edinburgh. The reign of Henry, too, saw the beginning of the long and tragic story of the connection between England and Ireland. There had been noble things in the past history of Ireland ; she had done much for religion and not a little for culture ; her repulse of the Danes had shown her possessed of a vigour which contemporary England had not exhibited. But

Wales.

The "Conquest" of Ireland.

in the twelfth century she was torn by faction and civil war, and in 1166 Dermot, King of Leinster, appealed to England for help against his enemies who had expelled him. Richard of Clare (Strongbow), the Norman Earl of Pembroke, went on the adventure. He landed in Waterford and gained some victories over the neighbouring chiefs. Five years later the king himself came over and took the title of Lord of Ireland. These events are what is known as the Conquest of Ireland; but they do not deserve their name. Anglo-Norman influence established itself on the south-east and penetrated some distance into the interior, but Ireland was not conquered until the sixteenth century. The growth of a strong and independent Irish state was made impossible, but no English government was established.

Troubles in France.

We have seen that Henry ruled over more French territory than the French king himself, and a great part of his energies were devoted to its government. But his reign was not the great success in France that it was in England. His wife, Eleanor, who had brought him vast territories in the south of France as her dowry, was among his worst enemies, and his own children were constantly in rebellion or intriguing against him. But we must not follow out this tangled story. When it came to open conflict the king was usually successful; but a settled system of rule was not reached. At the end of his life he was again occupied with this insoluble problem. The incredible exertions of his restless life, and the news of the treason of his best-loved son John, brought this mighty ruler to his death in 1189.

III

For more than a century the current of the life of England had set towards the monarchy. The kings had been egoistic and rough-handed. Not one of them has left behind him a name that evokes popular admiration or love. Yet it is certain that the monarchy did better for the country than any form of liberty could have done at that time. It was the monarchy that gave us order, law, and, in the end, a sense of

national unity. And by its victory it prepared the way for its own overthrow.

There are many contrasts between English and French history. Here is one of the most central. In France the mediæval monarchy is usually allied with the people against the nobility; while in England the nobles and the people from the beginning of the thirteenth century join forces against the monarchy. There is nothing accidental or mysterious in this contrast. The English Crown gained at a stroke—through the Norman conquest—a completeness of power that the French monarchy took centuries to win. It was a common submission that made the alliance of the nobility and commons of England possible. In France, when the monarchy had at last won its way to absolutism, we may see something of the same sort happening.

France and England.

If the successors of Henry II. had been as strong or as wise as he, we should have had a different story to tell. But no method has ever been found of securing a succession of good kings, and the very fact of victory over all enemies seems to make degeneracy specially likely. A good despotism is certainly not the best form of government, but it can confer on a people many benefits. No one has ever found much to say in favour of a despotism that pursues merely personal aims and shows no ability.

Richard Cœur de Lion, who succeeded to all his father's dominions, has left a great name in romance, and, as no book on history is likely to be read so often, or remembered so well, as Scott's "Ivanhoe" and "Talisman," the Richard of romance is not likely to be replaced by the Richard of history. The Richard of romance, moreover, fearless, adventurous, generous, musician, and poet—represents part of the king's true character. He was a good knight-errant, but a bad king. His crusade and his captivity have been glanced at elsewhere, and they occupied most of his reign. The system that Henry II. had constructed showed its strength by keeping the country together during his absence, though at the end his brother John played the traitor again, and joined the King of France in an attack on the English power.

Richard I.

In 1199 a chance wound, received while he was besieging the castle of Chalus, resulted in Richard's death.

King John.

His brother John succeeded him. He had all the vices that characterized this strange Angevin family, and some that were peculiar to himself; nor were they redeemed in his case by the energy, capacity, and high aims which we have observed in his father and brother. Some have thought that English constitutional liberties came too soon, but no one has found a word to say in defence of King John. The great fact of his reign is that the country rose in rebellion against him; no mere resistance this time of a few feudal nobles, disgusted that they were not allowed more power to do evil; but a real movement of large sections of the people, in which Norman and English were equally concerned.

The preliminaries to Magna Carta.

What led to the revolt, and what made its success possible? The personal character of the king explains much, but by no means all. Two forces chiefly must be noted. First, military defeat and humiliation: secondly, a quarrel with the Church. The Norman kings were before all things war-lords. Victory in battle had given them the crown of England; military strength had given them the control which they exercised over the land. In all periods a government is shaken to its foundations by serious military defeat; witness in our own day the ruins of the Hohenzollern, Hapsburg, and Romanoff dynasties! A defeated coward could hardly hope to sit on the throne of William the Conqueror. John lost Normandy, the very foundation of the power of his race. There sat on the French throne now Philip Augustus, one of the greatest of French kings, a man who resembled Henry II. of England in many ways. Against him John was quite outmatched, and his defeat was attended by disgrace. He lost the castle of Château Gaillard that Richard had built and loved; he murdered his nephew Arthur when he fell into his hands. Normandy fell into the power of France in 1204; Anjou, Maine, and Touraine in 1206; when John leagued himself with Otto, who was attempting to win the imperial crown against Frederick II. and Pope Innocent III., this only led to the disaster of Bouvines (1214). The

The loss of Normandy.

territories of the French Crown extended now to the mouths of the Loire and the Seine. The Angevin Empire was broken for ever. These events soon produced their effects in England. Many of the English barons had lands across the sea, and were injured by the failure of John's arms; all must have had some sense of national humiliation, and a very clear feeling that it was not so dangerous to rebel against John as it had been against Henry and Richard.

John and the Papacy.

John's relations with the Papacy and the Church were as unfortunate as with the French Crown. First there came a sharp conflict with the papacy about the appointment of an Archbishop of Canterbury. The monks attached to the cathedral had chosen one man; the king in indignation had appointed another; it was inevitable that the Pope should interfere to try and settle the dispute. He put aside both candidates and chose Stephen Langton, an Englishman and a cardinal, already well known for his learning and the purity of his life. King John was wild with fury at this action of the Pope, refused to allow Langton to enter the country, and laid hands on the revenues of the archbishopric. Pope Innocent III. was not the man to refuse the challenge. His counter-attack was a terrible one. He pronounced on the kingdom of England a solemn interdict which cut the whole realm off from the Catholic Church, and made intercourse with other nations difficult. Nor were more secular weapons wanting. The Pope urged the King of France to invade England, and the Welsh and the English saw in the king's difficulties with the Pope an opportunity for recovering their lost independence. John met these gathering dangers by an abject surrender. He promised to receive Stephen Langton; he did more. He declared that England was a vassal of the Holy See, and did homage for it to the Pope. He promised large indemnities to the clergy and an annual subsidy to the Pope. So the Pope's anger was assuaged, and the king was absolved by Stephen Langton. But the consequences of the struggle remained. It was not forgotten that the king had been declared an enemy of the Church and of God.

The barons and people hated King John, and no longer feared him. The Church no longer supported him. When

the crowning disaster of Bouvines had come the storm broke. John found himself almost without support. There were preliminary meetings of the barons and their allies at St. Albans and in Saint Paul's Cathedral, and then the king had to meet the leaders at Runnymede, near Windsor. There the Great Charter of English Liberties was signed.

Magna Carta.

Magna Carta is a document of sixty-three clauses, and the greater number of them are concerned with the safeguarding of the privileges of the nobility, and here in many instances the interest of the commons was rather with the king than with his enemies. The chief points that concerned the realm as a whole are these: (1) If the king wanted any taxes beyond the ordinary feudal dues he was henceforth bound to call the Grand Council; and the form in which the summons was to be sent out was to be prescribed. The supremacy of the yet unborn House of Commons is derived from this article. (2) The liberties of the English Church are guaranteed, though not defined. (3) The rule of the common law of England is declared to cover all free men, "No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned save by the lawful judgement of his peers or by the law of the land." (4) The liberties of London and of the other towns and harbours of England were confirmed. To the king the most humiliating clause was the sixty-first, which established a commission of twenty-five barons to see that the provisions of the Charter were executed, and to enforce them if necessary by civil war.

The signing of Magna Carta was one of the great events of European history. Legends have gathered round it, and have exaggerated its features and obscured its meaning. It owes part of its modern fame to the lawyers of the seventeenth century, who found in it a basis, most useful but not quite historical, for their struggle against the Stuarts. But its importance remains. It did not guarantee trial by jury; it did not introduce the commons to political power; it was a feudal, not a popular document. But it is the basis of much that is most characteristic in the English constitution, and by its clauses, and even by the misinterpretation of them, bears

Importance of the Great Charter.

eloquent testimony to the continuity of the history of the constitution of England.

The immediate working of the Charter was not satisfactory. The king refused to abide by it, and was absolved from the need of observing his oath by Pope Innocent III. His opponents at once declared war, and invited Louis of France to come over and take the crown. He came, and there was every prospect of a long and destructive civil war that might have left an evil mark on England's destiny when John died in 1216.

IV

The movement that produced Magna Carta seemed then at first to have failed. It had lit the flames of civil war and had introduced a foreign prince into the land as a claimant for the English throne. It was not, however, really a failure, because it rested on permanent forces in the social life of the land. But its insufficiency was soon apparent. It became clear that it was not enough to exact a promise of good conduct from the king, and to threaten to enforce the promise by civil war. Perpetual vigilance is the price that has to be paid for liberty. If the people of England were to be either masters of the government of England, or partners in it, it would be necessary for them to have some permanent organization to represent and enforce their wishes. Hence, largely came the development of the English parliament into its later form.

King Henry III.

Henry III. who succeeded was a better man than his father, but light of mind and weak of will. He was not anxious to prolong John's struggles against his people, and the barons were willing to see if the new king could be trusted. He issued in 1225 a new version of the Great Charter, omitting the clauses which made the consent of the Great Council necessary for the imposition of new taxes. The new version was, however, accepted without protest. It is noteworthy how the Charter was for this age the standard of its claims. So long as they were accepted all was well.

Blunders and failures in the foreign policy of the king, and crushing taxation at home as a result of them, caused the next great effort to control the royal power.

Mistakes of Henry III.

The king was unpopular because, soon after his accession to the throne, he had given his confidence to men of foreign origin, most of them relatives of his mother. We hear of protests against these men, who are called favourites. They were hated not merely because they were foreigners, nor because they were supposed to have an evil influence on the king, but because they came between him and his nobles and his people. Ever since the Great Charter the barons and their allies had claimed to exercise a control over the government, and these "favourites" usurped the position which they thought ought to belong to the leaders of the English nobility. Under their influence the king embarked on a course of foreign policy that led to disaster. The papacy was engaged in its desperate struggle against the Hohenstaufen. Frederick II. was dead, and the popes were resolved that his hated race should be expelled entirely from Naples and Sicily. Henry was the ally of the popes, and they saw in him a useful instrument. Two rich prizes were dangled before his eyes. His brother Richard of Cornwall was to be emperor; his son Edmund was to succeed to the crown of Sicily. Had both plans succeeded they would hardly have added to the strength of the Crown or the nation. But after some promise of success both failed. To support these claims Henry had exacted large sums from the Church and the people. The opponents of the king therefore had now no lack of support.

Simon de Montfort.

The party of the barons found a great leader in Simon de Montfort, Count of Leicester. He was the son of that de Montfort who had played a prominent and cruel part in the suppression of the Albigensian heresy. He had been at first the king's friend and had married the king's sister; but then there had come quarrels which had never been quite made up. Simon was now the most active leader of the opponents of the monarchy. It is difficult to say what part was played in his career by personal hostility to the king, and what part by patriotism and a desire to establish an

effective government. He was a man of ideas, and his ideas reached beyond politics to the reform of the Church. The contemporary movement of the Friars, who were beginning to exercise much influence in England, helps to explain his aims.

In 1258 parliament met at Oxford and put forward demands, some of which anticipate the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Parliament was to meet three times a year, but was to consist of twelve delegates "to spare the cost of the commonalty." The king was to have a council of fifteen which was to control all his actions. The twelve men who representented parliament were to be in constant communication with the fifteen. If these provisions had been carried out the king would have abdicated into the hands of the nobility.

The Provisions of Oxford.

But the new form of government did not work well, and could not last. The barons quarrelled among themselves and showed no sign of regarding the interests of the commonalty. The Pope was not unmindful of his old ally, and absolved him from the oath that he had taken to observe the "Provisions of Oxford." Civil war broke out. In 1263 an effort was made to escape from the misery of the struggle by an appeal to the arbitration of the saintly King of France, Louis IX. It was impossible that a king of France in that age should approve of rebellious barons. Louis annulled the Provisions of Oxford. The barons refused to accept the decision, and war came again. At the battle of Lewes the king was defeated and taken prisoner. He still wore the crown, but it was Simon de Montfort who ruled England. In 1265 Simon took the step which more than anything else has made his name famous. He summoned a parliament of a new type—a body in which we see an approximation to the parliament which, with rare exceptions, has played the central part in English history down to our own time. Previous parliaments had been councils of barons; Simon de Montfort summoned every county and every borough to send representatives to consult with the barons and with the clergy. The counties and the towns had already occasionally sent spokesmen to discuss with the king details of business. But

De Montfort's Parliament.

Simon de Montfort's parliament was the first great council of the realm, where all sections of the community were represented, and where representatives of the counties and the towns met on an equal footing with the great barons and the churchmen.

From a distance we see the importance of the experiment, but it must have had a different look at the time. The country was not ready for it. Bitter quarrels broke out among Simon's noble allies; his power was attacked from the side of Wales. Edward, the king's son, who had been a prisoner since the battle of Lewes, escaped from captivity and joined with the rebels.

Death of Simon de Montfort.

At Evesham Simon was defeated and slain (1265). All his work seemed undone. The nobles had to throw themselves on the king's mercy. At Kenilworth it was laid down that the king "was to exercise his dominion, authority, and royal power without hindrance or opposition." The Provisions of Oxford were annulled; but the king promised to abide by the charters to which he had voluntarily sworn, and this included the reissue of Magna Carta.

The country accepted the new state of things very quietly. So peaceable was it that Edward, the king's son, went off on a crusade and was still in the East when the king died in 1272.

Importance of Edward I.'s reign.

It has been said that England has profited more by the follies and vices of her bad kings than by the virtues of her good ones. It is a very doubtful verdict! True, without the vices of King John there would have been no Magna Carta; without the weakness of Henry III. there would probably have been no such experiment in parliamentary government as we have just noted. But it was the strong and, on the whole, the just government of the Conqueror and of Henry II. that had built up the national unity which alone made a national parliament possible, and it was Edward I.—whom no one has ever called weak, and few would call bad—who put parliamentary government on a safe foundation. There is no more fundamentally important period in our history than the

thirty-five years of Edward's reign. Neglecting chronological order, we will first see what he did to build up the fabric of parliament.

The parliament of Simon de Montfort had been the enemy of the royal power. There would have been nothing strange if Edward, now that the royal power was re-established, had made it his chief endeavour to extirpate parliamentary institutions in every form. It was the policy which the kings of France followed with regard to all institutions that threatened to check their power. It is the supreme merit of Edward I. that he saw that what had been an instrument of opposition could be made into a method of government, and that he voluntarily retained the partnership between king and people which had been forced upon his father and grandfather. He made several experiments, but the decisive step came in 1295, when he had been on the throne more than twenty years. He was engaged in difficult wars with the French and with the Scotch. At such a crisis a weaker man might have taken care to avoid all possibility of opposition at home. With wiser insight Edward chose this moment to call the people into full partnership. He summoned the Model Parliament, which followed the lines of Montfort's parliament of 1265, but gave to the people a completer representation. There came the earls and the barons, the bishops and the abbots; there came two representatives from every shire and from every borough; there came representatives of the lower clergy. "Common dangers," said the king, "should be met by measures agreed on in common." What the representation of England was in 1295, that it remained, with no essential modifications, down to 1832. Two years later Edward reaffirmed the basis on which parliamentary government has always rested. He confirmed the charters, and once more promised that no aids or taxes should be raised except by consent of parliament. Parliament has had its ups and downs, and its periods of eclipse as well as of power, but its assured position in the life of England dates from Edward's reign.

The Model Parliament.

A few years later, in 1302, Philip IV. of France, in the heat of his struggle with the papacy, called into council the

States-General. He, too, asked a body which represented the clergy, the nobility, and the commons of France to support him in a struggle which seemed likely to tax all his powers. But the later history of the two bodies shows a wide contrast: the States-General seemed sometimes as if they were going to control the destinies of France, especially after the battle of Poictiers and at the beginning of the Reformation movement; but in the end they fell away and left the country in the hands of the monarchy. What are the causes of the wide difference?

The English parliament compared with the States-General.

Some of them are clear. The States-General were not so rooted in the life of the nation as parliament was with us. Simon de Montfort and Edward I. did but bring together and develop methods of common action that already existed, while Philip IV. imposed a wholly new form of institution upon the country. Secondly, while the English parliament came to be organized in the two chambers of Lords and Commons, the States-General were divided into the three chambers of Clergy, Nobility, and Commons. This seems at first sight a mere question of machinery; but the French system gave a preponderance to the two privileged classes—the nobility and the clergy—and prevented the States-General from becoming adequate representatives of the life of the nation as a whole. Thirdly, the French "States" never got that control of taxation which was the lever in the hands of parliament, and which at last gave it control of everything. In 1439 the French kings received the definite power of raising money for the maintenance of a standing army. Lastly, the influence of geography must not be forgotten. Defended by the seas, England could dispense with a standing army; and standing armies were fatal to the liberties of France. So the two nations went their different ways, and each had its own advantages.

Causes of their different destinies.

V

The thirteenth century had a great interest in problems of legislation. At the universities, which were springing into

existence on all sides, Roman law was being studied with reverent and almost superstitious care; and the principles of Roman law (civil law, as it was called) were being widely adopted. In England there was no inclination to adopt them wholesale. The national customs were the basis of the administration of our law, and few wanted to make any essential changes; but Roman law exercised on it a modifying influence, working for clearness of definition and logical relation of the parts. Edward I.'s chief interest was probably in legislation, and his chief effort was to give precision and order to the existing laws and customs of England. He has been called, with exaggeration, the English Justinian; but he deserves the praise that Dante bestowed upon Justinian: he took from the laws what was redundant and meaningless. Naturally, too, he had always an eye on the strengthening of the authority of the Crown. A good deal of his legislation, though not all, falls into line with the tendency of the time to undermine the power of feudalism. The chief statutes may be summarily noticed.

Edward I. and English law.

The English Justinian?

In 1278, by the Statute of Gloucester, he made a definite attack on the feudal nobles by instituting an inquiry into the ground or warrant on which their judicial rights were based. This provoked, however, such an outcry that the attack was not pressed home. The feudal courts were being undermined in other ways. The itinerant judges were one of the chief of these, and their circuits were regulated and their powers increased by Edward.

The Statute of Gloucester.

By the Statute of Mortmain, in 1279, it was forbidden to make any further grants of lands to the Church without the express permission of the king. This did not imply any hostility to the Church, for the king was a Crusader and a loyal son of the Church. The king's motives were political and financial. Lands in the power of the Church were exempt from these feudal payments, which were an important element in the revenues of the Crown. Later, in 1285, the king limited the subjects that could be handled in ecclesiastical courts.

Mortmain.

There are two important statutes dealing with land tenure. In 1285 there came one usually known as *De Donis Conditionalibus*, the effect of which was to allow a landowner to ensure that his lands should descend undivided from eldest son to eldest son; to "entail" them according to the legal phrase. A prominent and questionable feature of our land system is largely derived from this Act.

De Donis Conditionalibus.

Quia Emptores.

In 1290 the statute *Quia Emptores* forbade "subinfeudation." That is, it laid down that if a landowner alienated or sold any land the new owner became the vassal of the seller's lord, not of the seller. It had somewhat the same effect as William the Conqueror's famous Moot of Salisbury.

VI

The wars of Edward I.

Edward I.'s reign was full of wars, and they have left a permanent mark on the history of England. He fought against France, against Wales, against Scotland. The wars are closely related to one another, but may be separately treated here.

While the English king possessed Gascony there was always likely to be trouble with France, where national feeling was growing. The friction was increased when Edward inherited through his wife the territory of Ponthieu, on the lower Somme. Hence came war with France's violent monarch Philip IV.; but war that led to little change. Edward did not want to add to his troubles at home the complication of a foreign war. In 1299 he made peace, and married the French king's sister.

Wars in Wales.

Far more important were his wars in Wales. The Welsh found a fine leader in Prince Llewelyn, and it took several years of hard fighting before Edward could enforce his will on his brave enemies. In the end the land of Llewelyn was divided into counties, and brought under the king's direct rule. The border districts were still left in the hands of the feudal lords. The new settlement was defined in the Statute of Wales (1284).

The Scotch war was the most important of all, and seemed

to promise the best results. Edward I. seemed before his death to have incorporated Scotland with the domains of the English Crown. When Alexander III. died in 1286, the heir to the throne was his grand-daughter, who is known as Margaret, the Maid of Norway. Here was a chance of bringing the two countries into peaceable union. The Maid was betrothed to Edward's son, who had just been declared Prince of Wales. The union of the crowns seemed secure; the independence of the peoples was wisely provided for. But Margaret died in 1290.

The Scotch wars.

The succession to the Scotch throne was now a difficult question, and the claimants consented to submit it to the arbitration of Edward I., who established a court to go into the matter. John Balliol was chosen, and did homage to the English king. A satisfactory solution seemed to have been reached.

But the solution proved far from satisfactory. The Scotch resented the recognition of English overlordship, and Balliol had to make himself the spokesman of their feeling. War came, and Edward invaded and conquered. Balliol resigned the crown. Edward declared Scotland annexed to the crown of England. Was this the end?

The first conquest of Scotland.

It was by no means the end. Scotch national feeling was only increased by defeat, as was to be seen again and again in Scotch history. It found a representative in Sir William Wallace, and he defeated the English Governor of Scotland at Stirling Bridge in 1297. King Edward had to come himself. He defeated Wallace at Falkirk in 1298, and when some years later Wallace reappeared in Scotland, he was taken prisoner and executed. But a new leader appeared in Robert Bruce, who was crowned King of Scotland. Edward found it necessary again to march against Scotland, but he died on the road thither in 1307, leaving the Scotch question unsettled and critical.

Sir William Wallace.

Robert Bruce.

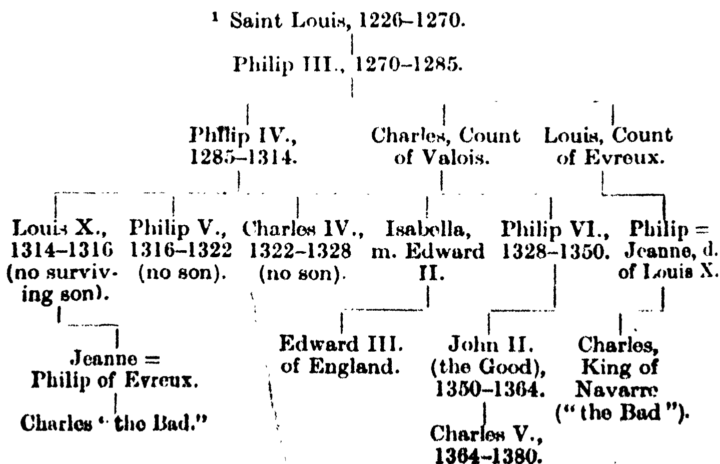
The following books may be noted from among the vast literature that deals with the period covered in this chapter. Freeman's *William the Conqueror*; Mrs. J. R. Green's *Henry II.*; T. F. Tout's *Edward I.*; Green's *Short History of the English People*; Volumes II. and III. of the *Political History of England* by G. B. Adams and T. F. Tout respectively. Stubbs' *Constitutional History of England* and his *Select Charters*.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Hundred Years' War

The question of the succession in France.

On the death of Philip IV. of France there was no lack of descendants in the royal line. There were three sons, and besides these a daughter, Isabella, who was married to Edward II. of England. An unchallenged succession seemed assured; but France was soon involved in one of the greatest struggles that has ever arisen out of a disputed succession. For the three sons of Philip IV.—Louis X., Philip V., and Charles IV. —died one after the other, not indeed childless, but without male heirs. On the death of Charles IV., therefore, in 1328, the question of the descent of the crown was a really difficult one. Edward III. of England was the male in nearest direct descent from Philip IV. Charles "the Bad" of Navarre was the grandson of Philip IV.'s eldest son: Philip, soon to be Philip VI., was the nephew of Philip IV.[1]

[1]


There was plenty of room for legal disputes. To exclude the claim of Edward III., a clause was produced from the laws of the Salian Franks with regard to landed property which said: "Of Salic land no portion of the inheritance shall come to a woman, but the whole inheritance of the land shall come to the male sex"; and it was maintained that this rule of inheritance, which applied to landed property in one branch of the Franks at the beginning of their history, applied for all time to the inheritance of the crown of the King of France. But the question was not a legal one. The "Salic Law" was the excuse, but the real motive was the desire to keep the crown of France from the hands of a foreigner, and thus to preserve the national independence of the country.

The Salic Law.

The Hundred Years' War was a struggle arising chiefly from the rivalry of the only two strong national states of Europe. Germany, since the fall of the Hohenstaufen, was divided and ineffective both for politics and war. Italy was only a geographical expression. Spain did not exist as a state, and the different Christian kingdoms of Spain held their own with difficulty against the forces of Islam. But England possessed national unity and an effective organization. Thanks to the wisdom of Edward I., Crown and Parliament worked in efficient co-operation, and the means of creating a powerful armed force existed. France had not achieved such complete unity as England, but over a large stretch of country the king ruled with unquestioned authority, and the nobles were no longer rivals and independent powers in any part of the country. In the fourteenth century war was undertaken very lightly, and the jealousies of kings were always apt to produce war as soon as the kings possessed power. For over a hundred years the two royal houses struggled, with intervals of peace, for the possession of the crown and territories of France.

France and England.

Froissart has described the early stages of the war in the most brilliant of chronicles. The joy of fighting and the glory and pageantry of war are given with a brightness of colour hardly to be matched outside of the pages of Homer. But the historian must give a very different

Froissart.

account of it. It was one of the most terrible of wars in its social consequences. While the knights of England and of France were winning glory and exhibiting the graces and the virtues of chivalry on the battle-field, the country was pillaged mercilessly; the soldiers, high and low, exhibited the most brutal savagery; France, in the words of one of her historians, "passed through the flames of Hell."

The war was a savage conflict of two great rival powers. But there were excuses for the outbreak of the struggle more serious than the question of the validity of the Salic law. Edward III. was at war with Scotland, and France was in alliance with the Scots. The French king was suspected of designs on Guienne, which Edward III. held as a fief of the French king. But the chief immediate cause was to be found in Flanders. England and Flanders were intimately connected by commercial ties. Flanders was the one great centre of the woollen industry in Europe, and the best wool came from England. Just at this time the King of France had joined with the Count of Flanders (for there was a Count of Flanders again since the failure of Philip IV.'s attempt to annex the country) in crushing the turbulent citizens of the great towns. There followed another outbreak in Flanders under Jacob van Artevelde of Ghent, and the insurgents entered into friendly relations with the English king, who thus gained valuable allies and an excellent base for an attack on France. The success of the war depended throughout very largely on the allies whom England could procure. Her early successes were the result of the support of Flanders and the adjacent districts of Brabant and Hainault. And a hundred years later the ruin of England in the war came when these lands, then united under the rule of the Duke of Burgundy, transferred their allegiance to the King of France.

The immediate cause of the war.

The situation in Flanders.

The first phase of the war showed brilliant and uninterrupted success for England, and her victories were often won against great odds. For England was a great innovator in methods of warfare. Her army was gathered by voluntary enlistment for wage, and had none of the disorder of the

feudal levy. The Black Prince was a great commander, swift to seize the favourable opportunity in the crisis of a battle, daring in the adoption of new methods, as when at Crecy and at Poitiers he caused his knights to leave their horses and fight on foot, skilful in planning a battle, if not in arranging a campaign. Above all, in the long bow the English army possessed a weapon of dreadful efficiency. The Continental armies had nothing equal to it. It had a longer range and a greater penetrating power than the crossbow which was used by the French archers. It produced a more immediate revolution in war than the invention of gunpowder.

The early victories of England.

The long bow.

War was declared in 1337. It was one of the slow moving wars which stand in such marked contrast with the rapidity and continuity of modern campaigns. Want of money often brought operations to an end just when we should have expected something decisive. For twenty years the English arms had hardly a serious check. The naval fight off Sluys (1340) demonstrated and assured the naval superiority of the English. In 1346 King Edward III. and the Black Prince landed at La Hogue and marched towards Calais. The French army, superior in numbers and confident of victory, came up with them at Crecy. In the great battle which followed the feudal chivalry of France, with undisciplined courage, flung themselves on the strong defensive position which the English had taken up. It is said that the English used cannon; but if so they were of little service. It was the long bow that did the work. The arrows seem to have penetrated even the mail of the knights, and upon the bodies of the horses they fell with murderous effect. The English gained their victory with insignificant loss. The siege of Calais followed—a long and cruel blockade, in which famine at last gave the English the town. The inhabitants were expelled, English settlers were introduced, and for the future the English would always possess the gate of their enemies.

Crecy.

There was an interval of comparative quiet after this, due largely to the ravages of the Black Death. In 1355 the Black Prince conducted campaigns in Guienne and enlarged the

English frontiers there. In 1356, laden with booty, he was intercepted near Poitiers by a much larger army under King John, who had succeeded to the throne in 1350. John the Good he is called, his "goodness" being according to the standard of feudal chivalry; for he was an evil ruler for France, and her sufferings during the following years were largely due to his weak rule. The features of Crecy were repeated; on the one side complete self-confidence and a fierce onslaught; on the other, a carefully chosen defensive position, the archers the chief arm, and a repulse turned into a rout by an attack at the right moment. King John "the Good" himself fell a prisoner into the hands of the English and was taken to London.

Poitiers.

Disaster, financial distress, the horrible pestilence of the Black Death and the excesses of the bands of mercenary soldiers, who wandered about the country, filled up the cup of the misery of France. And it seemed that from the extremity of her disaster would arise a revolution in her government. Paris fell into the power of Stephen Marcel, Provost of the Merchants, a remarkable man who came near to leaving a great name in the annals of his native land and of Europe. He joined with Charles of Navarre ("Charles the Bad") and projected a new scheme of government which would have brought the political development of France into close resemblance to that of England. His ideas were embodied in the ordinances of 1357, which amount to the establishment of representative government in France. The States-General were to play the part of the English Parliament. They were to meet frequently and were to control the taxation of the country. The English were to be driven out of the land by a national army, which was to be raised by a general conscription and universal obligation to military service. These ideas are prophetic of a distant future; but it is doubtful if they could have been realized in the France of the fourteenth century. Charles of Navarre gave Marcel hesitating support: the Dauphin Charles, who ruled during the imprisonment of his father, had the national feeling of France on his side, and the revolutionary

Stephen Marcel and the Revolution of Paris.

The States-General.

movement was strong only in Paris. The tumultuous outbreaks of the peasants (the Jacquerie) showed the dangers of disorder. Marcel was killed and Paris surrendered to the Dauphin. There was no further attempt to take the conduct of the war from the control of the crown.

In 1360 King John accepted the Peace of Bretigni whereby King Edward III. abandoned his claim to the French throne, but received in full sovereignty, without homage or allegiance of any sort, the large district of Aquitaine to the south of the Loire, as well as Calais and the neighbouring district. It seemed a great victory for the English king ; but it was soon to pass away like smoke.

King Charles V. and Du Guesclin.

In 1364 John "the Good" died, and his son Charles V. succeeded. The fate of France must have seemed more precarious than ever when it depended upon this weak, ill-shapen, unwarlike king. But he proved, in fact, a far more effective ruler than his rash and empty-headed father. He was fortunate in discovering Du Guesclin—a Breton knight—who soon displayed military talents of the very highest kind, and showed great skill in adapting his methods to meet the peculiar strength of the English. He gave them no further chance of winning another Crecy or Poitiers. He fought war in grim earnest and not as a knightly sport. He "kicked at the belly" by devastating the country through which the English were to pass and taking refuge within walled towns. The French won no days of glory like those which had fallen to the lot of the English, and twice Du Guesclin fell into the hands of the Black Prince. But the English possessions constantly diminished. Heavy taxation had made the Black Prince unpopular even in Guienne. In 1372 a little known but very important battle off La Rochelle ended in a naval victory for France. When Edward III. died in 1377, nothing remained in English hands except Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne and the lands in the immediate neighbourhood of these towns.

Battle of La Rochelle.

At the death of Edward III. the military outlook for France was much brighter, but she was still the prey of grave social evils. Du Guesclin had employed against the English

"companies" of mercenary soldiers—raised by promise of pay and booty, directly subordinate to their commanders, and far more efficient than the old armies of the kings of France, penetrated as they were by the spirit of feudalism. But though these "companies" were efficient in war, they were almost as dreadful a scourge to the country as the enemy himself. For in time of peace they spread over the country, plundering the peaceful inhabitants, and in some places a fresh army had to be raised against them, and at one time a crusade was even declared against them. Charles V.—Charles the Sage he is often called—died in 1380, leaving a son, Charles VI., only eleven years old. So, first, there were all the troubles that belong to a regency, and then, when Charles VI. came of age, other and worse troubles soon showed themselves. The king was stricken with madness. He recovered at times, but it would have been better for France if the clouds had settled permanently upon him, for then some stable government might have been established through a regency. As it was, France became the prey of furious factions which claimed the right to rule the country in his name.

The companies of France.

Charles VI.

These parties are usually labelled the Burgundians and the Armagnacs. They were the followers of two princes of the blood royal who each claimed the right of exercising the government in the King's name. It was a great disaster for France that there was any Duke of Burgundy at all, and that there was one was due to the unwise action of King John the Good. For in 1362 the old house of Burgundy had come to an end, and its territories had fallen to the crown. They should have been annexed to the royal domain; but John gave them with the Ducal title to his son Philip the Bold, who alone had stood by his father on the disastrous field of Poitiers. From him were to come for four generations the most dangerous rivals and enemies of the French crown.

Burgundians and Armagnacs.

Philip the Bold of Burgundy claimed the Regency as uncle of Charles VI., and at his death his claim was taken over by his son, John the Fearless. His claims were resisted by the King's brother Louis, Duke of Orleans, and when the Duke

of Orleans had been murdered in 1407, his cause and the cause of his party was espoused by the Count of Armagnac, the father-in-law of the new duke, who was not old enough to fight for himself. There are few more savage contests than this between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, though it finds a close parallel in the feuds of the Yorkists and Lancastrians in our own country. It was a struggle for power and the wealth that power brings, but each gave to their cause some show of principle. The Armagnacs were associated with the feudal nobility of France, and found their strongest support in the south. The Duke of Burgundy allied himself with the democracy of the city of Paris and with the merchant classes of the other northern cities; but it was an alliance that sprang merely from a common enmity; for the Burgundians were equally ready to ally themselves with the feudal nobles when it served their turn to do so. The rivalry of these two princely houses led to fierce civil war. Paris fell into the power of a revolutionary party; but despite the support of the Burgundians it was reconquered by the Armagnacs. They controlled the King and the Dauphin, and victory seemed in their grasp, when in 1413 there came another acute crisis in the war with England.

Nature of the new civil war.

Henry V. was on the throne of England, young, ardent, ambitious, anxious for a military success which should make his people forget how weak was his claim to the English throne. He invaded France, conquered Harfleur after very great loss, and then, with an army sadly thinned by war and disease, he marched towards Calais, hoping to re-embark there for England. A great French army crossed his path at Agincourt. The English were saved from a situation of the greatest peril by the skill of their king and the courage and discipline of the troops; but also by the faulty tactics and masterless confusion of the enemy. They attacked as at Crecy and Poitiers, and it was no advantage under the circumstances that the knights had dismounted and fought on foot. The English archers did their deadly work, and Henry V. gained an even more overwhelming victory than those which had fallen to the lot of the Black Prince.

Henry V. of England.

Agincourt, 1415.

France fell lower and lower. The Dauphin quarrelled violently with his mother. The civil war of the factions showed no sign of abatement. Efforts at reconciliation only provided opportunities for assassination. The Burgundians made themselves master of Paris; and in 1418 John the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in order to avenge his father's murder, made hearty alliance with the English. Thus supported, Henry rapidly advanced in the conquest of Normandy, and his success was sealed in 1420 by the Treaty of Troyes. He was to marry Catherine, daughter of the imbecile King Charles VI., and was to rule France as Regent for the present, and as King at the death of Charles VI. The Duke of Burgundy was rewarded for his support by a declaration of the independence of those territories which he had hitherto held as a fief of the crown of France. Next year, Henry V. entered Paris. A career of unlimited possibilities seemed opening before him, when in 1422 he died.

Alliance of the Burgundians with the English.

Charles VI. died in the same year, and he was succeeded by his son Charles VII.—Charles the Victorious, as he was called at last—Charles the well-served, as he has been more justly styled. The English victories continued unabated. Victories in the south of Normandy and the upper course of the Seine seemed to confirm the alliance with Burgundy and to open the way to an attack on the centre and south of France, where alone Charles VII. now had any serious following. The only sign of hope for France was seen in the difficulties that arose between England and Burgundy; for the Burgundian alliance was the pivot of the English triumph, and in 1425 it seemed endangered by the effort of Humphrey of Gloucester to secure possessions in Hainault by a marriage with the heiress. This quarrel was, however, patched up, and in 1428 the English advanced to the siege of Orleans. They built forts at the gates of the city and though they did not encircle it by continuous lines of blockade, it seemed certain that famine would soon give the city to the English, and with the city the means of striking at the centre and south of France. It seemed that the French monarchy was close to its ruin.

Charles VII. "le victorieux" or "le bien servi."

Then Joan of Arc arose. Our knowledge of her career is drawn from evidence that is singularly good and full; but scrutiny, if it dispenses with miracle, does not lessen the wonder of it. She was an ignorant and pious peasant girl, and she had no experience of war; and yet she showed not only a contagious courage and enthusiasm, but also made suggestions that might have come from an experienced soldier. She believed herself divinely commissioned to relieve Orleans and to crown the King at Rheims, which lay in the heart of the country which was at the time of her coming in possession of the enemy. Both French and English came to believe that there was something supernatural in her, and this accounts for the change from the depths of depression to confidence on the side of France, and a corresponding and opposite change on the side of the English. Her career was a short one, and not so decisive as it is sometimes represented. Orleans was relieved, and the confidence of the English rudely shaken. The king was crowned at Rheims, and thus the mission, which "the voices" of which she spoke had confided to her, was accomplished. She remained unwillingly with the armies, and what followed was a dismal anti-climax. The king gave her poor support, and, like his generals, was probably jealous of her. The French army was driven off from an attack on Paris, though if Joan's advice had been taken the city would probably have fallen. Then she was captured in an attempt to relieve Compiegne. There is no more pitiful tragedy than the story how she was sold by her Burgundian captors to the English; and how a court, presided over by the Bishop of Beauvais under English influence, found her guilty of witchcraft. Her life was at first promised her; but on the ground that she had resumed her male attire she was sentenced to death as a relapsed heretic, and was burned professing to the last faith in "the voices" that had guided her.

Joan of Arc.

Relief of Orleans.

Martyrdom of Joan of Arc.

She had done much, but much remained to be done. The English grasp on France was loosened but not shaken off. The Burgundian alliance was still the key of the position, and Duke John the Fearless was again irritated with his

English allies because he thought they were aiming at acquiring power within his own dominions. In 1435 he took the final step, and by the Peace of Arras separated himself from the English and made peace with the King of France; his dominions were increased, and he was to be free during his whole life from any feudal dependence on the crown of France.

Burgundy makes peace with France.

In England, meanwhile, there was no government and no statesman capable of meeting the difficulty. The dismemberment which she had brought upon France seemed coming to her: the bitter strife of factions had begun, which was to lead later to the Wars of the Roses. France, encouraged by the prospect of success, turned to the reorganization of the state with confidence and energy. In 1436 Paris was reoccupied by Charles VII. He was well served to the end, and his chief servants came from the ranks of the merchant class. One such man, Jean Bureau, took in hand the artillery of the French army, and soon it came to be the best in Europe, and was more than an adequate counterpoise to the English archers in the remaining stages of the fighting. Another servant, Jacques Cœur of Bourges, laboured to reform the finances of France. It was an appalling task, for the country seemed sunk in chaos and misery. The Pragmatic Sanction of 1438 was a financial help to France, for while Councils were declared superior to the Pope, and the Church was allowed to choose her own officials, certain large payments which had hitherto been made to the Pope were refused, and some of them found their way to the king's treasury. More directly important measures came in 1439, when a famous ordinance was issued by the king, dealing with the organization of the army (*ordonnance sur la gendarmerie*). In this measure it was not so much the English war that was thought of, for there was a breathing space in that; but rather the bands of brigands, or *écorcheurs*, who traversed France in large numbers and made life insupportable except within the walls of a town. These men were disbanded soldiers from the mercenary companies, men of many nationalities and all classes, who now plundered

Reorganization of France.

The Pragmatic Sanction.

The ordinance of 1439.

with deliberation and organization the country they had been hired to save. The one means to meet this and most other evils seemed to Frenchmen in the fifteenth century to be an increase in the authority of the crown. So with general support the great ordinance was issued. The taille, a tax hitherto levied by the nobles on their estates—a tax on property, on land, and on houses—was transferred to the crown and was to be devoted to the raising of a standing army. No one was to be allowed to raise troops without licence from the king, and all captains were to be nominated by him. It was an ordinance of far greater scope than was suspected at the time. It was effective against the brigands, and gave the king an efficient army when the war against England was renewed. But it also proved a potent instrument for the advancement and enforcement of the royal power. The kings of France henceforth had the power of collecting a tax that was elastic, and could be made to raise great sums of money; and this tax could be used to maintain a standing army. What the kings of England never won—the right to tax and the right to maintain a standing army—was given willingly to the kings of France! This of itself does not by any means explain why France became an absolute monarchy, and England, despite all checks, worked forward to parliamentarism. The geography and the primitive institutions of the two races were potent influences on their divergent growth. But the ordinance of 1439 was an important step, and it was never recalled until the monarchy disappeared in the storms of the revolution of 1789.

Its consequences.

War with England came again in 1439. Normandy rebelled against the English and was supported by the forces of the crown. Rouen was taken, and then the English made their last stand at Formigny (1450). Their defeat gave the whole of the north of France, with the exception of Calais, into the hands of the French. Then in 1453 Guienne came over to France. Bordeaux almost alone held out for England. A last effort was made to recover some of the lost ground, when the veteran Talbot led out an army. At Castillon (1453) the last battle of the Hundred Years' War was fought. The last picture that we get of the

The end of the war.

fighting is characteristic. The English archers failed. The English knights charged with stubborn courage, but they were swept down by the new artillery that Bureau had given to France.

The long duel was over. If we did not remember the character of the century and the light way in which the rulers undertook wars we could not condemn too strongly the action of England which had filled France for a century with every kind of evil. England paid for her action in the Wat Tyler and Jack Cade rebellions, perhaps in the Black Death, certainly in the Wars of the Roses. France had gained her great victory, and had expelled the English from all France with the exception of Calais, because a genuine national spirit arose in the country which made the inhabitants feel the English dominion a hateful foreign oppression.

Charles VII. prolonged his glorious reign to 1461; but he had personally contributed very little to its glory, and the last years of his reign showed that though the old feudalism had lost its power to harm, the nobles were still restless and hostile to the royal authority. Their claims were supported by the Dauphin, afterwards the famous Louis XI. But the royal forces dispersed them. The Dauphin took refuge with the Duke of Burgundy, and Charles VII. died in peace.

"Le nouveau Messie c'est le roi."

His reign shows us how little the development of the monarchy was due to the ambitions or the powers of the individual kings. It was the nation that was concentrated in the monarchy and found there a truer representative than the States-General or the Parlement afforded. It has been said of the next century in Europe generally that "the true Messiah was the king." France had learnt to look for salvation to the monarchy a century earlier.

Besides the great histories of France, Froissart's *Chronicles*; Andrew Lang, *Maid of Orleans*; Ashley, *James and Philip van Artevelde*.

CHAPTER XIX

The Catholic Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

WITH the election of Clement V. and his adoption of Avignon as the papal residence, the history of the Church enters on a new and well-defined phase. It had been for centuries the most important force in the making of the history of Europe; it had aspired to rule in political as well as in spiritual matters all the states of Western Europe, and it had come near to realizing its ambition. But with the victory of Philip IV. of France there came a great change. The claims of the popes were as high as they ever had been; the language of Gregory VII., and Innocent III. still flowed from their lips; but they hardly dreamed of realizing their claims. The secular powers triumphed. There were three clear stages through which the Church passed in this period. First the popes lived as exiles in France within the control of the French kings. This was the period of the "Babylonish Captivity." Next, no sooner was the papacy restored to Italy than there broke out a schism in the Church by the election of rival popes, and no way was found to heal this schism except by an appeal to great councils of the Church. This was the period of the Conciliar movement. The papacy emerged from that movement with less weakening of its power than at one time seemed likely. The popes resided in Rome again, and their authority within the Church was not curbed by any constitutional checks. But they regained their theoretical supremacy by abandoning much of their actual power in the states beyond the Alps. They built up for themselves a strong power in Italy and devoted themselves to the politics of the peninsula. This marked the third phase before the storm of the Reformation broke—the phase of the papacy as an Italian power.

The triumph of the secular powers.

Phases in the development of the papacy.

Seven popes reigned in Avignon, and they found their residence there extremely agreeable. The city belonged at first to the Count of Provence, but it was bought by the papacy, and the popes possessed there more personal freedom than had been possible amidst the ambitious nobles and turbulent people of Rome. When the papal court moved back again to Rome, the cardinals complained loudly of the vulgar and sordid character of the city, and regretted the luxurious civilization of Avignon. The popes at Avignon were bound to the king of France, and they thus lost the independent position in Europe on which their *prestige* had depended. But they made up by the vehemence of their claims for what they lost in real power. The empire still claimed to be the first of the secular powers; though we shall see in the next chapter how weak a thing the empire had become. The popes claimed now quite definitely that the Pope was suzerain over the empire, and that when the Imperial throne was vacant the popes acted of right as regents. But their claims were met on the Imperial side with a stout denial. The situation naturally produced fierce controversy and subtle discussion on the nature of the state, on the source of authority within the state, on the relation of the spiritual and the temporal powers. Dante had a few years before asserted in his *De Monarchia* the necessity of a supreme secular ruler to control the anarchy and misery of Italy. Now, in 1327, Marsiglio of Padua, once a teacher at the university of Paris, on behalf of the Emperor Lewis IV. declared in the *Defensor Pacis* that the Pope was the source and fountain of all discords; and that the head of the Church should use persuasion only, and should lay no claim to any power of compulsion. The Imperial claims, too, went beyond the domain of theory. It was declared that he whom the German electors chose was king of the Romans and prospective emperor, and stood in no need of papal confirmation. The Emperor Lewis made his way to Rome and was there crowned by the Pope's enemies. The old controversy existed, but it no longer produced the disturbances and the wars of former times.

The Babylonish captivity.

Controversies as to Church and State.

New methods of filling the papal treasury.

There was another feature in the life of the papal court of Avignon which seemed at the time a great success and nevertheless was sowing the seeds of future disaster. The luxurious life of the city entailed great expenses, and the protection of the king of France took away much of the sense of responsibility which was felt in Rome. New methods of making money were discovered, and the result was a full papal treasury. Papal dispensations were lavishly distributed and in effect sold at a high figure. The popes claimed the right to appoint to ecclesiastical offices of various degrees, and those who were appointed made payments to the Pope; most important of all, the revenues of vacant benefices were claimed for the papal exchequer. No wonder that residence at Avignon was so pleasant; but the luxury, vice, and iniquity of the papal court became proverbial throughout Europe; and the papacy was thus losing the very foundations of its real strength. The protection, too, of the king of France had its dangers and drawbacks. The enemies of France refused obedience to the papacy which they regarded as an agency of France. England, at war with France, refused to contribute to the papal funds, and checked the papal extortions to which we have alluded by Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire.

End of the Babylonish captivity.

In the papal states of Italy, too, there were grave disorders. The absence of the papal court allowed the petty princes to raise their heads and assume independence. Civil war was constant in the land. Nor must we omit to note that there were other and worthier impulses urging to return. The religious life of the time seems to have sunk low. The Friars were torn by disputes, and many of them were now the eager champions of Imperial claims. But the religious life of Europe was not dead. The most attractive figure of the time is Saint Catherine of Siena, and she used all her influence to urge the return of the papacy to Rome. At last, in 1377, Pope Gregory XI. was induced to make the move. The abandonment of the luxuries of Avignon and the return to her ancient capital seemed a good omen for the future of the Church. But when Gregory XI. died in 1378 a worse danger and a graver scandal appeared.

The papal election was held amidst great tumult. The crowds outside demanded "a Roman Pope, or at least an Italian." Urban VI., who was elected, was a Neapolitan, and was thought at first likely to return to Avignon. He did not do so; but he was a proud, headstrong, irascible man, and opposition soon grew up against him. The cardinals in the French interest met together and declared that the previous election was invalid owing to confusion and violence; and they chose another Pope who took the title of Clement VII. He was known as a man of determined temper, but he made little headway in Italy and retired to Avignon. There was clear schism in the Church.

A disputed election leads to "the Great Schism."

It was not the first time by any means that the Church had suffered from schism; but this was far the longest and the most important of all the schisms that the Church has known. There was a succession of Urbanist popes in Rome and a succession of Clementist popes in Avignon. Not until 1417 was Christendom reunited again. Moreover, the division in the Church was associated with and partly caused by violent divisions among the states of Europe; and the relation of the various powers to each of the two claimants was determined by political considerations. The Urbanists had the greater amount of support; England, Italy, and Germany stood for them. France and Scotland were the main supports of the Clementists, though they later secured the adhesion of most of Spain.

The rival popes and their supporters.

The scandal and the evil of the schism were very great. There was nothing to which the best intellects of Europe in the fourteenth century held so firmly as the need of unity in the Church. Upon that depended all assurance of the validity of the sacraments and consolations of the Church. Nor was the evil one that only concerned religion and theology. Two papal courts, intriguing against one another, rival claimants for money, rival diplomatists in every state, were a burden and a danger of the most serious kind. There was entire unanimity of feeling that this scandal should be brought to an end as soon as possible.

How to end the schism.

But how to bring it to an end? The simplest way was that one or both of the popes should be induced to abdicate. But they and their cardinals were in possession of posts of honour and wealth; and abdication would be a confession of wrong-doing. So, though popes before their election might declare themselves ready to abdicate, they one and all clung tightly to their office when they gained it. Pressure of some sort would have to be put upon them from the outside. The situation seemed to call for another Charlemagne or another Otto; but the empire was weak, and for a long time was itself perplexed by rival claimants. France had on hand the war with England. The schism was healed in the end by the action of the emperor, when the empire became, if not strong, at least stronger than in the time of its division. But first great efforts were made to close the rent in the Church by action from the inside.

The University of Paris.

The universities of Europe were rising in influence; but none was so powerful as the university of Paris. Its school of theology, especially, was one of the most powerful intellectual influences in the fourteenth century. The university of Paris was from the first concerned to end the schism, and through its Chancellor Gerson and others urged the advisability of summoning a council of the Church. The growth of the papal monarchy had gone far to efface the memory of councils as a means of governing the Church; but it seemed now that the instrument which had settled early heresies and divisions in the Church might be effective in dealing with this new scandal of a schism.

The Council of Pisa.

At last, in 1409, through the action of a large body of the cardinals, a council was called at Pisa. It was impressive by reason of its numbers and the eminence of its members, but it was difficult to say from whom it derived authority, and how it justified its claim to be regarded as the voice of Christendom. It proceeded without much hesitation to its work. The two reigning Popes, Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., were summoned to appear, and on their failure they were declared heretics and contumacious, and deposed. The cardinals of the

Conference now proceeded to the election of a new Pope, and chose an old man of Greek origin, who took the title of Alexander V.

Was the scandal of the schism over ? It quickly appeared that it had been increased. Three popes reigned instead of two. For neither Benedict nor Gregory accepted their deposition, and the council of Pisa had not sufficient control of force to make them resign. The new Pope lived only for a few months and died in 1410, urging the cardinals almost with his last breath to "seek peace and ensue it." The Pisan cardinals chose John XXIII. to succeed him, a man of restless ambition, great energy, and notoriously dissolute life. He was not likely to contribute to the pacification of the Church.

The triple schism.

But the scandal was too great, and the practical evils flowing from it too obvious for the matter to rest there. All the abuses that have been mentioned in connection with "the Babylonish captivity" were increased during the schism. The divorce between religion and morality seemed complete. In Italy the disorder was very great ; and the conflicts of cities and of factions, there and elsewhere, was carried on with a fierce ambition and a ferocious cruelty difficult to parallel in all history. All Europe cried for the restoration of Catholic unity. In Germany, meanwhile, political unity had at last been restored. For some time there had been three candidates for the Imperial power ; but now (1410) Sigismund at last won the position and reigned without challenge. The empire was not by any means a powerful political and military force (more of this in the next chapter) ; but Sigismund ruled in Hungary and Bohemia, and there was not on the Continent at the moment any stronger power. Bohemia was harassed by the religious movement which had been founded by Huss, acting on the ideas of Wyclif. Sigismund was not a great or a strong man ; he was possessed by an ambition that was often fantastic and absurd ; but for the present his practical interests as well as his desire to play a great part in the eyes of men, urged him to attempt the task of restoring unity to the Church.

The Emperor Sigismund.

John XXIII. appealed to him to make the attempt and thought that he would find in the emperor a pliant tool. But Sigismund threw himself into the work with an independent energy which at once alarmed the Pope. He chose Constance as the seat of the council, which was to carry on to success the work of the council of Pisa, though the Pope would have preferred an Italian town which would have been more completely within his influence. He had to acquiesce in the choice of Constance, but he regarded it from the first as a "trap to catch foxes."

Sigismund summons the Council of Constance.

To Constance, then, there came great crowds of priests, bishops, cardinals, as well as of laymen, from all parts of Europe; though Italy sent far more representatives than any other single nation. The task to which they addressed themselves was threefold. They wished to restore unity to the Church; to repress heresy; and to effect a general reform of the abuses of the Church. John XXIII. had hoped that he would be taken as the symbol of Catholic unity, and that, while the rival popes would be deposed, he would be generally recognized. But he was quickly undeceived. The resignation of all three popes was insisted on, and John XXIII. struggled in vain against this demand which was supported by the emperor. "If the Good Shepherd would lay down His life for the sheep, much more ought the Pope to lay down his dignities." The Pope yielded or seemed to yield, and the reunion of Christendom seemed to be an accomplished fact. But John XXIII. was revolving schemes for escaping out of the trap. While a great tournament engrossed general attention, he fled in mean disguise from the city. But the council, under Sigismund's guidance, was resolute against him. It declared that it was "lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost," and that the Pope was bound to obey it. The Pope found himself without sufficient support, and was brought back, a prisoner, to Constance. The council drew up a long list of charges against him, which embraced every sort of offence, with the exception of heresy. "From the days of his youth he was

The task of the Council of Constance.

Flight of John XXIII.

The end of the schism.

steeped in vice, he was a vessel of every kind of sin." He was declared deposed, and all subjects were freed from allegiance to him. Catholic unity was now really within sight. One rival Pope abdicated, another was deposed. A new election then took place, and Pope Martin V. was chosen to rule over the united Catholic Church (1417).

Before this had taken place the council had taken questionable measures for the repression of heresy. The confusion in the Church had favoured the rise and expression of views hostile to the policy and doctrines of the rulers of the Church. Wyclif in England had found eager support when he urged the national rights of England against the extortions and oppressions of the Roman Court, and he had carried many with him when he criticized the morals of the clergy, and declared that sacraments celebrated by an immoral priesthood lost all validity, and appealed from the accepted doctrines of the Church to the authority of the Bible. The movement had produced a great influence in England, and had been treated on the whole with moderation and humanity. The ideas of Wyclif produced an even more dangerous ferment when they were transplanted to the distant soil of Bohemia. The Bohemians were a Slavonic people (Czechs they called, and still call themselves); but they were included within the limits of the empire. Their king was the childless and drunken Wenzel; but the Emperor Sigismund was Wenzel's heir, and he took, therefore, a direct and strong interest in Bohemian affairs. Bohemia was a flourishing and important state. The great university at Prague was one of the three or four most influential universities in Europe. But there were dangerous elements of fermentation in the country. The Bohemian population regarded the considerable number of German residents with intense dislike, and there had been for some time widespread opposition to the Catholic Church in Bohemia, which seemed foreign in its origin and sympathies. Then came the teaching of Wyclif. It found ready acceptance in the university of Prague, and its chief exponent was the eloquent Huss, who held a high place at the university. He eagerly preached that "Bohemia existed for the Bohemians";

Wyclif and Huss.

Condition of Bohemia.

that the vices of the clergy were the ruin of the Church; that the individual conscience was in religious matters the court of appeal; that the doctrine of transubstantiation was false, and that the Bible alone was certainly true. His preaching found wide acceptance. He was denounced in Rome and excommunicated; but his hold on the public mind was not shaken.

The martyrdom of Huss.

The council of Constance was all the more anxious to prove its orthodoxy, because it was engaged in deposing popes; and Sigismund was ambitious to restore religious order to Bohemia as well as unity to the Church. He invited Huss to Constance, and gave him a safe conduct, declaring that he should be free "to come and stay and go at his pleasure." Huss accepted the challenge, and was eager to argue his case; but he found the council in no mood for argument. He was thrown into a foul prison and he nearly died there. When he came before the council his opinions were condemned. Sigismund was induced to allow his safe conduct to be violated, on the ground that promises made to heretics were not binding. Huss was burnt outside the walls of Constance (1415).

Little was done, or seriously attempted, towards the reformation of the abuses of the Church. The subject was a thorny one; all concerned were eager to leave Constance where they had been detained so long. The council broke up with a promise that another council should shortly be held, and that this should deal with the abuses of the Church.

Council of Basel.

The next important council did not come so soon as had been promised; for the popes disliked the principle of councils, which were a limitation on the powers of the papal monarchy; and perhaps the council of Basel would never have met at all had it not been for the critical condition of Bohemia. There the burning of Huss had had no pacifying effect; on the contrary, the flames from his pyre seemed to have set the whole country alight. The Hussites found very capable leaders, first the noble Ziska, and then the priest Prokop. The Bohemian war is one of the strangest chapters in military history. The rebels made great use of artillery, and their

The Hussite wars in Bohemia.

armies moved with a rapidity that baffled the lumbering Imperial armies that were brought against them. Bohemia was entirely in the possession of the rebel heretics, and they carried their victorious arms far into Germany.

End of the Hussite war.

The corruptions of the Church were one of the great causes of the Bohemian revolt. So in 1431 the new council was called at Basel to consider the reform of abuses. Its sessions were not ended until 1449. It was all through a more headstrong and revolutionary body than the council of Constance; but it produced little effect. For a time it created another schism in the Church; and when at last it ended it passed away unregretted. The Bohemian question was first dealt with. Representatives of the Hussites were received and great concessions made. But the Bohemian war came to an end through the violent divisions among the rebels themselves. They broke up into moderates and extremists. In 1434 the extremists, led by Prokop, were defeated with huge loss in the battle of Lipau, and the way was opened for a settlement on terms agreeable to the court of Rome. Sigismund, after much negotiation and many promises which he had no intention of keeping, made himself master of Bohemia. He died in 1437. None have ever called him a great emperor. There was always something flashy and fantastic in his actions. But he held a great position and pursued often high and worthy aims. He is connected with some of the greatest events of the fifteenth century, and his career provides us with a key to much of the history of Germany for a century after his death.

End of the council of Basel

The relation of the council with the emperor had been varying, and never entirely friendly; but the relations of the council with the Pope were always hostile. The council of Basel, far more than the council of Constance, existed to limit, and almost to destroy the supreme authority of the papacy and to set up a kind of parliamentary government of the Church in its stead. The council of Constance had declared that councils were the supreme power in the Church, and the council of Basel reaffirmed this with still greater emphasis. "A general council has its power immediately from Christ, and all of every rank,

even the papal, are bound to obey it in matters pertaining to the faith, the extirpation of heresy and the reformation of the Church in head and members." The attempt was made at Basel to erect this into a central doctrine of the Church, and to force all popes to swear to it before entering on their office. Against a council inspired by such a spirit the Pope was bound to fight. Pope Eugenius IV. twice attempted to dissolve the council at Basel and to call it for a later date to some Italian town, where it could be flooded by Italian clergy in the papal interest. But it was at first too strongly supported by the secular powers, and the attempt failed. At last the relations between Pope and council grew so strained that the council determined to depose the Pope, chiefly on the ground that he refused to accept the supremacy of councils, and they chose a new Pope, Felix V. They aimed now at vast ecclesiastical changes. They would destroy the financial abuses of the papal court; they would grant indulgences in their corporate capacity; they would by negotiation bring to an end the schism of the Eastern Church. But they were attempting tasks far beyond their power. The secular powers of Europe, in whose support lay most of their strength, had no confidence in them. They had contributed to the solution of the Bohemian question, but the Emperor and Pope concluded the pacification there without reference to them. The prospect of a new schism was regarded everywhere with alarm. No one believed in the council's power to effect the reforms of which they spoke so often. Germany and France both negotiated with the papacy for an alleviation of abuses without considering the council. So the council of Basel found its foundations undermined and gradually collapsed. The attendance dwindled there. Felix V. resigned. At last in 1449 the council was dissolved, and no one raised a hand in defence of a body, which had talked loudly and done little.

The high claims of the council.

Dissolution of the council.

The *prestige* of the papacy rose as that of the council fell. Pope Eugenius IV. had brought the negotiation with the Greeks to a conclusion which was a great nominal victory for the Latin Church. Disregarding the efforts of the council of Basel he had himself called a council at Florence, which

was subsequently moved to Ferrara. A large number of Greek prelates came, ready at last to make the concessions that the Latins demanded. It was not that they were convinced by argument or attracted by the charms of unity. But at Constantinople the end of the Christian Empire was clearly approaching. The fourth crusade had ruined the strength of the empire, and the restoration of a Greek line of emperors did not bring sufficient force to resist the constantly advancing inroad of the Turks. Help could only come from the Christian powers of the West, and the only chance of securing such help lay in the acceptance of the religious doctrines of the West. So the patriarch of Constantinople and many prelates came to Florence and Ferrara to debate on the use of unleavened or leavened bread in the Eucharist; on the question as to whether the Holy Ghost should be defined as "proceeding from the Father," or "from the Father and the Son;" above all, on the crucial question of the supremacy of the bishop of Rome over the universal Church. The Greeks argued subtly and keenly, but the majority were, in the end, ready to drain the bitter draught. In July, 1439, the union of the Eastern and Western Churches was declared. It was a great triumph for the Pope, though experience was to prove it an empty one. The Greeks generally refused the decision of their prelates. "Better the turban of the Turks," they declared, "than the Pope's tiara;" and it was not until December, 1452, that at last, with the Turk at their gate, the festival of union was celebrated; it antedated by only a few months the world-shaking victory of the crescent over the cross at Constantinople (1453).

The council of Ferrara.

The condition of the Eastern Empire.

With the dissolution of the council of Basel, the conciliar movement was at an end. The effort to depose the papal monarchy, and to substitute an ecclesiastical parliament failed altogether, as parallel political movements in England and France failed; for in France the States-General failed to establish themselves firmly, and the absolute monarchy of Charles VII. and Louis XI. brings the century towards its end; whilst in

The increased strength of the papacy.

England the premature parliamentary experiments of the Lancastrians lead up to the strong monarchy of the Yorkists and the Tudors. So in the government of the Church the authority of the papacy found itself, at least in appearance, strengthened by the failure of the councils to reform and reorganize the Church. Nicholas V., who succeeded Eugenius, gained glory for the Roman Court by associating it with the Renaissance in Art and Letters which was the great preoccupation of the Italian mind. After him came Pius II., who, before his pontificate, was known as the scholar Æneas Silvius, and in that capacity had written and spoken in favour of councils. But in 1460 he issued the Bull "*Execrabilis*" in which any appeal to a council was denounced "as an execrable abuse unheard of in primitive times," and any one so appealing was declared *ipso facto* excommunicated. Further appeals were made in spite of this. But the Bull became one of the pillars of papal authority.

Pope Nicholas V.

The Bull "*Execrabilis.*"

The papacy, then, had to all appearances weathered the storm; and Pius II. might think that he occupied the same position, and wielded the same power as Gregory VII. and Innocent III. That was far from being the case. The criticism of the doctrines and government of the Church which Wyclif and Huss had begun did not die out, and could not be crushed out; the revival of learning contributed to it new weapons. Erasmus was born in 1467; Luther in 1483. The spontaneous orthodoxy of the Middle Ages had passed away for ever. The schism and the councils, too, had awakened a dangerous feeling of national life in religious matters. England, France, Germany, even Spain, had dealt with their religious problem as nations, not as sections of the universal Catholic Church; and this national feeling was a spirit that the papacy would have to reckon with. Meanwhile, the papacy became more and more Italian. Its claims to govern Europe, in religious and political matters, were maintained, but they were silently neglected. But in Italy the Pope had a large power, and could play an important if not a domineering part. Until the storm of the Reformation broke the chief interest of the

Condition of the papacy at the end of the fifteenth century.

popes was to be found in the development of the resources of the papal states, and the winning for those states of a wider influence among the rival powers of Italy. In such a policy lay for a time their security; but half a century after the death of Pius II. their overthrow came from the same source.

In addition to the ordinary histories, Creighton's *History of the Papacy during the Reformation* is the great authority. Hallam's *Europe in the Middle Ages.* Lane-Poole, *Illustrations of Mediæval Thought.*

CHAPTER XX

Germany and Italy in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

Germany

Contrast between the history of England and of Germany.

THE history of Germany during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is particularly difficult for English readers to understand. It is, in all superficial respects, a great contrast to the history of England during the same period, and almost as widely separated in character from the history of France. National unity had been secured in England by monarchy and Parliament, and since the Norman conquest it had almost continuously advanced and strengthened. The anarchy of the reign of John and the private warfare at the beginning of the Wars of the Roses did not seriously threaten it. It was the nation united under its king which had annexed Wales and Ireland. We have seen what the process was in France. The crown there had extended its domain since the eleventh century, until nearly all France was enclosed within it, and the great nobles no longer ventured to claim an independent standing. The same tendency to concentration under the monarchy is observable in Spain, and is one of the general political characteristics of the period.

But in Germany the tendency was all in the opposite direction;

towards disruption, not towards unity; towards the emphasis of feudal claims, not towards their extinction. The German monarchy had suffered disastrous collapse when the Imperial claims of the Hohenstaufen were defeated in 1268. For a time there was no emperor, and when the interregnum was over the empire returned in name rather than in reality; no wise ruler ever tried again to make of it the universal European monarchy, of which Frederick Barbarossa had dreamed.

Nor was the empire more effective, regarded as the German monarchy. During the struggle with the papacy, the great nobles of Germany had risen into power and prominence, and it was with them that the future of Germany lay. The strength of the empire henceforth depended on the power of the noble house with which it was associated. Thus in Germany the fortunes of the great noble houses became a matter of first-rate importance. In England it is a matter of subordinate interest to trace the fortunes of the great houses of Norfolk, Warwick, Northumberland, Westmoreland, etc. But in Germany the political history of the state depended on the marriages, inheritances, quarrels, wills, annexations of a dozen great families, such as the Wittelsbachs, Wettins, Welfs, and above all of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns. As they added house to house, province to province, and even kingdom to kingdom, the fortunes of modern Europe were being shaped.

Importance of the history of the great houses of Germany.

It was not only the struggle of the empire with the papacy which led to the ruin of the effectiveness of the empire. It was prevented from growth by the fact that it was elective. For elective monarchy, though it has procured the support of some theorists, has in practice usually worked badly. In Germany, the electors—the few great powers, ecclesiastical and secular, who had by tradition the right of making the choice—exacted from the candidates promises whereby the power of the crown were given away in order to secure the empty title of empire. These promises were known in Germany as capitulations. Moreover, the electors were usually careful to choose as emperor some noble who was not too powerful. They feared that a strong man would use his strength to beat down the powers

Influence of election on the empire.

and claims of the feudal aristocracy. They were anxious, too, to prevent the empire from becoming hereditary either in theory or fact; for the hereditary principle was a great source of strength to those governments which had adopted it.

Spread of monarchy in the German states.

Yet if we look more closely we shall find that even in Germany the tendency to monarchical concentration is observable. The empire availed nothing against the great nobles, but those great nobles asserted their claims successfully against the smaller nobles. The territories of the Wittelsbachs, Hapsburgs, and Hohenzollerns were real monarchies, though Germany was not.

The history of Germany, therefore, is not to be found in the history of the empire; but we will first glance at the chief figures in the list of emperors and then turn to the greater things that were happening away from the nominal government of Germany.

Rudolf of Hapsburg.

In 1273, after an interval of nineteen years, during which there was no emperor, Rudolf of Hapsburg was chosen as emperor. His house at the time of his election enjoyed no pre-eminence in Germany. The castle of Hapsburg (the word means ravens-castle) is situated in Swabia, and the fortune of the house seemed likely to develop there. But the great fact of Rudolf's reign—a fact important, not so much for Germany as for the house and dynasty which traces its greatness to him—was that he gained for it great possessions on the eastern frontiers of Germany.

The non-German neighbours of Germany.

Along the east of Germany ran a semi-circle of non-German states, all of them, with one notable exception, of Slavonic origin. There were the Prussians and Lithuanians to the north; then came Poland, then Bohemia, then Hungary. The Hungarians or Magyars—to give them the name by which they called themselves—were of Asiatic (Turanian) origin, and were the third swarm of kindred race which had forced itself into Europe up the Danube valley. Bohemia and Hungary were the two states with whom Germany had the most important relations. Hungary was admittedly outside the empire. Bohemia was regarded as lying within it (though its population

was quite alien in race and language from the Germans), and its king had sometimes acted as one of the electors when the Imperial throne was vacant. In Bohemia there now ruled the powerful King Ottokar. He had laid hands on the German lands adjacent to Bohemia—on Austria, Styria, and Carinthia; and had refused to do homage to Rudolf. Hence war came. Ottokar was defeated and killed in 1278 at the battle of Marchfeld. His German possessions passed into the hands of Rudolf, and a marriage alliance established the influence of the House of Hapsburg in Bohemia and prepared the way for their future annexation of that kingdom. The politics of Europe still show the influence of the battle of Marchfeld; it laid the foundation of the power of the present Austrian Empire.

The Hapsburgs in Eastern Germany.

The Imperial crown was destined to become an almost hereditary possession of the House of Hapsburg; but two centuries would pass before that. The success of Rudolf's reign made the electors look away from his house for the next emperor. But we may pass over the emperors who followed. They are interesting and they are important, but rather for the history of Italy than for that of Germany. But it was a great event from many points of view when, in 1347, Charles of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia, was chosen emperor. He was not the first member of the Luxemburg house to win the title; but he was the most important for German history. He left a permanent mark both upon Germany and upon Bohemia. By a document which is known as "the Golden Bull" published in 1356, he gave to the empire, not exactly a definite constitution, but at least a set of definite regulations on many important points in the political life of Germany. It was very far from giving unity to Germany. It made no attempt to bring all the population under one law and one government. On the contrary, it recognized the practical independence of the great princes, and for this reason it has been said that Charles IV. "legalized anarchy and called it a constitution." It declared that the choice of the emperor at every vacancy should rest with seven electors, and these were the Archbishops of (1) Mainz, (2) Treves (or Trier),

Charles of Luxemburg.

The Golden Bull.

and (3) Cologne, and (4) the Margrave of Brandenburg, (5) the Count Palatine of the Rhine, (6) the Duke of Saxony, and (7) the King of Bohemia. The permanence and independence of these last four states were guaranteed; their territories were to descend undiminished to the eldest heir, and were not to be partitioned, according to the old German fashion, among all the sons. These are the most important features of the Bull; but these important stipulations are embedded in a mass of pompous and trifling regulations as to etiquette and ceremony.

Charles IV. failed thus to give unity to the empire; but he achieved a greater success in his kingdom of Bohemia. The country was in a thoroughly flourishing state. There were a large number of German immigrants, but the majority were of the original race—the Czechs. The university of Prague became one of the most important universities in Europe; the strong national feeling and high education of the country prepared the way for the Hussite movement in religion which has already been noted. Charles IV. ruled over a wide extent of territory. In addition to the original territories of his house in Belgium he ruled in the East over Bohemia, Silesia, Brandenburg, and Moravia. Marriage connections prepared the way for a still greater destiny. We must not follow all of these here; but he connected himself with Hungary and with the House of Hapsburg. Hungary, Bohemia, and the possessions of the house of Hapsburg ultimately came together in the hands of his descendants. It was said of Austria, later, that her marriages were more successful than her wars; and Charles IV. in this way, and in many others, was unwittingly one of the chief authors of the greatness of the Hapsburgs.

The house of Luxemburg prepares the way for the Hapsburgs.

Charles IV.'s work was partly undone by his drunken son Wenzel; but the fortunes of the house were restored by Sigismund, of whom we have seen much in connection with the councils of Constance and of Basel. He left no son to succeed him, but his daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, married Albert of Austria, who reigned as the Emperor Albert II. So the house of Hapsburg again

Wenzel and Sigismund.

enjoyed the Imperial title; and from this time onwards the empire was almost hereditary in this house. Only one emperor was ever chosen from any other stock until the time when the empire faded out of Europe before the victories of Napoleon at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But though the empire thus became hereditary in all but name, heredity did not avail to give it strength. Too much ground had already been lost. We shall see how the Austrian house struggled again and again (especially during the Reformation and in the Thirty Years' War) to make the empire the dominant power in Germany. But the effort came too late. It was destined to remain the highest title, the most coveted decoration in Europe, and little more.

The Hapsburgs secure the empire.

If the history of the empire is not the true history of Germany where are we to look for it? In the life of the individual states; in the progress of the great towns; in the development of commerce; in the growth of the universities; in the condition of the people. We must touch on one or two of these topics.

The empire was powerless to defend the minor states of Germany. Spontaneously, therefore, they drew together to protect themselves. The fourteenth century was a period of leagues in Germany and the chief of these was the Hanseatic League.

The leagues of Germany.

The Hanseatic League was a spontaneous movement of the chief towns of the North German coast and the Rhine, to secure for themselves the protection which the empire in that time of anarchy was not able to afford them. For there was no thought of freedom of trade in those days. The seas were unsafe, the harbours of foreign countries were hostile, no single city was strong enough to protect its commerce against its rivals. So the great towns of North Germany—Lübeck, Hamburg, Rostock, Stralsund, Thorn, and seventy others—joined together for mutual assistance in commerce and fishing. Their league was never a close-knit one, it never approached a true federal government. But it stimulated trade and increased the prosperity of North Germany, and modern Germany looks

The Hanseatic League.

back to it as proof that Germany can play a great part upon the seas. It was opposed by the Scandinavian kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, which were joined together in one state by the union of Kalmar in 1397; and against them the league fought fiercely with varying fortune. But the league suffered, too, through its own indefinite constitution, and the quarrels of its members. Lastly, the herring shoal, which provided the Hanseatic fishing fleet with its chief occupation, left the Baltic in the fifteenth century. So the league, without definitely coming to an end, dwindled into insignificance in the fifteenth century. Its fate would have been a very different one if there had been a strong German empire to support it.

Decline of the Hanseatic League.

At the same time in the south of Germany, another movement bore witness to the weakness of the empire, and created a league more permanent than the Hanseatic, which has bequeathed to modern Europe the Swiss Republic. The country, which is now the north-west of Switzerland, consisted then of cities and country districts owing allegiance to many different lords. But throughout the whole, there breathed a spirit of independence. Feudalism had not struck its roots deep there. The towns enjoyed practical independence, and the country districts were organized into free communities, managing their own affairs and setting feudal justice at defiance. The walls of the cities and the barrier of the mountains had made the land the chosen home of liberty. Here, as in the north, leagues for mutual protection and help had sprung into existence, and in 1291 the three Forest Cantons, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, formed themselves into a perpetual league. Their action threatened the Austrian Hapsburgs in whose territories the Cantons lay. In 1315, Leopold of Austria led against the independent mountaineers an army chiefly consisting of mounted knights. For a century and more after this date feudal chivalry played a sorry part when brought face to face with troops of a different kind. We have seen the feudal array broken at Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, at Courtrai, and in Bohemia during the Hussite wars. But nowhere was the failure of the armed and mail-clad knight

The Helvetic Confederation.

more conspicuous than in the battles which laid the foundations of Swiss freedom. In 1315, at Morgarten, the forces of Leopold were utterly beaten by the Swiss peasants. Victory swelled the numbers of the league. The great towns of the neighbourhood came in—Zurich, and Zug, and Bern. When in 1386 another Leopold of Austria led an army against the confederates he was utterly beaten at Sempach. The confederation was then founded in a more definite form, and it lies at the basis of the present Swiss Republic. But we must note that the Swiss Confederation, though it had defeated the Hapsburgs, had not broken away from the empire. Its connection was very slight; but it was technically within the borders of the empire until 1648.

Battles of Morgarten and Sempach.

If we cross from the south-west to the north-east of Germany we find there also important events taking place, which contribute to an even more important modern state than Switzerland, namely Prussia. We have seen how on the Vistula were settled the heathen Slavonic races—the Lithuanians and Prussians. These lay beyond the limits of the empire, and the mark of Brandenburg had been established to watch them. In the thirteenth century a new agency had been employed for their conversion or destruction; the words were nearly synonymous at the end of the crusading movement. The "Knights of the Teutonic Order" had been founded at the time of Frederick Barbarossa's crusade. The failure of the crusading movement left them with no obvious task to perform; and for some time they had their head-quarters in Venice. But in 1228 they were transferred to the Prussian frontier of Germany, for the conquest and conversion of the heathen there. Wide lands were allotted to them. They founded towns, churches, monasteries. Their courage and military skill were unquestioned, and the young nobles of all Europe came to hunt and to kill in what was regarded as a holy war. Christianity, German ideas of life and government, agriculture, and commerce were spread by their action far beyond the limits of Germany. But towards the end of the fourteenth century troubles gathered round them. They, like the Hanseatic

The rise of Brandenburg-Prussia.

Knights of the Teutonic Order.

league, were threatened by the consolidation of the Scandinavian kingdoms; worse still, in 1386 the Lithuanian Duke Jagello became Christian and was raised to the throne of the neighbouring kingdom of Poland. With this event the balance of military strength altogether changed, and in 1410 a Prussian-Polish army overwhelmed the army of the Teutonic Knights at the battle of Tannenberg. Their power passed away at once; the lands west of the Vistula were incorporated with Poland; the knights still ruled over those to the east of the Vistula on condition of doing homage to Poland. The influence of Germany east of the Oder was seriously threatened.

Battle of Tannenberg.

All the constructive activities of Germany that we have noted took place without the assistance of the empire. And there are many other instances which we might give to show that Germany was falling to pieces. There was a Swabian league in the south-west, and in the north and west many rich districts were being drawn together by the Duke of Burgundy, and in effect withdrawn from their allegiance to the empire. More of this action in the next chapter. We have said enough to justify the words of Pope Pius II. to the German people: "Ye might be masters of the world as heretofore, were it not for your division of sovereignty, to which wise men have for long traced all your disasters."

Division of sovereignty in Germany.

Italy

Italy at this time resembled Germany in its many divisions and in the vigorous life of its towns; but in other respects it was widely separated in character and development. Its history is full of noise, violence, and confusion. The personalities which emerge, and many of the incidents are full of dramatic interest. The history of Italy as a whole during this time is "full of sound and fury," and it signifies the failure of Italy to make herself an important force in European politics. The following general features of the time may be noted.

Characteristics of Italian history.

It was for Italy, even more than for Germany, a time of

disunion and "lack of governance." There was not even the theory of the empire to hold it together. Italy, from 1300 to 1500, offers a close analogy to Greece in the fourth century before Christ. There was the same eager city life, the same fierce rivalry of city against city, and of party against party in the same city, the same incapacity to form stable leagues or permanent alliances; there was the same menace of "barbarian" conquest from the north, which was fulfilled in the French invasions of the end of the fifteenth century; finally, there was the same glorious devotion to art and thought, to truth and beauty.

The Condottieri.

A further significant parallel may be noted in the employment of mercenary troops, and the importance of mercenary leaders (*condottieri*). In the thirteenth century the Italian towns had fought their battles with their own citizens, and it was on their resistance that the Italian plans of Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II. had suffered shipwreck. But now the citizens—partly through love of ease and interest in commerce, and partly because the methods of war required careful and prolonged training—entrusted their defence to companies of professional soldiers, raised and commanded by leaders from whom they were hired by the states as occasion arose. These soldiers and their leaders were of every nationality (Sir John Hawkwood, the Englishman, was one of the earliest); but in the fifteenth century the most notable were Italians. They fought well and often with remarkable fidelity, but the hazard of entrusting the defence into the hands of men who had no personal interest in the state is obvious.

Sir John Hawkwood.

Morality.

Of the morality of Italy during this age it is difficult to speak in general terms. We note at the beginning the names of Dante and St. Catherine of Siena, and there are no nobler or purer names in the history of religion. But after them the influence of religion on conduct seems very small, and we can discern no standard of morals which was even in theory regarded as obligatory. Ambition and a desire for notoriety urged men on to achieve their ends by every method of violence, cruelty, or deceit.

The picture so far seems a grim and terrible one; but that is not the general impression we derive from a study of Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, for there is another side to it, which will be more fully treated in another chapter—the side of literature and art. Here it is enough to say that during this time of storm and stress, Italy was producing masterpieces of literature, painting, and sculpture which mark a new era in the life of man. The epoch of violence—the epoch of Sforza and Rienzi and the vile royal family of Naples—shines with a light borrowed from their contemporaries Dante and Petrarch, Giotto and Perugino, Raphael, and Michael Angelo.

The development of art and thought.

It can hardly be said that there is any history of Italy during this time, but only of the different Italian states. The chapter must end with a few words on the most important.

Naples.

The kingdom of Naples stood quite apart from the rest of Italy. Here only was there a monarchy resting on feudal institutions, like the monarchies to the north of the Alps. We have seen how at the end of the thirteenth century it fell into the hands of the French house of Anjou, and how at Easter time, in the year 1282, the population of Sicily rose and destroyed the French garrison in a massacre which is known as "the Sicilian Vespers." The crown was offered to the royal house of Aragon and accepted, and the fierce rivalry of the French and Spanish houses, thus inaugurated, lasted during the next two centuries. But no purpose would be served by following even the main features of the intrigues and the crimes of the royal house of Naples. It intermarried with the royal family of Hungary, and thus the affairs of these two wholly different states became intertwined in a perplexing manner. Another marriage with the royal family of Aragon resulted eventually in the reunion of Naples and Sicily under Alfonso, King of Naples and Sicily from 1435-1458. The land enjoyed peace and some measure of prosperity towards the end of the century, but fell far behind the rest of Italy in civilization and culture.

The states of the Church gained during the reign of the Emperor Rudolf a recognition of their entire independence

from the empire. But they were tossed again and again on the waves of revolution. The residence of the popes at Avignon allowed an almost independent municipal government to arise in Rome. Men's eyes were turning again to the history of Ancient Rome, and they contrasted the present condition of the city with what she had been in the days of the Scipios and the Cæsars.

The states of the Church.

These ideas found their highest expression in the career of Rienzi. He was a man of the people, and the bitter opponent of the aristocracy. He had hoped at first to give Rome peace and unity and power by inducing the Popes to return. Failing in this purpose he turned to the people of Rome and by his eloquence and energy induced them to rise against their aristocratic rulers. The revolution succeeded with marvellous ease (1347), and it seemed for a time as if something of the greatness of Rome in her old days had returned. But Rienzi had not the practical knowledge and self-restraint, nor had the people the public spirit which would have been necessary to make the movement a success. What eloquence and enthusiasm and a theatrical instinct could do he did. But the Roman populace chafed when they found that taxes would be wanted under the new government as under the old. He was murdered in a great popular rising in 1354. Twenty years later the Popes returned to Rome, and the history of the city was again closely linked to the history of the papacy. Five and a half centuries would pass before she won a popular self-government for herself, and it came then in a very different shape from the Imperial dreams of Rienzi.

Rienzi in Rome.

The history of Florence is better known than that of any other Italian state, and it is so full of change and incident that it is particularly difficult to summarize. But in brief it presents us with the spectacle, well known in Greek history, of a state tossed between oligarchy and democracy, where democracy triumphs only to lead to the establishment of that type of personal government which the Greeks called a tyranny. The parties formed and broke with great rapidity, and the principles separating them are often difficult to make out. The city had belonged to the

Florence.

territories of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, and after her death and the division of her territories had won its independence. There were various claimants for power. Outside of the city there were the nobles, largely of Germanic stock, in their mountain strongholds. Within the walls there was the bishop and the different grades of inhabitants who may be divided into (1) the seven rich and strong trades guilds; (2) the numerous smaller guilds; (3) those who belonged to no guild and were excluded from all political power, for power in Florence lay with the guilds. In 1282 the popular element triumphed and for nearly a century power lay in the hands of the delegates of the great guilds. This is often called a democracy, but no more deserves the name in its modern sense than the democracy of Athens; the mass of the people were excluded from power and chafed at the exclusion. There was an attempted revolution in 1382, but it failed, the rich and exclusive guilds being established in power more securely than ever.

1282. The victory of the people.

The narrow government thus established was vigorous and successful; but it was ruined by the spirit of faction which was the bane of the political life of Florence. Two families, the Albizzi and the Medici, were eager rivals; and the Medici in the contest appealed for the support of the people. The Albizzi triumphed at first and banished the Medici. But they were recalled (1434), and their great leader, Cosimo de' Medici, established his power, and his family ruled in Florence for nearly 200 years. His rule was of the kind that Augustus once established in Rome; it was founded on the manipulation of the existing constitution not on its overthrow; he insinuated himself into power rather than seized it. He gave Florence peace, order, and security, and he made her glorious by his patronage of arts and letters. He and his successors (among whom the chief was Lorenzo the magnificent) ruled all the more firmly because their position was intangible and indefinite.

Rise of the Medici.

In Milan we see at the same time the triumph of naked military force. Two families, the Visconti and the Sforzas, ruled in succession, and ruled by the same weapons of perfidy

and cruelty. The first of the Visconti was appointed by the Emperor Henry VII. to represent him in Milan in 1312. His descendants maintained themselves by force and fraud. The mass of the citizens lived their lives undisturbed; but the political opponents of the ruling family were in constant dread of torture and death. When the family of the Visconti was without male heirs the heiress Bianca married a mercenary soldier of brutal energy, Sforza by name, whose father had been a peasant. Under the new dynasty Milan was governed as before. The history of Milan under these two families is an almost incredible record of crime and cruelty.

Milan.

Thus at the end of the fifteenth century we have in Naples a feudal monarchy; in Rome a theocracy; in Florence a popular dictatorship; in Milan a military tyranny. When we turn to Venice the series of typical constitutions is concluded by the most perfect example in history of a close oligarchy.

We have seen already something of the early history of Venice and of her unparalleled geographical position. Her social condition was also exceptional. She had for a long time no territory on the mainland, and so feudalism did not exist for her. Her citizens were all engaged in trade: her great men were successful and wealthy traders. The Crusaders had opened up new avenues of trade to her and had increased her wealth. We have seen how large a part she had played in the conquest of Constantinople in the fourth crusade (1204). She held from that time on a position of pre-eminence among all the other trading states of the East. But as she grew more wealthy her constitution changed and hardened, the people were gradually thrust out from all participation in the government; the prominent rich families of Venice monopolized power. They owed their power largely to their energy, ability, and public spirit; and almost to the end of her existence as a free republic the policy of Venice is one of the great examples of successful and subtle statecraft both in internal and external affairs. The charges of cruelty and dark intrigue that are sometimes brought against her government are undeserved. They are more conspicuous in

Venice.

The ruling class in Venice.

other Italian states; what distinguishes Venice is the order and stability of her government, and the prosperity of her people. The rulers of Venice declared that their aim was "so to rule that they might possess the hearts and love of the citizens and subjects," and there was some justification for their claim.

We may notice three steps as marking the hardening of her constitution into an oligarchy, which aimed on the one side at the reduction of the Doge to a mere figure head, and on the other, the exclusion of the people from power. First in 1172 the Great Council was created, consisting of the nobles of Venice, and acting as the electoral body of Venice to the exclusion of the people. Then in 1297 began the greatest change of all, what is known as the closing of the Great Council. The list of the families whose members had a right to seats in the Great Council was drawn up, and it was declared that no new names should be added to it. Venice was now a close oligarchy; outside of a certain list, which contained in the end 1212 names, no one could vote in the election of the Doge or hold office. The new constitution was readily accepted by the people, though some ambitious nobles resented the destruction of the personal power of the Doge. Lastly, in 1310, after a conspiracy had been defeated, which aimed at the restoration of the rights of the people, the famous Council of Ten was appointed. Its special mission was to strike swiftly and secretly at the enemies of the state, and it may be compared to the Ephors at Sparta or the Committee of Public Safety during the French Revolution. This council, annually appointed, watched specially against the encroachments of the Doge, and soon became the real government of Venice.

"The closing of the Great Council."

The Council of Ten.

The fourteenth century too saw the growth of Venetian possessions in the mainland of Italy. The rivalry of Genoa was beaten down in the great battle of Chioggia (1380). A little later, Padua was conquered, and Padua, Vicenza, and Verona came into the possession of Venice. She thus came into contact and conflict with Milan. But more dangerous than Milan was the progress of the Turkish power. When

Venetian possessions in the mainland.

in 1453 Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, that great event sounded the death knell of Venetian power in the Eastern Mediterranean; but we shall recur to this in the next chapter.

For Germany: Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* and Henderson's *History of Germany*; Freytag's *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit*; Maurice's *Bohemia*; Zimmern's *Hansa Towns*. For Italy: Sismondi's *Italian Republics*; Horatio Brown, *Venice; an Historical Sketch*; Villari's *History of Florence*; Machiavelli's *Florentine History*.

CHAPTER XXI

The Outer Circle of European Culture

We have, in the past chapter, been chiefly concerned with the affairs of Italy, France, and Germany. In this chapter an attempt will be made to bring out the most important features in the history of the countries lying outside of these central states, in all of which events were happening destined to have a great influence on the future of Europe. The history of our own islands will be recounted in the next chapter.

1. Spain

We have already seen something of the history of Spain. We have seen how deeply the culture and language of Rome had penetrated there; how the Visigothic kingdom had been established there, and how Justinian's efforts to reannex Spain to the Imperial dominions had been attended with only a transitory success.

The Moorish conquest of Spain.

Then in 711 came the event which has coloured every part of Spanish history from that time to this. The Mahomedan army under Tarik passed from Morocco into Spain and defeated Roderic, the last king of the Visigoths, in a long battle on the banks of the Guadalete. After that the tide of Mahomedan

success flowed quickly over the peninsula. There was little unity or cohesion in the Visigothic Kingdom; the native population had not blended with the Visigoths and the Visigothic nobles were at feud among themselves. So the wave of Islam flowed up to the Pyrenees.

Nor did it seem likely to find its limit there. It invaded the South of France and occupied many cities and much fair country. But in the battle of Tours (732) Charles Martel inflicted on it a serious defeat, and his grandson, the great Charles, carried the arms of the Franks south of the Pyrenees, and began the work of the reconquest of Spain for Christendom and European culture. For six centuries after that the struggle against the Mahomedan power in Spain forms the central thread of Spanish history. The free Christian states were never completely wiped out. The Pyrenean chain of mountains always sheltered tribes or bands who refused to accept the foreign yoke. There was formed first the Asturias, then Leon, then Navarre, then Aragon. Later the Mahomedans were pushed out of the centre of Spain and the kingdom of Castile was formed. Aragon spread down to the rich territories on either side of the river Ebro. Lastly, in the fifteenth century, the union of Castile and Aragon brought about the destruction of what remained of the Moorish kingdom and the political union of the whole peninsula with the exception of Portugal.

The decline of Mahomedanism in Spain.

Thus the history of Spain down to the close of the Middle Ages is one long crusade. Yet the mutual hatred of the two races and faiths may easily be exaggerated. The Christian powers were usually at bitter feud with one another when they were not fighting against the Moors. The civilization of the Moors in Cordova, Granada, and elsewhere was for some time tolerant, cultured, and artistic; the population under their rule was prosperous, and the Christian powers did not by any means disdain to intermarry with them, to make alliance with them, and even to appeal to their help against Christian rivals. There is no greater tragedy in European history than the extinction of this civilization, which contributed so much to European culture, and might have contributed so much more.

Relations of Christians and Moors.

The Moorish dominion was never firmly rooted in the peninsula. Its strength soon began to decline, and it would have disappeared much sooner if it had not been supported by fresh swarms of Mahomedans from North Africa. At the end of the eleventh century, when the Seljukian Turks were alarming Europe by their advance in the East, there was an almost equally threatening movement in Spain. The Almoravides, a religious body inspired by intense zeal for Islam, invaded the land, drove back the forces of the Christians and defeated the armies of Castile and Navarre in the great battle of Zallaca near Badajoz (1086). The tide of battle flowed again strongly in favour of the Moors.

The Almoravides.

But the ebb soon came. The Moorish population was not really large, and its military efficiency soon decayed. The Christian armies soon resumed their superiority. This is the period of the exploits, real and imaginary, of the Cid, who fought against Christians as well as against Moors, and was sometimes even in alliance with the infidel; but who was on the whole an important agent in the advance of the Christian arms. Military orders, closely resembling the Templars and the Knights of St. John, were founded during the struggle, and contributed to the victory. The decisive victory came in 1212, when the Moors were defeated by Alfonso VIII. of Castile in the great battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. The Moors were driven back into the south-east of the peninsula, and their power would have soon been destroyed if it had not been for the wars and feuds of the Christian powers.

1212. Las Navas de Tolosa.

We may pass over two centuries and a half, full of conflict and heroism and of interesting constitutional development. By the middle of the fifteenth century the three great powers in the peninsula were Portugal, Castile, and Aragon. In 1469 the union of Castile and Aragon was assured by the marriage of Isabella of Castile with Ferdinand of Aragon. In 1474 Isabella succeeded to the throne of Castile, and the golden period of Spanish history commenced. Spain developed with extraordinary rapidity. The anarchical power of the feudal nobles

Union of Castile and Aragon.

was suppressed, peace and order were established in the land. "The Knight and the Squire, who had formerly oppressed the labouring man, were intimidated by the fear of that justice which was certain to be executed on all. The roads were swept clear of robbers; the castles, the strongholds of violence, were thrown down; and the whole nation, restored to tranquillity and order, looked for no other redress than that afforded by the operation of the laws." So wrote a contemporary. Spain suddenly took her place—a leading place—among the great powers of Europe.

The Spanish Inquisition.

The new monarchy was before all things Catholic, and all its actions, which have left a mark on future history, are influenced by religious feeling. The Inquisition was introduced in the "Spanish" form in 1481. Its immediate object was the forcible conversion of the Jews, who were present in Spain in great numbers, and had acquired great influence in the state. It acted also on many occasions as a convenient weapon in the hands of the crown for the punishment of political opponents against whom religious charges could be brought. The Inquisition was popular, and it was in harmony with the ideas of the age; its greatest excesses belong to a later period; but it must be regarded as one of the forces which ultimately drove Spain from her high place in Europe to one of humiliation and impotence in international affairs.

The conquest of Granada.

The new rulers from the first had intended to turn their arms against what remained of the Moorish power. Little but Granada now remained, and clearly Granada was unable to resist. Had the Mahomedan world been united, its arms, which had forty years before conquered Constantinople, might have defended the last stronghold of Islam in the West. But the Turks had no sympathy with the Moors, and when the attack came in 1489, the Moors could only rely upon their own resources. Queen Isabella herself, inspired with high religious enthusiasm, was present with the assailants. The siege of Granada began in 1491, and in January, 1492, the lovely city surrendered, and the silver cross, which had led the crusading host, was raised on the highest tower of the city.

Of the geographical discoveries of the age something will be said in the chapter on the Renaissance. It is only necessary here to recall that the large majority of the explorers who revealed to the wondering eyes of Europe new worlds in the East and in the West sailed from the Spanish peninsula under the patronage of the princes of Aragon, Castile, or Portugal. By reason of these discoveries Spain and Portugal rose to a dazzling height in the eyes of contemporaries. They had hardly ceased to struggle for existence at home when they appeared as the greatest of world-powers. The vast lands of which they claimed possession were believed to give them strength and wealth. It may be questioned whether they did not really contribute to the fall of the country. Spain fell under the burden of her empire.

Geographical discovery.

2. The Scandinavian States

The lands, which are now called Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, were inhabited by a race remotely akin to the Germans of Central Europe. They were slow to enter the circle of European culture, and were the last of the races of Western Europe to adopt Christianity. Yet their influence upon Western Europe was great. We have seen how during the ninth and tenth centuries the invasions of the Northmen checked or altered the whole course of European development. Under Canute, well known to us as King of England, it seemed as though a vast Scandinavian state was to be founded embracing England, Denmark, Norway, and the south-western parts of Sweden. Under Canute's rule, too, Christianity became the faith of all his dominions, which made rapid progress in civilization. But upon his death in 1035 his dominions broke up and were never destined to form a political unity again. But in the fourteenth century Denmark had become a powerful state, and under Waldemar III. (1340–1375) entered into furious rivalry with the Hanseatic League. In the struggle that arose King Waldemar was defeated, but Denmark remained a strong power, and proved in the end

Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

Denmark and the Hanseatic League.

a victorious rival to the great cities of the League. Upon the death of Waldemar his daughter Margaret, first as Regent and then as Queen, ruled with great skill and determination, and opened up for the Scandinavian lands a prospect as bright as that which they had possessed under King Canute. By good fortune, diplomacy, and successful war she became Queen over Sweden and Norway as well as over Denmark, and in 1397 the Edict of Kalmar declared that the three kingdoms should always have the same ruler, although each should keep its laws and constitution unchanged. Much in European history would have been different if this union had been permanent; but in the fifteenth century it broke down. Norway and Denmark remained united, but Sweden drifted away into independence, which later developed into fierce hostility.

1397. The Edict of Kalmar.

3. Poland and Russia

It is necessary to say something of the Slavonic peoples who lay beyond the eastern frontier of German civilization, in order to prepare the reader for the important part which they were to play in later centuries.

Rurik the Northman.

In early Russian history it will be enough to emphasize three points. (1) The history of Russia begins with the entry of the Norsemen into the country under Rurik in 862. This is described by the Russian historians as being, not a conquest, but a voluntary subordination of the Russians, who were weary of anarchy, to rulers of whose prowess they had heard. "Our country is large and rich, but there is no order in it, come and rule over us," are the words of this famous invitation. With the arrival of Rurik the country emerged into definite form, and some approach to settled order. (2) In 988 the Czar Vladimir accepted Christian baptism, and the new faith rapidly mastered the country. The Czar had examined Judaism, Mahomedanism, Roman Catholicism, and the "orthodox" Christianity of Constantinople. For reasons both personal and political, he determined to accept Christianity in its Eastern form, and at the same time married Anna the sister of the reigning emperor.

Christianity in Russia.

The decision of Vladimir has been one of the great formative influences in Russian history. With the faith of Constantinople came also the despotic ideas of the Eastern empire, and the divergence between the creed and Church governments of East and West, kept Russia for long aloof from the culture of Western Europe. (3) In the thirteenth century the invasion of the Mongol Tartars swept over Russia. The native army was crushed by Zenghis Khan in 1223 at Kalka near the sea of Azov, and in successive invasions the Tartar rule spread victoriously over the whole country. The invasion caused a great decline in prosperity and civilization; but probably the Tartar conquest contributed ultimately to strengthen the unity of the race and the despotism of the government; for a common disaster at the hands of a foreign foe most quickly teaches a sense of nationality, and the people will readily submit to a despotic government, if only it prove strong enough to save them from the oppressor.

The Tartar invasions.

Poland, with a land of the same flat and monotonous description as that of Central Russia, with a race and language nearly identical to those of Russia, developed on almost exactly opposite lines. While Russia fell under the rule of an absolute monarchy, and by its monarchs was guided on a career of unexampled territorial expansion, Poland, on the contrary, almost from the first sacrificed the unity of the state to the dangerous independence of the nobles, and after a brief period of prosperity began to decline in strength, internally and externally, until at the end of the eighteenth century she disappeared from the state system of Europe, and her territories were divided among her more powerful rivals. It is difficult to account for the complete contrast between these two branches of the same race; but two prominent features of Russian history are absent in Polish. The Poles adopted Christianity in the Roman form, while Russia took hers from Constantinople, and they were never conquered by the Tartars, though they often suffered from them.

Contrast between Poland and Russia.

Next to the acceptance of Christianity the chief event in Polish history before the end of the fifteenth century was the

victory won at Tannenberg in 1410 over the Knights of the Teutonic order who had won for Christianity and German culture a long stretch along the Baltic coast. The king, whose name is associated with the victory was Jagello, Prince of Lithuania, who, as King of Poland, took the name of Ladislas. His dynasty reigned in Poland until 1572. Poland was thus brought up to the shores of the Baltic, and a possibility of commercial expansion opened out before her. But she was little fitted to take advantage of her chances. The Poles showed no gifts for commerce. There were towns in Poland, but they were inhabited by Germans and Jews. The characteristic social product of Poland was the noble landowner, resident on his large estate, and surrounded by his serfs, over whom he ruled with absolute power. The aim of these nobles (the sczlachta, as they were called) was to cut down the power of the monarchy in the true spirit of feudalism, to reduce the central government to impotence, and to make of Poland an aristocratic republic. They succeeded in their aims, and the ruin of Poland was the result.

1410. Battle of Tannenberg.

The nobles of Poland.

4. Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks

In 1453 Western Europe was startled by the news that the Turks had stormed Constantinople. The end of the long tale had come. The city which Constantine had founded, which had carried on the traditions and the government of ancient Rome when the empire had fallen in the West, which had been century after century the chief defence of Christian Europe against Mahomedan invasion, was at last in the hands of the infidel.

The Eastern empire had never recovered from the effects of the fourth crusade. Its territories had sunk to insignificance. It was harassed by the never-ceasing conflict of the Eastern and Western Churches, and by political feuds and factions besides. No element of strength remained to it except the splendid city, with its unsurpassed situation for commerce, and its defences which

The weakness of Constantinople.

had never been forced by any enemy, except when treason gave assistance from inside. Wealth, troops, statesmanship, had all gone. Meanwhile its enemies were more dangerous than ever. The history of Islam is the history of periods of decay followed by revival under some new chieftain and some unexhausted race. The Ottoman Turks had risen into importance in the thirteenth century. They advanced rapidly under a series of warlike and energetic chiefs, crushed the Serbian kingdom in the battle of Kossovo (1398), and thus won a firm footing in Europe.

Rise of the Turks.

They owed much of their success to their chiefs; they owed much also to the strange body of troops called the Janissaries. These were the children of Christian parents, who had been handed over as tribute or taken by violence, and then trained from childhood up for war. All possibility of discovering their parents was destroyed. Their camp was their home, military honour stood to them in the place of patriotism and religion. There is no other body of troops in history with which they can be compared, and the rise and decay of the Turkish power is closely connected with them.

The Janissaries.

Constantinople would probably have fallen half a century earlier if the Turks had not been diverted by the attacks of Timour the Tartar from the East. The great Turkish Sultan Bajazet was defeated and taken prisoner by the Tartars. But soon those wild conquerors passed, and the Turks returned to their great task. Individual crusaders came to fight against them. The Emperor Sigismund, John the Fearless of Burgundy, John Hunyadi of Hungary are names that deserve honourable mention for their efforts to stave off the doom that was threatening Constantinople. But in Europe generally religious unity and religious fervour were declining, and no serious attempt was made to save the great city.

Postponement of the fall of Constantinople.

Mahomet II. began the siege in the spring of 1453. The last Christian ruler of Constantinople was a Constantine, and he was not altogether unworthy of the name he bore. The Turks brought an army of 150,000 and the garrison of the city did

not rise to 10,000. The siege was full of memorable incidents. The huge though rude cannon of the Turks, fired with much difficulty and danger, were effective in hammering the walls. Mahomet brought his ships into the Golden Horn, the mouth of which was protected by a boom, by dragging them overland. May 29, 1453, was the date of the final assault. The emperor fell in the onrush of the Janissaries. The city was devoted to plunder, and the Muezzin called the faithful to worship according to Mahomedan rites in the cathedral of Santa Sophia.

The last siege.

The Turkish victory might have been prevented by a little resolution on the part of the Christian powers; and, if it had been prevented for a time, it might never have occurred. In little more than two centuries decline set in in the Turkish power, and Turkish armies would never have threatened Vienna if Constantinople had remained a fortress of European civilization. For four centuries and a half Europe has been paying dearly, in blood and treasure and confusion, for her failure to reinforce the scanty garrison of Constantinople in 1453.

The fault of the Christian powers of the West.

For Spain: Watt's *Spain* (to 1492), in the *Stories of the Nations*; Yonge, *Christians and Moors in Spain*; Hallam, *Europe in the Middle Ages*; Burke, *History of Spain*; Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Moors in Spain*. For the Slavonic Kingdoms: Morfill's *Poland*; Rappoport's *Russia*; Rambaud's *Histoire de Russie*. For the fall of Constantinople: Lane-Poole's *Turkey*; Oman's *Byzantine Empire*; Pears, *Destruction of the Greek Empire*; *Constantinople*, by W. H. Hutton.

CHAPTER XXII

Louis XI. and Charles the Bold

The French monarchy is so much the most important force in the politics of Europe at the end of the fifteenth century that it will be well to examine its growth and development before we turn to "the Renaissance" and the intellectual movement of the time.

During the hundred years' war a new and strange power was growing up on the north and eastern frontiers of France—the power of the dukes of Burgundy. We have already seen the origin of that power. King John the Good, who in spite of his name brought endless woes to France, had not annexed the Duchy of Burgundy to France, when the old feudal line died out, but had given it instead to his son Philip. He hoped that family affection would be strong enough to keep Philip and his descendants faithful to the crown of France; but we have seen how Burgundy took the side of England during the great war, and, when the war ended, Burgundy was at first the rival and soon the determined enemy of the French crown.

Growth of the Burgundian power.

During the century that elapsed after the first grant of the Duchy to Philip the possessions of the ducal house had increased enormously. The first duke laid the foundation for the future destinies of his house when, through his wife, he inherited Flanders, Artois, and other districts in the Netherlands. From this time the dukes of Burgundy, though they remained feudally dependent on France for a part of their territories, possessed still greater territories upon which the kings of France had no claim, but which were in theory subordinate to the empire. Then in 1428 a richer inheritance still fell to the Burgundian house. Philip the Good, the third duke of the new line, made himself master of Holland, Friesland, Zeeland, and Hainault.

Burgundy and the empire.

Philip the Good thus ruled over a large extent of territory embracing most of what is now Belgium and Holland as well as the County and Duchy of Burgundy lying on either side of the river Saône. Its wealth and splendour were even more remarkable than its size. No part of Europe, not even the cities of North Italy, had a more vigorous commercial life than was to be found in the cities of the Low Countries. The woollen trade was the great source of their wealth, but they also engaged with profit in fishing and in general commerce. Bruges, Ypres, Ghent, Tournai, and many other towns were the rivals of Venice and Florence in the beauty of their public

Prosperity of the Burgundian territories.

buildings and the products of their painters. But the government of these rich and widespread territories presented many problems. There was no geographical unity, and no political uniformity about them. Lorraine and Alsace were interposed between the County and Duchy of Burgundy and the duke's possessions in the Netherlands. Politically the territories of the duke were still more divided. They consisted of many separate provinces each with its own constitution, its own privileges, its own ambitions, and individual cities such as Ghent and Bruges were almost independent republics. The policy of the dukes was therefore clearly marked out by their position. They must try to join their southern provinces to their northern ones by the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine; they must try to give some common constitution or system of administration to the whole; and they must try to shake off the fetters of feudal dependence by which they were bound to the kings of France on one side and to the emperors on the other, and appear before Europe as an independent state.

Lack of unity.

Until the very eve of irretrievable disaster fortune smiled on the prospects of the dukes. By coming over to the side of France at the end of the hundred years' war they had gained certain concessions of territory from the kings of France, and especially had got the promise of the cession of the towns on the Somme, whereby their frontier would have been pushed far towards the heart of France. Later Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, laid his hands on the districts of Alsace and Lorraine whose possession he so ardently coveted. He got Alsace, or rather a part of it, as security for moneys which he had advanced to its needy overlord, Sigismund of Austria, and he assumed the protectorship of Lorraine during the minority of its duke. In neither district was he sovereign, but his grasp would not be easy to shake off in either. He was supported in his own territories by a wealthy, warlike, and on the whole a loyal population, and it seemed that he might set up again a middle kingdom between France and Germany such as had come into being for a time upon the disruption of the empire of Charles the Great. The establishment of such a state on a

The power of Charles the Bold.

permanent basis would have profoundly modified the history of Europe.

But it was not to be. The career of the last duke, Charles the Bold, brought him into constant rivalry and occasional collision with Louis XI., the astute king of France at whose career and policy we must look in a moment; for, though French soldiers had little to do with the overthrow of Charles, French diplomacy and intrigue had a great deal. It was the peasant mountaineers of Switzerland whose arms wrought his overthrow. They disliked his possession of upper Alsace, for they had their own eyes on that desirable land. When the cruelties of Charles' agent, Hagenbach, brought about a revolt in Alsace the Swiss came to the help of the rebels, and in 1476 first at Granson and then at Morat the feudal chivalry of Burgundy went down before the Swiss pikes, as the chivalry of Austria had gone down at Morgarten and at Sempach. The success of Alsace encouraged Lorraine also to rise. Charles flung himself fiercely upon the province and laid siege to Nancy. But in a battle fought against a relieving force, in which a Swiss force played an important part, the duke was beaten and slain. He had no son to succeed him. His only daughter Mary was unmarried. The future of these important territories was at stake in her marriage; but it will be well before we trace their fortunes to follow the contemporary history of France.

Battles of Granson and Morat.

Death of Charles the Bold.

King Charles VII. (the "victorious" and the "well served") saw the strength of France rapidly increasing during his last years, but in his family life he was troubled by intrigues and quarrels. Between him and his eldest son and heir, Louis, there was bitter antagonism; for Louis allied himself with the forces of aristocratic feudalism, and in the end fled from France. He found generous shelter at the court of the Duke of Burgundy, and formed a friendship, or what seemed such, with Charles the Bold, whose fortunes we have already glanced at. When in 1461 Charles VII. died, and Louis was called to the throne as Louis XI., he was conducted over the borders by a great display of the military forces of Burgundy.

Louis XI.

It was a strange man who thus ascended the throne of France. He had no kinship with the monarchs of the Middle Ages. There are some features in the character of the Emperor Frederick II. which resemble his, and a parallel may be found to much of his policy in the tyrants of Italy, in the Visconti or the Sforzas. Henry VII. of England would have understood him, and was probably influenced by his example. Courtly ceremonial and the splendours of royalty had no attraction for him; the ideals of feudalism and chivalry made no appeal to him; nor was he influenced by religion in his public life. His actions show that he held that in politics it is success alone which matters, and that all methods are justifiable which lead to success. He was ready to use cruelty, treachery, and fraud if they suited his purpose. "He who knows not how to deceive knows not how to reign," was a favourite motto of his, and certainly he had this qualification for reigning. Yet history cannot regard him as a mere superstitious and hypocritical tyrant. He worked and he sinned, not for himself, but for France, with which he identified himself entirely. He completed the settlement which had been begun by Charles VII., and he was one of the chief authors of the greatness of France in the sixteenth century. In character, method, and principles he is in direct and absolute antagonism with Saint Louis; but like him he worked for the unity of France, and for its efficient and uniform organization under the monarchy.

Character and aims of Louis XI.

Louis XI.'s services to France.

His reign is full of interesting incidents, and there is no wonder that writers of romance and drama have gone to it for plot and story. He found a worthy biographer in Philip de Commines, who was at first attached to his great rival, Charles of Burgundy. The history of Commines is one of the landmarks of the age. Like his master he had emerged completely from the characteristic influences of the Middle Ages. Neither Catholicism nor feudalism, nor chivalry, nor the crusading idea had any hold upon him. He admired chiefly subtlety and dexterity devoted to the service of the state.

Philip de Commines.

But though the reign is so rich in incidents it may be very

shortly summarized. Louis XI. struggled against the claims of the aristocracy as all kings of France had to do. Feudalism of the old and normal type was nearly done with. Creçy, Poitiers, and Agincourt had ruined the reputation of the nobles as well as destroyed many noble families. The peculiar characteristic of the opposition which Louis XI. encountered is to be found in the fact that nearly all of his chief opponents were men sprung from the royal family, descendants of Saint Louis and Princes of the Lilies, as the French called those who were descended from royalty. The Duke of Brittany was indeed a feudal noble of the old type confronting Louis XI. with the independent power which the dukes of Normandy or the counts of Provençe had once possessed; but the Duke of Berri, one of the worst enemies of the crown, was the king's own brother; the Duke of Bourbon was a descendant of Saint Louis, and was married to the king's sister; the Duke of Orleans was a near relation of the king, and was married to the king's daughter; Charles of Burgundy was a distant cousin, and was married to the king's sister. But neither relationship nor intermarriage availed to keep these men in loyal subordination to the crown. The kings of France constantly found that their worst enemies were those of their own household, and this was especially true of Louis XI. His enemies disguised their ambitions and their jealousies under a care for the "public weal," but they fought for privileges which, if granted to them, would have led to the dismemberment of France. Louis failed more than once when he met his enemies in the battlefield, but intrigue succeeded where force failed. The contemporary Wars of the Roses were mixed up with the struggle in France, for the house of Burgundy was connected with the Yorkists, while Louis XI. favoured the Lancastrians.

Resistance of the princes to the royal power.

We cannot follow the twists and turns of the long controversy, in which Louis XI. was never more dangerous than when he was apparently beaten. Enough that the crown triumphed over all its opponents and added very materially to the domains of the French crown. Brittany, indeed, still remained at the time of his death independent and defiant; but there was only a daughter to succeed

Brittany.

to the duchy, and it was already probable that Brittany too would soon be absorbed in the territories of the French king. In many instances what was won back had been once royal domain, and had then been unwisely ceded as an "appanage" to a French prince; but substantial gains were made of new territory. Anjou was brought into the royal domain; Provençe which lay outside of the boundaries of the French kingdom fell to the French king by inheritance (1481). These were great gains; but greater still came as a result of the defeat and death of Charles the Bold of Burgundy at Nancy in 1477. Louis XI. hoped at first to make himself master of the whole of the rich Burgundian territories; for Charles had left but one daughter, and if she were married to the king's son, who afterwards reigned as Charles VIII., the gain to France would be as great as what came when the English were expelled. But Mary of Burgundy rejected the French overtures and regarded, rightly, Louis XI. as the worst enemy of her house. She married, instead of a French prince, Maximilian of Austria, already the probable heir of the Imperial crown. There is no more fateful marriage than this in all history, though its full significance could not be guessed at the time. The greater part of the territories of Burgundy were thus joined to those of the house of Hapsburg. That was a serious change in the balance of power in Europe. But in the next generation the results were still more serious, for Philip, the issue of this marriage, married Joanna, daughter and heiress of the royal house of Spain, and their son Charles (the grandson of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian of Austria) inherited all that Spain possessed and all that the House of Hapsburg possessed, which included most of what the house of Burgundy had once possessed; and added to all these real possessions the vague glories of the title of emperor. We shall have to revert to this in another chapter; but the sixteenth century and the history of the Reformation were influenced at almost every point by this fateful and romantic marriage which was carried out in 1477 in defiance of Louis XI.

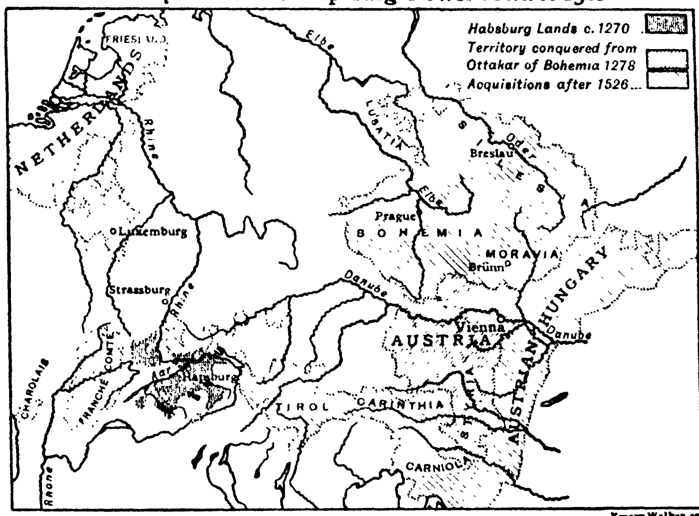
Louis XI. and Mary of Burgundy.

Mary of Burgundy marries Maximilian of Austria.

Consequent accumulation of power on Charles V.

But though Louis XI. did not win all at which he aimed, he won much. He forced Mary and Maximilian to cede to him on the north the valley of the Somme, and a slice from the south of Flanders, and in the east the Duchy of Burgundy, which lay for the most part to the west of the Saône. Louis died in 1483, but it will be well to carry the story of the acquisitions of France

France gains part of Burgundy.



Rise of the Hapsburgs.

a few years further. Louis XI. was succeeded by Charles VIII., and five years after his accession an opportunity offered for making one last addition to the domains of the French crown. Brittany was inhabited by a Celtic race, separate from the rest of the country, neither speaking nor understanding the French tongue. The coasts possessed valuable harbours; its population was used to a seafaring life. It had played an important part in most of the risings against the French kings. But now the death of the duke in 1488, and the descent of

Charles VIII.

the duchy to his daughter Anne offered an opportunity, which French diplomacy was quick to seize. Already Louis XI. had tried to win the prize for his son in spite of an earlier betrothal. Now Charles VIII. made war upon the territories of the Duchess Anne, and at the same time offered marriage. She bowed perforce to her fate, and became Queen of France. There remained now only one great feudal state, the lands of the House of Bourbon. With that exception France was united under the rule of the monarchy. France was a national unity, as no country in Europe was with the exception of England.

Brittany added to the Crown.

The government of France remained what it had been under Charles VII. Louis XI. encouraged the growth of towns and industry, favoured the introduction of printing, was the ally of the middle class, and the protector of the peasantry. Parlements were established in the Provinces to do there what the Parlement of Paris had already done so efficiently, namely, to enlarge the royal power at the expense of all rival authorities. France was compact and efficiently governed. Her commerce and wealth were rapidly growing. A great part awaited her in the European drama which would next present itself.

In addition to the ordinary histories of France, Miss Putnam's *Charles the Bold*, and the introductory chapters of Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*; Freeman's Essay on *Charles the Bold*.

CHAPTER XXIII

British History from 1307 to 1485; the failure of Parliamentary Government

England and France.

THE thirteenth century marks for England, as for the greater part of Europe, the culminating period of the Middle Ages. The reign of Edward I. in England, and that of Louis IX. in France, have some contrasts, but also many points of likeness; order established after confusion; the Church and the monarchy in honourable and independent partnership; in both countries, though in very different ways, an advance made towards liberty. In both countries there came a great and disastrous change: in England at the death of Edward I. (1307); in France a little later, on the death of Philip IV. in 1314.

The failure of Parliament.

The causes of the great change in England have been differently estimated. From one point of view they imply the failure of the parliament, whose organization is one of Edward I.'s greatest claims to fame. The partnership between king and parliament had worked excellently, but King Edward had been the predominant partner. When he died and a man altogether weaker and worse mounted the throne, parliament showed itself incapable of ruling by itself. It became the channel through which the barons pursued their egoistic and dangerous aims. The time for the Commons of England to play a decisive part in the country had not yet come. The long period of 182 years that we glance at in this chapter is characterized throughout by the selfish and dangerous power of the nobles, repressed for a time by triumphant war in France, but speedily showing itself again in the hour of defeat.

I

Edward II.'s reign may be very lightly passed over. It illustrates well the causes of the royal failure of the period.

Edward II. and Gaveston. Edward II. gave all his confidence to Peter of Gaveston, a Gascon knight. Nothing exasperated the English lords more than a foreign "favourite," and Gaveston was a particularly offensive specimen of the class. The Lords were able to force the king to submit to the paramount influence of a body of twenty-one lords (the Lords Ordainers). These men banished Gaveston, and when he landed in England in defiance of them they captured him and put him to death.

Victory in a foreign war might have saved Edward II., but there came instead humiliating defeat. Bruce had established

Bannockburn. his power in Scotland, and in 1314 Edward II. and an English army tried to overthrow him. At the battle of Bannockburn the English army was wholly defeated and the independence of Scotland assured.

During the rest of his reign civil war was always present or threatening. Edward II. had to fight against his uncle, the Earl of Lancaster, and him he overthrew in 1322. New favourites—the Despensers—took the

Civil war.

place of Gaveston. It came to an open struggle between them and the queen, Isabella of France. She raised troops on the Continent, and when she landed in England the uprising against the king was general and irresistible. The king fled, was captured, deposed, and murdered. This was in 1327 : in the space of twenty years the political credit of England had suffered disastrous eclipse.

One important constitutional step marks the reign. It was laid down in 1322 that what concerned the whole realm must be treated "by a council of the prelates, earls, and barons, and the commonalty of the realm." This decision gave the Commons a secure place in parliament.

II

Edward III. was fourteen years old when he came to the throne, and he reigned fifty years. His reign is mainly occupied with the first half of the Hundred Years' War against France. The outline of that has been given in another chapter, and will not be repeated here. We need only follow the domestic history of the reign, but of course this is closely connected with the war. While the war was successful (and it came to no complete failure during Edward III.'s reign) it turned men's attention from politics, and kept the country quiet. When at the end the glory was swallowed up in defeat, rebellion and civil war followed swiftly.

Edward III.

During the first three years of Edward III.'s reign power was left in the hands of the queen-mother, Isabella, and her guilty ally, Mortimer, who between them had deposed and killed Edward II. It was a sordid period at home, and full of national humiliation abroad. In 1328, by the Treaty of Northampton, the complete independence of Scotland was recognized, and the feudal superiority of England, which had been so hotly fought for in the past, was dropped. In the previous year there had been fighting in Gascony against the King of France, and there, too, the rulers of England accepted an arrangement that left little more in the hands of England than the cities of Bordeaux and Bayonne and the immediate neighbourhood. Edward III., as he grew towards manhood, awoke to the humiliation of the Crown and the nation. He took part in a conspiracy against his mother and her paramour. Mortimer was seized and executed. Edward III. began to rule.

National humiliation.

Edward III. cannot rank with the great kings of England. A certain glamour attaches to his name because of his great victories in France. Without those victories he would hardly have mastered the disorderly elements at home; and the war only postponed the settlement and made it more difficult. What can be said in his

The King's character.

favour is that he was a fine fighter in tournament or in battle, and seemed to Froissart the flower of chivalry and the greatest King of England since Arthur. But if he is the best representative of chivalry it stands condemned in him, for he was frivolous, selfish, without honour and without humanity.

Without repeating the sketch of the French war, we will note (1) some of the causes of the English victories, and (2) the cause of the war with Scotland.

The causes of the English victories.

(1) The English victories are especially remarkable, coming as they did after a quarter of a century of failure and disorganization. The last great battle that English soldiers had been engaged in before Crecy was Bannockburn, where certainly neither the tactics nor the spirit of the English force had appeared to promise success. Yet in the first part of the French war there grew up a belief that the English soldiers, because of their leadership, weapons, and spirit, were well-nigh invincible,

Edward III., we have said, was a fine soldier, and his whole heart was in the war, while the French kings, Philip VI. and John, were poor leaders: much turns in all wars, and especially in ancient wars, on leadership. Then there was the English long-bow, of whose influence enough has been already said. But the root cause seems this. In France feudalism was still strong; in England it had been largely destroyed, and had given place to a state far more united than France. The French armies consisted mainly of armour-clad knights, with whom it was a point of honour to charge straight upon the enemy, neglecting all tactics, despising all other arms, and whose relations with the king were always suspicious and difficult. The English armies were very different. There were knights, of course, full of the language and ideas of chivalry, but there were also archers and infantry, whose value was perfectly understood. The predominance of the armed knight was passing all over Europe, and Crecy and Poictiers did much to hurry on the process. The English army, too, was no mere feudal levy, but consisted of troops, raised by the king's agents, paid by the king, rendering obedience to the king. The wealth of England was rapidly developing; her soil was never seriously invaded

French feudalism v. English unity.

during the whole of the war; the tax on the export of wool to Flanders gave Edward a vast revenue, by means of which chiefly he won the war.

The Scotch war.

(2) The English king aimed at Edinburgh almost as much as at Paris in this war, and he was fighting with Scotland before the French war broke out. There were two claimants to the Scotch throne, Edward Balliol and David; and Edward III., after some hesitation, supported the claims of Balliol. In the fighting the balance of success lay with the English. The battle of Halidon Hill, in 1333, is the prologue to the great victories that were soon to come in France. The English fought on foot, and the long-bow did its work; the Scotch were beaten and Berwick taken: but the English success went no further. Scotland was all the more determined to reject Balliol, because he was supported by England, and clung to David as the national king. When the French war came the Scotch inevitably took sides with the French, and David invaded England in the year of Crecy. He was defeated and taken prisoner at Neville's Cross, near Durham. He remained a prisoner in England for eleven years. When victory had come in full flood in France Edward thought there might be a chance of winning Scotland. He claimed the Scotch crown as the successor of Balliol, who had surrendered his claims, and he invaded in 1356 to make his claim good. But the Scotch were as unyielding in defeat as in victory. The English armies burnt and destroyed with horrible efficiency, but Edward was little nearer to being recognized as King of Scotland. So in 1357 King David, who had become very English during his captivity, was liberated on the promise of a heavy ransom. The sword of England, sharp and heavy as it was, could not settle either the Scotch or the French question.

Neville's Cross.

Scotland not crushed.

Social effects of the French war.

The general effect of the long war with France was to create an antagonism against everything French which had not existed before. The French language was hitherto spoken at court and by many of the nobles, though English had already gone far towards displacing it. Now it was naturally a mark of

patriotism to use French as little as possible. In 1362 there were two significant events. English was recognized as the language of the law courts, and the king's speech at the opening of parliament was given in English.

Influence of the war on religion.

The hostility to everything French had an influence, too, upon the religious life of England. The "Babylonish Captivity" went on during the whole of Edward III.'s reign. The Popes were at Avignon, a papal city, but so close to France that they were believed to be in the power of the French kings. So the papal power and all that came from it was suspected in England as it had never been before. This produced its mark on legislation. The Popes had been accustomed from time to time to nominate to church livings, both great and small, in England, and the country had hitherto not much resented the practice. But parliament in 1351, by the Statute of Provisors, forbade it. The power of the Pope to act as as a court of appeal for a large number of cases was an even more important support of the papal power in England.

Provisors and Præmunire.

By the Statute of Præmunire (1353) any carrying of law suits to a foreign tribunal (the Papacy is not mentioned, but the meaning is not doubtful) was declared punishable by forfeiture of property and imprisonment. The tribute promised by King John to the Pope, which had not been paid for many years, was now definitely repudiated. The same anti-papal tendency was also visible in the minds and thoughts of men. English literature comes forward at a bound, in Langland, the author of "Piers Plowman," and, above all others, in Chaucer. "Piers Plowman" is full of invectives against churchmen and the abuses of the Church. A little later Wycliffe attacked the very foundations of the doctrine and organization of the Roman Catholic Church.

Development of Parliament.

Another reaction of the war is visible in the growth of the English parliament. The king could not afford to have domestic quarrels while the great war was raging, and the war was at first popular. The members of parliament were during this reign first definitely organized into the two chambers of Lords and Commons; it was a great thing that the French system of

three chambers was avoided. The right of parliament to grant taxation was again affirmed. At the end of the reign the shadow of the failure in the French war lay broad across the land. The king was old and his will was weak. He fell under the evil influence of Alice Perrers. Then there arose parliamentary opposition and factions among the nobles. It is a hint of the Wars of the Roses, which came when complete defeat in France had been suffered. The Black Prince, Edward III.'s great soldier son, played a good and patriotic part in these events, and his brother, John of Gaunt, a bad one. But no important result had been reached when Edward III. died in 1377.

The Black Death.

The Black Death raged in England in 1348 and 1349. Our country has never known such a visitation. The disease was probably carried by rats, and the medical science of the day was quite incapable of dealing with it. Rich and poor, townsmen and countrymen suffered equally. It is impossible to calculate with certainty the extent of its ravages, but it is generally believed that at least one-third of the population of England perished. An immediate result was great shortage of labour and a consequent demand for higher wages. The economic unsettlement of the country produced the Statute of Labourers in 1351, which attempted to fix both prices and wages at the point at which they stood before the visitation of the plague. The Statute was ineffective despite the appointment of special justices to enforce it. The economic situation was too complex to be solved by a simple Act of Parliament. The Peasants' Revolt, which broke out in 1381, was already preparing.

The Statute of Labourers.

Ireland.

It is necessary to glance at Irish history for a moment. If the efforts of England had not been exhausted by the French war, the force and the statesmanship of the country would have been turned towards Ireland, and might have done something to lay the foundation of a better system. But while Edward III. pursued the phantom of a French Crown, the English garrison in Ireland grew weaker. Edward Bruce, the brother of the Scotch king, had attempted to make himself King of Ireland. He failed;

but the English Government had no better expedient for strengthening the power of England in Ireland than a law (the Statute of Kilkenny), which was as ineffective as the Statute of Labourers. The Anglo-Normans were being absorbed into the Irish population, as the Normans were being absorbed into the population of England. The object of the new Statute was to prevent this process. No Englishman was to wear his hair in the Irish fashion, or to speak Irish, or to maintain an Irish bard; no Irishman was to be admitted into the English Church; there was to be as little intercourse as possible between the two races; absentee English landlords were ordered to return to Ireland.

The Statute of Kilkenny.

III

Richard II., son of Edward the Black Prince, was only ten years of age when he came to the unsteady English throne. His own relations were perhaps the chief of the many dangers with which he was threatened. Edward III. had had many children. The Black Prince was the eldest and the best. His brothers, Lionel, Duke of Clarence; John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; Edmond, Duke of York; Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, were ambitious, jealous, intriguing men. The youth of the king made the regency a prize worth struggling for. From their rivalries we may trace the subsequent outbreak of the Wars of the Roses.

Richard II. and his uncles.

The country was disillusioned by the failure of the French war. It had pursued the conquest of France with eagerness. The land was full of soldiers accustomed to the lawless violence that was practised in the French wars, and ready to employ the same methods in England.

Religion and the Church, which in the past had often given stability to English life, were now an additional cause of unsettlement. The century saw the beginning of the movements which culminated in the Protestantism of the sixteenth century. Wycliffe, a great Oxford scholar and theologian, had delivered a direct

Unsettlement in religion.

attack on the beliefs of the Church. He declared that the Pope was not the head of the Church; that the scriptures were the only basis of religious knowledge, and should be made accessible in English; that the ceremonies of the Church were useless or worse; and that the doctrine of transubstantiation was false. He was not content to utter those opinions in books that would only reach a few, but organized "poor priests" who were to carry his doctrines to the people at large, and made a translation of the Bible. No definite connection has been traced between Wycliffe and the Peasants' Revolt; but there are plenty of analogies to show us that this religious controversy was the natural precursor of revolution.

Wycliffe and his teaching.

Economic causes of various kinds were also working powerfully in the same direction. The merchant class was burdened with heavy taxation. But it was in the agricultural classes that the ferment was most serious. There is no reason to think that the peasants were in great distress; it is not out of mere distress that revolutions arise. The social system of feudalism was breaking down; villeinage, or serfdom, was declining, as landlords found it paid them better to substitute money payment for the enforcement of labour; the effort of the Statute of Labourers to keep wages down had failed, but the attempt was galling. There was a general, ill-defined desire for change.

Economic ferment.

A weak government found itself confronted with widespread opposition, arising partly out of harder conditions, but chiefly out of new ideas. There was the demand for liberty and equality, though the words would not be invented yet for nearly four centuries. The situation was not altogether unlike that which produced the French Revolution.

In 1381 the revolt blazed out in many parts of England at the same time. John Ball, a priest, and Wat Tyler, a peasant, are the most prominent names, but we know of none who deserve to be called leaders. The rising carried all before it for a time. London was occupied by the insurgents. They were especially bitter against the lawyers and their parchments. But the movement was probably too ill-defined, too leaderless, to gain any

The peasants revolt.

permanent victory. The young king (he was only fourteen) and Walworth, the Lord Mayor of London, confronted the insurgents boldly in Smithfield. Wat Tyler was killed. The king addressed them in gallant words, and the insurgents surrendered or dispersed. The revolt was then cruelly suppressed everywhere. Villeinage was not abolished in spite of the promises that had been made. But the whole economic tendency was against it, and it soon passed away from English life.

We must not try to disentangle the confusion of the rest of Richard's reign. The person and power of the king were in constant danger at the hands of the great nobles who surrounded his throne. It is not the old feudal nobility that we are dealing with now, but a new race, deriving their wealth from recent grants and often related to the king; men without the traditions and the restraints of the old nobility. Richard was not a great man, and he held, as most kings of that age held, the view "that the laws were in his breast and that he alone could change the statutes of the realm." But the nobles against whom he struggled—Gloucester and Arundel, Warwick, Nottingham, and the king's cousin, Henry of Lancaster—cannot be accepted as champions of parliamentary liberties, or of any cause that was not selfish. To possess the crown or to control it meant power and wealth; and the nobles gathered round their quarry like beasts of prey, and, like beasts of prey, quarrelled when they had pulled their quarry down.

The rivalry of the nobles.

After much humiliation the king was finally victorious in 1397. He banished the Earl of Hereford (who was soon to be known as Henry of Lancaster and King Henry IV.) and the Earl of Norfolk. He seemed secure now. He had made a peace with France and taken a French princess as his second wife. He passed over to Ireland to deal with the difficult questions that awaited him there. In his absence Henry of Lancaster landed in England. The ground had been well prepared. The nobles flocked to the rebel standard, and when Richard hurried back it was to find that all classes had fallen away from him; to surrender; and to pass to an obscure death in Pontefract Castle.

The king's victory.

Fall of Richard II.

IV

The Wars of the Roses are usually dated as beginning in 1453. But in a sense all English history after the death of Edward III. belongs to the Wars of the Roses; the factions and the spirit that broke out in 1453 had been fermenting for more than a century. There had been many little outbursts before the final explosion.

Henry IV. claimed the realm as being heir by descent and conquest: "through that right that God of His grace has sent me with the help of my kin and friends to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone for default of governance and undoing of the laws." Parliament accepted his claim; and it was by the support of parliament and the men who controlled it that Henry IV. held his uneasy throne for fourteen years. He was an able man—abler certainly than Richard II.; and his tact, nerve, and military skill kept the crown on his head in spite of the efforts of many enemies to strike it down. His own triumph had shown the possibility of successful rebellion; and there were plenty who desired to follow his example. The partisans of Richard II. were easily beaten down; but there was more serious danger behind. Wales broke out under Owen Glendower into a struggle for Welsh independence, and secured the alliance of some of the English nobles of the border and of the great house of Percy in Northumberland. The battle of Shrewsbury in 1403 prevented the Percies from joining hands with the Welsh, and they were subsequently defeated in detail. After that Henry IV. reigned more securely, but the very end of his reign was marked by bitter intrigues at court, in which the king's son, Prince Henry, took part, often against the king. These were still in progress when the king died (1413).

Accession of Henry IV.

Risings against Henry IV.

The reign had seen a great increase of religious persecution. It is remarkable how little of it there had been in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. The arch-heretic Wycliffe had ended his days in peace at Lutterworth. Henry IV., however, wanted the support of the clergy, and made no opposition to

Religious history of Henry IV.'s reign.

the passing of a statute "for the burning of heretics" (1401). Under this statute several of the followers of Wycliffe showed their sincerity by their death.

Parliament and the Lancastrian kings.

The king was in no position to resist parliament, which became under the Lancastrian kings more powerful than it ever was again until the seventeenth century. Two points may be noted. Henry IV. was more than once forced to appoint his ministers at the dictation of parliament. And it was during his reign that the House of Commons gained the right of initiating all money bills.

Henry V.

The accession of Henry V. did not at first create a more settled condition. He had at once to face two serious attacks on his power. The first seems to have arisen chiefly from the repressive religious policy of the Lancastrian house, under which, since the passing of the Act "concerning the burning of heretics," many of Wycliffe's followers had suffered. Political motives were, however, mixed with it. Henry struck hard, and we hear little of Lollardry from this time on. Then just as Henry was embarking for France there came another plot, the leader in which was the king's own cousin, the Earl of Cambridge, who was at once executed for high treason.

Agincourt.

For the rest of his reign Henry found a charm against sedition in victory over the "old enemy" of France. Agincourt was a more remarkable victory even than Crecy, and had more important consequences. When the King of England entered Paris and was recognized as successor to the King of France, Englishmen were mesmerized into forgetfulness of the usurpations of the house of Lancaster. The early death of Henry V., in 1422, makes it impossible to say how long the charm would have worked. Baronial anarchy quickly came to its own again in the next reign.

V

Henry VI., at the death of his father, was nine months old. None could foresee that as part of his inheritance from his French mother he would have the mental weakness that had already shown itself in the house of Valois. But all could foresee a long regency. An old proverb prophesied woe to a kingdom governed by a child, and it was soon verified in England.

Henry VI.

The regent was the king's uncle, John, Duke of Bedford. He held the title of Protector. He represented all that was efficient in the government of England, and carried on the war in France for some years with success. The fortunes of France sank to their lowest point in 1424, when the battle of Verneuil was won by the English. But victory could no longer charm the factions of the English nobles into silence, and soon the English troops ceased to win victories. Joan of Arc appeared in 1429. While Bedford fought in France, another of the king's uncles, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, guided the government in England. He embarrassed Bedford by his policy both at home and abroad. He was displaced in 1429 by the king's great-uncle, Cardinal Beaufort. Outside of the French war the history of England gives us at this time little but the story of personal intrigue and faction. In 1435 Bedford died, after rejecting honourable overtures for peace made by France.

The question of the regency.

Few countries have a more dismal history than ours during the following years. There was still vigour and virtue in the country, no doubt, but there was little of them in politics. As the king grew up he showed himself a really beautiful nature; religious in the best sense of the word; peace-loving, forgiving, charitable; devoted to the cause of education. But he was quite out of place in the iron time, and hardly exercised any influence on the course of events. The court and council were torn by the rivalries of Cardinal Beaufort and the Duke of Gloucester. An unfortunate marriage was arranged for the king with

The dismal character of the period.

Margaret of Anjou, who brought the king neither dowry nor wisdom. In 1447 both Gloucester and Beaufort died, and the Duke of Suffolk became the king's chief adviser. He has not a good reputation as a statesman, but his task was an impossible one. In 1449 came the end of all the hopes of a French Empire for England. The English were driven out of Normandy, and they were not likely to keep their foothold in the South of France much longer. English pride had been swollen so long by the French victories, and her avarice sharpened by the booty that had accompanied them, that there was certain to be violent reaction against the government that was in office when the house of cards fell.

Collapse of English power in France.

First Suffolk was impeached, and tried to flee to France to escape the certain consequences. But his vessel was stopped in the Channel, and he was taken out and murdered (1450). In the same year there came the rising of Jack Cade. It has none of the interest which belongs to the peasants' revolt; but serves to show that anger against the government for its failures and incompetence was not confined to the aristocracy of England. The insurgents came chiefly from Kent. They seemed very dangerous. The king fled. London was occupied. Then there came reaction, and Cade was slain and the rebellion crushed. Even the rebellions of this dreary time have little interest!

Murder of Suffolk.

The outbreak of the Wars of the Roses can best be dated from the year 1453. In that year the English were expelled from the South of France, and henceforth held nothing but Calais. Then the brain of Henry VI. became clouded, and the appointment of a regent was necessary; the queen, Margaret of Anjou, bore a son. All these events stand in close relation to the claims which are now put forward by the house of York.

Beginning of the Wars of the Roses.

Richard, Duke of York, was great-grandson of Edward III., and, if no child had been born to Henry VI., he was the legal heir to the throne. He had seen service in Ireland and in France, and had acquitted himself well in both places. Against the weak government, or no government, of Henry VI. he seemed to represent energy and

Richard, Duke of York.

efficiency. Furthermore, he was immensely rich, having inherited from his mother the earldoms of March and Ulster. He is a good type of the great nobles of the time. They did not belong to the old feudalism, but had amassed great wealth in land by royal favour and carefully arranged marriages. They lived in castles that were beginning to be fortified again. They were surrounded by retainers who would support them against all opponents; and they were ready to defy both Crown and parliament, for though the "liberties" and "privileges" of parliament expanded under the Lancastrian kings, its real power was small. The elections were controlled by the nobility, and the parliament that was founded on them was as much an agency of anarchy as of government. The house of Neville was closely united with that of York, and was even more wealthy. Warwick, "the king-maker," was the great representative of the Nevilles.

The new type of nobles.

The Wars of the Roses (so called from the White Rose, which was the badge of the house of York, and the Red Rose, which, more doubtfully, belonged to that of Lancaster) passed through two phases. It is first a sort of "League of the Public Weal" against a weak king and his incompetent ministers; it became, however, very soon a savage struggle for the crown between the two rival families. It is difficult to tell the story coherently under any circumstances, and no attempt must be made here. The chief stages only can be marked.

The two phases of the Wars of the Roses.

1. The Duke of York, who at first claimed only the title of Protector and won it, soon claimed the throne, as being its rightful occupant even in the lifetime of Henry VI. The poor king, whose brain at times emerged from its clouds, could make no resistance. It was agreed that at his death Richard, Duke of York, should succeed.

Richard, Duke of York, to succeed to the throne.

2. The king might yield; but Margaret of Anjou—energetic, fierce, and passionate for the maintenance of her son's rights—would not. She raised an army in the north, defeated and slew Richard of York at Wakefield. For a moment Henry VI. was king again.

Margaret of Anjou.

But Edward of York succeeded to his father's claim, and was saved by the support of Warwick and of the City of London. The battle of Towton (1461) ruined the cause of the Lancastrians, and Edward of York became King Edward IV,

Towton and King Edward IV.

3. Edward was a good soldier, and with Warwick's help might have given the country the strong government it needed. But the successful partners in rebellion quarrelled. Edward was jealous. Warwick found himself thrust on one side; tricked, perhaps threatened. He betrayed his own past, and joined himself to those whom he had already betrayed. He went to the Continent and allied himself with Margaret of Anjou, and secured the help of Louis XI. of France. Fortune passed from one side to the other with a fickleness that is explained by the fact that it was a war of military adventurers and mercenary armies, not a national war, nor a war of principles. Edward IV. had to flee, and Henry VI. was king again. But Edward IV. could play the game of his enemies. He gained help in men and money from Charles the Bold of Burgundy. When he struck, the king-maker found defeat and death at Barnet (1471). Margaret of Anjou was crushed a little later. Edward and his partisans spared few of the opposing nobles on whom they could lay their hands.

Quarrel between Edward and Warwick.

Fall of Warwick.

After that Edward reigned in comparative peace for twelve years. But the atmosphere of low and material aims, of corruption and violence, of intrigue and murder, lasts to the end. In 1478 his brother Clarence was made away with. Parliament was rarely summoned, and was not apparently regretted. The king died in 1483.

The past years had been full of violence and crime; but there was worse yet to come. The late king had left two sons, of whom the eldest was twelve years old. He occupies a place in the line of English kings as Edward V., but from the first the one all-important personality in England was Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who by the will of Edward IV. became the guardian of the king and Lord Protector. He was misshapen

Edward V. and Richard III.

in body; but capable, ambitious, and unscrupulous. His career has been made the subject of one of Shakespeare's best-known historical plays; and it hardly exaggerates the violence and moral infamy of his career. There is something in his frantic egotism that reminds one of some of the figures of the Italian Renaissance. His intrigues, lies, and murders may be passed over in this book. First he ruled as Protector. Then he aimed higher, and determined to reign as king. Edward V. was declared illegitimate because his father had been betrothed to another lady. So Richard of Gloucester reigned as King Richard III. Some have thought that he would have been a good ruler, and by his energy might have brought to an end the long disorder of England. But he had raised up enemies against himself on all sides. There were so many instances of successful rebellion that another attempt was certain to be made.

Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, would not have found a road to the English throne if accident and the headsman's axe had not removed a great number of possible rivals. True, he had royal blood in his veins—the royal blood of France as well as England. His grandfather had married Catherine of France, the widow of King Henry V., and had subsequently been beheaded by order of Edward IV. Descent, however, from the French royal house would not have made Henry a representative of the house of Lancaster and a claimant to the English Crown. Through his mother he was descended from the Beauforts, who were descended from Edward III.'s son, John of Gaunt, by his third marriage. Henry Tudor was the only possible representative of the Lancastrian house. He was little known, for he had lived much abroad; the coolness, caution, sureness of judgment, pertinacity, which made him the founder of a new era in English history, cannot have been known, but at least there was nothing against him and he became the rallying centre for all those who wanted to be rid of Richard III. He landed in Wales and met the forces of the king at Bosworth, near Leicester. Richard was betrayed rather than defeated. He was killed in the battle, and Henry Tudor became Henry VII. Little in him or in his reign has attracted

Henry Tudor.

Battle of Bosworth.

the admiration of posterity; but few of our rulers have bestowed more solid benefits upon the country.

VI

This period, and especially the last half of it, tells strongly against the view that national character is something permanent and always operative. The English have claimed (and this claim has sometimes been allowed by foreign observers) that they are distinguished for their practical political sense; that their history flows on steadily from "precedent to precedent"; that they are placable, and not so liable as some other nations to be carried away by passion; that even in times of violent controversy their political life still recognizes a high standard of right. But neither France, during the savage factions of the Burgundians and Armagnacs, or when Catherine de' Medici ruled her destinies; nor Spain in the days of Philip II.; nor Italy in the days of Cæsar Borgia, present us with scenes of greater violence than those we have just glanced at. This period, moreover, in English history has as its special mark a sordid materialism, an absence of all high or ideal aims.

The first half of the period (down to the death of Henry V.) is not without its noble features. We may rightly take pride in the military achievements of Crecy and Agincourt, though all now recognize that the French war was a criminal mistake in the English king and did incalculable harm to Europe. That early period is illuminated also by the homely vigour and satire of "Piers Plowman," and by the humour, wit, and poetry of Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales." These last are indeed a most fortunate possession. They humanize and sweeten that dark time, and make us sensible of the healthy natural life that underlay the strange reign of Richard II. During the later period there is no literature that wins the affections of the modern reader. At first sight the whole proud life of England seems to run into bog and morass. Yet we know that one of the most interesting and glorious periods in our history was about to dawn. What signs are there of the new and better age?

Literature.

The love of beautiful things had not died out. English architecture, whose supreme value has hardly even yet had full recognition, still produced masterpieces. The delicate pointed style of the thirteenth century, which harmonizes so well with the character of that wonderful period, was no longer used. The more practically useful "perpendicular" style was adopted. In this style splendid work was being done right down to the end of this period. Not only in cities or universities is the interest in architecture visible; not only do King's College Chapel, Cambridge, and much of Westminster Cathedral belong to this period; but noble parish churches sprang up in various parts of England. It was a period, too, in which domestic architecture made great progress, as many a noble mansion still shows us.

Architecture.

On the other hand, though the Renaissance had nearly reached its zenith in Italy and had powerfully influenced France and the Netherlands, its influence in the British islands was hardly perceptible. There is little trace of its Italian passion for beauty and for speculation, or of the challenge to all accepted standards of conduct. One great practical outcome of the ferment of the time did, however, reach our shores. The printing-press was set up by William Caxton at Westminster in 1477. The invention came to England from the Netherlands, for Caxton had lived there for some time and had actually printed English books in Bruges. He was not an inventor in any way, but merely transferred to English soil a process which had already been practised for twenty years on the Continent. There was not at first any sign of the revolutionary influence that this new mechanical invention was to have on the world. The first books that came from his press reflect the taste of an age that was passing away—*The History of Troy*, *The Play and Game of Chess*, *The Golden Legend*, *The Poems of Chaucer*. Later there came translations from the classics—Boethius, Virgil, and Cicero. Great interest was taken in the new process by the court and nobles.

More important than any other feature as a presage of a new era was the rise of a trading middle class and the growth of the towns. There is little in England that can be

compared with the communes of Italy and Germany and, at a rather earlier period, of France. The central government had been too strong to allow any town to acquire the independence of Florence or Cologne. But in spite of all the savagery and confusion of the time (which chiefly concerned the ruling classes), trade was advancing and population increasing. The craft guilds were growing in strength. Foreign trade was in the hands of societies, of which the chief was the "Merchant Adventurers." As wealth and the importance of the trading class increased the towns received a fuller constitution. Before the reign of Henry VII. most were possessed of mayor, aldermen, and council with well-defined powers. The confusion of the Wars of the Roses had been favourable to their growth.

The development of the towns.

It is in the rise of a middle class that we see the force which is to save England from the dangers that seemed to threaten her. She seems sometimes to be hurrying to Polish anarchy; to a condition in which the state is the prey of a nobility that can do nothing but fight and is incapable of patriotism. That class had gone far to destroy itself in the vendetta of the Wars of the Roses. There was a new class ready under the guidance of a strong monarchy to give a better life to England.

Of contemporary writers Froissart and Chaucer are easily accessible, and for the later period *The Paston Letters*. T. F. Tout's volume in the *Political History of England* goes to 1377; that of C. Oman carries the story to 1485. Among shorter biographies note Oman's *Warwick the Kingmaker*; Church's *Henry V.*; Gairdner's *Henry VII.*

CHAPTER XXIV

The Renaissance and the End of the Middle Ages

We marked the beginning of the Middle Ages at the point where the Emperor Constantine raised the Christian Church from its despised and persecuted state, and made it a partner with the empire in the government of the civilized world. It was the strength and influence of the Church which gave

to the Middle Ages their most characteristic features. It was from this source that Europe derived such unity as it possessed from the third to the fifteenth century, amidst all the confusions that were caused by the invasions of the barbarians and the anarchy of the feudal world. It seems best, therefore, to mark the end of the Middle Ages at the point where the religious unity of Western Europe was broken by the rise of Protestantism. The influence of the Church indeed never recovered from the blows which it received in the struggle with Philip IV. of France, and the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were full of heresy and schism over which the Church triumphed in the end, but triumphed without regaining the position which she had held in the days of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. The world was slipping from the control of the Church for better or for worse. But, in appearance, unity was preserved until Luther's challenge opened a struggle which led to a complete religious transformation of Europe, to the substitution in many countries of national churches for the one Catholic Church, and ultimately to the abandonment of the principle of coercion in matters of belief.

Where to mark the end of the Middle Ages.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century also another prominent feature of the mediæval world began to disappear. The Middle Ages knew little or nothing of the sentiment of nationality which is so powerful a factor in modern Europe. The peoples had not yet become conscious of their separateness, and nations were not divided from nations in the clear and rigid way in which they are to-day. Internationalism is a great mark of the Middle Ages. The governments were jealous of one another and often fought fiercely; but there were agencies, organizations, and ideas connecting the people of all nations indiscriminately and giving to Western Europe a sense of unity which it now lacks. The Church took no heed of national boundaries. Men of all races and tongues entered the ranks of the priesthood or joined one of the many orders of monks or friars. Difference of language counted for little in the Church, for Latin was the universal speech of educated men. Feudalism, too, was not a national force.

Rise of National feeling.

The Church and empire international.

The career and position of Charles the Bold which we examined in a recent chapter will show how, under feudalism, a great power might grow up which paid no regard to national frontiers or identity of race and language. The empire which stood at the head of the feudal system was essentially international, and in its claims as universal as the Church itself. Within its borders were to be found not only Germans, but Frenchmen, Italians, Slavonians; and this corresponded so closely to the ideas of the time that no one thought it strange. Further, the universities were only loosely connected with the nations in which they were situated. The teachers were drawn readily from alien peoples, and the scholars passed from Italy to Germany, or from France to England without difficulty. But by the end of the fifteenth century national feeling was growing strong. It was to be found in Germany in spite of the manifold divisions of the country, but it was seen at its strongest in France, England, and Spain. In France and England the long struggle of the Hundred Years' War had made the two nations conscious of their separate existence, and in Spain a similar result had been brought about by the long struggle against the Moors.

Universities.

These two great features of the Middle Ages then—the universal Church and internationalism in politics — were growing much dimmer by the end of the fifteenth century. But the sense of nationality was not the only new feeling that was emerging. New ideas had come and were controlling the thoughts, and through the thoughts the actions of men. The Renaissance reached its zenith by the end of the fifteenth century; printing had been invented, and had quickened the intellectual intercourse of Europe in an unprecedented way; explorers had seen a new world rise beyond the waves of the Atlantic. All ages are ages of transition, and the division of the continuous story of human life into periods produces often dangerous misconceptions; but at the end of the fifteenth century there were many powerful forces converging to drive the European world out of the course which it had followed for so long. This chapter will be occupied with a slight examination of some of these forces.

The Renaissance.

The Renaissance is a name generally used to describe the intellectual and artistic movement of this period. The word means a New Birth, and it refers more especially to the revived study of the Greek language and of classical antiquity which flourished vigorously at this time. But there are two misconceptions about the Renaissance which it will be well here to protest against. First the movement has been traced to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, and it is assumed that the Greeks flying from the doomed city brought with them Greek manuscripts and a knowledge of the Greek tongue to Italy. But there is no historical basis for this widely held view. When Constantinople fell, Greek had already been taught in Italy for more than half a century, and it received no extra stimulus from that great disaster. And, next, the Renaissance is not to be restricted to the revival of Greek learning. That revival was a part and an important part of the movement; but it was not the cause of it by any means. Greater poetry was written in Italy before than after the revival of Greek. Europe was already awake and eager for new knowledge, and, because it was awake, turned to consider and to study the neglected, but never quite forgotten, treasures of classical antiquity.

Misconceptions as to the Renaissance.

The Renaissance is best understood when it is regarded as a stage in the development of the thought of Europe, comparable with the great intellectual and artistic movement of Greece in the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ, or the change which passed over the ideas of men in the early Christian centuries. It was not due to any external event, but was a spontaneous growth arising out of the widening experiences and changing needs of the time.

The Renaissance a spontaneous growth.

The Middle Ages do not by any means deserve the name of the Dark Ages, which used to be ignorantly and vaguely given them. But after the fifth century there was little speculation or intellectual curiosity until the twelfth. It was then that the Renaissance may be said to have begun though the phrase is usually confined to a later period. The thirteenth century saw the

Revived knowledge of Aristotle.

revival of the influence of the great Greek philosopher, Aristotle. The earlier Middle Ages had hardly known his name, but in the thirteenth century an Arabic version of the Greek original was translated into Latin, and his thought, though often in a perverted form, was made accessible to Western Europe. Nor was Europe slow to recognize its importance, and the great scholars of the thirteenth century—the Schoolmen as they are called—were largely occupied with the interpretation of the new philosophy and its adaptation to the needs and ideas of the time. Their ideas and their phrases are separated by a very wide gap from those of the twentieth century; but they put forward a great mass of speculation on theology, politics, metaphysics, and morals, which acted as a great stimulus to the age. The greatest name is Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), who taught in the University of Naples. But the writings of Dante show us the thought of the thirteenth century in a more attractive form than do the pages of the Schoolmen. His "Divine Comedy" especially (which belongs to the year 1300) is a mirror of all that the age knew and hoped and felt, presented through one of the greatest poems of all time. The poem tells us of the journey which the poet took under the guidance of Virgil through the realms of Hell and Purgatory, until he met his beloved Beatrice and was led by her through Paradise and introduced into the heart of all celestial mysteries. He who would understand the Middle Ages must read the "Divine Comedy." Dante was eager in pursuit of all knowledge, speculated boldly on questions of theology, morals, and natural science. Above all, we may note that, though he probably did not know a word of Greek, he was fully alive to the importance of Greek literature and generally of classical antiquity. Athens, he calls "the hearth from which all knowledge glows;" Homer is "the loftiest of all poets;" Aristotle is "the master of those who know." Thus Dante was the prophet of the Classical Revival. Other great names (though none so great as his) soon followed. Petrarch (1304–1374) exercised a profound influence over the thought of his time, and he saw the importance of acquiring a knowledge of Greek. At the end of the century there came an embassy

The Schoolmen.

Dante.

from Constantinople asking for help against the advancing power of the Turks. The embassy failed in its objects, for Europe had no longer any heart for a crusade. But one of the Greeks (Manuel Chrysoloras by name) was induced to remain behind and teach Greek in Florence (1399). Soon the learning of Greek became a passion and a fashion in Italy. Manuscripts were sought for in the monastic libraries. Soon the Aldine Printing Press at Venice began to produce copies of the great classics. The Medici of Florence vied with Pope Nicholas V. of Rome in the patronage of the new learning. It soon spread from university to university. Germany, France, and England were as much concerned with it as Italy. A knowledge of the literature and life of ancient Greece and Rome had become a permanent part of the intellectual life of Europe.

Greek taught in Italy, 1399.

This revival of classical learning had a profound effect upon the mind of Europe. It revealed societies full of beauty and nobleness before the rise and victory of Christianity; it introduced men to ideas on morality and philosophy widely different from those of orthodox Christianity; and it soon gave to the early Protestant controversialists an invaluable weapon in their power to interpret the original language of the New Testament. Further, it reopened to the world a vast treasure-house of truth and beauty, and there is no department of modern science or thought which has not been influenced by the revival. Fermenting, as it was, with the new thought, Europe could not be kept within the limitations of the medieval world.

Influence of the revival of learning.

But the Renaissance, as we have said, was much more than the revival of classical learning. It was also an artistic movement, the most important in the history of Europe since Pericles ruled in Athens. It produced great works in poetry, and buildings of great interest, while by the pictures and sculptures which it brought forth it gave to Europe a new sense for beauty. In poetry what came before the revival of Greek is much greater than what came after. There is no name in Italian literature, and only one or two in European literature, to be

The artistic movement of the Renaissance.

put in comparison with Dante, who died in 1321. Petrarch and Boccaccio wrote before the new classical movement had set in in its fullness. The great Italian writers of the later Renaissance are Ariosto (1474–1533) and Tasso (1493–1569). In style both were much influenced by the revived knowledge of the classics, though Ariosto wrote, with much humour and some irony, stories that are connected with the characteristic medieval figure of Charlemagne; and Tasso's epic of the recovery of Jerusalem in the first crusade, if its form was influenced by Virgil, drew its sentiment and its ideas from the revival of Catholicism which came during the Reformation. And if the highest products of Italian poetry came before the classical revival, modern taste would assuredly say the same of architecture. The architecture of the Renaissance, though for a time it threw into shade the great buildings of the medieval architects, is now recognized as being in most respects inferior to them. The builders of the time went back to classical models, adopted the dome instead of the vault for the roofs of their churches, and in their secular buildings developed a style simpler and less romantic than that of Gothic architecture, and one more light and airy and better fitted for the ordinary life of man.

Architecture.

Painting.

The gift of painting that Italy gave to the world requires no limitation or qualification of praise. The growth of Italian art owed little to classical influence, though in its later course its subjects and occasionally its style were modified by classical poetry and statues. The pictures which Italy knew at the end of the thirteenth century were for the most part the mosaics in her churches, the work of early artists, most of them from Constantinople and the East. These have interest and often great beauty; but, as they are made of fragments of coloured glass, there is naturally much stiffness about the figures and little that is lifelike in the expression of the face. The earliest Italian pictures show the same stiffness and formality. But from the end of the thirteenth century onwards for at least two centuries and a half a long series of great artists developed the art of painting, and almost enriched Europe with a new sense. All the early paintings are religious in subject and character, for the Church was the

only great patron of art. But quickly the artists began to paint with a freedom hitherto unknown. Their figures became lifelike in pose and expression. The deepest feelings were expressed. Beauty of form, beauty of design, beauty of colour were achieved to an extent hitherto unknown. Siena and Florence were the earliest homes of the new art. Venice gave to it a magnificence and glow that the Florentines had not quite attained to. The city life of Italy assisted the new movement; for town vied with town in the patronage and purchase of the works that were produced in great numbers. Names and dates are here of little significance, but it may be well to note that Giotto (1276–1336) stood nearly at the beginning of the movement; and that it reached its zenith during the life of Michael Angelo (1474–1564), who was equally great as sculptor and as painter, and of Raphael (1483–1520). There was fine painting in Italy long after that, but it rapidly lost its old dignity and strength, and descended too often into mere prettiness and affectation.

Giotto, Michael Angelo, Raphael.

While Italy was thus giving to the world such priceless treasures, her own political and social life was far from healthy. Though it is hard to speak with confidence of the moral character of a whole age or people, it seems clear that in Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the passions of men met with very little restraint from any moral code or from the influence of religion. The political life of Italy was full of fraud, violence, and cruelty. Success seemed to justify all means that led to it. There was much keen political thinking, which for the most part rejected traditional views and sought to find from experience the way to success. Among the political thinkers the greatest name is that of Machiavelli (1469–1527), and his treatise "The Prince" had a great influence on the politics of his own and the succeeding ages. There is in it much acute thought, but the point that has attracted most attention is that he boldly declared that the rules of morality are not binding on statesmen. "A Prince," he wrote, "in order to maintain the state must often act against faith, against charity, against humanity, and against religion."

Moral condition of Italy.

Machiavelli.

The sixteenth century quickly learnt the lesson and suffered bitterly from it.

The invention of printing and the first stages in its development came not from Italy, but from beyond the Alps. The precise authorship of the new invention is uncertain. In more than one quarter efforts had already been made. But the first considerable book printed with separate moveable types for each letter, the Bible in Latin, was the work of Gutenberg, of Mainz, and appeared in 1455.

Printing

The full significance of the invention was by no means apparent at first; and the printing press developed slowly. But it was at once clear how much more rapidly books could be produced by the new method than by the old method of copying, how much more accurate the copies were, how much easier to read than all but the best of medieval writing. It was not until the controversies of the Reformation period broke out that another value of the new invention was apparent: the printing press produced books so much more rapidly than the old method that it was almost impossible for authority to suppress them. The printing press was the greatest of all obstacles to the victory of the Inquisition. The printing press was set up in Italy in 1467, and a few years later the famous Aldine Press of Venice began to issue its copies of the Greek and Latin Classics. The first English printed book appeared in 1477.

While Europe was fermenting with new and dangerous stuff a new world had been discovered. The discovery of the islands of the West Indies by Columbus in 1492 was by far the most wonderful event in the age of discovery. It was the realization of a dream, that had haunted mankind for centuries, that rich and happy lands might be found beyond the Pillars of Hercules and the waters of the Atlantic. But it was only one among a vast number of voyages of discovery that took place during the century, the results of which were only a little less important. Since Greek times (and doubtless from an even earlier date) men's minds had been curious to discover what lay beyond the limits of the world they knew; what manner of people inhabited

Discovery of America.

the frozen lands of the North, and from what source the Nile came. But the particular force which brought Europe at last into touch with America was the desire to find a new route for commerce with the East. We have already seen how much the crusades were influenced by the desire of Western Europe to control the route by which the products of India, of China, and of those lands which were vaguely called Cathay, passed into Europe. At the beginning of the thirteenth century much new light had been thrown on these regions by the travels of Marco Polo, probably the most wonderful travels of which we have any record. The advance of the barbarous Turkish power, however, made all Asiatic routes difficult and dangerous. So European commerce looked for some other route. The Portuguese, under the guidance of Prince Henry "the Navigator," undertook a long series of voyages down the West Coast of Africa. Little by little the knowledge of the coast of the Dark Continent was extended in spite of baffling calms and fatal disease. At last, in 1487, Diaz reached the Cape of Good Hope, and knew that there must be a great field for discovery beyond. In 1498 Vasco da Gama reached the Malabar coast of India.

The search for Cathay.

The sea route to India.

The success of Columbus was not like the discovery of Vasco da Gama, the culmination of a long series of efforts. Columbus was a Genoese by birth, and had cherished for long the dream of sailing straight across the Atlantic to find there the treasures of India and the fabled wealth of Cathay. What he needed, as the first condition of success, was a patron to support him. He found at last what he sought in the King of Spain. On October 12, 1492, after the most momentous voyage in history, during which hope and despair had been in constant struggle, he saw land. He disembarked in the Bahamas. He believed to his death that it was Asia which he had reached, and called the islands in consequence the West Indies.

Columbus.

For another century the work of discovery went eagerly It was still the wealth of Cathay that formed the chief [in]ducement. Men sought to reach it by at least six routes; [we]stward by the North of America and by the South of

America, and for a time by some opening which they hoped to discover near the isthmus of Panama, and eastward by the Cape of Good Hope and the northern shores of Asia, and by some route across Russia and Asia by which they might avoid the neighbourhood of the Turks. By the end of the sixteenth century most of the chief features of the Globe were known, though Australasia remained unguessed.

The many efforts to reach the wealth of Asia.

The discovery of the New World produced an immense effect on the Old. Its first effect was to divert trade from the Mediterranean into the great ocean routes, and so to ruin Venice and Genoa and to pour wealth into Antwerp and London. Later, as the New World was found to be peopled by races which could not resist European methods of warfare, the maritime states of Europe saw that there was a prize of enormous value to be gambled and fought for. The rivalries created by the struggle were one of the most potent causes of the European wars of the next centuries. In 1493 an effort was made by the Pope to avoid these struggles by drawing a line from north to south and giving all to the east of that line to Portugal, and all to the west to Spain. But this was too rough and ready a method of division, and the time was soon to come when the states of Europe would no longer regard the decision of a Pope with much respect.

Effect of the New World on the Old.

The influence of the New World upon the Old is a vast subject, one or two points only of which are here touched upon. The influence of the Old World upon the New is a subject which is rarely considered. But there is not a more terrible tragedy in all history than that. Beyond the Atlantic there were races with many noble characteristics, and some of them with a developed and even a beautiful civilization. Upon them all came utter ruin. The sword and the diseases of Europe swept them off by millions. Those that survived lived as a despised and subject race. At last the interest and the conscience of their conquerors were touched. Something was done to keep them alive. The Christian missionaries admitted them to the possibilities of European culture. In

The influence of the Old World on the New.

North America men of the old stock form an insignificant minority of the population. In South America the native race has been much better preserved, has mixed readily with the Spaniards and the Portuguese, and forms a large part of the foundation on which the life of the southern continent rests.

Hallam, *Europe in the Middle Ages*; Lodge, *Close of the Middle Ages*; Symonds, *The Renaissance in Italy*; Burckhardt, *The Renaissance in Italy*.

PART III
MODERN EUROPE

CHAPTER I

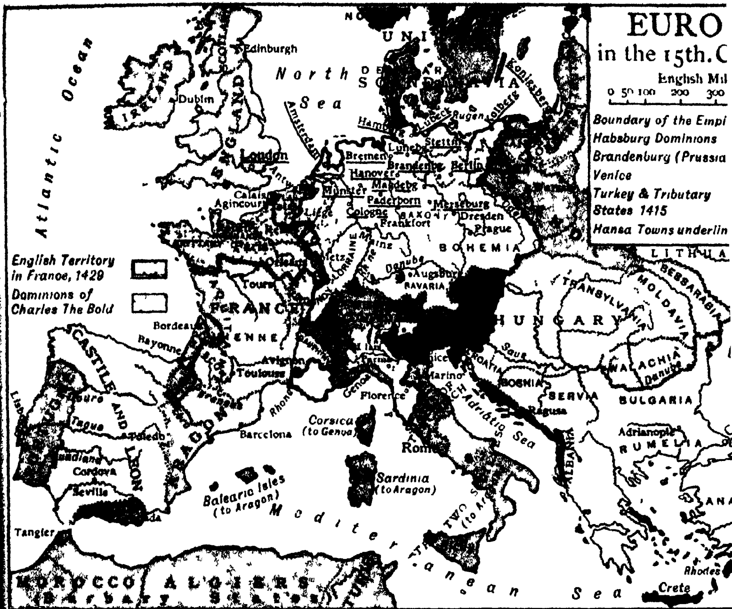
The Italian Wars

Renewal of the invasions of Italy.

SINCE the fall of the Roman Empire, Italy had often been the prey of the stronger nations of Europe. We have seen the frequent invasions of the barbarians from the Visigoths to the Franks: we have seen how the Saracens and the Normans had made settlements upon the coasts of Italy, and how from the tenth to the thirteenth century the emperors again and again led their troops into the country from Germany. But since the end of the thirteenth century Italy had enjoyed peace from serious external invasion. We saw in the last chapter how her wealth and her splendour had developed during that time. But her military strength had by no means kept pace with her intellectual and artistic growth; her cities were at war with one another, and entrusted their defence, for the most part, to mercenary soldiers. Thus Italy was at once wealthy and defenceless; she formed the natural prey of the strong, united monarchy which had grown up during the last half century in France.

Charles VIII. of France.

When Louis XI. died, he bequeathed to Charles VIII. a monarchy which controlled the resources of the country more completely than any other monarchy of Europe. France possessed a warlike population and a large army, which was entirely at the disposal of the crown, and during the struggle with England and Burgundy she had developed the use of artillery beyond what was known in the rest of Europe. Charles VIII. did not possess the strange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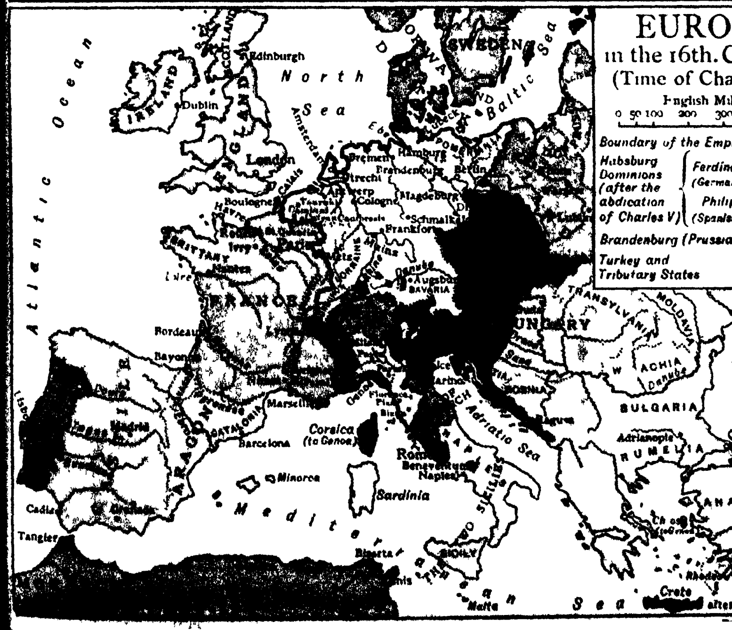
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Malta
Crete

genius of his father, nor does he seem to have been a man beyond the average in any way. But he was conscious of the weapon that was in his hand. He was ambitious to signalize himself by some great deed, and Italy naturally attracted him. The royal house of France had certain claims upon Naples; these claims were indeed of little validity, but they were enough to furnish a diplomatic excuse for aggression. In 1494 the ruler of Milan, Lodovico the Moor, appealed to France for protection against a threatened attack from Florence, and Charles VIII. readily availed himself of the excuse to pass into Italy.

Early victories of Charles VIII.

This first invasion of Italy by the French is in many respects the most interesting of the many expeditions which were conducted by French generals into that land. The French were amazed at the wealth and beauty of the cities of Italy, and the Italians, on their side, were astonished at the efficiency and the rapidity of the French army, and especially at the ease with which the French artillery was worked. No effective resistance was made to them. Florence, Pisa, Rome, and then Naples itself were entered without serious fighting, and France seemed to have made herself mistress of the whole peninsula.

The balance of power.

But then came a sudden change, characteristic of Italy in the sixteenth century, and indeed characteristic of Europe at the same epoch. The principle of what is called the European "balance of power" began to be talked of. It was an indefinite phrase, but it meant, in effect, that no great alteration in the comparative strength of the great states of Europe should be tolerated, and that all should combine against any power which seemed to be establishing itself in dangerous supremacy over the rest. We see, therefore, if we trace the intricate diplomacy of this time how a great victory won by any one power was almost inevitably the signal for an alliance against that power, and so the triumphant march of Charles VIII. through Italy at once brought into being a dangerous movement against him. The Italian powers took the leading part, but they did not stand alone. Along with Milan, Venice and the papacy, Ferdinand of Spain and the Emperor Maximilian joined

in the movement. Charles VIII. saw that if he waited long it would not be so easy for him to get out of Italy as it had been to march through it. He left Naples and marched rapidly back. In July, 1495, he met at Fornovo the army of the allies. A sharp tussle ended in a French victory, and the army got home in safety. But with the withdrawal of the troops, all the conquests and the prestige of France melted away. When Charles VIII. died in 1498, there was nothing left to the French crown of all that he had won.

The loss of the French conquests.

Charles VIII. was succeeded by his cousin, Louis XII. His domestic government was humane and successful, and won for him the title of "Father of his Country." In his foreign policy he took up again the Italian schemes of Charles VIII., and like all French rulers, who have entertained ideas of Italian conquest, he met with some brilliant early successes, which soon were clouded over with failure. His first attack was directed in 1499 against Milan upon which his house had some claim. It was occupied without difficulty, partly in consequence of the assistance which Venice gave to France out of jealousy for her neighbour. Then Louis turned his eyes upon Naples; but here a difficulty presented itself. Spain, as well as France, had claims upon Naples, and claims perhaps more strongly founded. The French advance upon Naples would probably be resisted by a Spanish army. The difficulty was for the time eluded by a treaty with Spain (the Treaty of Granada) for a common campaign against Naples and a joint partition of that unoffending and defenceless state. Naples could make no resistance against the combination of these two great powers. The city surrendered, and the King of Naples soon passed as a prisoner into France. But then the real difficulties began. The treaty of partition had been vaguely drawn. It was not easy to see what part of the stolen lands belonged to Spain and what part to France. War broke out between the two robber states, and in a series of campaigns the French were defeated and driven from all Neapolitan territory.

Louis XII. of France.

The treaty of Granada for the partition of Naples (1500).

At this juncture a new force came into Italian politics in

the person of Pope Julius II. Hitherto the French had had to deal with Alexander VI., probably the worst man who ever wore the papal crown. He had readily made himself the tool of French diplomacy, but Julius II. was a man of better character and a far more energetic statesman. The spiritual functions of the papacy received scant attention at his hands, but he was a judicious patron of the arts and especially of Michael Angelo; and he aspired to play a great and decisive part in the politics of Italy. The first movement in which he was concerned was little to his credit. We have noted the great wealth of Venice, the stability of her Government, the skill of her statesmen, and the large tract of territory which she had won upon the mainland of Italy. There was no cause for war against her. But her territories were coveted by many: by France, by the empire, by Spain, by Florence, and by the papacy, all of whom were her neighbours. The situation led to the infamous League of Cambrai, in which all these powers joined for the conquest and spoiling of Venice. She could make no headway against so vast an alliance; her troops were beaten and she was forced to abandon her possessions upon the mainland. But the victory of the allies led immediately to quarrels among them, and Julius II. was soon aware that even in the interest of the States of the Church he had made a mistake when he invited foreign powers to the plunder of Italian soil. The relations of the states of Italy changed during this time with bewildering rapidity, and the union of the weaker against the strongest was the usual principle of alliance. In 1511 Julius II. formed a Holy League for the expulsion of the French from Italy. Venice, Spain, and the emperor were induced to join against France; and a little later England also came in to this Holy League. France fought brilliantly, and for a time successfully, against her opponents, but by 1513, she had lost all that she had won in Italy, with the exception of the citadel of Milan, and had suffered reverses in France itself at the hands of the English. Then French diplomacy succeeded in breaking up the alliance, and peace was made just before Louis died in 1515.

Pope Julius II.

The League of Cambrai (1508).

The Holy League.

He was succeeded by his cousin, Francis I., young, impetuous, and eager for military distinction. He at once determined that France should enter again upon the Italian adventure. He had no ally except Venice, while Spain, the empire, and the papacy joined to resist him. Francis I. effected a passage of the Alps, which was compared by his flatterers to the famous exploit of Hannibal, and falling upon the army of his enemies at Marignano, near Milan, he utterly defeated them in a battle which lasted for two days. It was thought especially glorious that the foot-soldiers of France had in this encounter fought down the famous Swiss mercenaries who fought on the other side. The battle was followed by important permanent results. For first Francis was able to make with the Swiss a treaty which ensured that their troops should not for the future be employed against France; and next he made with the Pope (Leo X.) a "*concordat*," or treaty, whereby certain payments which France had for nearly a century refused to the papacy were again to be made, while, on the other hand, the nomination of all high ecclesiastical officials was left in the hands of the King. The Pope thus got an increase of wealth, but the King of France a large accession of power. In essentials this concordat governed the relations of the Monarchy and Church in France to the papacy until the end of the eighteenth century.

Battle of Marignano, 1515.

But now the situation was entirely changed by the appearance of a new combatant and a new combination against France. In 1519 the death of the Emperor Maximilian removed that strange and interesting but wholly ineffective figure from the politics of Europe. The empire was elective, and the question of the succession was felt to be a difficult one. It was rendered all the more difficult by the religious fermentation which had begun to be great in Germany. The empire had for centuries been in the hands of men of German stock, but there was no constitutional reason why men of other races should be excluded, and Francis I. was encouraged to put himself forward as a candidate. The rival candidate was Charles, King of Spain, the grandson of Maximilian and of Mary of Burgundy, who inherited, therefore, not only the territories of Spain, but also the Burgundian lands

Accession of the Emperor Charles V.

and the vast possessions of the house of Hapsburg. The chances of Francis I. were increased by the fact that men felt that if Charles were elected the balance of power in Europe would be entirely upset by the rise of a power greater than any which Europe had known, at least since the days of Charlemagne. An eager campaign of bribery was conducted by the two candidates, but, when the matter came to a decision in 1519, Charles was elected without difficulty, and reigned as the Emperor Charles V.

War between Francis I. and Charles V.

It was generally anticipated that the rivalry between the two men would lead to war—for wars in the sixteenth century were fought more readily and with a smaller sense of responsibility than they are now. There was on both sides eager search for alliances, and England was induced to throw her weight upon the side of Charles V. Hostilities began in 1522, but the first decisive incident came in 1525. Francis then invaded Italy, hoping to repeat his triumphs of ten years earlier. He laid siege to Pavia, and victory seemed in sight. But then there came from Germany a fresh army which was commanded by the Duke of Bourbon, the last of the independent feudal nobles of France, who had at this juncture rebelled against his king. In the battle which followed, Francis I. was completely defeated, and in the end had to surrender his sword and his person to the enemy. "Nothing was saved," he said in a famous letter, "except life and honour." He was taken as a prisoner to Spain, and in 1526 was forced to sign the treaty of Madrid, whereby much French territory was surrendered and the prestige of France seemed hopelessly ruined.

Battle of Pavia, 1525.

But the very magnitude of the victory of Charles again brought into existence a league of European powers against him, and financial difficulties prevented him from driving home the blow and completely prostrating his enemy. France repudiated the treaty of Madrid on the ground that it was obtained by compulsion, and that the King of France was not able to surrender French territory without the concurrence of the States-General. The war began again. There came, in 1527, a famous incident, though not one that had any direct influence upon the course of the war between Francis and Charles. The

army of Charles was in Italy victorious but unpaid ; it mutinied in consequence, as armies often did in the sixteenth century, and determined to pay itself by the plunder of one of the rich towns of Italy. An attempt upon Florence failed, and then the mutinous troops struck for Rome. They found the city weakly defended. The Pope (Clement VII.) fell into their hands, and the city was plundered with a ferocious thoroughness that it had never experienced at the hands of Visigoth, Vandal, Lombard, or Frank. The incident has a great importance for English history, for Clement VII. was now a prisoner in the hands of Charles V., and was not able therefore to deal with Henry VIII.'s petition for the annulling of his marriage with Catherine of Arragon in an independent spirit. Out from that incident came the Reformation in England. But upon the struggle between Francis and Charles, the sack of Rome had no decisive influence, and the war from this time dragged on with occasional intervals of peace and presents us with no incidents so striking as the battles of Fornovo, Marignano and Pavia. It will only be necessary to mark the chief stages. Let us note, however, that from this time onwards the Reformation in Germany became an important influence upon the fortunes of the war. Whenever Charles was free for a time from war with France, he usually turned to deal with his religious opponents in Germany, and Francis, on the other hand, again and again, Catholic though he was, entered into negotiations with the German Protestants in order to stir up difficulties for his great antagonist. Had it not been for the German troubles, France would probably have been overthrown, and had it not been for the French war, it is difficult to see how Protestantism could have survived in Germany.

The sack of Rome.

The war and its relation to the German Reformation.

A Peace was patched up at Cambrai in 1529, which lasted with difficulty for some seven years. But in 1536 the duchy of Milan fell vacant, and was claimed by both Charles and Francis. War came again, but it was not fought with anything like the old vigour and intensity, and in 1538 was brought to an end by the truce of Nice, whereby hostilities were to be suspended for ten years, and each of the combatants was to hold what he had won. This peace, however, lasted only for four years, and in

1542 war came again, and again a dispute as to the duchy of Milan which Charles had conferred upon his son Philip was the excuse if not the cause of the war. The French gained further victories upon Italian soil, but the interests of the great rivals elsewhere in Europe prevented the war from being pushed on in the peninsula, and in 1544 the peace of Crespy was made, by which each party was again left in possession of his conquests.

Henry II., King of France.

In 1547 Francis I. died and was succeeded by his son, Henry II., and the war between France and the Spanish-Austrian power was from this time ever more and more closely connected with the Protestant movement in Germany. It will, however, for the sake of clearness be well to follow it through its main stages until something like a permanent peace was reached. War came in 1550 as a result of German complications, and Henry II. of France, an eager Catholic and persecutor in his own country, readily joined hands with the Protestant leaders. Charles V. suffered a severe disaster in Germany to which we shall refer again in the next chapter, but it seemed for a time as though he would be able to compensate this loss by a great victory on the French frontier. He laid siege to the city of Metz which was in the hands of the French, and victory seemed assured. But partly the inclemency of the season, and still more the arrival of a new French army, changed his hopes into despair and forced him to draw off with heavy loss. It was the last military incident of his reign. Broken in health, weary and disappointed, he determined to abdicate the various crowns and governments which he held, and to retire for the repose of his soul into a Spanish monastery. He had hoped at one time to hand over the whole of his vast territories to his son Philip, but resistance in Germany made this impossible. His brother Ferdinand succeeded to the Imperial title and the Austrian territories, while Philip inherited the vast possessions of Spain in the Netherlands, in Italy, and in the New World. It was Philip, therefore, who carried on the war after the withdrawal of his father into the monastery of Yuste, from which he watched with eager anxiety the course of the European war. Philip gained important victories; the French

Resignation of Charles V.

Succession of Philip II.

were beaten in Italy, and in 1557 they were crushed in the north of France in the great battle of Saint Quentin. So decisive was the victory that Charles V., from his retreat, eagerly looked for news that his son had arrived in Paris. This, however, was not to be, and the war closed with a French victory, for in 1558 Calais was captured from England, which, through the marriage of Queen Mary to Philip, had been brought into an alliance with Spain. In 1559 a really important peace was made, the peace of Cateau Cambrésis. By this the Spaniards retained their hold upon Italy: both Milan and Naples were recognized as belonging to them. Julius II. had said that the French in Italy were a weed that could easily be plucked up and thrown away, but that the Spanish power was a plant which struck deep and irremovable roots, and the issue showed that he was right. Italy passed under the dominion of foreigners. There were many who bitterly deplored the result. Machiavelli had written of her earlier in the century that she was "without head, without order, beaten, despoiled, torn, overrun," and that "she had endured every kind of desolation." "To all of us," he had said, "the barbarous dominion stinks." But three centuries would have to pass before there was sufficient unity and public spirit in Italy to achieve her liberation from the "barbarous" yoke. France had made some important gains. The three great bishoprics of the north-east, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, were ceded to France, and these led, a couple of centuries later, to the occupation by France of the whole of Lorraine. Finally, it was arranged that Philip, whose wife, Mary of England, had just died, should marry Elizabeth of France, and it was hoped that the two great powers would now stand on relations of firm amity.

Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis.

The peace is a really important one: it did not indeed bring about the alliance between France and Spain that was hoped for, and for a century and a half yet the hostility of these two countries was a permanent and decisive influence in all the diplomacy of Europe. The struggles between France and Spain, from 1500 to 1700, deserve as well to be called the "Two Hundred Years' War," as the contest between England and

The Two Hundred Years' War between France and Spain.

France at an earlier time deserves the title of the "Hundred Years' War." France and Spain, then, were still to be enemies. But from this time on the religious struggle plays an ever more influential part in the relations of the great powers. The period of the Italian wars was over: the period of the religious wars was about to begin, and may be taken as lasting from the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis to the still more important treaty of Westphalia which came in the year 1648.

From this point onwards the *Cambridge Modern History* becomes a valuable book of reference. Dyer's *Modern Europe*, edited by Hassall. Lord Acton's *Lectures on Modern History* are always stimulating and picturesque. For the events of this chapter the great French historians all give a vigorous narrative: Michelet is particularly picturesque but partisan. Grant's *French Monarchy* (2 vols.). Armstrong's *Life of Charles the Fifth* (2 vols.) is an admirable guide through the intricate events dealt with in this and the next chapter. *Spain: its Greatness and Decay*, by Martin Hume, with valuable introductory chapters by Armstrong. Machiavelli's *Prince* may be read here, as an acute commentary on the subjugation of Italy by "barbarian" powers.

CHAPTER II

The Reformation in Germany

Two years after the battle of Marignano an obscure event in Germany marked the beginning of a movement which was destined to have greater consequences for Europe even than the Italian Wars. For it was in 1517 that Luther first threw down the gauntlet in his life-long struggle with papal claims and the power of the Catholic Church.

Luther.

Luther was born of peasant stock, and had worked his way up through many trials to the professorship of Theology in the recently founded University of Wittenberg. He was a friar of the Augustinian order, and he had studied deeply the Bible in the Vulgate translation, and the writings of St. Augustine, which have often been so perilous to orthodox Catholicism. He had been for nine years professor

at Wittenberg and nothing had hitherto occurred to show that he was likely to play any great part in controversy. But in 1517 there came into his neighbourhood a papal emissary named Tetzel, whose business it was to sell indulgences for the building of the new Cathedral of St. Peter's at Rome, the vast Renaissance temple which was to rise where the early-medieval church had stood. The theory of indulgences is an extremely intricate one, and a defence for the practice can perhaps be made out: but for the actions of Tetzel, no defence is possible. He told the ignorant peasants who gathered round him that for the money they paid him they would receive assurance of the escape of friends and relations from the fires of Purgatory. To many it must have seemed that he was selling the power to commit sin with impunity. There had been much criticism already of the moral abuses connected with the selling of indulgences. Luther's spirit burnt within him, until in October, 1517, he published, by fastening upon the Cathedral door at Wittenberg, ninety-five theses or contentions against indulgences, which he declared himself ready to support by argument.

Tetzel and indulgences.

Luther's challenge.

The incident did not seem at first a very remarkable one. From Huss and from Wycliffe there had come much more direct and fundamental challenges to the papal power than this, and yet the movement of Wycliffe and Huss had died away or had been crushed down, while the movement which Luther quite unconsciously was inaugurating was destined to win a large measure of victory and to become a permanent force in European society. To understand this, it will be necessary to cast a glance upon the condition of Germany and of Europe. For the religious movement which, to begin with, was a perfectly simple and straightforward matter, was soon complicated by connection with the social and political condition of Germany and the international relations of the great powers of Europe. The Lutheran movement fought its way to the measure of victory which it won through intrigue, political rivalries, diplomacy, civil and international wars, which fill up the course of the next century.

Forces working in favour of the Reformation.

To begin with we must repeat what we have said in the preceding chapter, that in 1519, Charles, King of Spain, and heir to the Burgundian possessions, was elected to be Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. He was not one of the world's great rulers, and neither as soldier nor as statesman does he rank along with the great formative forces of European history. He was, and even still is, regarded by some as one of the evil forces of the time—a bitter and subtle enemy of Protestantism and evangelical truth. But an unbiassed study of his character, position, and policy leads to a different conclusion. He ruled over an enormous empire, the greatest that had been known since the days of Charlemagne; and this empire was divided into a large number of units each independent of the other, each requiring a separate political and diplomatic treatment. The seventeen states of the Netherlands over which he ruled each had a constitution of its own. In Spain, Castille, Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia had each separate constitutions and parliaments. His possessions in Italy were also independent of Spain and of one another. The problem that was always before him was how to bring these vast and varied possessions of his into some sort of unity, to maintain order and peace and to advance the prosperity of his different lands. His failure in Germany must not blind us to the fact that his reign was marked by many successes. He introduced a better and more humane system of government into the vast colonial possessions of Spain in America; he did much to weaken the power of the Mahomedans upon the north coast of Africa; he made some advance towards the unification of his possessions in the Netherlands. His failure in Germany was complete; but even there his aims cannot be altogether condemned. He was himself by temperament, conviction, and education, as well as by interest, a strong Catholic. For the religious issues at stake in the Lutheran movement he had no sympathy and little understanding, but he tried during the whole of his reign to prevent the Lutheran movement from leading to further disorder in Germany, and to give to Germany, in spite of its religious difficulties, the united and settled order which all German patriots desired. In religious matters he

Charles V.

His difficulties, failure, and success.

was very far from being a fanatic. He hoped that with time the Lutheran movement would die down. He trusted to reach some condition of peace by means of compromise, and he looked especially to some great Church council like the Councils of Constance or of Basel to find a way out from the fierce religious contests of the time.

If we ask ourselves what were the circumstances which favoured the victory of the Lutheran movement we may sum them up in the following way. We must, in the first place, lay stress upon the character and genius of Luther himself. He was possessed of invincible courage and great power of inspiring his followers with his own ardent faith. A large section of the people of Germany came to believe that under the guidance of Luther they had attained to a knowledge of the pure truth, which had so long been hidden beneath the corruptions and superstitions of the Catholic Church; that if this truth were preached abroad, all the world would accept it, and that it could only be resisted by stupidity or greed. So there arose in Germany that vision of a better future, in religion, in politics, and social life, which is the greatest of revolutionary forces. In the attempts to attain that vision disappointments soon came, but the movement cannot be understood unless we realize the earnestness and strength of the hopes which were entertained by so many.

The influence of Luther.

But, further, we must note that the political conditions of Germany were favourable to the growth of the new movement. Germany had ceased to be a political unity. It was in name an empire, but in reality it was a federation of almost independent states, which allowed of no interference from any central authority. The emperor could not, without the permission of the leading German states, raise taxes, collect an army, or make war; and this permission was extremely difficult to obtain. It is true that Charles V. ruled over many territories where he was not embarrassed by such constitutional difficulties. There was no other part of his vast territories, indeed, where his authority was so weak as in most of the states of Germany, and had he been free from other tasks he might have collected a large army from Spain, from Italy, from the Netherlands, from

The divisions of Germany.

Austria, and with them he might have overwhelmed his Lutheran opponents. But the position of Charles V. allowed of no such direct action. We have seen how during a large part of his career he was engaged in wars with France. He had troubles in the Netherlands. Spain was not always passively loyal. He made great expeditions against the Mohamedan powers of Northern Africa. In Austria, which was ruled over by his brother Ferdinand as regent, he had to face a constant and terrible threat of Turkish invasion, and it was therefore very rarely and at long intervals that he found his hands free enough to undertake the coercion of his enemies in Germany. It is to be noted, too, that, apart from the religious attraction and force of the Lutheran movement, it appealed also strongly to large sections of Germany as a national movement against the foreigner. Germany was not indeed a nation as England, France, and Spain were nations; but there was a strong sense of dislike for foreign interference in German affairs. Charles was disliked as a Spaniard; the Pope as an Italian; and Luther gained a considerable part of his following because he claimed that Germany should be for the Germans. So Lutheranism was strong by reason of the strength of its own convictions; and at the same time it was protected, especially during its early stages, by the impossibility of bringing the lumbering constitution of the empire to any decisive action, and by the manifold engagements and difficulties in which Charles V. was involved. It is a striking fact that for thirty years the Protestant movement in Germany developed without having to face direct military opposition. There was constant talk of interference; the new movement was denounced by diets of the empire; but the sword was not definitely drawn from its sheath against the new faith until Luther's own eyes were closed in death.

The many tasks of Charles V.

Protestantism appealed to the national sentiment of Germany.

Luther's protest in 1517 was against the doctrine of indulgences only; but very soon, and almost in spite of himself, the struggle began to be fought out on wider issues. Luther found that his differences with Rome were more fundamental than he had at first believed: he found that his ideas had

close similarity to those of Huss and Wycliffe; that some part of them had been condemned by the Council of Constance; and yet he refused to retract. He thus became the leader of an assault upon the papal authority and the very basis of the organization of the Catholic Church. In 1520 the Pope, Leo X., issued against him a Bull of excommunication. But it failed to shake Luther's courage or to withdraw from him the support of the people, and the Elector of Saxony. He solemnly burnt it in the market square at Wittenberg, and burnt along with it the volumes of the Canon Law. In 1521 Charles V. came into Germany to preside over a Diet of the Empire at Worms. There was much other business, but the one point of real importance was the treatment of Luther. He was summoned to attend; and the emperor gave him a safe conduct. There were many who advised him not to go, and warned him that the safe conduct would be violated, as it had been in the case of Huss, but Luther faced the gathering of the potentates of Germany at Worms, confessed to the authorship of his works, and refused to retract. "Here I stand," he said, "I can do no otherwise, so help me God." He was thereupon put to the Ban of the Empire, but he was protected by his friend, the Elector of Saxony, and was taken in disguise to the great castle of the Wartburg and remained there in concealment for some time. He occupied himself with his translation of the Bible into German, a work which has played in the development of German language and literature as great a part as the Version of 1611 has played in the history of England.

The development of Lutheranism.

The Diet of Worms.

In 1522 another Diet was called at Nuremberg, and it was hoped now that the condemnation of Luther at Worms would lead to effective action. But the emperor was occupied by Italian and other troubles, and the Diet refused to act in the sense which he desired. Instead it drew up a statement of German grievances against the papacy, and the movement thus became almost a national one.

Soon after this, however, another and a very important force entered into the religious development of Germany. The political condition of the country favoured, as we have seen,

the development of Lutheranism; but it was not so with the social condition. The peasants, especially in the west and south-west of Germany, had their own bitter grievances. The country generally was in a high condition of prosperity, and the towns and the middle class were rapidly advancing in comfort and even in luxury. But the peasants, meanwhile, had remained stationary, or were actually worse off than they had been half a century before. Their condition was one of serfdom; they had to pay their feudal superiors forced labour of various kinds. It is possible that a great number of them were better off than wage earners under modern industrial conditions, but their condition was a very irritating one, and economic changes in Germany had of late made it rather worse than better. The religious movement encouraged by Luther excited them dangerously. The liberty of which Luther spoke seemed to them to promise some change in their own social conditions. They broke out into rebellion, especially in the south-west, in the neighbourhood of Wurzburg, and they put out their demands in twelve articles. They claimed, as Luther claimed for his religious changes, that their demands should be regarded in the light of scripture. They said that they should no longer be bondsmen, because Christ had made them free; and they demanded the immediate abolition of the many feudal burdens which pressed so heavily upon them. They demanded, too, the abolition of tithes, and asked for instruction in the real truths of the Gospel. These demands were accompanied by a wild agitation which broke out into civil war (1524). Atrocities were committed on both sides, though far greater cruelty was exercised in the repression of the rebellion than by the rebels themselves. Luther saw the rising with alarm. It seemed to him to complicate and to endanger the victory of his own religious movement, and he spoke and wrote against the peasants with vigour and even with ferocity. He called upon the nobles to repress the rising with the utmost energy, and seemed even to sanction measures of cruelty. The movement failed, as it was bound to do, and the subsequent similar outbreak in the north of Germany failed

Outbreak of the Peasants' War.

Influence of Lutheranism on the peasants.

Civil war.

also, but it was not without permanent influence upon the religious movement. The peasants had appealed to Luther, and they had got from him not help but opposition. From this time forward the Lutheran movement was no longer the widely popular thing that it had been at first. Luther lost his position as popular leader, and his movement lost its hold upon great masses of the poorest population. From this time on he had to rely more upon the middle classes and upon the established authorities, and thus Lutheranism began to adopt that policy of dependence upon the authority of the state, which characterized it and influenced it henceforth.

Meanwhile, the Imperial authority had done nothing for the suppression of Lutheranism. In 1526 a Diet was called at Speier, but no general result was reached. It was declared that the responsibility rested upon each of the various states of Germany. Each one, said the Diet, was so to live, rule, and conduct itself as he should be ready to answer to God and his Imperial Majesty. The strongest supporters of Lutheranism, especially Saxony and Hesse, interpreted this edict by setting up definite Protestant Churches within their own dominions. In 1529 another Diet at Speier reversed the decision of the first and decided that the Edict of Worms was still binding, that Catholic worship should be allowed in Protestant states, and that further innovations in religion should not be permitted. The minority thereupon formally declared: "We hereby *protest* to you that we cannot and may not concur therein, but hold the resolution null and not binding." It is this protest which ultimately gave to the movement the name of Protestantism, which has clung to it in its various forms ever since. In 1530 the movement acquired greater solidity by the adoption of a definite Lutheran creed. This was the confession of Augsburg, in which Lutheran opinions were expressed in a definite, but at the same time, moderate and conciliatory form. But the emperor at once denounced this new creed, and threatened reprisals against all who would not return to the Catholic fold. Hence in 1531 there came the League of Schmalkalden in which all Protestant powers joined together for the defence of their common interests. The

Origin of the word Protestantism.

The League of Schmalkalden.

chief names in this league were Saxony, Hesse, and Brandenburg. But although the formation of the league was a very definite challenge to the Imperial authority, thirteen more years were to pass before the emperor found himself free enough to draw his sword against this avowed enemy. For during this time he was occupied with his Italian policy, and the Turks were again threatening a dangerous incursion into Germany along the line of the Danube. It was necessary, therefore, to abstain from war against his German opponents which would itself require all his energy, and he accepted for the time a system of compromise. It was not until 1544 that he felt his hands really free. He made in that year a peace with the King of France, and he was also for the moment free from any complications with the Turks. The spread of the new movement in Germany showed him that it was fully time to strike. Würtemberg and Baden had declared for Protestantism, and there was a great danger that even the Archbishop of Cologne would pass over to the same side. In 1546 Charles collected a large army and prepared for war. Luther died at the beginning of this year and did not therefore see the actual outbreak of the civil war that he had always feared and deprecated. The early religious enthusiasm was dying down, and in this hour of crisis the Protestant states by no means stood firmly by one another. At the first movement of the Imperial army various of the Protestant states of the south yielded to the emperor. He had already been joined by Maurice, Duke of Saxony, who was brought over to his side by jealousy of his cousin, the Elector of Saxony, and the hope of winning from the emperor the electoral title and power.

Battle of Mühlberg.

The chief burden of resistance was borne by John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse, and neither of them was a man of energy or military ability. The decisive battle came in 1547 at Mühlberg on the Elbe. Imperial troops under the direction of the emperor himself, his Spanish General, Alva, and Maurice of Saxony crossed the river, defeated their opponents, and captured both the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse. It was a great victory, though not a great battle, and it seemed for the moment as though Europe

were at the emperor's feet. Neither in Germany nor out of Germany was there any power capable for the moment of making serious resistance to him. He attempted to settle the religious question in a manner which does credit to his moderation. A Diet was called at Augsburg, and there "the Interim" was issued. A general Church council had already been called at Trent, and it was hoped that its deliberations would be accepted by all Christendom. But meanwhile some arrangement must be made; and this was "the Interim" (1548). The document began by affirming the necessity of continuing the old Catholic practices—the frequent celebration of the Mass, prayers for the dead, the practice of fasting, the observation of the great holy days of the Church. But in its last clause it made considerable concessions to Protestantism: priests who had taken to themselves wives were not to be compelled to put them away again; those who had grown accustomed to taking the communion "under two kinds" were not to be forced to change their practice, until the Ecumenical Council of Trent had given its verdict on these crucial questions. It was a well-meaning attempt, and Melancthon, the greatest of the Protestant leaders now that Luther was dead, accepted it: but it was not generally accepted in Germany. The Catholic states were not willing to give their Protestant subjects the toleration which it implied, and many Protestant states refused to allow the organization of the Catholic Church to be set up again within their bounds. The emperor might have forced his will through in the end, but there came a great change in the international situation, and Protestantism profited by the change.

The Interim.

In the first place, Maurice of Saxony, who had contributed so much to the victory of Mühlberg, was irritated with the emperor. He had not got all the territories that he had hoped, and his influence with the emperor was not so great as he had expected. He was a restless and ambitious character, and he began to think of other schemes for advancing his interests. Further, between Charles and his brother Ferdinand, who ruled over the Austrian territories, relations were at this moment rather strained.

Maurice of Saxony.

Ferdinand had gained in 1526 an immense accession of prestige, if not exactly of power. For in that year the Turks had poured into Hungary and had won the great battle of Mohacz. It was in its results one of the most important battles of the century. Hungary and Bohemia were overwhelmed by the Turkish power, and Vienna itself was in danger. The King of Bohemia and Hungary had been slain in the battle, and Ferdinand his brother-in-law now claimed the inheritance. It was an inheritance that had to be won before it could be enjoyed, but from this time on Bohemia and Hungary were claimed as possessions of the Hapsburgs, and they have proved to be among the most valuable of all the possessions of that family. The later history of Austria depends upon this great battle and its results.

The Battle of Mohacz.

Charles V., after the Interim, was concerned with the succession of the Imperial throne. Ferdinand had been recognized already as his immediate successor, but Charles was anxious to procure for his son Philip—afterwards the famous Philip II. of Spain—the right to succeed to the empire upon the death of Ferdinand. He would by this means have prolonged indefinitely the vast power which his house had acquired in Europe. But Ferdinand in the interest of his own family resisted this plan and was not at this moment ready to co-operate heartily with the emperor. But more serious even than the defection of Maurice and the jealousy of Ferdinand was the interference of France. Henry II. was reigning there, and he was now eager to take up again the struggle against the Spanish-Austrian power. He entered into relations with Maurice and the Protestant leaders; he procured from them the promise that the three great frontier bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, should be ceded to France in return for French assistance to the Protestant movement. Charles V. was ill, and was no longer the astute and watchful statesman that he had at one time been. He was taken by surprise when, in 1552, Maurice of Saxony raised the standard against him. He lost the position that he had won in Germany almost without striking a blow. He fled to Innsbruck, and there very

Difficulties of Charles after the Interim.

nearly fell into the hands of his enemies. With difficulty he escaped over the snow-covered passes of the Tyrol into Italy (1552). Thus at a blow his whole position was lost, and Maurice seemed master of Germany. Historians have speculated as to the real end of the aims and ambitions of Maurice, and as to the part which he would have played if his life had been prolonged. But he fell in 1553 in an obscure combat, and Germany was left in confusion without any master or any predominant influence. Charles had some hopes of regaining the power he had lost. It was the King of France who had really humiliated him, and it was against France that he directed another blow. He laid siege to the town of Metz: he believed that he was certain to win it. If it had fallen his own strength would have been vastly increased, and a road would have been opened to the resumption of his German plans: but as he said, fortune loved the young rather than the old, and the city of Metz was unexpectedly saved by the Duke of Guise.

Flight of Charles from Germany.

Failure of Charles at Metz.

Charles was weary of the burden of government, and as we have already seen, determined to abdicate. He threw upon his brother Ferdinand, therefore, the settlement of the difficulties in Germany. A Diet was called at Augsburg which may be taken as marking the end of the first great stage of the Reformation struggle. Its chief terms were as follows: In the first place, all attempts were abandoned to force a uniform religious settlement upon Germany. Each state—and it must be remembered that there were over three hundred states in Germany—was made responsible for the religion of its own territory. There was thus no general system of toleration for the individual, but as emigration was allowed, it was possible for a man who professed a religion different from that of his state, to move across the frontiers into some more favourable locality. Next, only two forms of religion were to be recognized in Germany. The states upon which the responsibility was thrown must choose between Lutheranism and Catholicism: "All such as do not belong to these two religions shall not be included in the present peace,

The Peace of Augsburg, 1555.

but shall be totally excluded from it." For the moment the danger involved in this decision was not apparent, but already there had arisen another form of Protestantism in Germany—Calvinism—and this was gaining a hold in various parts of the country stronger than that which was possessed by Lutheranism, and according to this clause of the Peace of Augsburg, Calvinists and Calvinism had no place in Germany. Out from this clause were to come constant difficulties, and ultimately the great Thirty Years' War. The only other clause to which we need direct attention was that which was concerned with the condition of the ecclesiastical states of Germany which had accepted Protestantism. There was a great temptation to the heads of ecclesiastical states to accept the new faith, for by accepting it they became temporal sovereigns, capable of passing on their positions to their descendants, instead of life tenants for the Catholic Church. But the ecclesiastical states of Germany were so many and their territories so wide that it was a matter of the utmost importance to decide what exactly should be done with those ecclesiastical states which declared themselves Protestant. The Catholic demand was that all of them should be restored to the Church, and that no bishop or archbishop, by the changing of his own faith, should be allowed to alienate his territories from the Church. The Protestant view was that such changes as had taken place in the past should be accepted, and that similar changes should be possible in the future. In the Peace of Augsburg a compromise was effected. It was declared that all ecclesiastical states which had become Protestant before 1552 should remain in the hands of their Protestant rulers, but that no further secularization should be allowed, and that any which had declared for Protestantism since 1552 should be restored to the Catholic Church. Such are the chief clauses of the Peace of Augsburg. Germany was weary of the long controversy; religious enthusiasms were no longer so vivid as they had been a quarter of a century before; the new arrangements were accepted without any great protest. But for Germany as for Europe, the religious contest was far from having reached its end, and the very clauses of the well-meant Peace of

The Ecclesiastical states of Germany.

Augsburg themselves were destined to form the occasion of the fierce religious war which was to break out in Germany at the beginning of the next century.

Ranke, *German History in the Period of the Reformation.* Lindsay, *Luther and the German Reformation.* Köstlin, *Life of Luther.* Haüsser, *Era of the Reformation.* Armstrong, *Life of Charles V.* Seebohm, *The Protestant Revolution.* Kidd's *Documents of the Continental Revolution* are of the utmost value for the Reformation, both in Germany and other European states.

CHAPTER III

The Religious Movements of the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century

When Luther nailed his theses to the cathedral door of Wittemberg, the issue seemed to him at first a simple one. He protested against the abuses of the Roman Church; he appealed from the practice and the tradition of Rome to the authority of the scriptures, in which he saw the final court of appeal, and it seemed to him that the conclusion at which he arrived would be reached by any one who considered the question candidly and with knowledge. But the Lutheran movement had not proceeded far before it was evident that the question was by no means so simple as it had seemed at first. Religion was so linked with every phase of the life of men that the disturbance in religion produced, in spite of Luther, corresponding disturbances in political and in social matters, which in their turn influenced and endangered the progress of Lutheranism itself. Moreover, before Luther's death it was plain that the conclusions which he had reached in theological matters would not necessarily be accepted even by those who, like himself, denounced the corruptions of the Roman Church and looked to the Bible for their beliefs.

In 1518 the reformer Zwingli began his work in Zurich in Switzerland. He began like Luther by denouncing the practice of indulgences. A large portion of Switzerland followed his lead,

and broke away from obedience to Rome. His movement was for a time in harmony with that of Luther, but when he began to define his opinions on theology and upon the government of the Church, serious differences soon showed themselves. In Church government his ideas were much more democratic than those of Luther, as the people among whom he lived were much more democratic in their political organization than the inhabitants of the German states. But the most important difference between Zwingli and Luther concerned the Communion. Luther had rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, but he asserted a doctrine which he called "consubstantiation." The Bread and Wine of the Communion service, he said, remained bread and wine still. But along with them there was, after the ceremony of consecration, a new element, which entered into them "as fire into iron when it was heated." But Zwingli protested against consubstantiation as well as against transubstantiation, and he regarded the Communion service as a commemorative ceremony only. Efforts were made to bring the two great reformers into harmony, but in vain. The words "This is my body" seemed to Luther absolutely to preclude Zwingli's interpretation. He denounced him as an enemy of the truth; and the followers of these two Protestant leaders were destined never to form any complete union.

Zwingli and Luther.

Before Luther's death another Protestant movement had begun in an obscure quarter of the empire, which was destined to much greater importance than that of Zwingli. Calvin was born in the north of France in the year 1509, and he was at first destined for the priesthood. He studied theology for a short time at Paris, but then, abandoning the idea of the priesthood, went to Orleans to study law. Here, in 1533, he tells us that his mind was turned by a sudden conversion to a new faith. He accepted Protestantism, though as yet in no definite form. Religious persecution was hot in France, and he therefore left it and lived for a time in the towns of the Rhine. At Basel he wrote his "Institutes of the Christian Religion," and in 1536 he came to Geneva. Geneva was nominally a city of the empire, but authority in it was really disputed between its bishop and the

Calvin.

Duke of Savoy. The people of Geneva, in alliance with their neighbours of Bern and Freiburg, had risen up against both duke and bishop; they had declared themselves Protestant, and in 1536 had sworn to live "according to the holy evangelical law and the word of God." Shortly after this, Calvin arrived at Geneva. He was induced to remain there, and although expelled in 1538, he soon returned, and resided in Geneva to the time of his death. Because of his residence there, Geneva became one of the most important cities of Europe, and, by the authority which Calvin exercised over many countries, it seemed for a time almost to balance the authority of Rome.

The distinctive features of Calvinism.

Calvinism is distinguished from other Protestant movements of the time chiefly by three features: (1) According to Calvin's scheme, the Church and the State were to be separate; there was to be no such direction of the Church by the State, as was the case with the Lutheran Church of Germany during the latter part of Luther's life, or as was established in England by Henry VIII. (2) The government of the Church, according to Calvin's ideas, was to be in the hands of a body in which laymen and ministers were both to take a share. This governing body of the Church was called a Consistory, and it was composed of six ministers and of twelve lay elders, and in their hands lay the chief share of the government of the Church. (3) Calvinism was further distinguished by the insistence upon a strict moral discipline. The opponents of Lutheranism said of it that it led rather to looseness of life and conduct than to any improvement upon the morals of Catholicism. But looseness could certainly not be charged against Calvinism. The whole of Geneva, when his system had been adopted, was submitted to a strict moral censorship and direction emanating nominally from the Consistory, but, as a matter of fact, directed by Calvin himself; so that John Knox, perhaps the greatest of Calvin's disciples, wrote that though the Gospel of Christ was professed elsewhere, nowhere was the Christian life practised as it was in Geneva.

Calvinism stood apart both from Zwinglianism and from Lutheranism. Calvin's "Institutes of the Christian Religion"

was the great basis upon which first the Church in Geneva and then other Presbyterian Churches in Europe were built up. It is a system of theology worked out with rigid, logical accuracy, and resting upon the doctrine of predestination. Though there was much in it that would have been accepted by the followers of Luther and of Zwingli, Calvin took upon the matter of the Communion a line different from either of the other reformers. He did not, like Zwingli, regard it as a merely commemorative ceremony, but he rejected entirely Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation. He refused to recognize anything miraculous or supernatural in the elements themselves; but the ceremony, he held, was no mere commemoration, but a necessary means of grace. There were other differences, but this was sufficient to separate the Calvinists from the Lutherans, and when Calvinism had spread widely in Germany, to introduce into that unhappy land the schism in the Protestant camp which led subsequently to the Thirty Years' War. Calvin translated the Bible into French, and his translation, like that of Luther, had a powerful influence upon his own and upon the next generation. He was himself a man of wide classical learning, but he had little sympathy with the artistic and humanistic movements of the time. Geneva, while he lived and for some time afterwards, was controlled by a rigid discipline. There is hardly such another instance in modern times of the life of a people being prescribed and enforced by a higher authority. The pleasures of Geneva were submitted to a strict censorship. It was laid down by the authorities what dishes might be served at meals, what presents might be given at weddings, and on some few occasions the rigour of Calvin proceeded to terrible extremities. One of his religious opponents in Geneva was put to death, and when the Spaniard Servetus came to Geneva, hoping to find there protection, because he had challenged the doctrines of the Church of Rome, he found, on the contrary, bitter opposition because his views were not the views of Calvin and his Church; and, after a trial in which Calvin personally took part, he was sentenced to death and burned outside the walls of the city.

Calvin's "Institutes."

Calvin on the Eucharist.

The martyrdom of Servetus.

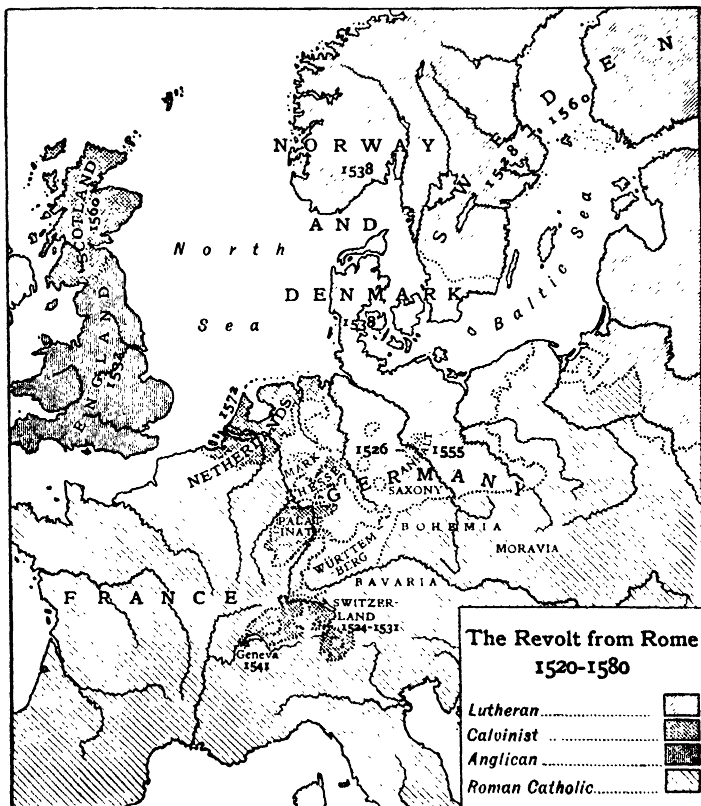
This and other acts of cruelty must not blind us to the importance of Calvinism for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It gave to Protestantism a clear and rigidly defined theology; it inspired Protestants with a devotion and an enthusiasm greater than anything which, towards the end of the sixteenth century, could be found among the Lutherans; and even its social discipline, though it may seem to us exaggerated and sometimes absurd, served to steel the temper of its adherents, and to make of the Calvinists of Europe the great fighting force, the forlorn hope of Protestantism, the body which carried on resistance to its religious opponents when life had gone from Lutheranism. It was the Calvinists of France who nearly brought Protestantism to victory there; it was the Calvinists who created the free Dutch Republic in the Netherlands, and made Scotland a force in Europe; it was Calvinism which gave to Protestantism in England a great deal of its energy and went far to create the Puritan movement of the seventeenth century.

The historic services of Calvinism.

While Protestantism was thus changing its character, and developing a new organization, a vast change also was passing over the Church of Rome. The popes of the first half of the sixteenth century had been immersed in the politics of Italy, and had been more concerned with the Renaissance and with the progress of art than with the spiritual tasks which were their proper province. The first stages of the Protestant movement were regarded with little concern. Pope Clement VII., indeed, was sometimes in half alliance with the Lutherans because he was in open hostility with the emperor, Charles V. But the rapid spread of Protestantism soon made this indifference impossible. When three-quarters of Germany had fallen away, when France and Holland were deeply infected with the new heresy, when England had snapped the bonds which connected her with Rome, when Denmark, Sweden, and Norway had accepted Lutheranism, when the new doctrine had secured crowds of adherents in Poland and Bohemia, and even Italy itself was not altogether free from it, then, indeed, the magnitude of the danger awakened the Church of Rome to the real urgency of

The Catholic revival.

action, and the second half of the century shows us popes of a very different character from those of the first half. They pursued a policy which sometimes contributed to the spread of literature or to the architectural decoration of Rome; but their chief interest lay in the defence of their faith against



Emery Walker sc.

The Revolt from Rome.

their Protestant opponents; and before the end of the century the tide of Protestantism had ceased to flow, and the leaders of Catholicism were able to carry their warfare into the enemies' camp. They won back large territories to the Roman obedience, and cherished the hope of winning back all. This is the

movement which is known as the Counter Reformation or the Roman Catholic Reaction.

The chief agency in this momentous change is to be found in the Jesuit order. We have seen how the Church almost from the beginning had owed some of its greatest victories to the various special orders which had arisen from time to time. The Benedictines, the Cluniacs, the Cistercians, the Franciscans, and the Dominicans had all left their mark upon the history of the Church, but none of them are more important or have left more permanent traces than the Jesuits.

The Jesuit order.

Spain was the home of the new movement, and naturally so, for nowhere, so much as in Spain, was Catholicism an aggressive and missionary force. The long struggle with the Moors had made Catholicism in Spain not merely a faith, but a national bond, and the victories which had recently been won against the Moors inspired the Spaniards with a confident and exultant faith. Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde was a Spanish nobleman who had seen a good deal of service in the Spanish armies. He was wounded in the siege of Pampeluna, and upon his recovery was found to be crippled for life. He was an ardent Catholic, and his ideas turned from material to spiritual warfare. It was long, however, before he chose the path which he subsequently followed. He plunged into ascetic religious exercises; he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem; he fell even under suspicion of heresy. The turning-point in his career was his visit to Paris to study theology. He there attached to himself a few friends of like opinions; and it was at Paris that he and they took the vow that they would go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and would submit themselves absolutely to the guidance of the Pope. But the Turkish power was too strong, and though they reached Venice they could go no further. It was there that the idea of the formation of a new order seems to have suggested itself to Don Inigo, whom we will henceforward call by his later name, Ignatius Loyola. He desired to gather a body of men together who would fight for the Catholic Church with all the courage and all the discipline to which he was accustomed in the army which he had been forced to leave.

Ignatius Loyola.

The Pope regarded this new order at first with some suspicion. It was not until 1540 that a papal Bull allowed of its definite formation. From that time onwards it was one of the most important religious forces of Europe. Those who joined this order or "company" (for the latter was the word that Ignatius chose) took the vows of poverty, of chastity, of obedience, and of special devotion to the Pope. At the head of the order was to be a General, and his authority within the order was supreme. The Jesuits found their closest analogy in the order of the Dominicans, and yet they differed from the Dominicans in many important particulars. They were not to distinguish themselves by any special dress; they were not to weaken themselves by an extreme asceticism; they were to remain in the world, but they were always to fight for the Church. Ignatius took special care to eradicate from the members of his order any national feeling. The order was to be before all things cosmopolitan; and Germans, English, or French were to serve the Church only, without any regard for the nation from which they had sprung. They looked as the chief means for influencing the world to preaching and to teaching. From the first their schools were important and influential. They offered their teaching freely, and their teaching was in many respects the best which was at that time to be found in Europe. They secured, therefore, in all countries into which they gained admission, a great hold upon the rising generations, and at the beginning of the next century they were found practically in control of the schools and the Universities of Catholic Europe. They were a body inspired by the most devout enthusiasm; possessed of an unflinching courage; ready to serve the Pope in any way that was suggested to them. They were, it has been said, a sword held over Europe, the hilt of which was always in the Pope's hand, while the point could strike anywhere. It was largely due to their exertions that in France, Germany, and Poland the tide of Protestantism was turned back, and notable assaults were made upon Protestantism in England, Scotland, and elsewhere.

Foundation of the Jesuit order.

Distinctive features of the Jesuits.

The Jesuits and Education.

Another agency in the Counter Reformation is to be found in the Council of Trent. It had been from the first the idea of Charles V. that the Protestant controversy should be settled by the calling together of a great world-wide council of the Church. The popes had resisted the idea, for the summoning of a council was in itself an attack upon the papal monarchy; but the danger was so great, and the influence of Charles V. so strong, that in December, 1545, a council was called. The city of Trent was chosen because, though within the political bounds of the German Empire, it was geographically in Italy, and could easily be reached by the Italian bishops, upon whom the Pope counted for the defence of his views in the council. The last sessions were not reached until the year 1563, but before then it had undergone various vicissitudes; it had been moved to Bologna in 1547; it had been suspended in 1549; called together again in 1551; it was suspended in 1552; it was summoned for the last time in 1552, and closed its sessions in 1563.

The Council of Trent.

Charles V. had designed the council as a means whereby the secular powers of Europe might force reforms upon the Church. But the result was almost the opposite of that. It was presided over by the legates of the Pope, and nothing could be proposed to the council unless the legates agreed. It was hoped that the council would find some basis of compromise between Lutheranism and Catholicism, so that the Church might be united once more; but this hope was entirely falsified. The Latin translation of the Bible, known as the Vulgate, was declared to be authoritative; and not scripture alone, but also the tradition of the Church, was declared to be the final authority in matters theological. The doctrine of justification by faith upon which Luther laid such stress and which had been accepted by many prominent Catholics, was criticized and rejected, with little consideration of the arguments or the wishes of Protestants—who were not represented except for a very short period in the council. It proceeded to define in orderly fashion the doctrine and to improve the discipline of the Church. In its last sessions the authority

Papal control of the Council of Trent.

of the Pope in the Church was definitely reaffirmed, and the council, which had seemed at first to be so dangerous a force in the eyes of all papal politicians, ended by strengthening the control of the papacy over every department of the Church.

The council certainly contributed much to the cause of Catholic reaction. It gave to Catholics a definite body of doctrine; it brought to an end the theological disputes which had gone on in their midst. Further, it removed many abuses among the secular and monastic clergy, and it improved and strengthened the government and organization of the Church. It opened up no road to the reunion of Christendom, but it gave Catholicism a much more defensible position and a more effective organization for the struggle.

The results of the Council of Trent.

Another factor in the Counter Reformation must be mentioned—the Inquisition—and of this it is extremely difficult to speak. There had always been some machinery in the Church for the repression of heresy. In the earlier Middle Ages it had been attached to the bishops. In the year 1483 a special Spanish Inquisition had been organized for the suppression of Moorish and Jewish heretics in the Spanish peninsula. Now, in 1542, on the suggestion of Cardinal Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV., a general papal inquisition was set up. By this measure machinery was erected, in all Catholic lands that were willing to receive it, for the examination and for the punishment of heresy. The procedure of the Inquisition has become a by-word for cruelty and injustice, and it can by no means be defended. It can only be said in palliation of it that many of the features of the Inquisition, which are to us most repellent, were at that time common to most of the tribunals of Europe. It used torture for the extraction of evidence; it did not confront the prisoner with the witnesses against him; the very names of the witnesses were usually not communicated to him. If the prisoner was found guilty, he was handed over to the secular arm, that is, to the State, for such punishment as should be agreed upon. In the instructions of the Inquisition in the year 1542 it was specially laid down that there must be no hesitation or delay; that no consideration was to be shown to any prince or prelate, but

special severity was to be shown to those who sheltered themselves behind any high dignitary; and that while there was to be no toleration for heretics, Calvinists were to be singled out for special research and punishment. The Inquisition was entrusted also with the censorship of the press. In some parts of Europe no book could be published without its permission. In 1555 there was drawn up the famous index of forbidden books which no Catholic was allowed to read.

Influence of the Inquisition.

It is certain that the Jesuits and the Council of Trent contributed immensely to the large measure of victory that was won by Catholicism at the end of the sixteenth century. It is not so certain that the Inquisition contributed to that victory at all. It was often perverted to purposes different from its original intention, and in Spain especially it was used almost as much in the interests of the monarchy as in those of the Church. Where it worked with the greatest severity—as in the Netherlands—it exasperated opposition beyond all possibility of compromise or surrender, and by its severities has done much to damage the fair fame of the Church that used it.

Ranke, *History of the Popes.* Lindsay, *History of the Reformation.* Froude, *Lectures on the Council of Trent.* Haüsser, *Era of the Reformation.* Dyer, *Life of Calvin.* Lea, *History of the Inquisition.* Mark Pattison, *Essay on Calvin* (in his collected Essays).

CHAPTER IV

Spain and the Netherlands

Geographical isolation of Spain.

THE barrier of the Pyrenees isolated Spain from the rest of Europe, and she might have pursued her course with little connection with the rest of the Continent. Her history presents characteristics very different from those of the other European states. We have seen that the struggle with the Mahomedan power of the Moors is the one great influence on her development. Various

Christian states had formed themselves as the Moors were driven back, and for a long time the only unity which these states possessed was to be found in their common devotion to Catholicism. But in the fifteenth century there had arisen in Spain a great movement towards unification and centralization. The two chief kingdoms had been united through the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile, and their grandson, Charles I., King of Spain, better known as the Emperor Charles V., ruled over all the peninsula except Portugal. By the end of the fifteenth century Spain had lost her old isolation. She had acquired a claim on Sicily and Naples, and she had linked her fate with that of the Netherlands, when Joanna of Spain married Philip, the son of Mary of Burgundy and of Maximilian of Austria. Spain became the head of a world-wide empire. Her ambition was gratified, and her pride increased; but the vast responsibilities that she thus undertook are among the chief causes of her subsequent downfall.

Spain as the head of a world-wide empire.

But we must beware of placing her decline and decay at too early a date. All through the sixteenth and far into the seventeenth century she was a splendid and a powerful state, and the statesmen of Europe thought her even more powerful than she really was. She was supposed to derive endless wealth from "the Indies," as her American possessions were called; the population was kept in real unity by the ardent Catholicism which was the faith of the vast majority; her soldiers counted for a century as the best in Europe; it was a Spanish fleet that had discovered the new world, and Spain had thus the opportunity of establishing a wide commerce. Later experience was to show that there was a drawback to each of these advantages. Her American possessions entailed great cost, and, because of their unwise government, yielded little surplus when the necessary charges were paid; the religious ardour of the people gave free scope to the Inquisition, which crushed freedom of thought, and kept from Spain the influence of the new ideas which were fertilizing the rest of Europe; the vast empire of which she formed a part landed her in endless

The strength of Spain in the Sixteenth Century.

wars, which crippled her resources beyond possibility of recovery.

The reign of Charles V. had been, as we have seen, a failure in Germany, but it was glorious for Spain. The forces of the monarchy had been asserted with success against all rival powers; the Mahomedan and pirate power of Tunis had been crushed; a better system of government had been introduced into the American colonies. In Europe great additions had been made to the Spanish power in Italy, and in the Netherlands Charles had ruled with success and usually with popularity. At Charles V.'s abdication his son Philip II. inherited an immense power. It was no loss to Spain, but rather a gain, that the empire and the Hapsburg possessions to the east of Germany passed to Ferdinand and not to Philip. With vast possessions in the old world and the new, a warlike population, great reputed wealth, and the support of the Roman Catholic Church, everything seemed possible to him.

The successes of Charles V.

Philip II.

Philip II.'s reign is usually counted a great failure. He seemed constantly on the eve of some epoch-making achievement, and there were moments when it seemed possible that he would add England and France to the possessions of his crown. But no final success crowned his efforts. The heretic Elizabeth still sat at the end of his reign upon an unshaken throne; France lay contentedly in the grasp of his great antagonist, Henry of Navarre. But the worst blow of all was that a large part of the Netherlands had torn itself away and had become an independent and a Protestant state.

The failures of Philip II.'s reign.

Yet the reign was not without its triumphs. In 1571 a Spanish admiral, Don John of Austria, the half-brother of the king, commanding a great fleet drawn from the chief Catholic powers, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Turkish navy at Lepanto, in the Gulf of Corinth, from which the Turkish naval power never recovered. Greatest triumph of all, in 1580, upon the death of the King of Portugal, Philip II. asserted with success his claims upon the Portuguese throne, and thus not only ruled over the whole peninsula, but annexed also the vast Portuguese

His successes: 1. Lepanto.

2. Portugal.

dominions in America and India. Nor was the glory of Spain limited to war and conquest. This was her great age also in art and literature. Cervantes fought at the battle of Lepanto, and in 1605 wrote "Don Quixote," which soon came to be recognized as one of the few masterpieces of European literature. The romantic Spanish drama of Calderon (1601–1687) claims its place along with the best that England and France have done. Painting flourished as well as literature, though the work of Velasquez, the greatest name in Spanish art, belongs to the next century.

3. Art and Literature.

But we must turn to the Netherlands, whose revolt was the gravest blow that Spain received during the reign of Philip II. Not only was Spain weakened by the revolt, but it also gave to Europe a new state, protestant, progressive, and free, which for at least a century led the van of Europe in everything which made for liberty and enlightenment.

Revolt of the Netherlands.

The Netherlands were seventeen separate states which had come into the possession of Philip II. as part of the inheritance from Charles of Burgundy. Each state had its own constitution, and they did not in any sense form a unity, though Charles V. had tried, and not altogether without success, to give them a common system of administration. They nominally formed part of the empire, but the connection was as weak as in the case of the Swiss Confederation. They were a busy hive of commerce and industry, and their great cities and harbours, of which Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Amsterdam were the chief, gave to the King of Spain a far larger revenue than that which he derived from the Indies. They were not easy to govern, and Charles V. had had some serious troubles with them; but they had, for the most part, supported him loyally.

Condition of the Netherlands.

Philip II. had none of his father's cosmopolitan interest and experience. He lived nearly all his life in Spain, and directed from Madrid by means of a vast correspondence the affairs of his world-wide empire. He had great industry, patience, and a sense of duty, and his devotion to religion was genuine and profound. But

Character of Philip II.

hardly a ruler in the annals of Europe has been so hated by contemporaries and posterity, for he came in conflict with every cause that represented freedom and progress, and he strove to suppress them cruelly and unscrupulously.

His policy with regard to the Netherlands was plain, and was in many respects in harmony with the general trend of the time. He desired to give to the seventeen states of the Netherlands a real unity under the Crown. He wished to efface much of their local and separate liberties, and to rule in the Netherlands with the same unquestioned authority with which he ruled in Spain, and Elizabeth and Henry IV. ruled respectively in England and in France. He believed, moreover, as most men in that age believed, that political unity was impossible without religious unity; and from motives both of policy and religion, he determined to crush the Protestant movement, which had already struck strong roots especially in the northern states.

Policy in the Netherlands.

The conflict with the states began almost immediately after Philip's accession. They had hoped that he would appoint one of their own great nobles to be Regent, and public opinion named either Count Egmont, or William, Prince of Orange. The latter was of German origin, though his title came from the little principality of Orange in France, and he owned much property in the Netherlands and identified himself with them. Philip passed them over, and appointed his half-sister Margaret of Parma, who relied chiefly on the advice of Spanish councillors. Then came friction in religious matters. Philip wished to establish new bishoprics and to crush down Protestantism by the relentless use of coercive measures. The States declared that this encroached upon their privileges, and there was much negotiation, but no result was reached. Philip determined to cut the knot with the sword, and in 1567 he despatched the Duke of Alva with a large and well-equipped army. On his arrival he struck hard and irresistibly. Egmont was executed. William of Orange saved himself by flight. A council—called by the people of the Netherlands the Council of Blood—was set up for the summary punishment of the allied crimes of treason and heresy. All

Beginning of the struggle.

Despatch of the Duke of Alva.

efforts at insurrection were defeated. In 1569 the country seemed absolutely in Alva's power, and yet three years later there came a fierce insurrection which Spain could never quell.

The rising of 1572. The command of William the Silent.

The ignorance and oppressiveness of Alva's financial policy were the chief cause of the new movement. He imposed taxes, which, even more by the method of their collection than by their actual weight, would have destroyed the vigorous commerce of the Netherlands. The taxes were postponed for a time, but they were to be collected in 1572. Foreign help, or the prospect of it, encouraged the oppressed people to risk all on a rising. Queen Elizabeth was friendly to them, and France saw, with bitter jealousy, the triumph which Spain had won on her northern frontier. In April, 1572, the "sea-beggars"—men half-patriots and half-pirates, who had been driven from the land by the action of Alva—captured Brill and Flushing in the province of Zeeland. The two provinces of Holland and Zeeland declared war upon Alva, and summoned William of Orange, better known as William the Silent, to take their government. The real war of independence thus began, and it lasted forty years. "It proved a bottomless gulf into which Spain poured her armies and her navies and her treasure." Nothing contributed so much to her ruin as this long and profitless effort to subdue the Netherlands.

Characteristics of the struggle.

We shall see in the next chapter how the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's day dispelled the hope of French assistance; but the northern provinces carried on by themselves their heroic struggle until victory crowned their efforts. It was a wonderful struggle, but the causes of the failure of Spain can be seen. She was distracted in her efforts by her numerous enterprises, and suffered from a lack of funds, which in the end amounted to absolute bankruptcy. She made, moreover, no real effort to crush the Netherlands on the sea, and while the sea was theirs they could never be quite reduced to extremities. They were no match for the Spanish in the open field, but they fought stubbornly behind the walls of their cities, and on several critical occasions cut their dykes and let in the sea in order

to drive off the enemy. We must recognize, too, the vast services of William the Silent. He was not a great soldier: but he breathed his own resolute courage into the hearts of his countrymen, and his patient diplomacy and unruffled temper succeeded in keeping the many jarring elements of the rebellion in some sort of alliance. No state owes more to any ruler than Holland owes to William the Silent.

The Spanish fury.

Alva retired in 1573. His successor gained victories and pushed the Dutch hard, but there seemed no end to the struggle. Then in 1576 came an event which gave to William hope of a far greater triumph than he was destined to achieve. Upon the sudden death of the Spanish governor, the Spanish troops, whose pay was much in arrears, broke out in mutiny. They chose their own leaders, and spread over the land to plunder and destroy. Now, hitherto, the chief resistance to the Spaniards had come from the northern states, which differed in many ways from the south; they were more Protestant and more democratic, and they spoke a German dialect, while in the south French was spoken by half the population. But the common danger from the violence of the Spanish mutineers brought north and south together, and in 1576 William negotiated the Pacification of Ghent, by which all the seventeen provinces bound themselves together for the expulsion of the Spanish and the winning of a common national government, while they promised to exercise towards one another a spirit of forbearance in matters of religion.

The Pacification of Ghent.

So strong was the new movement that Spain had to yield for a time. Could the union have been permanent it would have been an incalculable gain for European civilization. But it was not to be. Religious fanaticism was too strong to be repressed by any treaty, and the Protestants were no whit behind the Catholics in their intolerance. Catholicism, too, was gathering fresh energies from the preaching of the Jesuits. If the newly formed government had been successful, it might perhaps have been permanent, but the patriot troops were defeated by Don John of Austria at Gemblours in 1578, and soon the league broke up. With keen regret

William found himself reduced to the support of the Northern and Protestant states. In 1579 these formed the Union of Utrecht, whereby they bound themselves together in a loose federal government and continued the war against Spain. The southern states gained concessions from Spain, and henceforth counted as her allies.

Union of Utrecht.

The cause of the rebel states seemed hopeless, and the contest was conducted with ever-increasing bitterness. In 1580 Philip, who saw in William the chief cause of his failure to conquer the rebellious states, issued a "ban" declaring him the enemy of the human race, and offering a large reward to any one who would "deliver him quick or dead or deprive him at once of life." Hitherto the states had kept up the pretence of loyalty to Philip, but now they formally abjured him, and declared that "when a king, instead of being a shepherd of his flock, grinds down his people and treats them as slaves, the estates of the land may legally renounce him and put another in his place." It was an important statement of principle, which was later echoed by the revolutions of England, America, and France.

The abjuration of Philip by the States.

William now negotiated eagerly for foreign assistance, and the Duke of Anjou, brother of the reigning French king, consented to become the ally and protector of the states. But there was no sincerity in his action. He aimed at absolute sovereignty in the land, and was discontented with the limited power which was granted him. He basely attempted to seize the city of Antwerp, and upon his failure withdrew to France, where he soon after died. England was friendly, and Englishmen served as volunteers in the Dutch armies, but no open assistance came from that side while William lived. Soon after this the states were deprived of William's invaluable help. The reward offered by Philip had induced many assassins to lie in wait for his life. He had been dangerously wounded in 1582, and was killed at Delft in 1584. His patience, courage, and diplomatic skill, his humanity and unselfish patriotism made him the first statesman of his time. Modern Holland owes to him her existence. He was the first of

The Duke of Anjou.

European statesmen to try to found a state upon religious toleration.

It seemed as if his death would ruin the cause of the Netherlands. The great Spanish soldier, Parma, took Antwerp, and the alliance of the Protestant states was in the greatest danger. Some help was afforded by Queen Elizabeth, who sent over the Earl of Leicester with an ill-equipped army; but more efficient help came from the change in the European situation. The defeat of the Spanish Armada by the English in 1588 shook the prestige of Spain as nothing had done yet. Soon afterwards, Henry of Navarre, hitherto a Protestant and always the bitter enemy of Spain, won the crown of France. England, Holland, and France joined in an alliance against Spain, and all prospect of a Spanish triumph disappeared. Maurice, the son of William the Silent, commanded the Dutch armies with far greater military skill than his father had ever shown. At last, in 1597, at Turnhout, the Dutch army defeated the Spanish in the open field. The war dragged on still for years—years of great exhaustion for both parties; but while the Dutch pushed on their commerce, and their trade prospered in spite of the war, Spain suffered without compensation or relief. At last in 1609 a truce for twelve years was signed.

Parma's victories.

The Spanish accept defeat.

This was really the end of the Dutch War of Independence. An heroic struggle had produced a state which during the next century gave much of priceless value to Europe. Agriculture and shipbuilding owed much to the Dutch. International law received a great impetus from the writings of Grotius. The University of Leyden was the centre for a vigorous movement of physical science. Of literature the Dutch produced little that was really of high quality, but they gave a new and original impulse to the art of painting. The Protestant sentiment of Holland did not encourage the Dutch painters to represent scenes from the life of Christ or from the stories of the saints. But they turned with passionate love to the land which they had won after such a struggle from the sword of Spain. They made the dull scenes of their flat country into glorious

The services of the Dutch Republic to Europe.

landscapes by the magic of their brush, and showed that prosaic incidents from the common life of ordinary men might be treated with an art as consummate as that of Raphael or Titian. In landscape, portraiture, and *genre* painting the greatest of the Dutch artists, Rembrandt, Hals, Teniers, Gerard Dou, have had no superiors.

But though the foreign danger had passed away, the new state had grave internal difficulties. The Union of Utrecht supplied the basis of the constitution, and it is interesting as the first instance of a federal government in modern times; but it was extremely difficult to work. There was as yet no Dutch state or nation. The seven provinces each claimed almost complete independence, and the central government could only act when all the provinces were unanimous. Two parties began to develop. On the one side the Orange party, under their leader Prince Maurice, desired to make the states into a real unity under the leadership of the House of Orange, and Maurice desired the power if not the title of a king. A party on the other side led by Oldenbarneveldt was anxious to maintain the republic in the spirit and the letter, and to resist the ambitions of the House of Orange. The situation was complicated by a fierce religious controversy in the Protestant ranks. The more rigid Calvinists under Gomarus were confronted by the more liberal school of Arminius. Maurice joined himself to the Gomarists and the opinions of their opponents were condemned at the Synod of Dort (1619), and those who persisted in them were punished by exclusion from office and by exile. This was a great victory for Maurice, and his triumph was further secured by the odious trial and criminal execution of his great opponent, Oldenbarneveldt.

The difficulties of the new state.

Prince Maurice.

The republican party, however, was by no means annihilated. Maurice died in 1625, but the contest was carried on by his successors, Frederick Henry and William II. But upon the death of the latter in 1650 there was no heir but a young child (afterwards King William III. of England), and the republican leader, John de Witt, struck what seemed likely to be a final blow against the Orangist ambitions. The young prince was

Defeat of the House of Orange.

excluded from the governorship and from military and naval command in the Province of Holland, which was by far the wealthiest and most powerful of all the seven and equal in influence to all the rest. But the fate of the Netherlands was to be again closely united to the House of Orange, and the young prince lived to rule in the Netherlands and to reign in Great Britain, and to exercise on the destinies of Europe as great an influence as that of his great ancestor, William the Silent. The Orangists had throughout been the military party, and had urged the maintenance of a large army and a watchful attitude towards European neighbours. Their opponents placed their faith in the navy, and distrusted the army because it was the chief support of the House of Orange. When, in 1672, the ambition of Louis XIV. of France brought on this state a military danger, as great as that which William the Silent had had to face, a spontaneous movement called his grandson to power.

William III.

For the sake of clearness we have traced Dutch history to the middle of the seventeenth century. We must now turn to the fortune of France in the sixteenth.

The books on this period are numerous and excellent. Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, and his *History of the United Netherlands*, are eloquent in praise of the Northern States. The *Life of William the Silent* has been excellently written by Frederic Harrison and by Ruth Putnam. Prescott's *Philip II.* gives the history of Spain during the same period. The articles by Mr. Edmundson in the *Cambridge Modern History* give the best summary of the history of the Netherlands.

CHAPTER V

France and the Reformation

THE Peace of Cateau Cambrésis in 1559 had left France in a strong position in Europe. She had gained important territories on her eastern frontier, and had torn the city of Calais from the possession of the English. During the festivities which celebrated the peace in Paris,

Death of Henry II.

the French king, Henry II., was killed by a chance blow in a tournament, and the situation was at once completely altered.

Spread of Calvinism in France.

The movement of the Reformation had hitherto caused no serious disturbance in France. Repressive edicts had been passed, and many victims had been sacrificed, but the religious unity of France had not seemed threatened. But there was in France, as elsewhere, a great fermentation in men's minds. Calvinism, as we have seen, was the work of a Frenchman, and its books were written in French. It soon gained a strong hold upon large masses of the French people. Its devotees were to be found in all ranks of life, and were numerous among the workmen of the towns. But the striking feature of French Protestantism was that it counted in its ranks a large number of the aristocracy. In this respect the Protestant movement in France resembles the early period of the Reformation in Scotland; and the French nobles, like the Scottish nobles, were attracted to the new movement, not only by religious conviction, but also by the opportunity and excuse it afforded them of carrying on resistance to the Crown, and by the hope which it held out of the plunder of the estates of the Church. The south and the west of France were the districts most favourable to Protestantism; the city of Paris itself was throughout bitterly hostile to it, and it claimed few adherents in the centre or the east.

Humanism in France.

Calvin watched the progress of the movement from Geneva, and at one time believed that, if freedom of preaching were allowed, the Catholic Church would be utterly overthrown in France. But at no time were the Protestants the majority of the French people. The rigidity and austerity of Calvinism repelled many who were attracted by the poetry and imagination of the Roman Catholic system and service; and as time went on the zeal and faith of the Protestants was confronted by a zeal and faith on the side of the Catholics as great as their own. It must be noted also that there was in France a current of opinion distinct from the two warring religious movements. From the first there had been in Europe men like Erasmus, the great Dutch

scholar, who felt uneasy in either camp, and refused altogether to join with Luther. In France the same middle position was held at the beginning by Rabelais, and at the end of the period by Montaigne. The first wrote with all the energy and enthusiasm of hope; the second was sceptical and despairing of any great change for the better. But both of them, though they belonged nominally to the Catholic camp, were as far as possible from the ideas of the Roman Catholic reaction. They preached humanity and appealed to reason, and the doctrines so eagerly put forward by the leaders on either side failed to convince them. For the next half century they had little influence on the course of public affairs, but the later centuries in France were as much influenced by the thought of Rabelais and Montaigne as by that of Calvin and Ignatius Loyola.

Catherine de' Medici.

At the death of King Henry II. there was no son old enough to rule in France. The Queen Mother was the famous —or infamous—Catherine de' Medici. She had been neglected by her husband and now saw her chance arrive of acquiring power. She has sometimes been represented as the champion of repressive Catholicism, and her actions have been traced to religious fanaticism. This is far from being the truth. Not religion but political ambition gives us the key to her character; and though as a Medici she could only be a Catholic, her religious beliefs sat very lightly upon her, and hardly influenced her actions. She was more guided by the superstitions of astrology than by the doctrines of the Catholic Church. She had a large family, but all of them were young, and none showed much vigour either of body or of mind. No one of them would be capable of really ruling in France for some years to come.

The Bourbons and the Guises.

Catherine desired to hold the position that was thus left vacant, but she was face to face with numerous noblemen who struggled for power and whose rivalry was connected with the religious controversies of the time. On the one side stood the family of the Bourbons, whose chief representatives were Anthony, the weak King of Navarre, and his brother the more vigorous Louis, Prince of Condé. They had espoused the Calvinist cause, but in their case it is not uncharitable to say that religion was only the cloak

for political designs. On the other side was the family of Guise. This family belonged originally to Lorraine, but had for some time been settled at the French Court, where it already exercised a great influence. By conviction and by interest the Guises were attached to the Roman Catholic cause. The Cardinal of Guise was one of the two or three most influential churchmen of the time, and Francis, Duke of Guise, was the most prominent and successful soldier in the country. The only man at Court upon whom Catherine could rely for loyal service to the Crown was the Chancellor, L'Hôpital. He was a religious man, but he was anxious to find some way to peace between the rival factions, and was one of the few men in Europe at this time who sincerely believed in the possibility of religious toleration.

L'Hôpital.

The short reign of Francis II., husband of Mary Queen of Scots, was full of religious strife. He died in December, 1560, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles IX. Efforts were made to keep the peace by instituting a conference between the representatives of the two faiths; but such movements were premature and vain. L'Hôpital issued upon the royal authority an edict, whereby Protestants were to be allowed to worship within certain restrictions. But both parties were eager for victory, and would not consent to a compromise. In March, 1562, the Duke of Guise passed through the little town of Vassy with a body of troops. A Calvinist service was in progress: it was interrupted by the soldiers, and in the confusion that followed a large number of those taking part in it were killed. This, which is usually known as the Massacre of Vassy, at once lit the flames of civil war in the land.

Charles IX. Outbreak of civil war.

From this time on for more than thirty years France enjoyed no settled peace. Her prestige in Europe diminished; her wealth and prosperity sank to a low ebb: in its social consequences the struggle was one of the worst that Europe has known. It was divided into seven or eight different wars, containing battles that were none of them of decisive importance, and all terminated by some unreal treaty of toleration. The Catholics throughout held the advantage, and the Protestants, whilst they fought without

Character of the war.

allies, gained no important victory over their enemies. Had the crown been worn by an energetic ruler, the contest would probably have been ended by the complete triumph of Catholicism. But Catherine de' Medici was not anxious for a victory which would give dangerous influence to the Catholic leaders, and preferred rather to balance between the opposing parties. The strength of the Protestants was at the beginning to be found in the nobles, but before the end its most stubborn adherents were the great towns of the west and south. Anthony of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were its military leaders; but the greatest name was unquestionably that of the Admiral Coligny, who in military talents and still more in character deserves to rank among the greatest and purest names of the century.

Coligny.

In the first war, Queen Elizabeth gave the Protestants—or as they are more usually called the Huguenots [1] of France—some assistance. But the experiment was an unsuccessful one, and the English Queen was not willing to repeat it. Both sides looked to help from beyond the frontier. The Protestants sometimes got troops from Germany and from Switzerland, and the Catholics were indebted to Spanish support and help. The presence of the Spaniards in the Netherlands, which we saw in the last chapter, had throughout an important influence on the course of the wars in France. We will pass over the first three without any attempt to trace their course. The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were both removed during their course, and the Duke of Guise was assassinated whilst he superintended the siege of Orleans. The third war was the most serious, and the Protestants fought and lost in it two important battles. Then, in 1570, when many were expecting a serious assault upon the Protestant cause, a peace was accorded, the Peace of St. Germain. It is one of the best of the many Peaces granted during the war, and may be taken as characteristic of the rest. Freedom of

The Huguenots.

Peace of St. Germain.

[1] The origin of this famous name is uncertain. It is by some derived from the Protestant confederates (*eidgenossen*) of Switzerland; by others from *Hugues*, which was used locally to denote a hobgoblin.

conscience was to be allowed to all, and freedom of worship was to be permitted in the castles of the nobility and in two towns which were to be selected in each of the administrative areas of France. The Protestants, at the same time, were to be admitted on equal terms to the Universities and to all public services. It fell far short of complete toleration, but it might have been developed into that, and as it stood it gave the Protestants a position which was endurable.

Charles IX. and Coligny.

The years from 1570 to 1572 are the most critical and debatable of the time; they led up to the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's day, and there are many questions concerning that massacre which are as yet by no means decided. The main features of the time seem to be these. The young King, Charles IX., was not without a sense of duty and of appreciation of the position in France. He saw that the country was being weakened by civil war, while the rival power of Spain, at least in appearance, was advancing by leaps and bounds. He drew near to Coligny, and was impressed by the energy and patriotism of the great Protestant leader. A new policy seemed on the point of being adopted. Protestants and Catholics were to live in France with mutual respect, and the whole force of the nation was to be thrown into war on behalf of the Netherlands against the King of Spain. It was a policy in its essential features very much like that which was carried to brilliant results by Henry of Navarre twenty years later, and by Richelieu in the next century. It was proposed to cement and emphasize the new policy, first by an alliance with the Queen of England, and possibly by a marriage between her and the King's brother Henry; and next by a marriage between Henry of Navarre, the heir to the Protestant leadership, and the King's sister, Margaret of Valois. It was thought that France would enter into the struggle early in the autumn of 1572. The marriage with Elizabeth fell through; but the alliance was made. Henry of Navarre was actually married to Margaret, and the great change in the foreign policy of France seemed likely to be carried out, when suddenly there came the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's day (24th August, 1572). The idea

The new policy of France.

Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's day.

of solving the religious difficulty by a massacre of her opponents was already familiar to the mind of Catherine, but the actual massacre was not a long premeditated blow. It is to be traced rather to the jealousy with which the Queen saw the rising influence of Coligny and her fear that unless something were done she would find herself relegated to a subordinate position in the State. Her Italian experiences suggested a means of escape. Coligny must be killed. An assassin fired upon him and wounded him as he was entering his lodging; but his life was in no danger, and his fellow Protestants demanded full inquiry. The failure of the smaller crime made a much greater one necessary. Catherine joined with the King's brother Henry, with Henry, Duke of Guise, and with certain of the leading authorities in Paris, and it was determined to let loose the fanatical populace of Paris against the Huguenots. The King, in spite of his fondness for Coligny, was weakly persuaded to consent to the massacre by the representation that his own life was in danger. The Duke of Guise himself superintended the murder of Coligny; and elsewhere in Paris and in France the Huguenots were cut down in great numbers, which perhaps reached altogether as high as 10,000.[1]

The massacre a failure.

Hardly was the deed done when it was seen that it was a folly as well as a crime. The Huguenots were weakened by the loss of their great leader and so many from their ranks, but they flew to arms at once and prepared to defend their lives stubbornly. The deed, too, though it found some to apologize for it on the Catholic side, was condemned generally throughout Europe. England drew away from France for a time, and in the war that followed, the Huguenots received no very severe blow. Then, within a year after the massacre (1573) the Government accorded them a peace, which reproduced many of the features of the Peace of St. Germain.

Soon afterwards, Charles IX. died, and his brother reigned as Henry III. He had shown vigour in the early campaigns against the Protestants, and he had been elected to the crown of Poland. But on the news of the death of his brother he

[1] It is impossible to fix the number of victims with any certainty. The contemporary Sully says 70,000: Lord Acton's estimate was 8000.

left Poland and returned to France. He had been deeply concerned in the massacre, and his arrival was the signal for the outbreak of war once more. It was pursued without energy, for the king was now a self-indulgent and careless voluptuary, who occasionally took part in fanatical and ascetic religious exercises, but was not influenced by any serious religious aims. So a little obscure fighting was followed by a peace of the usual kind, and it seemed as though these wars and peaces might follow in endless succession without achieving any result but the ruin of France.

King Henry III.

And yet the situation was changing, and new forces were arising which made the personal action of Henry of less importance. On the one side there was growing up a new party called the Politiques, or the Politicians, by which name were designated those who placed the well-being of the country before the triumph of their particular religious opinions. With these aims a number of Roman Catholics now joined themselves to the Protestants, and their declared aim was a government based upon toleration. The leadership of this party—which of course included all the Huguenots—was for a time a difficult question. But when Henry of Navarre had abjured the Catholicism into which he had been forced at the time of the massacre, and had escaped from Paris to the Protestants in the south, he was welcomed as their leader. Neither the doctrine nor the discipline of Calvinism had ever much hold upon him. He was drawn to the Protestant side chiefly by family traditions, but he served it faithfully for years. He was, if not a great general, at any rate a splendidly daring leader in irregular warfare, and his presence on the Protestant side was all the more important because it grew more and more probable that he would be the heir to the French throne. For neither Francis II nor Charles IX. had left male heirs; Henry III. was childless, and so was his brother the Duke of Alençon, who now took the title of Anjou: Henry of Navarre was the next male claimant.

The party of the Politiques.

Henry of Navarre as leader of the Huguenots.

Whilst the forces of Protestantism and toleration were thus receiving a new organization, a similar movement was visible

upon the Catholic side. There was there general disgust with the action and policy of the king, and most zealous Catholics looked rather to the splendid young Duke of Guise as their leader than to Henry III. The idea of a Catholic League had already been put forward, and had received much support from Rome and from Spain. But in 1584 the matter became much more urgent because the Duke of Anjou died, and it was certain that no male heir would now come from the children of Catherine de' Medici. If the ordinary rule of succession was to be followed, the Protestant Henry of Navarre would before long be King of France. It was to prevent this result at all costs that the Catholic League was formed. Its avowed objects were to extirpate heresy, and to secure the exclusion of all heretics and supporters of heretics from the throne of France. It chose as the candidate for the royal title, the Cardinal of Bourbon, the uncle of Henry of Navarre. But this was only a postponement of the question, for the chosen candidate was old and childless, and the decision as to who should ultimately reign as the Catholic King of France was surrounded with insoluble difficulties. The title was coveted by Philip II. of Spain himself, who, if he were successful in his aims, would thus more than compensate for the checks which he had received in the Netherlands and in England. But the accession of Philip would offend the national sentiment of France, and there were many who desired to see Henry of Guise upon the throne. There can be no question that King Henry III. was more favourable to the party of the Politiques than to the Holy League, but he dared not challenge a contest with the League, and became its nominal champion. He had to declare war once more against the Protestants and their allies. The war now assumed a more important and decisive phase. The king played little part in it; his old military ardour had quite disappeared, and he left the command to his favourites. Against one of these Henry of Navarre gained a great victory at Coutras (1587). But almost immediately afterwards this was balanced by the defeat of the Swiss and Germans, who were coming to his help, by Henry of Guise.

The Catholic League.

Catholic claimants to the throne.

Duke Henry was more than ever now the hero of Catholic France. He came to Paris, which was more fiercely Catholic than any other part of the nation. Henry III. forbade him to enter the city. He entered notwithstanding, and was greeted with wild enthusiasm. The king plotted his death and called upon troops from outside Paris to blockade the city. Against this threat the citizens of Paris rose in fierce rebellion; barricades were erected, and the king had no means of repressing the movement. He had to humiliate himself before his rival, and at his request, Henry of Guise quieted the insurrection. The king could not bear to reside any longer in a city which had thus insulted him, and he fled in the night from the palace.

The Day of the Barricades.

But to whom could he go for help? The Duke of Guise was the darling of the Catholic armies, and it was not possible for him yet to come to any agreement with Henry of Navarre and the Protestants. He had to go again through a form of reconciliation with the Duke of Guise, and once more he joined himself in name to the forces of the Holy League.

Henry III. very soon found that even outside of Paris his authority counted for very little, and that of the League for much. He had recourse to the expedient which we so often find in the great crises of French history. He called a meeting of the States-General at Blois, and he hoped to find support for his authority in the representatives of the people. He found, however, that the majority in each of the three orders was decidedly hostile to him. He still bore the crown, but it was Henry, Duke of Guise, who reigned. We must remember that the king had played a prominent part in the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, and that he was well versed in all the ideas of Italian statecraft. He saw in Henry of Guise his great enemy and the cause of his humiliation, and he determined to relieve himself by murder. The duke knew that he was in danger, but did not think that the king would have courage for the act. In December, 1588, he was murdered as he entered the apartments of the king. His brother, the Cardinal, was killed immediately afterwards, and the king in triumph announced the result to his mother,

The States-General at Blois.

Assassination of the Guises.

Catherine de' Medici, who lay ill and dying. She warned him that instead of making himself truly King of France as he had hoped, it would turn out that he had reduced his kingdom to nothing.

And so it proved. The King of the League—as men called Henry of Guise—was dead; but the League still lived, and all who by interest or policy were attached to the Catholic religion refused on any conditions to obey the murderer of its champion. So Henry III., reduced to complete despair, had to find allies where he could, and he found them in what seems the most impossible place. He turned to Henry of Navarre and to his combined following of Huguenots and Politiques. This party was now proclaiming that nothing could destroy the hereditary right to the throne, and in these monarchical principles there was a ground of union with Henry III. The two rivals and enemies met. Henry III. talked of the common bond of Christianity which ought not to be severed by small differences—words which sounded strangely in the mouth of one of the chief authors of the Saint Bartholomew Massacre—and made a close alliance with Henry of Navarre. Their combined forces seemed masters of the situation. The army of the League could not meet them in the open field, and they advanced on Paris. If Paris fell—and its fall seemed certain—Henry IV. would reign, Huguenot though he was. But in Paris fanaticism had risen to the boiling point, and a Dominican monk passed out from the besieged city, found admission to the presence of Henry III. and stabbed him with a mortal wound.

Alliance of Henry III. and Henry of Navarre.

Assassination of Henry III.

The death of Henry III. removed a very poor creature from the political arena; but it altered the situation. There were many Catholics who were willing to follow the Catholic Henry III., whose consciences would not permit them to support the Protestant Henry of Navarre. So, though he took at once the title of Henry IV. he found his army so diminished that it was impossible to prosecute the siege of Paris, and he became once more an adventurer fighting for the crown.

He gained notable victories. He marched to Dieppe in

order to get into touch with Queen Elizabeth, who, since the defeat of the Spanish Armada, was more able to render him assistance. Near Dieppe he gained a great victory at Arques, and a little after he overthrew the enemy in the still more important battle of Ivry. Victory seemed within his grasp, and stories were current of his gallantry and of his humanity which drew to him the hearts even of many of his opponents. After Ivry he advanced on Paris and began the siege. The place was reduced to the extremity of starvation, and, in spite of the Catholic enthusiasm which reigned within the city, it seemed certain that in a short time the capital of France must be in the hands of the Huguenot King. But the death of Henry III. had changed the situation on the side of the League, as well as on that of its opponents. Philip II. of Spain saw in the Holy League now, not merely an instrument which might be of service to him in preventing the French from joining with his enemies, but also a means whereby he might possibly win for himself the crown of France. For the Catholic League—especially in Paris—was so bitter against Henry IV. that it would shrink from no expedient. And there were many of its members who were eager to throw France wholly into the arms of its old enemy, Spain. There were others, it is true, who were bitterly opposed to this, and who supported the claims of the brother of the murdered Duke of Guise, Mayenne. Cherishing as he did these vast hopes which, if realized, would more than compensate for his defeats in England and in the Netherlands, Philip could not afford to see the fall of Paris. He instructed his great general Parma, who was conducting the campaign in the Netherlands, to march to Paris and relieve it. Henry IV. dared not allow himself to be caught by the Spanish army while he was still blockading Paris: the city was therefore relieved, and Henry marched against the Spaniards, eager for battle. Parma, however, had accomplished his purpose and withdrew. A year later Henry blockaded Rouen, which was of the utmost importance as commanding the river route to Paris; and here, also, when success seemed within his grasp, the prize was torn from him by a successful movement of Parma. This was, however, the

Battle of Ivry, 1590.

Relief of Paris by Parma.

last feat of the great Spanish general, who died shortly after of a wound received in the campaign.

The end of the interminable war seemed as far off as ever. Henry could not beat down his enemies, nor was France willing to accept the rule of the Spanish king. The Catholic League had called together a meeting of the estates, but opinions were much divided, and no issue was apparent. For some time past a means of escape from this stalemate had suggested itself to Henry IV. France would not submit to him while he remained Protestant; but it was probable that it would welcome his rule if it could regard him as a Catholic. His religious opinions had always sat lightly upon him. He was as far as possible from the Puritan or Calvinist type, and the licence of his private life had for many years given great offence to the Calvinist ministers. The temptation to change his faith was great, and there were those even among his own Protestant councillors who advised him to take the step. On the one side was the peace and prosperity of France; and against it, fidelity to opinions which he held with a very loose grasp. He determined to take what he called the "great plunge." He went through the comedy of being instructed in the Catholic faith. He declared himself convinced, and went to Mass (1593).

The conversion of Henry of Navarre.

His change of opinions acted like a charm. One city after the other, even in districts most devoted to the Catholic League, opened their gates to one whose prowess and geniality they had admired for long. Paris for some time remained hostile, and it was in the hands of a Spanish garrison. But even in Paris the greater part of the population was turning decidedly against the bitter fanaticism of the League, and was eager to find the city reunited to France and under the rule of a king once more. As a result, therefore, of a sort of conspiracy the gates were thrown open and Henry rode in. He was received with immense enthusiasm. The people of Paris, as he said, were wild with joy to look once more upon the face of a king. For some time the Pope refused to recognize the change of faith; and until the Pope granted him absolution his hold upon

Surrender of France to Henry IV.

Henry reconciled with Rome.

and elsewhere for the trial of cases in which Protestants were concerned, and on these courts Protestant judges were to find a place. Lastly, certain towns and fortresses were practically handed over to their control. The garrisons were to be paid by the king, but the officers were to be appointed by the leaders of the Protestant party. They had thus in these towns cities of refuge and a means of making effective resistance to any policy which threatened their liberties. It was a splendid edict. Europe had not hitherto known any measure of such justice and wisdom with regard to religious differences; and, while it was observed, it was the source of great profit to France not only in economic questions but in religious matters as well. The danger and the drawback lay in the fact that it went beyond the general feeling of the age. The king, and one or two other of the enlightened statesmen of the time, may have believed in toleration, but it was not accepted as a principle either by the Protestants or the Catholics. Thus it came to pass that less than a hundred years later, when opportunity served, the edict was withdrawn by the grandson of Henry IV.

Henry IV. and the Jesuits.

It may be noted, too, that Henry had had trouble with the Jesuits who were, in France as elsewhere, the leaders of the more aggressive Catholic party. An attempt made upon his life was doubtfully connected with them, and they were expelled from the realm of France. They returned, however, shortly afterwards, and there was no real breach between Henry and the Pope.

The monarchy grows more absolute.

In constitutional matters the new monarchy was even more absolute than the old one. The long civil war resulted—as such periods of confusion have often done—in a notable strengthening of the authority of the Government. No new States-General were called. They had been too closely associated with resistance to the crown in the interest of the aristocracy and Catholicism. When the king desired the support of public opinion he called together a body of "Notables" chosen by himself, before whom he laid his needs and from whom he asked advice.

The Paulette.

The Parlement of Paris was changed in one important particular: its members were called upon to pay a tax known as the Paulette, and on this condition

their tenure of office was secured to them and made hereditary. They were no longer subject, as they had been, to royal coercion; and this partly explains the part played by this body in the troubles of the next century.

Sully.

The economic question was of the utmost urgency, and the king had in this matter the invaluable help of his great minister, Sully, who had remained a Protestant himself, but had recommended the king's change of faith. He was a man of great honesty, great force of character and patient attention to detail. He managed to bring some order into the inscrutable tangle of the finances. He did his utmost to encourage agriculture by the building of roads and canals, and the suggestion of new methods. The silkworm was introduced by him into France, and the silk industry became an important one. For industry in general he had little liking, but his royal master had more, and the beginnings of the industrial life in France, which reached so high a point in the middle of the next century, can be traced to the last years of Henry IV.

The affair of Juliers and the murder of Henry IV.

The king had for a long time no legitimate issue, and the question of the succession was at one time a difficult one. But his marriage with Margaret of Valois was dissolved, and in the year 1600 he married Marie de' Medici a relative of the grand-duke of Tuscany. She bore him a child who was destined to succeed him as Louis XIII. In the last years of his reign the situation in Germany became critical. The principality of Juliers was vacant, and the place was so important because of its position upon the Rhine, and its command of the passage from Germany into the Netherlands, that all Europe was interested in the affair. The question was, whether it should fall into the hands of the Protestants, or should be absorbed by the Catholic House of the Hapsburgs. It seemed as though a great war would be lit by this question, for there was combustible material in Germany, as we shall see in another chapter. Henry IV. threw himself upon the Protestant side, and was preparing to march with a considerable army to the defence of Juliers. The situation had aroused again the hostility of the extreme Catholics against him, and in 1610,

just as he was preparing to set out he was murdered by an assassin.

In addition to the ordinary histories of France, Willert's *Henry of Navarre*; Edith Sichel's *Catherine de' Medici and the French Reformation*; Armstrong's *French Wars of Religion*; *Lives of Coligny*, by Besant and by Whitehead. Much new light has been thrown on this period by the books of M. Romier, especially in *Le Royaume de Catherine de Médicis*.

CHAPTER VI

England in the Sixteenth Century

I

WE have traced in outline the development of the great powers of Europe during the sixteenth century. It is the object of this chapter to compare the fortunes and the development of England during this period with those of France, Spain, and Germany.

Britain a world apart.

England's geographical separation from the continent has often made her seem a world apart from the rest of Europe; and has made it possible to tell her history with little reference to the story of the Continental Powers. But her separation has been more apparent than real. It is true that the "estranging sea" has exercised the most profound influence upon her life. It has, for instance, until 1914, removed her from the necessity of the great military burdens which have fallen upon the Continental Powers. She has had, and she has needed, no standing army. Hence she has been able with safety to limit the power of the Crown, and her kings have not been able to crush parliamentary opposition by military action, as the Kings of France and Spain did, and as many of the rulers of Germany did also. The English Constitution, no less than the British Empire, is a gift of the sea. And, partly because of her geographical isolation, all movements—political, religious, and intellectual—have presented themselves in England in a form different from those which they have on the continent.

The English Constitution a gift of the sea.

Yet it is easy to exaggerate the separateness of English history. Geographically, politically, religiously—from every point of view—our islands are a part of Europe; and their history cannot properly be understood apart from that of the whole movement of European civilization. During the sixteenth century the history of England was closely connected with that of the rest of Europe, and her development was in some respects parallel to that of France.

The genesis of the Tudor monarchy.

This was especially the case with regard to the form of her government. The Wars of the Roses had been partly the results of the premature efforts of Parliament under the Lancastrian dynasty to control the government of England; and the suffering and confusion of that dismal epoch produced a natural reaction towards a more centralized form of government, and a more powerful and independent monarchy. It is wrong to call the Tudor Monarchy a despotism, for there is every reason to think that it was popular—more popular than Parliament; and that the people at large saw in the monarchy its representative and protector. The rule of Henry VII. was generally welcome because it gave the country rest from civil war and the opportunity for industrial and economic progress. His reign and his character have a good deal that is closely analogous to those of Louis XI. of France. Both gave to their countries order after civil war, and both cared little for traditional standards of honour and prestige. Henry VIII.'s early reign pleased by its contrast with the dulness of his predecessor, and by its adventurous and spirited foreign policy. In the second half of his reign, when he introduced into the country religious and ecclesiastical changes, those changes were acceptable to some for their own sake, and to some probably because they came from the king and tended to strengthen the power of the king. The reigns of Edward VI. and of Mary were a great change. Neither of them was a national ruler as Henry VII. and Henry VIII. had been national rulers. They became the agents of parties, political and religious, rather than of the whole nation, and the country was again disturbed by risings that had the look of civil war. But when Queen Elizabeth came to the throne,

Henry VIII.

the monarchy was again strong, national, and popular; more truly representative of the whole people than any Parliamentary government could at that time have been.

Queen Elizabeth.

It was not by force that the queen ruled; for the military forces at her disposal were very small, and when trouble came, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland, they were clearly proved to be insufficient for the maintenance of order. But, for the most part, the Crown was supported by the enthusiastic loyalty of the country, and England was saved from more than a very slight experience of those civil convulsions which occurred during this epoch in most European states.

The sixteenth century sees very generally the rise of a "New Monarchy." As the power of the Catholic Church grew weak, a great deal of the power that had belonged to it passed over to the kings of Europe. In the long contest between Church and State, the Church suffered a severe defeat in this century, and much of her power passed over to the kings, who were the real representatives of the State; and this is almost as true of those countries which remained in communion with Rome (such as Spain and France), as of those which, like England, severed the official connection. The position and power of Henry VII., Henry VIII., and Elizabeth, have thus a strong affinity with those of Charles V., Louis XII., Francis I., and Henry of Navarre; and have more in common with Philip II. than appears at first sight, for Philip II. was genuinely popular in Spain, and his policy in the Netherlands is closely matched by Elizabeth's in Ireland.

The new monarchy in England and in Europe.

But the monarchy in England rested on different foundations from the Spanish and French monarchies. It was, in effect, a temporary dictatorship, which made little real constitutional change in the parliamentary and local institutions of the country. When circumstances changed, when the Stuart dynasty succeeded to the Tudors, when party spirit ran high and fierce in politics and religion, and the kings were too weak or too unwise to control it, then Parliament came forward again, took from its armoury long disused weapons, and made itself the spokesman, if not

The singularity of England.

of the whole nation, at least of the most energetic part of it. It was not so in France and Spain. There the monarchy almost effaced the elective parts of the constitution. The Cortes of Castille were reduced to a shadow of their former power, and great changes were introduced into the appointment of members. In France, the States-General played an important part at the beginning and at the end of the religious wars; but their power was not deeply rooted in the life and the traditions of the nation. The monarchy entirely suppressed their meetings, and soon reigned without a thought of them.

II

The Reformation in England.

In the religious revolution, England followed a course, which separated her almost as widely from the Protestant Churches of the continent as from obedience to the papal power. The motives which impelled Henry VIII. were neither theological nor moral, but personal and political. When the Lutheran movement began, Henry VIII. wrote a treatise against the tenets of Luther, which won for him from the papacy the title of Defender of the Faith (which the sovereigns of England still bear). He was impelled to his quarrel with the papacy first by his desire to procure the annulment of his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, and his failure to obtain the necessary bull from the papacy; and next by the national jealousy of the interference of a foreign power in the life of the nation, which had existed for a long time past, and was now intensified by the growing national consciousness. Henry VIII.'s object was to change the doctrine, worship, and organization of the Church of England as little as possible, but to eliminate the authority of the papacy, and to substitute for it in most instances the power of the Crown. The monasteries were destroyed; the upholders of the Roman connection, such as More and Fisher, suffered martyrdom; but Henry VIII. resisted all attempts to bring the English Church into line with the doctrines and the practices of Luther and of Calvin. In 1539 the king passed through Parliament the Law of the Six Articles, which

The aims of Henry VIII.

showed that in doctrine he was still wholly in sympathy with Rome. Any Englishman who denied the doctrine of Transubstantiation was liable to be burnt as a heretic; and the celibacy of the clergy was strongly insisted on.

Opposition to the system of Henry VIII.

There were strong bodies in England whom this arrangement offended bitterly, though it seems to have aroused little opposition in the country generally. To the devout Roman Catholics, the destruction of the papal power was an offence which was not to be condoned by the maintenance of Catholic doctrine and worship; while those who drew their inspiration from Calvin—to whom purity of Protestant doctrine was all important—denounced the maintenance of beliefs, which they regarded as heretical, and at best spoke of the English Liturgy as "folly that might be tolerated." The death of Henry VIII. and the accession of Edward VI., who was a child, gave for the time the victory to the more energetic Protestants. A new Prayer-book was drawn up, under the influence of Cranmer; the Six Article Law was withdrawn; the English Church approached more closely to the model which had been set up by the Continental Protestants, though it still maintained its continuity with the past and claimed its part in the inheritance of the Mediæval Church.

The reign of Edward VI.

At the same time, the weakening of the Government, caused by the youth of the king and the character of the Regency, first of the Duke of Somerset, and then of the Duke of Northumberland, produced great unrest in the country. There were risings in the east and in the south-west of England. They were repressed, but they left much bitterness behind. England seemed slipping under the weak reign into the condition of civil strife, which marked the contemporary history of France, Germany, and the Netherlands.

Queen Mary.

The accession of Queen Mary was welcomed in consequence. Had she shown real powers of statesmanship it does not seem impossible that England might have been brought back to the Roman Catholic fold, for the disturbance of Edward VI.'s reign had produced a painful impression; and Mary, the daughter of Catherine of Aragon and an ardent Roman Catholic, was personally popular. Above all the

monarchy was popular; and the nation would probably have accepted any religious policy that was insisted on by a powerful and successful ruler. And yet the reign of Queen Mary was the time when it became certain that England would not throw in her lot with Roman Catholicism. True, the queen secured the reconciliation of England to Rome, and this step passed with little protest. But, apart from this, mistake followed mistake. The queen married Philip of Spain, and England was dragged by the marriage into a war with France in which she lost Calais. Still more important, exasperated by the opposition that she encountered, and sincerely convinced, as most people were in the sixteenth century, that it was the duty of the State to exterminate heresy, she entered on a course of religious persecution which has no parallel in the history of England, though its cruelty is easily surpassed by the record of religious cruelty in many other countries; as for instance, France, Spain, the Netherlands, and Ireland. Roman Catholicism was identified by the reign of Queen Mary with the sacrifice of England to the interests of Spain, with weakness and failure at home and abroad, and above all with persecution and cruelty. Had a son been born to Philip and Mary the religious future of the country would have been very doubtful; but the marriage was childless, and the overthrow of the Marian settlement was certain at her death.

Religious persecution.

Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1558 at the age of twenty-five. The marriage of her mother, Anne Boleyn, to Henry VIII., had been the occasion of the schism between the English Church and Rome, and Elizabeth herself had lived through changes and dangers which had taught her caution and had revealed to her the nature of the forces that controlled the life of the nation. She was admirably served by her great ministers—Burleigh, Walsingham, Bacon, Archbishop Parker—and historians will always dispute as to how much of the success of the reign was due to the queen's skill and how much to that of her ministers. Certainly the success was great. In no period of our history are the permanent foundations of the life of England more clearly laid than in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Queen Elizabeth.

Her religious policy closely resembles that of Henry VIII. in its general aims, though there are differences of detail. No new Church was to be created: the Church of England was a branch of the Catholic Church: it was to preserve such of the doctrines, ceremonies and institutions of the earlier time as were not definitely rejected; it was to be as little fanatical as possible; it was to be as far as possible the Church of the nation; it was not to accept as binding either the formularies of Luther or of Calvin. In the queen's mind considerations of policy and national unity were more important than theological orthodoxy. She believed herself to be tolerant, and was so if judged by the standards of the sixteenth century and the practice of the states of Europe. She would not, she said, break a window into any man's heart to see what was written there: her concern was only with open expressions of opinion and open resistance to the law. But she was determined that the Church thus modified should be the only Church in the realm. An Act of Uniformity (1558) declared that no other form of worship save that of the Church of England would be allowed under heavy penalties, and that all who did not attend the services of the Church of England would be liable to a heavy fine. At the same time although the queen refused the title of Supreme Head of the Church, an Act of Supremacy placed the whole control of the Church in her hands, and arranged for the establishment of a Court of High Commission which was to assist her in her ecclesiastical duties.

The queen's religious policy.

Uniformity and supremacy.

The Church of England thus reformed was a unique establishment in Europe, and was rarely understood or appreciated outside of England. The followers of Luther and still more the followers of Calvin regarded it as a halfway house; as a compromise based on no principles and aiming only at worldly advantage. The Roman Catholics rejected its claims to Catholicism and regarded it as equally heretical with the Lutheran and the Calvinist Churches. In England, too, though Queen Elizabeth's religious policy was generally acceptable, it failed to secure universal consent. A large

Singularity of the English Church settlement.

number of Englishmen remained faithful to the Roman obedience and refused to attend the services according to the Book of Common Prayer. They were encouraged by a visit of Jesuits in 1580, and hoped and watched for an opportunity of reverting to the old ways. There were occasional plots against Elizabeth's power and life in which individual Catholics took part, but the body as a whole was not disloyal in spite of the harsh measures of repression which were passed against them. The queen had difficulties also with the Protestant dissidents. Lutheranism had at one time gained a strong hold in England; and during the persecutions of Queen Mary numbers of English exiles had come into contact with the Calvinists of the Rhine lands and of Switzerland. They returned to England, cherishing the ideals of Calvin, regarding the Pope as anti-Christ, and everything connected with the Catholic Church as evil. They rejected the vestments and the set prayers of the English Church; and they thought that the Church should be governed by presbyters and synods, and not by Bishops and Archdeacons. Their resistance to the Church developed gradually; but before the end of the reign there were two definite currents of Protestant dissent—first Presbyterianism deriving its ideas from Geneva and Calvin, and secondly Independency, which broke still further away from the Anglican settlement and the established ceremonies and claimed that each congregation should be a self-governing unit.

Catholic and Protestant opposition.

Against the Roman Catholics measures of great harshness were passed. To convert anyone to Roman Catholicism or to be so converted was declared tantamount to High Treason; Jesuits and seminary priests were liable to the penalty of death; all Roman Catholics were liable to crushing fines for various offences against the queen's ecclesiastical legislation. A large number of them were put to death, and all lay under the fear of spies and informers, who were encouraged to bring them to trial by the offer of large rewards. The Protestant dissenters were more gently handled: but severe statutes were passed against them towards the end of the reign; and some lost their lives

Measures of repression.

for their continued resistance to the queen's ecclesiastical policy.

Queen Elizabeth believed that her government was marked by humanity and moderation, and she asked all men to compare her treatment of her religious opponents with the cruelties practised by Philip II. in the Netherlands and by the French government in France. Her claims have been often challenged, but they are valid, if they are confined to the soil of England itself. Her policy there was really marked by a moderation and gentleness which Philip II. and the rulers of France were far from imitating. But a very different impression is produced by the observation of her policy in Ireland, which is marked by panic, by violence and by terrible cruelties. Nor must we forget that the century ends in France with the Edict of Nantes, a measure of religious toleration far nobler and more comprehensive than anything that was known in England until the nineteenth century.

Was the queen tolerant?

III

The foreign relations of England are sharply cut across by the Reformation, so that there seems at first to be hardly any continuity between the foreign policy of Henry VII. and the early years of Henry VIII. and that which was pursued by the Tudors after the calling of the Reformation Parliament in 1529. Henry VII. succeeding to the throne, as the result of civil war; and, ruling over a people impoverished by the long confusion of the Wars of the Roses, was chiefly occupied with the problem of maintaining himself upon the throne, enforcing order and encouraging commerce. His strength was to sit still; and he abstained his whole reign through, from all wars that could possibly be avoided, and brought such as he was forced to enter upon to as speedy a conclusion as possible, without any regard to conventional ideas of prestige or honour. He made commercial treaties which opened the trade of the Netherlands to English wool growers and he established good relations with Spain and Scotland by marrying his eldest son Arthur to

Foreign relations of England.

Policy of Henry VII.

Catherine of Aragon and his eldest daughter Margaret to James IV. of Scotland. Both were marriages big with influence on the sixteenth century. For on Arthur's death Catherine was betrothed to Henry VII.'s second son, who was afterwards Henry VIII., and the repudiation of this marriage was the occasion of the schism with Rome. Margaret was the grandmother of Mary Queen of Scots, who inherited her claims upon the English throne, and was the centre of so many of the difficulties of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

Foreign policy of Henry VIII.

The reign of Henry VIII. was a great contrast to that of his father. He was brilliant, popular, attractive, ambitious, and the people weary of the dull successes of Henry VII. were eager for a change of system and ready for a foreign policy of adventure. Henry VIII. had in Wolsey a great administrator and diplomatist. Under his guidance England interfered with effect in the complications of European diplomacy, and seemed to determine the balance of power in Europe. If the great change had not come, if the religious question had not so soon swallowed up all others, it would have been necessary to say something of his diplomacy and to estimate its measure of success. As it is, Wolsey has left a great name in the annals of the country, but has only influenced indirectly the development of English history. After 1529 it was religious considerations which chiefly influenced the policy of England, though Henry to the end refused to regard the cause of Continental Protestantism as identical with his own.

In such a brief survey as is attempted here the foreign policy of the reigns of Edward VI. and of Mary may be almost entirely omitted. In the first England looked towards an alliance with the Protestant powers, and in the second swung round into a close union with Spain, which was cemented by the unfortunate marriage of the queen to Philip of Spain.

Queen Elizabeth.

But the reign of Queen Elizabeth is epoch-making in the foreign policy of England as in so much else. She was at the beginning of her reign allied with Spain and at war with France, but before its end she was in alliance with France, and during a large part of her reign she was a constant and dangerous opponent of the policy of King Philip of

Spain. The change did not come suddenly. The queen disliked irrevocable decisions on any subject, and she coquetted with Spain almost up to the sailing of the great Armada in 1588. But various strong forces pushed England into an attitude of hostility to Spain. Spain was of all powers in Europe the most aggressively Roman Catholic, and she was the mainstay of the Catholic Reaction, and this, subtly and slowly and almost against the will of the queen, rendered an understanding with Spain impossible. Commercial motives too came to supplement religious. England was beginning to know the possibilities of maritime power; her sea captains—traders, pirates, explorers, and adventurers—made their way into the new world in spite of Spanish prohibition. Hawkins sold slaves in the Spanish colonies against the express orders of the Spanish government. Drake passed through the Straits of Magellan, plundered Spanish settlements on the west coast of South America and returned to England after circumnavigating the globe. The English government did not try very much to stop these expeditions, and perhaps could not have stopped them if it had tried. They were in the highest degree offensive and aggressive against Spain, and would have led to war earlier if Philip II. had not been occupied with so many difficult problems in Europe—at home, in France, and in the Netherlands. While England thus drifted into war with Spain she was drawn to France chiefly by the common hostility of both countries to Spain; this motive operated from almost the beginning of the reign, and neither the civil-religious wars nor the St. Bartholomew Massacre, broke the co-operation between them. Even from the religious point of view France was a more natural ally than Spain, for there was, as we have seen, a strong Protestant party in France, which sometimes got better treatment at the hands of the French government through the influence of England. The alliance between the two countries grew much more spontaneous and intimate after the murder of Henry III. and the accession of Henry of Navarre. English troops and English money went to the help of the claimant to the French throne. His conversion

Maritime adventure in Elizabeth's reign.

Alliance of France and England.

did not break the good understanding, for his enemies were the queen's enemies. It was only when James I., on his accession to the English throne, desired to be original in everything that the *entente* with France was in an unhappy hour abandoned.

IV

To complete this survey of English history during the course of the sixteenth century it is necessary to glance at the relations of the country with Scotland and Ireland. The first shows us perhaps the greatest triumph of the policy of Queen Elizabeth; in the second we have a record of blundering failure, with many tragic chapters, which prepares the way for a greater tragedy later on.

England and Scotland.

At the beginning of the Tudor period Scotland was England's most constant enemy. Small in population (the inhabitants all told did not reach much over half a million) and poor in resources, her geographical position, and her relation to England gave her an importance in Europe which she would not otherwise have possessed. Scotland was in a military sense the back door of England, and England could never feel secure while Scotland was leagued with her enemies. Some wise statesmen on either side of the border had cherished the idea of amity and union; but there seemed little prospect of it at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The marriage of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., to James IV. of Scotland did indeed ultimately bring the desired union, for their great grandson reigned over both realms as James VI. of Scotland and James I. of England. But the old antagonism was at the time hardly altered by the marriage. Henry VIII. had to fight Scotland hard and inflicted on her in 1513 the heavy defeat of Flodden. The death of James V. in 1542, after he had been utterly routed in the battle of Solway Moss, altered the situation. For his only child was a daughter, Mary, who was only a few days old at her father's death. If she could be married to the English prince this would bring about the union of Scotland with England, as the

Mary Queen of Scots.

marriage of Charles VIII. of France to Anne of Brittany in 1491 had led to the incorporation of that province with the royal domain. A marriage was arranged between Mary and Edward VI., but the blundering violence of the Protector Somerset offended Scotch sentiment. Mary was sent to France, and married the Dauphin. The danger to England from Scotland seemed greater than ever and the hostility more pronounced.

The Reformation in Scotland and in France.

It was the Reformation in Scotland that brought about friendship and alliance between the two states and prepared the way for union. The Reformation in Scotland was Calvinist in doctrine and Church government, and the movement has some resemblance to the Huguenot movement in France. Both were Presbyterian, and Knox was probably Calvin's greatest follower. Both had a strong aristocratic support, which colours the whole of the early history of both movements. As the French nobles were in many instances drawn to religious reform by the excuse it gave for political change, so the nobles of Scotland were attracted by the prospect of the plunder of Church lands. There were many, said Knox, who would never have come to the gospel if greed had not brought them. It is equally clear in both countries that the questionable motives of some of the leaders did not prevent the movement from being adopted by great numbers with a genuine devotion and zeal. But the circumstances of France prevented the Huguenots from dominating France as the Presbyterians of Scotland dominated and controlled the destinies of their country.

The treaty of Edinburgh, 1560.

There came in 1559 an outbreak of Protestant violence, fomented by the preaching of Knox. The forces of the government were defeated, but still held out in Edinburgh and in Leith. If they could maintain their hold upon the harbour of Leith French help would soon arrive, and the balance of power would be reversed. In their difficulty the Protestants appealed to England, and Queen Elizabeth, after much deliberation, sent them help. Leith harbour was taken, and the Treaty of Edinburgh made with the Scotch and French. The French

garrison left Scotland. Presbyterianism was established. Knox was triumphant (1560). The religious settlement in Scotland was widely different from that of England; but common hostility to the Roman Catholic powers drew the two countries together and went far to efface the bitter hostility that had been engendered by centuries of strife.

That is the most important event of Queen Elizabeth's Scotch policy; but what followed supplied romantic and better known incidents. On the death of her husband Francis II. in 1560 Mary passed over to Scotland and reigned there. The pathetic and tragic events of her career are closely entwined with the social and political history of Scotland. We cannot follow her personal career here: but we may note what were the forces that brought about her ruin and ultimately drove her from Scotland to suffer a long imprisonment and a traitor's death in England. Her own character doubtless counts for much; but she was pitted against two strong forces. First there was the aristocratic quasi-feudal nobility of Scotland, impatient of all control, disliking all governments in proportion as they were strong and effective, hating especially any member of their own order who was raised into authority over them. The French nobles had had something of the same character and aims, but the monarchy had gone far in the process of taming the aristocracy of France. The Scotch nobles were at the height of their power. If some power stronger than the Scotch monarchy had not controlled them Scotland might have fallen into the masterless confusion of Poland. Some of the Scotch nobles would have fitted easily into the Diet at Warsaw, and would have exercised the *liberum veto* as recklessly as any Polish nobles ever did. Next Mary came into conflict with Presbyterianism. The Kirk of Scotland, inspired and organised by Knox, was a dangerous rival to the state. Mary was not a fanatical Catholic; she was no voluntary martyr for her religious faith. But she was a Catholic by temperament, history and interest, and she came into violent collision with the joint forces of Presbyterianism and feudalism. There was a moment when her triumph seemed possible. Her enemies seemed beaten, and even England was defeated

The fall of Mary Queen of Scots.

in the encounter of diplomacy. Then came a storm of personal passion upon her which gave her enemies the victory. James the son of Mary succeeded to the throne of Scotland upon his mother's forced abdication in 1567; and as Queen Elizabeth steadily refused to marry, he succeeded to the English throne in 1603. The nobles of Scotland saw with alarm this great increase in the power of the Crown.

V

The sixteenth century was of decisive importance for Ireland too. When Henry VII. came to the throne the hold of the English government upon Ireland was exceedingly weak. Outside of the pale—a small district in south-east Ireland—that government could hardly be said to exist; and even inside the pale the influence of England seemed on the decline. The Hundred Years' War and the Wars of the Roses had engaged the attention of England elsewhere, and her control of Ireland had diminished in consequence. The Tudor monarchy was strong at home and Ireland soon felt its strength. The independent authority of the Irish nobles was beaten down; their castles were destroyed; by Poynings' Acts (1494) the legislative authority of the English Parliament was practically extended over Ireland. Henry VIII. carried on the work of his father. When the breach with Rome was consummated he took the title of King of Ireland instead of Lord. The Reformation, though it wore an ugly face in Ireland—destroying the monasteries which were the chief basis of her religious life, forcing on her a Church which she felt to be far more alien than that of Rome, and services in the English language which her people understood less than Latin—raised little open opposition at first. The heart of Ireland beat slowly; there were no organs of public opinion; a national self-consciousness had not yet arisen.

England and Ireland.

The Reformation in Ireland.

The reigns of Edward and Mary need not detain us: but the reign of Elizabeth marked a new epoch in Irish history. It is a tale of ignorance, weakness, cruelty and failure. The

queen would never have been called Good Queen Bess on her Irish record. What were her objects ? What methods did she employ to realize them ?

Queen Elizabeth and Ireland and Philip II. in the Netherlands.

No two countries could be more unlike than Ireland and the Netherlands in the sixteenth century. Yet the aims with which Philip II. despatched Alva to the Netherlands in 1567 were closely parallel to those of Queen Elizabeth and her advisers in their dealings with Ireland. Philip II. desired to rule in the Netherlands as he ruled in Spain; he desired to establish a uniform constitution for the seventeen provinces; he believed that the political unity of the country must needs rest on ecclesiastical unity. And Queen Elizabeth too desired to rule as well as reign in Ireland; to efface the local differences and provincial customs which broke the unity of Ireland; to assimilate Ireland in every way to England; and to base the unity of Ireland upon the general acceptance of the English Church. She proposed too (and this finds no parallel in the scheme of Philip) to confiscate large tracts of Irish land, to people them with English settlers, who should act as a permanent garrison to support the English system.

Failure of Queen Elizabeth in Ireland.

Failure is written across the whole Irish policy of the queen's reign. The imported Church did not flourish: the English settlers were driven out. The enemies of England—and especially the papal and Spanish enemies—intrigued in Ireland and co-operated in the rebellions that broke out. The land was conquered and laid waste; but no basis had been laid for a new era in Ireland. Perhaps the chief permanent result of the reign in Ireland was this. The Roman Catholic Church became identified with the Irish nation and its independence as it never had been before. The religious movements of the century drew Scotland and England together: they drove Ireland and England asunder. Lord Burleigh thus summed up the English policy in Ireland: "The Flemings had not such cause to rebel against the oppression of the Spaniards as the Irish against the tyranny of England."

VI

The greatest fact about sixteenth-century England has not yet been mentioned. No one could tell the history of Italy in the sixteenth century without mentioning the names of Raphael, Michael Angelo, Titian and Machiavelli; and it is equally absurd in telling the history of England during the century to confine our attention to war, diplomacy and ecclesiastical strife and to make no mention of the great movement of the English mind which bore such glorious flower and fruit from the beginning of the century to far beyond its end. Few phenomena in history are so difficult to account for as these outbursts of intellectual activity, and no attempt will be made here to speculate on the causes of the sudden intellectual maturity of the English genius in the sixteenth century. In painting England produced no native genius to rival the great artists of the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and France. Great painting was done in England, but it was done by foreigners, such as Holbein, not by Englishmen. And England produced no sculptors of note. But in every other department of intellectual activity England claimed an equality with the best that was done elsewhere, and in some departments she took an unquestioned lead. Her theologians were not great founders of systems and movements like Luther, Zwingli and Calvin; but Sir Thomas More, Cranmer, Latimer, and Archbishop Parker were in their different ways religious influences of great importance. Bacon is a great name in pure literature; but a greater in the history of science. His claims to scientific eminence have been disputed and his position is difficult to define. His greatness is perhaps rather that of a pioneer and a prophet than of an actual discoverer; if there is something in him that foretells Darwin and Newton, there is much also, even in his scientific writings, that reminds us that he lived in the age of Shakespeare. This last and greatest name teaches us that poetry was almost as much the characteristic product of sixteenth-century England as painting was of Italy a little earlier. It has been said that the painters of Italy gave to the world a new sense and a

Elizabethan literature.

Bacon.

Shakespeare.

new faculty of enjoyment. The poetical product of Elizabethan England is hardly less novel and assuredly not less important. Poetry is indeed not only the greatest but also the earliest of the arts, and the world would have had great poetry even if Shakespeare and the Elizabethans had never existed. But modern poetry without the influence that gradually streamed on to it from Elizabethan England is almost unthinkable. It gave a new vision of man and nature, a new conception of the rôle of poetry, a new sense of beauty that will never pass from the hoarded treasure of mankind.

Two volumes (v. and vi.) in the *Political History of England*, by H. A. L. Fisher and A. F. Pollard, deal admirably with the Tudor period. Froude's *History of England* gives in ten volumes the history of England from 1529 to 1588. Green's *Short History of the English People* is recommended for this and for all chapters dealing with English history. Hallam's *Constitutional History of England* is very useful. The *Lives* of Wolsey by Creighton, of Henry VIII. by Pollard, and of Queen Elizabeth by Beesly, are interesting and suggestive. Prothero's *Statutes and Constitutional Documents (1558-1625)* is invaluable for further study, as also *The Evolution of Parliament* by A. F. Pollard.

CHAPTER VII

The Thirty Years' War

In 1617 Protestant Germany held a festival to commemorate the challenge which Luther had flung down at the feet of the papacy a century before, which had led to the breaking away of two-thirds of Germany from allegiance to Rome. Since the Peace of Augsburg (1555) the peace of Germany had not been seriously disturbed. Both towns and country districts were flourishing, and the wealth of Germany had wonderfully increased during the past half century. But next year there broke out the Thirty Years' War—the most terrible war perhaps that Europe had ever known, certainly the most terrible since the close of the Middle Ages. England has known nothing that can be compared to it, though Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries passed through something like the same catastrophe.

There was abundance of material long prepared for the great conflagration. The sixty years that had passed since the Peace of Augsburg had profoundly modified the religious situation. The heart seemed to have gone out of Lutheranism. Luther's early teaching had been simple and humane, but since his death Lutheranism had been plunged into bitter theological controversies. The Lutheran creed was defined amidst continual strife. In some of the states which had accepted the new faith a spiritual tyranny was set up greater than what Germany had known before the Reformation.

The decay of Lutheranism.

The control of religious matters had been placed by the Peace of Augsburg in the hands of the rulers of the different states, and in most instances these allowed neither freedom of worship nor freedom of thought. The outlook of Protestantism in Germany would have been hopeless if its fate had depended only on the energies of the Lutherans; but the Calvinist faith had spread widely, and it inspired those who accepted it with greater energy and devotion, while it was neither more obscure nor less humane than its rival. The supporters of the two creeds regarded one another with the bitterest hostility. No co-operation was possible except under pressure of extreme common danger. Saxony and Brandenburg, the most important states of Protestant Germany, remained Lutheran, though the Elector of Brandenburg passed over to the Calvinist camp before long. The chief support of the Calvinist cause (or the "evangelical" church as it was called, while the Lutherans were officially called the "reformed" church) was to be found in Frederick, the Elector of the Palatinate and the son-in-law of James I. of England. He was not a great ruler, but he had energy and enterprise, while the rulers of Saxony and Brandenburg were timid and vacillating.

Growth of Calvinism.

Frederick of the Palatinate.

While the Protestant forces were thus divided and lifeless, a fierce new energy had been infused into the Catholic cause by the Catholic reaction, whose chief forces we have analyzed in a previous chapter. The decisions of the Council of Trent had codified the Catholic faith. The Jesuits spread over the land, preaching and teaching with great ability, and urging on all the Catholic powers of Germany aggressive energy. The chief force among the German princes who sympathized with the Catholic reaction was Maximilian of Bavaria. The Protestants were expelled from his dominions, and many a state which was faltering in its allegiance to Rome was brought back to genuine loyalty. It had seemed for a moment as if Cologne were about to pass over to Protestantism, when the Archbishop had declared himself a Calvinist; but he had been quickly deposed and the movement repressed. So dangerous was the threatening attitude of

Maximilian of Bavaria.

Catholicism that in 1608 the Evangelical Union was formed. The Palatinate was the chief member and was followed by Hesse, Baden, and Wurtemburg; the most prominent of the Lutheran states, Saxony and Brandenburg, stood coldly aloof. In the next year (1609), the Evangelical Union was confronted with the Catholic League. Maximilian of Bavaria was the heart and soul of the new movement; the chief ecclesiastical states joined with him, and the League was supported by the emperor. Both organizations spoke only of defence; but the League was full of hope that Protestantism would be crushed in the land that had given it birth. Here was material enough for a great religious war.

The Evangelical Union, 1608.

The Catholic League.

The political causes of the war are equally clear. The House of Hapsburg had failed in its efforts to make the empire into a real government, and the Peace of Augsburg had given complete evidence of that failure. But the hope was not abandoned. Everywhere (except in England) there seemed a clear tendency towards concentration of power in the hands of the sovereign. The tendency was well marked in the different German states. Why should it fail in the Germanic body as a whole?

Political causes of the war.

The emperors of this period were not men of great ability; the House of Hapsburg had produced few such, and the standard of ability was generally low among the rulers of Germany at this epoch. Rudolf II. succeeded to the Imperial throne in 1576, and reigned until 1612. He had been brought up in Spain, and was a pupil of the Jesuits and an eager supporter of the Catholic reaction. But mental trouble, such as so often threatened the House of Hapsburg, showed itself before the end of the reign, and his brother, Matthias, ruled in effect before he succeeded to the throne. The possessions of the House of Hapsburg were very large, and the emperor was in close alliance with Spain, where another branch of the House of Hapsburg ruled. It seemed quite possible that the emperor might derive such strength from his personal possessions in Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, and elsewhere, and from the support of his Spanish ally, as would allow him to beat

Rudolf II.

Austria and Spain.

down all opposition in Germany, and make of the empire the true government which it had been in the days of Henry IV. and Frederick Barbarossa. They could count on the support of the Catholic League; for the Protestant powers were the chief enemies of the Imperial authority.

Thus the political and religious motives for the war were at first combined; but it will be well to notice here that they did not co-operate throughout, and that their divergence in the end proved fatal to the highest hopes of both. When Germany lay at the emperor's feet in 1629, the Elector of Bavaria, and other Roman Catholic powers felt at once how seriously their cherished independence was threatened, and it was their jealousy which gave the oppressed Protestants their chance of survival.

The outbreak in Bohemia.

There were threatenings of war before the actual outbreak; and the sword was first drawn in Bohemia. That country was mainly Protestant and Lutheran, and the nobles were for the most part supporters of the new faith. The Bohemian monarchy had in the past been regarded as elective, but Matthias had been King of Bohemia as well as emperor, and in 1617 the Bohemians accepted as their future king, Ferdinand of Styria, a zealous Catholic and partisan of the League, whose accession to the Imperial title was already assured. But then there came at once a controversy on religious matters; the Bohemians protested against the demolition of Protestant churches, which had been carried out in spite of an Imperial promise to the contrary. A riot broke out in Prague. The Imperial representatives were thrown from the windows of the Castle (this is the famous "defenestation" of Prague), and thus the signal was given for thirty years of intense suffering in nearly all German lands. The Bohemians looked for support and offered their crown in vain to Lutheran princes. It was accepted at last by Frederick, the Calvinist Elector of the Palatinate. And the war began.

Election of Ferdinand to the throne of Bohemia.

Riot in Prague, 1618.

The prominent features of the war are the great and increasing brutality of the struggle; the interference of foreign powers in a war which chiefly concerned Germany

alone; its long duration; and the indescribable sufferings of the German people. The political condition of Germany largely accounted for these characteristics. The power of the empire was small, but it had prevented the different states from organizing themselves on a national basis. The armies that were engaged were mainly mercenary troops brought together by pay and the prospect of plunder. The Swedish army was the only exception to this, and after the death of the King of Sweden in 1632 even that army was soon indistinguishable in character from any of the others. Thus Germany was in the power of troops who had no interest in the cause for which they were fighting, nor in the welfare of the land. As the interminable war proceeded there grew up a vast body of soldiers who looked to the operations of war and the opportunities of plunder which it provided as their means of livelihood and regarded the non-combatants as game to be hunted down. Further, the German struggle drew the attention of all the powers of Europe, but especially of the neighbours of Germany. Denmark and Sweden joined in for the protection of Protestantism and the protection of their possessions in Germany: France interfered to check the dangerous growth of Austrian power. Had Germany been left to herself the struggle would have soon ended in the victory of Catholicism: foreign powers interfered and saved the Protestant cause, but the intervention plunged Germany into an abyss of ruin that is hardly credible.

Characteristics of the war.

Mercenary soldiers.

Foreign intervention.

The first phase of the war was soon over. Frederick of the Palatine, the new King of Bohemia, found no real support in Germany. The Imperial forces were slowly collected, but then under Tilly they advanced into Bohemia, and in 1620 overwhelmed the forces of Frederick in the Battle of the White Mountain, just outside Prague. In his distress Frederick found no one to help him. His own territories were invaded and he was soon a fugitive on Dutch soil, petitioning his father-in-law, the King of England, in vain for effective means of restoration. A terrible fate fell on Bohemia—a fit prelude to the later horrors of the war. Many of the emperor's opponents were executed:

The war in Bohemia.

huge tracts of land were confiscated and heavy fines exacted: great numbers were driven into exile. Bohemia was plunged into the direst distress, and it is estimated that during the thirty years of the war the population fell from more than four millions to less than one. The emperor's agents acted as a few years later Cromwell was to act in Ireland. The country was converted from a mainly Protestant to a Catholic country.

Soon the Bohemian war lit the flames of a greater struggle. The Imperial troops occupied the Palatinate. Their victorious presence threatened the Protestant states of the north, and the emperor had now to carry out the promises which he had made to the Catholic League. A portion of the territories of Frederick (the upper Palatinate) was transferred to Maximilian of Bavaria who received at the same time the title of Elector. This gave the Roman Catholics in the Diet an increased majority. It was clear that the Protestants must bestir themselves, if they wished to retain anything of their independence and privileges.

The danger of Protestantism.

They found a champion in the King of Denmark, who, as Duke of Holstein, was also a German power. The Protestant armies had a capable leader in Mansfeld, and they were helped by a rising in the far east of the emperor's dominions, where Bethlen Gabor raised an insurrection in Transylvania. But all hopes of a successful Protestant resistance soon disappeared. There rose on the Imperial side a soldier greater even than Tilly. This was Wallenstein, a Bohemian noble, who, by origin a Protestant, had at an early date changed his faith and had transferred his services to the emperor. He was the one great military leader of talent who appeared among the Germans during the war; and he was a Bohemian not a German. He collected an army of the ordinary mercenary type, and, as his capacity was recognized and his liberality to the soldiers was known, his camp became the refuge of the most ambitious and daring of adventurers. The helpless peasantry were pillaged by Wallenstein as remorsely as by the other commanders, but more methodically, and his troops were kept in good order by lavish rewards and cruel punishments. His high powers as organizer and strategist are unquestioned; and his ambition

Intervention of Denmark.

Wallenstein.

was so great that he aimed at last at making himself the ruler of all Germany. His larger and better disciplined forces soon defeated the armies that gathered under Mansfield and the King of Denmark. Mansfeld died. The Danish king was defeated. Nearly all the towns and states of the north-west were in Wallenstein's power. He laid siege to Stralsund in 1628 and swore he would take it "though it were fastened by chains to heaven." But the heroism of the defence and the presence of a Swedish contingent in the garrison saved it. Here was an omen of future change in the balance of parties, but for the present Wallenstein had made the emperor master in Germany as no emperor had been since the beginning of the Reformation.

Edict of Restitution, 1629.

It is probable that this position might have been maintained and that a subtle policy might have found in it the basis of an enduring power. But Catholicism had triumphed as well as Imperialism, and the interests of the two were in conflict. The Catholic League had been the chief support of the emperor in Germany, and Maximilian of Bavaria, its head, was jealous of the power of Wallenstein and eager to see the Church reap its reward. So the emperor issued in 1629 the Edict of Restitution, whereby it was decreed that all ecclesiastical property which had come into lay hands since 1552 must be restored to ecclesiastical authorities. Doubtless the edict had legal warrant. It was but the execution of the Peace of Augsburg, and the Peace of Augsburg had been accepted by both parties. But the edict implied a vast revolution. Two Archbishoprics, twelve Bishoprics, and a great number of monastic establishments would be taken from occupants, who in many instances had had half a century of unchallenged possession. Yet what hope was there? The armies of Wallenstein were irresistible by any German power.

Hostility to Wallenstein.

The first sign of relief for the Protestant cause came in the growing hostility to Wallenstein's personal power among his own allies. Maximilian hated and feared him. The emperor had begun to entertain suspicions of him; he scarcely concealed his dislike of the Edict of Restitution. There was a meeting of the Diet at Ratisbon

in 1630. France sent thither Father Joseph, the trusted instrument of Richelieu. He stimulated the members of the Diet in their dislike of Wallenstein. They demanded of the emperor his dismissal, and he, jealous himself and hoping for other concessions from the Diet, gave the necessary orders. Men wondered whether Wallenstein would obey; but he yielded without resistance and retired to Bohemia. His talents were so great and his successes in the past had been so remarkable that this could not be the end of his career. When he reappeared he would pursue an even more egoistic policy, and show less consideration for the emperor.

Retirement of Wallenstein.

The emperor had lost his greatest general and his army had been decreased at the same time. And just at this moment a new combatant entered the arena. Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden landed in Germany in July, 1630.

Sweden had been united with Norway and Denmark at the beginning of the sixteenth century under the rule of Christian II. Then came rebellion against his rule on religious and political grounds. He was deposed and imprisoned. Norway and Denmark chose for themselves a new king. Sweden fell into the power of Gustavus Vasa, who had led the revolt and established Protestantism. The crown was made hereditary in his family, but the acceptance of the Lutheran confession was made a condition of rule. Gustavus Adolphus had succeeded to the throne in 1611.

Gustavus Adolphus.

He was a most sincere and zealous Protestant, and the cry of despair from his co-religionists in Germany pierced to his heart. But there were other motives beside religious ones which brought him into Germany. Sweden aimed at the control of the Baltic, and saw with alarm the triumph of the Imperial troops on its shores. The royal house of Poland—a Catholic branch of the Vasas—were claimants to the throne of Sweden, and the victory of the Catholic reaction in Germany would vastly increase their chances. Religion, commerce, and the interest of the dynasty led Gustavus to Germany; but in him alone, of the prominent actors of the war, the influence of religion took precedence of other motives. He

Sweden's motives for interference.

led an army different from those which Germany had hitherto known. Sweden was very poor, and the Swedes became later as prominent among the mercenary soldiers of the north as the Swiss had been among those of the south. But in 1630 they were not mercenaries. They formed a national army inspired by national pride and religious zeal, and were held in strict discipline. Gustavus, too, was the great soldier of the age. He made more use of artillery than his predecessors, and constant drill had given to his troops a swiftness of movement which their opponents could not attain to.

The Swedish Army.

There was little to encourage him at his first entry into Germany. The success of the Imperial armies had been so great and the sufferings of their opponents so intense that there was no eagerness to rise. George William, the Elector of Brandenburg, and John George of Saxony, to whom Gustavus naturally looked for assistance, stood vacillating and selfish. Tilly advanced upon the great city of Magdeburg on the Elbe, which was included in the Edict of Restitution but refused to surrender. The co-operation of Saxony and Brandenburg would have allowed Gustavus to save the place. Their refusal was its doom. It fell to the assault of Tilly, and the inhabitants were subjected to pillage and slaughter in a way which sent a thrill of horror through Germany. Both Brandenburg and Saxony now joined, thoroughly alarmed at last by the emperor's threats, and Gustavus, the "Lion of the North" as he came to be called, could take aggressive action.

The fall of Magdeburg.

In September, 1631, he met Tilly at Breitenfeld in the neighbourhood of Leipzic. The greater tactical skill of Gustavus and the nimbler movement of his troops gave him a decisive victory. At a blow the supremacy of the emperor in Germany was wiped out, and Vienna seemed to lie at Gustavus' mercy. But instead of marching on Vienna he preferred to attack the ecclesiastical states on the Danube, the Main, and the Rhine. No effective resistance was made anywhere. Tilly was defeated on the river Lech, and died of his wounds. Bavaria and Munich, the headquarters of the Catholic League, fell into

Battle of Breitenfeld.

the hands of Gustavus. Protestantism, which but yesterday was trembling for its life, seemed now assured of triumph.

Death of Gustavus.

The emperor turned in his despair to Wallenstein. He and he alone seemed capable of meeting the Swedish king. He was already busied with vast and vague schemes, and it was by no means certain that he would come to the emperor's help. But the emperor treated him as an equal, promised him independent power over the armies, and he consented to buckle on his armour once more. The prestige of his name was enough to gather a large army, and he showed himself the equal of Gustavus in strategy. The fighting was first round Nürnberg, where certainly Gustavus won no advantage. Then in November, 1632, at Lützen, near to the battle-field where he had crushed Tilly, Gustavus met his great antagonist. A long and fierce encounter took place under a pall of heavy mist. Wallenstein was beaten and drew his troops off the field ; but it was no real victory for the Protestants, for Gustavus had fallen in the heat of the battle ; and there was no one to take his place as soldier or as statesman.

The schemes of Wallenstein.

So the pendulum soon swung violently back, but first the strange tragedy of Wallenstein's life was played out. The death of Gustavus made Wallenstein much less necessary than he had been before, but at the same time it removed an antagonist who had stood in the way of his schemes. It is impossible to say exactly what was the goal of his ambitions after the battle of Lützen ; but certainly they looked beyond the position of a subject. He turned a deaf ear to the emperor's commands ; he negotiated with France, even with the Swedes. It is quite possible that he thought of displacing the Hapsburgs and ruling Germany in his own right.

Death of Wallenstein.

The emperor Ferdinand had no armed force to set against Wallenstein's army ; but there were officers of his who were willing to serve the emperor's purposes. He entered into a conspiracy against his own general, and in February, 1634, Wallenstein was assassinated by his own officers. Their names were Devereux, Butler, and Gordon, Irish and Scotch adventurers who had sought and found their fortunes in Wallenstein's camp.

Wallenstein's army was now the emperor's. The Swedish army after Gustavus' death soon sank to the level of the others, and spread a wide track of desolation behind it as it marched hither and thither. followed by camp followers more numerous than the combatants, and quite as greedy and cruel. The Protestant army was encountered at Nördlingen in July, 1634, and utterly beaten. The battle was nearly as important as Breitenfeld; for if that battle saved the existence of Protestantism, Nördlingen saved Catholicism from destruction.

Battle of Nördlingen.

There were yet fourteen years of warfare before the tortured land had peace. Again, if Protestantism were to find a helper it must be from beyond the frontiers of Germany. It was from a Roman Catholic Cardinal, from Richelieu the all-powerful minister of the French king, that help came. He had watched the course of the war with close attention; he had contributed to the dismissal of Wallenstein in 1630, and had helped Gustavus with money. He now took the shattered forces of the Protestant league into the pay of France, and under the command of Bernard of Weimar they held their own and gained victories. In 1635, France declared war against Spain, which had all through been the ally of the emperor, and thus became a direct combatant.

Interference of France.

Henceforth, amidst all the confusion, this division of forces may be noted. The Swedes under Torstenson, as a soldier no unworthy successor of Gustavus, were occupied in the east of Germany, and before the end they gained victories which recalled Breitenfeld and Lützen; while the French armies were usually engaged on the Rhine and the Belgian frontier. The French were at first unsuccessful, but soon great soldiers emerged, the impetuous Prince of Condé and Turenne, the great tactician. The diplomacy of Richelieu raised enemies against Spain in her own peninsula, where Catalonia rebelled in 1640. There had been negotiations for peace for a long time past, but each side hoped for a decisive issue, and the armies composed of professional soldiers, many of whom had never known peace, were ready enough to fight on: the suffering country

The end of the war.

Turenne and Condé.

found no voice. The decisive battles turned out to be victories for France. At Rocroi in 1643 the Spanish veteran infantry was broken for the first time by Condé, and the blow was driven home again at Lens. Richelieu died in 1642, but he found an able successor in Mazarin; and it was Mazarin who conducted the negotiations which led to the peace. Ferdinand III., who had succeeded Ferdinand II. in 1637, bowed at last to necessity, and the Peace of Westphalia was, after long negotiations, signed in 1648.

Europe has known no more important Treaty. It may be taken as marking the end of the Reformation era: and Europe still bears the traces of its decisions.

Peace of Westphalia.

Religiously the war ended in a drawn battle. Gustavus, and Richelieu, and Mazarin had saved Protestantism from annihilation, but the work of the Catholic Reaction was not undone. The south and west of Germany remained Catholic; but the north was Protestant, whether in the Lutheran or the Calvinist form. The Edict of Restitution was withdrawn. All ecclesiastical property taken by Protestants before 1624 was to remain in their hands. Calvinism was given the same privileges as Lutheranism, but otherwise the conditions of the Peace of Augsburg were renewed. There was no religious freedom for the individual but only for the State. But slowly the principle of religious liberty developed as a consequence of the Peace. The time for religious coercion was soon to pass away.

The religious struggle drawn.

Imperialism had been far more decisively beaten than Catholicism. It had gained nothing. Germany was more divided than ever. The great states, Brandenburg, Saxony, Bavaria, and some others, were entirely independent. They used phrases of loyalty to the empire; but neither in war nor in foreign policy, neither in administration nor in justice, did they admit of any interference. The extent of the subdivision of Germany is barely credible. There were now reckoned 343 sovereign states, made up of 158 secular states, 123 ecclesiastical and 62 Imperial cities. The Hapsburgs henceforth concentrated their attention on their

The defeat of the Imperial power.

The power of the Hapsburgs.

hereditary dominions, and as in these their non-German subjects far exceeded their German they ceased to be a truly German power. The empire had all but ended; what remained impeded the growth of healthy national life in Germany, but had little other result.

Among the German powers there were some changes of importance. Bavaria kept the upper Palatinate and the Electoral title. The lower Palatinate became an eighth Electorate, and was given to the son of the unfortunate "King of Bohemia," whose ambitions had opened the war. Brandenburg, where Frederick William, soon to be known as the great Elector, had succeeded in 1640, gained Eastern Pomerania and the important city of Magdeburg, which commanded the chief crossing of the Elbe. Switzerland and the United Netherlands were recognized at last as independent of the empire.

Bavaria.

The Palatinate.

Brandenburg.

The claim of France to the three Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun was recognized: and all Alsace (with the exception of Strassburg and certain districts) also became French. In both cases there was some vagueness as to the exact limit of the territories conceded. This ambiguity led to further French aggressions, in the reign of Louis XIV.

France.

Sweden made considerable gains. Western Pomerania remained in her hands as well as the district round the mouth of the Oder with Verden and Bremen and some other towns. The door seemed open for indefinite aggression on her part, and it seemed not impossible that she might establish a permanent dominion in north Germany. But it proved otherwise. Her population was small: her soil poor: and the enterprises of this and the next generation exhausted her resources. It was well for her that her career of conquest was stayed, and her efforts turned towards the peaceful development of her own lands, a task in which she has achieved a wonderful success.

Sweden.

But when we have summarized the results achieved by diplomacy in the Treaty of Westphalia we have by no means finished with the results of the war. The most important

was this, that Germany ceased for half a century to count as an important force in European politics, and quite a century had to pass before she quite recovered from the effects of the war. For thirty years the land had known no settled peace in any part. The country districts were almost deserted. Internal traffic was almost suspended. Serious historians estimate that the population of the whole land decreased by at least two-thirds. The population of Bohemia had fallen to less than a quarter; that of Berlin from 24,000 to 6000. Commerce, education, literature, art, had nearly disappeared. The people seemed brutalized in mind and manners. No high ideals were left in religion or high aims in statesmanship. No other European state, except Ireland, has ever passed through such a purgatory. The effacement of Germany gave France a clear path for her ambition, and accounts for some of the chief features of the Age of Louis XIV.

The exhaustion of Germany.

S. R. Gardiner, *The Thirty Years' War*. C. R. Fletcher, *Gustavus Adolphus*. Schiller, *Thirty Years' War*. Bain's *Scandinavia*. Schiller's tragedies, *Piccolomini* and *Wallenstein*, may be read with profit.

CHAPTER VIII

The Growth of the French Monarchy: Richelieu and Mazarin

THE death of Henry IV. in 1610, seemed to overthrow all the plans that he had formed both for domestic and for foreign affairs. The regency was placed in the hands of his queen, Marie de' Medici. She had not been well treated by her husband, and she entertained ideas on policy wholly different from his. Her aim was to unite the royal family of France with that of Spain, which had hitherto been its most decided antagonist. Opinion in France was opposed to her schemes, and there were rebellious movements among the

Reaction in France.

aristocracy and the Protestants, but she showed more energy than was usual with her, and in 1612 the marriage treaties were signed. Louis XIII., at this time eleven years old, was betrothed to Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III., King of Spain, and the Spanish prince who was afterwards Philip IV., was at the same time betrothed to Elizabeth of France. There followed in French history a period of great confusion, which we must not attempt to disentangle. A meeting of the States-General was summoned in 1614, but no definite result came of it, and it is chiefly remembered in history because it is the last of these gatherings of the representatives of the kingdom which we meet with, until the States-General were called again in 1789 to usher in the great Revolution.

Confusion.

We reach a decisive and epoch-making event when, in 1624, Cardinal Richelieu entered the councils of the king. His first appearance in public life was as an advisor of the queen, and there had not been anything hitherto in his career to show the great destinies that awaited him. But from 1624, until his death in 1642, he was the most notable and influential figure in European history.

Cardinal Richelieu.

He was a bishop, a cardinal, and a devout Catholic; yet there was no statesman in Europe who was more disliked at Rome than he was. "Pope of the Huguenots," and "Patriarch of Atheists" were nicknames which were given to him. His position was, indeed, a curious one. A Catholic and the minister of a Catholic king, he was nevertheless found constantly in league with the Protestant powers of Europe, and at a moment when the Pope and the Emperor saw a good chance of overwhelming Protestantism in Germany—its first home, and the country which had given birth to Luther—it was Richelieu who crossed their path and saved the existence of Protestantism. His position is explained by the fact that the theological controversies of the Reformation period were no longer as influential as they had been, and that now political, national, and dynastic interests were taking precedence of religious motives. Richelieu worked for two objects, which in his eyes were two phases of the same object. He desired to establish the authority of the King of France in absolute supremacy within the borders

Position and policy of Richelieu.

of the country, and to do this he would beat down all rival authorities, nobles, Protestants, Parlements, provincial assemblies; and he desired, at the same time, to make France supreme in Europe, and with that end in view to overthrow the allied powers of Austria and of Spain. He was a man of poor physique and of weak health, yet so great was his strength of will, and so thorough his understanding of the political and domestic situation in France and in Europe, that he dominated a period which seemed to be ruled by physical force. He was one of the greatest statesmen, and probably the greatest diplomatist, that France has known.

His domestic and his foreign policy are closely united throughout. But for purposes of clearness it will be well to separate the two, and we will begin with his domestic policy.

Domestic policy of Richelieu.

The Protestants were the first enemy that attracted his attention. He seems to have had little or no hostility to their faith, and there was no statesman in Europe who was more ready to accept toleration of different creeds as the basis of the life of the state. But the powers which had been given to the Protestants by the Edict of Nantes made them an obstacle to that unity under the monarchy which he had set before him as his aim. The Huguenots had a right to hold synods which were almost parliaments, and their control of the garrisons of certain towns made them a military power independent of the king. There was more than one war before the end came, but in 1627 he proceeded to attack the great harbour and fortress of La Rochelle, which was the chief stronghold of Protestantism in France. The Huguenots had taken up arms largely in reliance upon assistance from England; and they had hoped, too, that Richelieu would be attacked by the nobles, who saw in him the most determined enemy of the claims of their order. Richelieu, Cardinal though he was, superintended the siege, which was one of the most notable in the whole history of France. The English assistance was beaten off; aristocratic plots were unravelled, and defeated; and, although the Huguenots defended their city with unsurpassed heroism, starvation at last did its work upon them, and the city fell into the hands of Richelieu and the king. Only a

Siege of La Rochelle.

few more places still held out after this, and in August, 1629, all was over. Richelieu made a new treaty with the Huguenots, the Peace of Alais, by which he renewed to them all the promises of religious liberty contained in the Edict of Nantes, but he took from them their special military standing, and advised them for the future to trust to the honour and the word of the king. He was himself undoubtedly sincere in the promises that he gave, but in less than seventy years the Protestants were to find how weak a defence was the royal honour when undermined by the subtle influence of religious bigotry.

Peace of Alais.

The Protestants of France had looked to the nobles for assistance in resisting their common enemy, the Crown; and Richelieu, during the whole of his public life, waged incessant war against the pretensions and powers of the great nobles. The days of feudalism were over, and there was no noble who could any longer deal with the Government upon a footing of equality. But the nobles were still rich, powerful, and warlike, and full of a strong sense of the claims and privileges of their order. In spite of all the blows that they had received, they remained the most serious rival of the royal authority in France.

Richelieu and the nobility.

The strangest feature of the situation during Richelieu's administration was, that while he was upholding the authority of the Crown against the power of the nobles, the nobles found a constant ally in the members of the royal family. There was some part even of the king's nature which sympathized with them and with their aspirations. The queen gave them assistance, or at least opposed their great antagonist. The Queen Mother, Marie de' Medici, and the king's brother, Gaston of Orleans, were constantly conspiring with them for the overthrow of the Cardinal, though he was the king's chief minister and the main upholder of the royal power. Richelieu's life was passed in an endless series of plots and intrigues, which have provided material for many romances and dramas, and were a serious obstacle to the realization of his plans. He seemed often on the point of overthrow, but triumphed in the end. The Queen Mother was driven as an exile into England and into Belgium.

The plots against Richelieu.

Gaston of Orleans was defeated and pardoned again and again, and at last relapsed into sulky acquiescence in Richelieu's *régime*. Against the nobles he acted with less scruple than against princes of the blood. When in 1632 the Duke of Montmorency joined with Gaston and the Duke of Lorraine, he paid the penalty of rebellion with his life. In 1641 the Comte de Soissons was killed in an insurrection which he headed, and thus escaped the scaffold with which Richelieu menaced him. At the very end of his life Richelieu found Cinq Mars, a favourite of the king, plotting against him and intriguing with Spain. Neither his high rank nor the king's favour saved him from the scaffold to which Richelieu destined the king's chief enemies. But it was not only by battle and the headsman's axe that Richelieu struck down the opposition of the nobles: more subtle and permanent methods were also used. He forbade, under heavy penalties, the practice of duelling, which may be regarded as the last remnant of private warfare. The castles which were scattered over France, from which the great nobles had dominated and terrorized the country, were in many instances blown up with gunpowder. More seriously still, the authority of the nobles in the provinces was destroyed by the development of a new type of officials. As governors of the provinces the nobles had hitherto exercised great power, and had found sometimes in this office the means of resisting the king. But Richelieu now chose, as the chief agents of the Crown in all the provinces, men usually of middle class origin, who bore the title of Superintendants of Police and Finance. They are usually known as Intendants. The nobles still remained in many instances in nominal possession of the provincial governments, but they found that the reality of power rested with these men, who were supported by the whole force of the central government, and in whose hands lay the raising of troops and of taxes and the administration of law. From this time to the Revolution the Intendants remained, next to the king's ministers, the most important officials in France. They exercised within their districts an authority almost absolute, and were sometimes called the "provincial kings" of France. But their authority never encroached on

The plot of Cinq Mars.

Intendants.

that of the Crown; and their chief function was to support and develop the royal power.

Richelieu's aims excluded all idea of representative government. He had himself been a member of the States-General of 1614, but he always refused to summon a body of whose hostility to the ideas of his system he was well assured. Nor were the Parlements of France more favoured than the States-General. They remained important judicial corporations: they were not allowed to extend their function to interference in legislation or policy. The representative bodies in the provinces—the so-called "provincial estates"—also incurred his enmity. Where an excuse had been furnished by insurrection or dangerous discontent they were entirely destroyed, and the direct government of royal officials (*élus*) was substituted for them. But even where provincial estates were still allowed to subsist, they were treated with severity, and a great portion of their power passed to the royal officials. The only body which Richelieu ever willingly called into his counsels was an assembly of the great men of the realm who were chosen and invited by the king. They were known as the "Notables"; their function was to offer advice, which it was at the king's choice to accept or reject. They could not in any way, therefore, encroach on the royal authority; and this doubtless explains Richelieu's favour.

Attack on representative government.

The Provinces.

The Notables.

The machinery of the monarchy was organized and developed by him. It was from the council of the king that all authority proceeded; and the council was organized and divided into separate bodies dealing with special tasks. It was this carefully organized council which governed France throughout the coming age of Louis XIV., and controlled the fortunes of the country until the great Revolution overturned all.

The king's council.

But it was upon foreign, not upon domestic, policy that Richelieu's eyes were most constantly fixed, and his influence upon the great contest of the Thirty Years' War and the international relations of Europe generally was decisive. It may be questioned whether any other diplomatist, until the time of Bismarck, has ever

Richelieu as diplomatist.

exercised so far-reaching a power. The story of his diplomacy is intricate, and in its details most interesting; but here the results must be summarized in the shortest possible fashion.

He aimed at the defeat of the joint Hapsburg power of Austria and Spain, in which he saw the true rival of France, and the only impediment to the dominion of France in Europe. In order to make communication between Spain and Austria difficult, he secured the occupation by a hostile power of the Valtelline Pass, which led through the Alps from Milan into Austrian territory, and which was constantly used for the passage of the Spanish troops. He watched the struggle in Germany with the most anxious care, and on several occasions influenced it in moments of crisis. Gustavus Adolphus, as we have seen, relied largely upon French support, when he invaded Germany for the defence of the Protestant cause, and Richelieu made with him in 1630, a treaty by which the Swiss army was practically taken into French pay. He called the Swedish power "a poison useful as an antidote, but fatal if taken in excess," and the death of Gustavus at the Battle of Lützen was not altogether unwelcome to him. When the Protestants had suffered the disaster of Nördlingen, it was to Catholic France alone that they could look for effective support, and from this time onward the hand of France—which was the hand of Richelieu—was ever more clearly discernible in the closing scenes of the contest. Bernard of Weimar and his army were throughout in French pay, and upon Bernard's death his army was taken directly into the service of France. The closing scenes of the war were mainly occupied in a struggle between France and Spain upon the northern and eastern frontiers of France, while her Swedish allies pressed the Austrians in the east. The armies of France were not at first successful, but the diplomacy of Richelieu raised up enemies to Spain in her own peninsula. Portugal, which had been united with Spain, by the armies of Philip II., revolted in 1640, and the province of Catalonia broke into an insurrection which lasted for many years. The contest was not decided, but the balance was turning clearly to the side of France when Richelieu died in December of 1642. Louis XIII., the master whom he had

The Valtelline Pass.

Treaty with Gustavus Adolphus.

Death of Richelieu.

served so faithfully, died in the following May, and a new era seemed to open for France and for Europe.

Yet the change at first was not so great as had been anticipated. Richelieu had been assisted during the latter part of his life by Mazarin; and it was Mazarin whom he recommended as his successor. The new minister was of Italian origin, who never spoke perfectly the French language or understood the French character. He had none of Richelieu's decisive vigour in dealing with domestic affairs, but in foreign policy he proved himself a worthy successor of Richelieu, whose ideas he carried on in the same spirit to a complete success. Louis XIV. was a child less than five years old, and a long regency was clearly in prospect. The Queen Mother, Anne of Austria, held the position of regent without question, and she supported Mazarin continuously and unhesitatingly. It is believed by many that Mazarin, who, though a Cardinal, had not taken full orders, was actually though secretly married to her. His attention was at first occupied by the foreign war. Here the armies of France, after some early checks, were now winning great glory. Two great soldiers had appeared upon the French side: the Duke of Condé, a prince of the blood royal, and the Marquis of Turenne. Condé was the more daring and adventurous of the two, and attracted at first the greater attention in France. But Turenne was one of the ablest strategists and one of the most humane soldiers that Europe has known, and he unquestionably achieved greater triumphs, and certainly served France more faithfully than his brilliant colleague and rival. In 1643 Condé won the battle of Rocroi upon the Belgian frontier; a battle famous as being the first occasion since the days of Charles V., on which the genuine infantry of Spain had received a decisive defeat. Shortly after this, negotiations for peace were begun, but they were conducted slowly and indecisively, for Austria was unwilling to make the necessary concessions. But in 1648 another victory won by Condé in the same region, at Lens, brought the necessary pressure to bear, and the peace of Westphalia was concluded in the next year. We have seen its terms in the preceding chapter, and we have

Mazarin.

Condé and Turenne.

Battle of Rocroi.

Lens.

noted how it brought to France great increase of prestige, great gains in territory, and the promise of more.

The Peace of Westphalia was Mazarin's greatest triumph; but it did not succeed in winning to his side the support of French opinion. Rather, as soon as the greater part of the burden of the war had passed away (though it must be noted that the war with Spain still continued, and was not brought to an end for another eleven years), the various elements of discontent in France raised their heads in a last effort to resist the royal authority. The financial burdens that the war had entailed were very great—though France had suffered nothing approaching to the miseries of Germany—and there was a demand for the abolition of the heavy burden of taxation. The nobles, too, hoped that, though they had failed in their efforts against Richelieu, they might succeed against his weaker successor in winning for themselves a freer and more influential position in the State.

Rise of opposition to Mazarin.

We come, then, to one of the most puzzling episodes in French history, which is generally called the "Fronde." The word was a mere party nickname, and the movement was a general uprising against royal authority in France, springing from diverse and even opposite causes, and failing because of that diversity. It had two chief roots. It began with the action of the Parlement of Paris, which protested against taxes and demanded reform; and it led up to a general movement of aristocratic resistance, the chief part in which was played by the impetuous Prince of Condé.

The wars of the Fronde.

The Parlement of Paris was not well suited to play the part of constitutional reformer. It was a body whose chief—and usually whose only—function was to act as a Court of Justice. Its members held their positions by virtue of purchase and heredity, and were subject neither to popular election nor to royal appointment. It touched legislation and government on one point only: it had the right of registering the edicts of the king, which had not the force of laws until they were found upon the register of Parlement. It was never decided whether it could refuse registration,

Parlement of Paris.

though it was admitted that it could make a representation to the government if it wished to take objection to any points in the proposed laws. It used now this doubtful power and refused to register the edicts of finance which were sent down to it in 1648. Then, availing itself of the discontent which was felt with the financial administration both in Paris and in the country at large, it determined upon a bolder step. It drew near to other courts, which, like itself, had emanated from the royal council, such as the Chamber of Accounts, the Chamber of Customs, and the Grand Council, and in common session with them it demanded, in a spirit not wholly unlike that of the contemporary English Parliament, the reduction of taxes, the abolition of imprisonment by royal warrant without trial, and the removal of the Intendants who, as we have seen, had superseded royal authority in the provinces. The government hesitated at first, but was encouraged by the news of the battle of Lens to strike at its parliamentary opponents. The leaders of Parlement were seized, and a bitter contest seemed in store. But then for a moment the Crown gave way. The example of England had been a potent influence throughout, and the news of the execution of King Charles I. alarmed the court as to the consequences of resistance. But though Mazarin yielded for a moment, it was only to strike harder afterwards. The royal forces were gathered and entrusted to the command of Condé. Paris was loosely blockaded. It was already seen that there could be no real co-operation between the lawyers of the Parlement and the nobles who had been gratified by the attack on Intendants, and in 1649 peace was made. The government promised concessions in matters of finance, and the Parlement dropped the *rôle* of popular champion which it had for a moment held.

Refusal to register the king's edicts.

Demands of Parlement.

End of the first Fronde.

So ended what is known as the first Fronde, but it was soon followed by the second, a movement in which, indeed, there is very little in common with the first. The second had no constitutional aims, and was in no sense the champion of popular rights. It was a last rally of discontented aristocrats, and all turned upon the

The second Fronde.

action and ambition of the Prince of Condé. In January, 1650, Mazarin, who saw in him a dangerous spirit and a rival to the authority of the Crown, arrested him and certain other nobles. There was loud indignation, and even Turenne, usually so loyal a nature, was drawn over to the side of the nobles by the influence of Condé's sister. Paris joined with the rebels, and demanded the liberation of the prince and the banishment of Mazarin. The astute minister bowed for a moment to the storm, liberated Condé, and retired beyond the frontier. But his defeat was only apparent, and from his retirement he directed the action of the Queen Mother and of the government, as much as when he was in Paris.

Arrest of Condé.

A struggle of indescribable confusion followed. It has been recounted for us in many memoires, such as those of Cardinal de Retz and Madame de Longueville, who have painted for us, with great brilliancy, the details of the duels and the battles and the intrigues of the time. But the struggle was in truth a somewhat sordid one; and personal ambition was at the root of it all. Turenne was won back to the royal side, and he soon gave to the royal troops ascendancy over their opponents. Condé was defeated in 1652, outside the gates of Paris, and narrowly escaped capture. He soon afterwards withdrew from France, and joined the Spaniards, against whom he had in the past fought so brilliantly. Paris soon made her peace with the Crown; Mazarin returned; the Parlement was forbidden to interfere in public affairs; the Intendants were restored, and the system of Richelieu returned in its entirety. What remained was the war with Spain; and on both sides there was great financial exhaustion, great eagerness for peace, but unwillingness to make the sacrifices that would be necessary for peace. The war has been described as a race between tired horses; and though the French gained the advantage in most encounters, it seemed impossible to give to Spain the decisive blow. In 1657 a strange diplomatic step brought triumph at last to France. The career of Oliver Cromwell had attracted the attention of all Europe, and it was seen that England possessed in him and

Decisive influence of Turenne.

War with Spain.

his Ironsides a military force of the most efficient kind. The monarchs of both Spain and France regarded him with intense dislike as a republican and a regicide, and the Crown of France was closely united with the royal house of England, for the widowed queen of Charles I. was the sister of Louis XIII. But the military necessities of both countries were so great that they sued for the alliance of the detested English Protector. He hesitated long as to the course which he should pursue, but he had already cast his eyes upon the colonies of Spain, and he made at last an alliance with Cardinal Mazarin. A body of troops came over under the command of Lockhart, and in June, 1658, there was fought, not far from Dunkirk, the battle of the Dunes. Condé commanded the Spanish forces, and Turenne and Lockhart fought side by side against them. The result was an overwhelming victory for Mazarin and his ally. The English received Dunkirk as part of the payment for their help, and serious negotiations were at once begun. They resulted in November, 1659, in the important Peace of the Pyrenees, which is a complement to the Peace of Westphalia, and which may be taken as bringing to the very end the struggle of the Thirty Years' War. France gained territory in the north and in the south: Artois in the north, and Roussillon on the Pyrenean frontier. More important than these rather insignificant territorial gains was the vast prestige which France enjoyed as the power which had at first forced Germany to peace, and now dictated her will to Spain. Condé was pardoned, and allowed to return to France, which he henceforth loyally served. It was hoped also that the treaty might inaugurate a period of friendship and alliance between the two bitter and age-long rivals. A marriage was negotiated between Louis XIV. and the Spanish princess, Maria Teresa. In the marriage contract Louis XIV. definitely renounced all claims which might come to him through his wife to Spanish territory or to the Spanish Crown. But this renunciation was made conditional upon the payment of a large sum as dowry; and Spain never found herself in a position to pay. Louis XIV., therefore, regarded himself as free, and the Spanish claims,

Alliance of France with Cromwell.

Battle of the Dunes.

Peace of the Pyrenees.

which he made in his wife's name, cover a large portion of his reign.

The treaty was a great triumph for Mazarin, but he lived only a short time longer. He had amassed enormous wealth, which he had used for the accumulation of an immense library and for the encouragement of the fine arts. Before his death it was already plain that the young king was beginning to desire a more influential part in the direction of the policy of France than his great minister had hitherto allowed him. The passing away of Mazarin opened, as we shall see, a well-marked epoch for France and for Europe.

Death of Mazarin (1661).

In addition to the ordinary histories of France Hassall's *Louis XIV.* and *Mazarin*, and Lodge's *Richelieu. France under Richelieu and Colbert*, by J. H. Bridges. Hanotaux's *Richelieu* is a fragment, but the first volume is an excellent sketch of the condition of France in the first half of the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER IX

The Age of Louis XIV

For some time past France had been ruled nominally by the kings, but really through the agency of first ministers; and upon the death of Mazarin it was assumed that he would have a successor. But the young king, Louis XIV., was determined to take the government into his own hands, and to the surprise of his court announced that he would be his own first minister. He persisted in this resolution, and through the whole of his reign—the longest in the annals of Europe—he was himself the chief guiding force in the policy of France, both domestic and foreign.

Louis XIV., who was only five years old when he ascended the throne, had hitherto had no chance to show his talents. His character and abilities have been variously judged, but he showed, during the long period during which he directed the destinies of France, while France was the most powerful state in Europe,

Character of Louis XIV.

great knowledge of the European situation and great diplomatic skill. He was not a great soldier, and took no prominent part in any campaign, but he was specially interested in the art of sieges, and was himself present on more than one occasion when great fortresses surrendered to the arms of France. But it is not as soldier, nor exactly as statesman, that he occupies his great place in the history of Europe: he is the great example of modern monarchy in its highest and most splendid form. He had great grace and dignity of bearing, and a handsome face and figure, and he was in every way, so far as manners were concerned, a worthy representative of the most splendid, if not of the most powerful, monarchy that Europe has ever known. He gathered round him a magnificent and an expensive court; his reign was made illustrious by architecture, painting, and the great development of literature; and nearly all European monarchs looked to him as the model of what a king should be, and regarded France as the best example of how a country should be governed.

Apparent decline of free institutions in Europe.

Parliamentary and representative institutions seemed on the decline nearly everywhere. They were strongest in England; but when Charles II. was restored to his throne in 1660 they were subjected to a severe and insidious attack even there. No one at that time could have prophesied that some form of representative institutions would triumph in every country of the civilized world. The future seemed to be with unlimited monarchy.

The king and the middle class.

The king himself, as we have said, was the centre of government. The Parlements were coerced; the States-General were not called into being; provincial and municipal institutions were everywhere brought under the control of the king's government. The real machinery of government was to be found in the king's council, and in the smaller councils which emanated from it, dealing with the various departments of the state. These councils were composed for the most [illegible] not of the high aristocracy, but of men of the middle cl[illegible] This was a definite part of the king's policy. "I w[illegible] before all things, to let the public know," [illegible] th[illegible] rank from

which I chose my ministers that I had no intention of sharing power with them." It was in the king's council that all the great decisions of the reign were taken. The carrying out of those decisions was entrusted to the various agents of the Crown, and especially to the Intendants, of whom we spoke in the last chapter.

It was an era of great brilliance for France which produced men of the highest eminence in almost every department of life. A great part of the splendour of the reign is reflected from the great men of letters, who were many of them admitted to the society of the king himself. The three greatest names in the history of the French drama—Corneille, Racine, and Molière—all belong to this reign, though the first had done his most important work before Louis XIV. actually began to reign. The king was on terms of personal friendship with Molière, the great comedian, and supported him against the attacks of courtiers and of priests. The drama of the time, and especially the comedies of Molière, give us an attractive idea of the tone and intelligence of the court, which could enjoy plays of such high excellence. But every department of literature was represented by great names; philosophy by Descartes and Pascal; theology by Bossuet and Fenelon. A special feature of the reign is the number of memoirs that were produced during the course of it. The greatest of these is a book which was written, but not given to the world at the time, the Memoirs of Saint Simon. Its author was a man bitterly opposed to the royal absolutism, and a strong partisan of the pretensions and privileges of the aristocracy. He committed to his pages all the stories and the scandal of the time, especially those which reflected discredit upon the king and his court. They have to be received in many instances with great suspicion; but enough remains to show that the court of Louis XIV. had a side that was neither honest, moral, nor distinguished by good taste.

Artistic brilliance of the reign.

Molière.

Saint Simon.

In the sphere of active life the king was admirably served. He inherited great generals from the era that was just passed. Condé and Turenne were at the very height of their powers,

and Western Europe had no generals whose skill could be put in comparison with theirs. Along with them must be mentioned Vauban, the famous engineer, whose military services were as great as those of the two men already mentioned, and who also showed himself, before the end of the reign, an ardent and courageous patriot by resisting the fatal policy of the king himself. As valuable to the king as these men who commanded armies and conducted the operations of war, was his war minister, Louvois, a man of fierce and overbearing temper, whose influence on the reign was in many respects for evil, but who had no equal in Europe for equipping troops and doing all that falls to the duty of a minister of war.

Condé, Turenne, Vauban.

Louvois.

When Louis XIV. came to the throne France was almost at the height of her prestige. There was no country in Europe which alone could vie with her, and she was able to resist with success even large alliances; but her finances were in a confused and lamentable condition. The finance minister, Fouquet, had been skillful in finding means during the late war, but he was believed to have made his enormous fortune by dishonest means. His position was so strong, and his supporters so many, that it was difficult to overthrow him. The king had to intrigue against his own minister. Yet in the end Fouquet was overthrown and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the management of the finances was entrusted to Colbert. His is one of the very greatest names of the reign, and France never had a more capable or a more devoted minister. He had been the subordinate of Mazarin, who had recommended him as his successor. He was of middle-class origin, and without striking presence or social ambitions. He flung himself into the task of setting in order the finances of France with an energy which nothing could subdue. It was said of him that the only rest that he ever took was change of work; and before his day was over he had placed the finances of France on a far more favourable footing. His work was so important that it must be briefly summarized. He turned, in the first place, to the collection and management of the taxes. Here he introduced no radical

The supremacy of France.

Colbert.

reforms in principle. He was content with the same taxes, or nearly so, and he collected them much in the same way as formerly; but by rigid supervision, and by relentless punishment of those servants of the State who made dishonest gains, he reduced very greatly the burden which pressed upon the country, while at the same time the income from the taxation was much greater than it had been in previous years. But he was not content merely with a more rigid supervision of the machinery of taxation; he desired also to find for France new sources of wealth. France, up to the present time, was not an industrial State, and she imported manufactured articles from all the neighbouring countries. Colbert was determined to alter all this. He induced workmen to come from England, from Holland, and from Italy to teach the methods of stocking-making, weaving, lace-making, and glass-making; and then when these industries had thus been founded in France, he excluded the competition of foreign-made articles by a high protective tariff; and at the same time supervised the methods of production by his agents. It is this part of his work which is best known, and which has made the word "Colbertism" in some countries a synonym for "protection." Some of the industries thus established languished before long, but others became a permanent source of wealth for France. He stimulated at the same time trade and commerce. The overseas trade of Europe was at this time chiefly in the hands of England and of Holland, and by them was carried on through the agency of chartered companies. Colbert was determined to see whether the same methods might not produce the same results for France. Companies were founded to trade in the Baltic, the Mediterranean, the Indian Seas, and with America, and here, too, though few of these companies were destined to a long life, it is unquestionable that the volume of the commerce of France immensely increased during his administration. This was not all. Better roads were made, canals were built, the building of ships was pushed on at a great pace, and it seemed as though France were about to enter on a career in which, like England, she would

Supervision of taxation.

Industry encouraged and protected.

Trading companies.

Navy.

pursue industrial and commercial objects as her main aim. Colbert also eagerly urged the building of a navy which might hold its own with that of England or of Holland.

The wars of Louis XIV.

There was much in Louis XIV.'s early reign which was calculated to win popularity. He administered justice with an even hand, and showed that no nobleman was exempt from the punishments which the law prescribed; and there was no question that by the majority of the people of France his rule was regarded with genuine approval and enthusiasm. But the pacific period of his reign lasted only a short time, and soon he plunged into that series of wars which, though they were at first successful, provoked against him a constantly increasing body of European allies, until at last, under the strain of the resistance of Europe, the resources of France were exhausted, and the glories of the age of Louis XIV. ended in unpopularity and disaster.

The War of Devolution.

The first of these wars is the so-called War of Devolution, or the War of the Queen. We have seen how, when Louis XIV. married the Spanish princess, Maria Theresa, he had promised that he would not claim either the crown of Spain or any portion of Spanish territory as belonging to his wife. But when, in 1665, the Spanish King, Philip IV., died, Louis XIV. at once claimed for his wife a portion of the Spanish Netherlands. He maintained that as the dowry which was stipulated for in the Peace of the Pyrenees had never been paid him, his promise was void. He declared, too, that the law of inheritance in the Netherlands was a peculiar one, and that the lands descended to a daughter by a first marriage rather than to a son by a second one: and that his wife took precedence, therefore, for those lands, over her half-brother, Charles II., King of Spain. These claims were, of course, refused, and war came at once. The Spaniards were utterly incapable of resisting the army of France, splendidly equipped and led, and it seemed that very shortly the whole of the Spanish Netherlands would be overrun and, perhaps, annexed to the French crown. Then there came a sudden change. The aggressions of France had aroused, as they always aroused, the fear and jealousy of Europe; and England,

The Triple Alliance.

EUROPE in 1715
after the Treaties of
Utrecht & Rastadt
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
Boundary of the Empire
Piedmont (House of Savoy)
Habsburg dominions
Prussia
Hanover (House of Brunswick)
Bavaria and the Palatinate
Venice
North Sea
Edinburgh
Dublin
Baltic Sea
SWEDEN
RUSSIA
St. Petersburg
POLAND
Warsaw
Thorn
Vistula
Lubeck
Berlin
Frankfort
Dettingen
Worms
Rastadt
Blenheim
UNITED PROVINCES
Amsterdam
Ryswick
la Hogue
Ushant
Brest
Bordeaux
Bayonne
Douro
Ebro
Madrid
Brihuega
Tagus
Guadiana
Seville
Almanza
Carthagena
Gibraltar (British)
CATALONIA
Barcelona
Minorca (British)
Corsica (to Genoa) (to France 1769)
Toulon
Genoa
Lucca
TUSCANY
Rome
Naples
SARDINIA (Austrian 1769 exchanged for Sicily 1718)
SICILY
MARINO
Adriatic Sea
Ionian Islands
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
Danube
SERVIA
MONTENEGRO
Black Sea
Constantinople
EMPIRE
The Partition of POLAND
COURLAND
Memel
Danzig
Konigsberg
LITHUANIA
BLACK
Cracow
VOLHYNIA
RUSSIA
Kiev
1772 1793 1795
To Prussia
To Russia
To Austria

Holland, and Sweden joined together to resist Louis XIV.'s further advance. A war of wider scope seemed inevitable, but to the surprise of all men, Louis XIV. yielded. A certain advance of the northern frontier of France was gained, but most of her conquests were handed back to Spain (1668).

After this France had peace for some years. Then in 1672 there came a much more serious war with Holland. The causes are easily found. The Dutch were the great commercial rivals of the French, and Colbert, who was usually pacific in his policy, welcomed a war which might sweep away a rival and an obstacle to the development of French trade. Moreover, Holland offered an example of a republic which was distasteful to the absolutism of the French king. It was the asylum, too, of exiles from France for religious or political reasons; and books attacking the character and policy of the French king had recently been published there. Nor could Louis XIV. overlook the part which had been played by Holland in the formation of the Triple Alliance of 1667. For many reasons, then, the small but prosperous and progressive State of Holland seemed a barrier in the path of the great monarch. The war was prepared for by Louis XIV.'s usual skilful diplomacy. By the secret treaty of Dover the English king had promised to take, when called upon, the side of Louis XIV. Sweden was also bought over, and thus, when war was declared in 1672, the Dutch found themselves without allies, and utterly unable to resist the attack of France. The French army passed the Rhine, captured towns and fortresses, and drew near to Amsterdam. In vain the Dutch humiliated themselves before the French; Louis would accept no terms short of a complete surrender; and it seemed that that surrender could not be far off. But then there came a great change. A revolution in Holland brought into power William of Orange, the great-grandson of that William the Silent, who, just a century before, had rendered such wonderful services to the Protestant Dutch. Military and diplomatic authority of an almost absolute kind was thrust into his hands, and he was called upon to save the State as his great-grandfather

War with the Dutch.

Secret Treaty of Dover.

Ruin and recovery of Holland.

had saved it under even harder conditions. William of Orange, later to be known as William III., King of England, was equal to the task. He was no great soldier, but he was one of the most skilful diplomatists that Europe has ever known. First the dykes were cut and the waters of the sea were let in upon the fertile plains of Holland, and then by skilful negotiations he called into existence an alliance against France. Spain joined hands with the Dutch, her old enemies; Brandenburg, though usually friendly to France, joined the alliance. The empire declared itself ready to resist the aggressions of France, and at last the English people forced upon their king a policy the exact opposite of what he had promised to Louis XIV. England withdrew from the attack upon Holland, and was soon found co-operating with her against the French. In the war which followed—no details of which can here be given—the French armies fully maintained their superiority over all others in Europe. And when, in 1678, the Peace of Nimeguen was made, France claimed considerable advantages. Certain further concessions of territory were made upon her northern frontier, but most important of all, the district of Franche-Comté, upon her eastern frontier, was ceded to her by Spain. She had not won all that she had desired, but her conquests were considerable and her prestige unabated.

Great Alliance against France.

The gains which she had made in the war, however, were soon eclipsed by further territorial gains made in time of peace. These are the famous "Reunions," and to understand them we must go back to the Peace of Westphalia. By that peace, certain districts in Alsace and Lorraine had been ceded to France "with the rights and territories belonging to them." There was some obscurity as to what these "rights" were, and now, in a moment of profound peace, when Europe was exhausted, weary of war, and anxious for repose, Louis determined to institute a one-sided inquiry into the meaning of these phrases. He established a court before which he brought his own claims, and he was thus himself both judge and plaintiff. By a procedure which only had the thinnest appearance of legality, great districts in Alsace were adjudged to him, including the thoroughly

The Reunions.

German city of Strassburg. By a procedure equally unjust he gained also Luxemburg upon the north, and beyond the Alps Casale in Italy. These were places important in themselves; doubly important as opening the possibility of further invasion. Germany was indignant alike with the acquisitions and the procedure, and a German Diet was called at Ratisbon in 1684 to consider them. But the diet only brought into higher relief the pre-eminence which France had acquired in Europe. Louis despatched to the assembly an ultimatum demanding the cession of all that he had won for a term of twenty years on pain of the instant declaration of war. The assembly hesitated, feeling its honour compromised, but in the end it obeyed. This year, 1684, and the triumph thus insolently won at the Diet of Ratisbon, may be taken as marking the very zenith of the power of Louis XIV.

Annexation of Strasburg, Casale and Luxemburg.

From this time forward, however, the power of France changed only to diminish, and soon after Louis entered upon another series of wars in which at first victory only came after a desperate struggle, and by and by came not at all, but was replaced by defeat. The latter half of the great monarch's reign bears thus a very different character from its triumphant opening, and we must try to understand the causes of this change. It will be well, in the first place, to glance at the religious history of the reign. The king's early life was full of licence, and his religion exercised little influence upon his conduct. He was determined to be master in France not only in matters political, but in matters religious as well; and he asserted with success the power of the Crown against all religious authorities. Thus, in 1682, as a result of a quarrel with the Pope, he issued a declaration of what are known as Gallican Liberties, that is to say, the special rights of that part of the Roman Catholic Church that was to be found in France. In this famous declaration it was laid down that the authority of the Pope was limited to spiritual matters, that the royal authority was in no way dependent upon the papacy, and that the Popes had no right to depose kings or to turn subjects from their duty of obedience.

Religious history of the reign.

Declaration of Gallican Liberties.

In another part of the declaration, the Pope's authority over the Church was declared to be only final when ratified by a Council. The Pope protested, but in vain, and Louis XIV. carried the matter through with a high hand.

But if in this matter he seemed to be acting in opposition to the Pope, in the remainder of his religious policy, he upheld the rule of religious orthodoxy against all who opposed it in France. A religious movement had arisen within the limits of the Catholic Church which is known as Jansenism, from Jansen the Bishop of Ypres, from whose writings its chief representatives drew their ideas. Those who took part in it declared themselves loyal and devoted adherents to the Catholic Church, and protested that neither in doctrine nor in ceremony were they willing to depart from Catholicism. But they aimed at establishing a more rigid and puritanic method of life than that which was practised by most French Catholics, and they preferred the example of the early centuries of Catholicism and the authority of the Bible to that of later traditions or developments. The movement was rendered illustrious by several great names. Racine joined it; and under its influence wrote some of his most beautiful work. Pascal, great as a man of science, and great as a philosopher, was its chief intellectual exponent. The king came to regard it as an assault, not only upon the authority of the Pope, but upon his own. More than one papal bull was issued against the new movement, and the king used his power to stamp out a religious body which, if differently handled, might have added to the life and strength of France, without in any way threatening the authority of the Catholic Church.

Jansenism.

But it is more important to follow the dealings of the king with the Protestants; and here, too, we see absolutism destroying liberty, and in so doing undermining the foundations and ruining the vigour of its own power. The Protestants of France were no longer the great force that they had been in the days of Henry IV. and Richelieu. Their numbers had sunk; their social prestige had vanished; their connection with the aristocracy had almost entirely disappeared. They showed no signs of disloyalty, and they had not stirred a foot during all the struggles

The Huguenots.

of the Fronde. They were for the most part an energetic body of men engaged in commerce and kindred pursuits, and no section of Frenchmen had rendered to Colbert such valuable assistance as they had done. During the early years of Louis XIV. they had not been seriously interfered with; though there was always a tendency to curb and limit their privileges. But later on in his reign, the thoughts of the king turned more seriously to religion. He was influenced in this matter very much by Madame de Maintenon, who was at first the governess of his illegitimate children, and upon the death of Maria Theresa, became his wife. His devotion to religion was now sincere and engrossing, and he came to regard Protestantism, not only as an insult to royal authority, but also as a heresy which must be annihilated. He was encouraged in his designs by the leaders of the French Church, and Bossuet spoke of his atrocious deed as his chief title to fame. First, all the privileges of the Protestants were scrutinized and diminished. They were subjected to rigorous supervision; upon slight pretexts their temples were destroyed; their property and even their children were taken from them. They came to be like hunted beasts, round whom their pursuers drew an ever-narrowing circle. Bribes and cruel compulsion were used to drive them over to the side of Catholicism, and many certainly yielded to one or other form of pressure.

Madame de Maintenon.

Then at last, in 1685, it was declared that the greater body of the Protestants had come over to the Catholic Church, and that the Edict of Nantes, which had always been spoken of as a perpetual edict, was no longer binding upon the king. It was therefore withdrawn. Freedom of worship was entirely taken away; though the mockery of freedom of conscience was still maintained. No one was allowed to leave France. But this prohibition could not be enforced, and many thousands of Protestants found a refuge beyond the frontiers in Switzerland, in Prussia, in Holland, and in England. The consequences of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes have, perhaps, sometimes been exaggerated by Protestant historians; but that they were great and evil, admits of no doubt.

The Edict of Nantes withdrawn.

Its effects.

France lost many thousands of her citizens, and some of the most capable, peaceful, and industrious; and these citizens carried over to foreign countries the arts and trades which they had exercised, and they carried, too, an abiding hatred of the government which had driven them out. Holland and England both profited by their arrival; but the case of Prussia is still more significant. Frederick William, the great Elector, gave them land and houses in and around Berlin, and that city owed the beginning of its greatness, which was ultimately to be so disastrous to France, to these emigrants who were driven out by the blind tyranny and religious fanaticism of a king in many respects really great.

The defeat of the Turks.

The religious policy of the king, and the consequent weakening and deadening of the intellectual and commercial life of France must be rated among the causes of the decline of the country's powers; but there were other causes not so much within his own control. Between France and Turkey, there had been for a long time an informal but important alliance, and often the assaults or the threats of the Turks against Vienna had served to prevent the co-operation of the emperor in military operations against France. Now, in 1683, the Turks received one of the most decisive defeats of their history. They had pressed on to the siege of Vienna, and the city seemed certain to fall, but then it was relieved by the arrival of John Sobieski, King of Poland. The Turks withdrew in disorder, and suffered immense loss. The decline of the Turkish arms on land dates from this time. Most of Hungary was soon lost to them, and France henceforth looked in vain to the Sultan for effective help. In England, too, things were taking a turn which was ultimately almost fatal to France.

Louis XIV. and England.

The relations of the king with Charles II. had not been easy; but by various means he had usually managed to prevent the English government from interfering actively against him. When James II. came to the throne Louis XIV. hoped to establish better relations with him, for both kings were Catholics, and seemed bound to be drawn together by their common religious interests. But James II. was a stubborn and unwise ruler, and he had a national pride which made him

dislike to be helped by the French king: and so he blundered on into collision with the national and religious prejudices of his people, which in three years was to lead to the English Revolution of 1688, whereby not only Protestantism and representative government were saved for England, but also an enemy was raised up for France, the most tenacious and the most dangerous that Louis XIV. was ever destined to know.

The English Revolution of 1688.

The year 1688 brought a very acute crisis in the fortunes of Louis XIV. On the one side James II. was drifting rapidly towards revolution, and Louis XIV. was aware how much that revolution might imply for the fortunes of France. His offers of assistance, however, were repelled by the patriotism or the vanity of James II., and he gave in consequence his chief attention to his eastern frontier. There the electoral Archbishopric of Cologne was in the throes of an election, and the city was so important because of its command of a bridge over the Rhine and a road into the Netherlands, that the King of France was anxious, if possible, to secure, as archbishop and elector, some one friendly to France. It seemed at first as if he would be able to procure this without difficulty, but in the end it became clear that if Cologne was to be brought within the sphere of French influence, a French army would have to be used. His troops were accordingly mobilized and made ready to march upon Cologne.

The foreign crisis of 1688.

Cologne.

These events had a very close connection with the English Revolution. The heads of the discontent in England had already sent over their famous appeal to William the Statthalter of Holland to whom, as the nearest male relative of James II., who was not a Catholic, they naturally appealed. William was ready for the adventure, but the representative assembly of the United Provinces was unwilling to let him sail while the action of France was uncertain: for if the French army invaded Holland, all the resources of Holland, and all the energy of William would be required to repel it. The French attack upon Cologne relieved the Dutch of this pressing fear;

William III. in Holland.

and William was allowed to sail for England, where he soon, by great skill and by a large measure of good fortune, made himself the king of Protestant and parliamentary England without fighting a single battle. He valued the position he had won chiefly because France was thus deprived of an important ally, and England became at once a leading member of the coalition against Louis XIV.

The Grand Alliance against France.

The attack on Cologne and the English Revolution quickly produced a great European war. So great was the fear and jealousy felt for France that William III. succeeded in grouping together nearly all the powers of Europe in a grand alliance against the French king. First England joined with Holland and the emperor: then these were speedily reinforced by Spain and Brandenburg: and in the end even Denmark and Sweden gave assistance to the great coalition. The war was a long and a severe one, yet on the continent of Europe it was singularly devoid of incidents which strike the imagination. It was there chiefly a war of sieges; and, indeed, the frontier of France had been so splendidly fortified by Vauban, that the whole campaign was like a great siege. The details of the campaigns may, therefore, be omitted, but a study of them reveals most clearly the immense military strength which France possessed, and the superiority of her generals and their tactics over all those against whom they were opposed. At the beginning of the war it had seemed as though France could claim supremacy not only by land but by sea as well. In the battle of Beachy Head (1690) the French navy gained a complete victory over the combined English and Dutch fleets, and it is strange that Louis XIV. did not make more use of this undoubted triumph. But in 1692 fortune deserted him upon the seas, and in the battle of La Hogue, the English navy reasserted once more its superiority, and removed for a long time all danger of a French invasion of the English coasts. The war was fought out not only in the Netherlands and upon the high seas, but also in Ireland, whither James II. had gone after his flight from England, and where he hoped to build up a power, by means of which he might ultimately reconquer England. A common

Character of the war.

religion and hatred of England made the great bulk of the Irish friendly to him, and his troops at first gained successes which seemed likely to bring the whole island within his power. Then, however, the instability of his position there became manifest. William III. came over with a motley army drawn from half a dozen different nationalities, and in the battle of the Boyne riveted again the English dominion upon the Irish people (1690).

Battle of the Boyne.

The war on the Continent was on a large scale, and demanded a huge expenditure of money; and although France, almost without exception, won the battles that she fought, and rarely undertook any siege without capturing the desired town, her financial condition grew so alarming that it was necessary for her to accept proposals of peace. After nine years of warfare the struggle came to an end at last in the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. By this peace France was compelled to cede something of the gains that she had made in former wars, and some of the places that she had won by the courts of Reunion. But Strassburg and Alsace still remained in her hands, and if she had lost a little territory in the war, her military prestige was hardly diminished, nor could any dispute her claim to be the first military power of Europe. For William III. it was a great thing that he had maintained himself on the throne of England, and that, by the terms of the peace, Louis XIV. was forced to promise never again to support the Stuart dynasty in any attempts that they might make upon the throne of England.

Peace of Ryswick.

One reason why Louis XIV. was willing to accept the Peace of Ryswick was that another and an even more serious question than that involved in the war with William, was likely to come at once before the statesmen of Europe. The health of Charles II., King of Spain, had been precarious for a number of years, but now reports from Madrid showed that he was really sinking, and with his death there would be brought before European statesmen one of the greatest prizes that diplomacy ever gambled for.

The Spanish Question.

In the former chapter we have protested against the view which regards Spain at the end of the sixteenth century, or the

beginning of the seventeenth, as a hopelessly decadent power. She had shown down to the middle of the seventeenth century great tenacity and splendid military gifts, while her artists and her writers still made her one of the most distinguished of European states. But at the end of the seventeenth century there could be no doubt of her weakness, and no doubt that it was caused by some permanent features in her constitution and social system. There will always be differences of opinion as to the importance which is to be attached to one or other of these; but none can fail to see several causes which were undermining the vitality of Spain. To begin with, her financial system was one of the worst in Europe. She suffered from all the abuses of the financial privileges of the Church and nobles from which France suffered down to the eve of the Revolution, and she had other peculiar abuses of her own. Her system of taxation was such that it ruined the industries of the country without bringing any large gain to the national exchequer. Then, too, the intellectual condition of Spain had some very serious features. In espousing the cause of the Catholic reaction in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, Spain was taking a line in agreement with the character of the people. But by the complete victory which Catholicism had won within her borders, and by the oppression which the Catholic Church exercised by means of the Inquisition and in other ways, an intellectual tyranny was established of the most ruinous kind, and none the less ruinous because Spain was hardly conscious of it. When in Europe generally the scientific movement had fully begun, and was moving forward to victories which gave strength and wealth to the countries which accepted it, there was no possibility of such a movement in Spain, where no free thought was allowed on matters political, scientific, or religious. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the country had a magnificent outburst of literature and of art, which is hardly surpassed by any similar movement in any other European state: but by the middle of the seventeenth century that was all over, and Spain sank back into lethargy both political and intellectual. Further, it must be noted

Condition of Spain.

The finances of Spain.

Intellectual condition of Spain.

that Spain had for two hundred years past been concerned with vast enterprises in almost every part of the world. She had undertaken to conquer and to occupy the two American continents. She aspired to, and had almost gained the rule of Italy; she was as much concerned as Austria in the Thirty Years' War. How she had struggled for years to win back the Netherlands, and to conquer England, has been narrated in a previous chapter. These struggles had brought to her armies and to her diplomatists some great triumphs, but they had implied a terrible burden upon the finances and upon the energies of Spain. While her kings pursued these distant and fantastic imperial projects, the well-being of the Spaniards themselves was neglected, and the foundations, upon which the whole imperial fabric must rest, grew weak and rotten. Spain is one of the most striking examples of a country ruined by its own imperial schemes.

Exhausted by Imperial schemes.

Over this people, in many ways so great, Charles II. now ruled. In him the mental malady, which had so often threatened or attacked his ancestors, appeared in a severe form. He had never really been capable of ruling, or of understanding any of the problems which the ruler of Spain would have to solve; and at the end of his reign he had fallen into something very near complete idiocy. The chief influences upon him were those of his wife and of his confessor, and he made no attempt to perform his duties as king. He had no child, and for thirty years past Europe had been concerned with the question of what would happen to Spain when Charles II. died. It was by no means a simple question as a matter of right, and even if as a matter of right it had been simple, the jealousies of the European States would probably not have accepted a solution which did not satisfy their ambitions. Briefly, there were three possible claimants: Louis XIV. had married the daughter of King Philip IV. of Spain, and by right of his wife he could claim the whole of the inheritance for his son. The emperor, Leopold I., was the son of Maria, sister of Philip IV., and he claimed the Spanish inheritance through his mother. The claim of Louis XIV. was the stronger

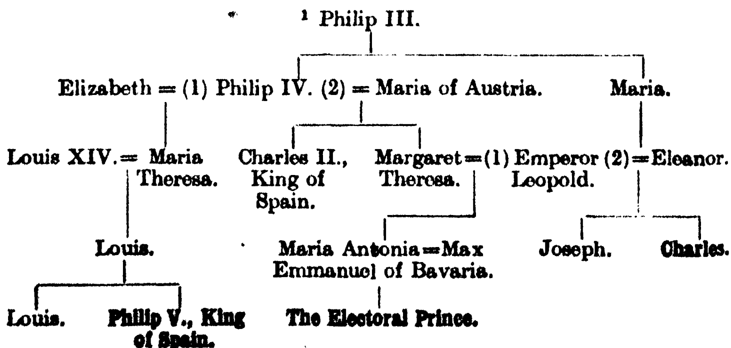
King Charles II.

The rival claimants.

of the two; but he had renounced it in the Treaty of the Pyrenees, though as we have seen he regarded this renunciation as not binding. A third claim was put forward by the Electoral House of Bavaria: Max Emmanuel had married the niece of Charles II., the grand-daughter of Philip IV.[1] A renunciation also barred this claim, but the House of Bavaria had protested against it on various grounds. How was the matter to be settled? There was no court in Europe before which its rival claims could be brought; nor would the claimants have been willing to accept the decision of any court. William III. of England took a lively interest in the question, which might result in a vast addition to the power of his great enemy Louis XIV., but the English people were in no mood to support him in a fresh war, and he had recourse, therefore, to diplomatic methods.

The Partition Treaties.

He opened negotiations with Louis XIV., and drew up two treaties of partition. Neither the Spanish king nor the Spanish people were consulted in any way. It was arranged by the first treaty that, while the bulk of the Spanish inheritance should go to the Prince of Bavaria, whose accession to the Spanish throne would not upset in any way the balance of European power, both Austria and France were to take for themselves some outlying portions of the vast Spanish possessions. It is possible that this arrangement might have been carried through, for the Spanish king had made his will in favour of the Bavarian Prince; but the Prince died suddenly, and the whole work had to be gone over again. A new partition



treaty was drawn up: the bulk of the inheritance this time was to go to the Austrian Prince Charles, second son of the emperor, but France was to receive as her part of the booty the Spanish possessions in Italy.

While these negotiations were in process with William III., the French ambassador in Madrid had been labouring to influence the king and court in favour of France. It seemed for a time that his efforts were fruitless, but when Charles II. died, it was found that he had made his will in favour of Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., to whom he had left his whole dominions, in the hope that the power of France might be strong enough to keep them undivided.

The will of Charles II.

Would Louis XIV. still go on with the Partition Treaty he had signed, or would he accept the will, news of which was at once brought to Versailles? The offer made by the will was a much more splendid one than the gains implied in the Partition Treaty. Moreover, Austria had denounced the Partition Treaty, and its stipulations could only be enforced by war. It seemed best for the French king to fight, since fight he must, for the larger prize. He recognized his grandson as Philip V., King of Spain, and prepared for a war which was likely to be a great one. But unwise actions of his own made the war greater than, perhaps, it need have been. Europe might have allowed Philip to succeed to the Spanish throne if it was made clear that Spain and France would still be separate nations, but Louis, from the first, seemed to regard Spain and France as one, and Spanish and French troops as interchangeable. French garrisons were introduced into the towns of the Spanish Netherlands. Louis offended the feelings of the English by an even more serious mistake. James II. died in his exile near Paris, and the widowed English queen implored Louis XIV. to grant at least the title of king to her young son, who was afterwards known as the Old Pretender. Louis had promised, by the Treaty of Ryswick, to give no help to the Stuart royal family, and this was regarded in England as a contravention of that promise. But in spite of this he

Louis XIV. accepts the Spanish inheritance.

Offence given to Holland, and England.

yielded to the queen's wishes, and saluted the prince as James, King of England. The result was that the English Parliament, which had hitherto resisted all the efforts of William III. to drag it into war, was now convinced of its necessity, and voted the men and money that were required. One of William III.'s last acts, and one of the most important of his life, was to re-organize the Grand Alliance to fight against France. He died before hostilities had actually broken out, but his place as soldier and diplomatist was taken by the Duke of Marlborough, who in both respects was more than the equal of his royal master, though in honesty of purpose and elevation of character far his inferior.

The War of Spanish Succession.

So the great war began. France, in alliance with Spain and Bavaria, might seem in a strong position. Bavaria undoubtedly gave her real help: but from Spain, in spite of the immense extent of the Spanish Empire and the fine military qualities of its people, she received no assistance at all. The organization of Spain was so bad, the efficiency of her government so low, that France bound to Spain was "like a living body bound to a dead one." On the other side were to be found nearly all the great powers of Europe: England, Holland, the Empire and the Electorate of Brandenburg, which took in 1700 the title of Kingdom of Prussia; and this alliance suffered far less than most alliances have done from diversity of aim and quarrels among the confederates. Between Marlborough, the representative of England, which country supplied not indeed most troops, but the greatest amount of money, and Prince Eugene, the representative of the emperor, there was a close friendship and a thorough understanding, and these two were able throughout the war to work in thorough harmony, with Heinsius, the Grand Pensionary of Holland. Unity was to be found, indeed, far more truly on the side of the Grand Alliance than on the side of France, although the King of Spain was the grandson of the King of France. The war which now began was of enormous scope. Europe had, perhaps, never known one that concerned so many states and lands. The War of the

Marlborough and Eugene.

Spanish Succession, as it is called, seemed at one time likely to connect itself with another war that was raging further east in Europe, in which the power of Sweden was attacked by Russia, by Poland, and by some of the German states. Of this northern war we shall speak in the next chapter, it will only be necessary here to summarize the results of the war in the west of Europe.

The Russo-Swedish War.

There were four main theatres of the war. First, in the Netherlands, the English and Dutch attacked the Spanish possessions. Secondly, in Italy the Austrians tried to drive the French and Spaniards from Milan. Thirdly, Bavaria was during the early stages of the war the most important centre of hostilities: while Bavarian and French troops could maintain themselves there it was impossible for the Austrians to come in sufficient numbers to the assistance of Marlborough, and on several occasions it seemed possible that France might win a decisive victory on this arena. The fourth theatre of the war was Spain itself, where, more than anywhere else, the fortunes of the war fluctuated, and reached at last an unexpected conclusion. A fifth theatre ought, perhaps, to be added, for while the armies of France were occupied with these many campaigns, the Protestants of the Cevennes rose in a fierce insurrection against their Catholic oppressors, and it seemed for a time as though France would be unable to suppress this dangerous rising.

The chief theatres of the war.

The scope of this book forbids us to try to follow any of the campaigns, or even to mention many battles which are famous in the annals of the armies of France and England. We must, however, notice the chief divisions of the war and the causes of its final issue. The battle of Blenheim in 1704 cut the war into two unequal parts. Up to that time fortune had by no means decided against France, but then Marlborough, in a march of wonderful skill, brought his victorious army to join that of Prince Eugene, and together they inflicted upon France one of the most crushing defeats known in her annals. From that time forward the war ceased in Bavaria, and it was only in the other theatres of the war which we have mentioned that hostilities were

Battle of Blenheim.

prosecuted. For a long time from this point the tide of war flowed wholly in favour of the allies. The Spanish Netherlands were completely overrun by troops under Marlborough's command, and the French were expelled wholly from Italy. In Spain equal disasters fell upon the French and their allies. Gibraltar had fallen into the hands of the English in 1704, and a little later the Austrian archduke was able to enter Madrid, where he was proclaimed King Charles III. of Spain.

France loses the Netherlands and Italy.

It seemed then as though the war could only end in the complete humiliation* of France. Two causes made that humiliation at last far less than it seemed likely to be at one time. First the national spirit of Spain blazed up, as it has so often done in the hour of her extremest peril, and though the French were no longer able to give assistance, the Spaniards by themselves recovered their lost ground, and inflicted defeats upon the allies, brought Philip V. victoriously into Madrid, and expelled the enemy from all but Gibraltar on the south and Barcelona on the east. The other cause which worked ultimately in favour of France was the arrogance and self-confidence of the allies themselves. When, in 1709, Louis XIV. asked for conditions of peace, the conditions which were offered him were at once so ruinous and so dishonourable that in spite of the terrible exhaustion of the country, he determined to fight on again; and from that hour, though France had still to suffer more than one defeat the situation began to improve. Then in 1711 there came a change in England which more than anything else averted from France the extreme of disaster. The war had been from the first the policy of the Whig party, and the Tories were anxious for peace. The Whig party had been gradually undermined by the queen's own leaning to their opponents; by the expenses and losses of the war; and by religious controversies in which the Government was engaged. A personal quarrel between the queen and her favourite, Lady Marlborough, precipitated at last the overthrow of the Whig party, and no sooner were the Tories in power than they made eager overtures

The recovery of Spain.

Over-confidence of the Allies.

Victory of the Tories in England.

for peace, and offered to the King of France more than he could at one time have anticipated. Great Britain very soon retired from the war altogether, in spite of the efforts made by Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough to induce her to go on with it. Upon Austria, thus isolated, the French inflicted a heavy defeat in the battle of Denain, and thus peace came at last. France made peace with Great Britain at Utrecht in 1713, and with Austria at Rastadt in 1714.

Peace of Utrecht.

Its chief conditions were as follows: Philip V. remained King of Spain, but a promise was given that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united. The territories of Spain suffered much diminution; the Netherlands and Milan, Naples, and Sardinia went to Austria; England kept Gibraltar and Port Mahon in Minorca; Sicily was added to the territories of Savoy; but Spanish national sentiment was gratified by the fact that by their own almost unaided efforts they had maintained the king of their own choice upon their throne. France lost far less than had at one time seemed probable. The Protestant succession was recognized in England and the Pretender was expelled from France. It was of immense ultimate importance, though it produced little impression at the time, that France ceded to England Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the territory of Hudson's Bay. The cessions of France to Holland and to Austria were of comparatively little importance, and the most important result of the war for France is not to be found in these territorial changes, though some of them are full of influence on the next generation, but in the fact that France emerged from the war terribly exhausted, with her finances in disorder and her debts enormously increased, with her prestige in Europe diminished if not destroyed, and the enthusiastic loyalty of the people to the Crown undermined and changed in many instances to distrust. During the course of the war opposition was for the first time openly expressed to the policy of the king. Chief among the critics were Fénélon, one of the best representatives of the Church in France, and Vauban, whom we have already noted as a great soldier and engineer. In different ways they openly criticized the action of the king. Vauban pointed to the frightful

The losses of Spain.

Change in the position of France.

impoverishment of the country, and suggested as remedies a more equal system of taxation and the restoration of the Protestants to their old rights as citizens. Fénélon had never been in sympathy with the absolutist policy of Louis XIV.; now he declared that "his policy had impoverished France, and that he had built his throne on the ruin of all classes in the state."

Louis XIV. was a very old man at the end of the war, and domestic as well as foreign disasters had fallen in rapid succession upon him. The succession to the crown had seemed assured, but now disease carried away first his eldest son, and then his eldest grandson, and then even his great-grandson, who was in the direct line of succession. The heir to the throne was now a child two years old. If he also were to die the succession of the crown would be a matter of grave difficulty, and, even if he were to live, France would have to face a long period of regency. The last efforts of Louis XIV. were devoted to arranging for a council of regency which should rule after his death. He wished above all things to avoid the rule of the Duke of Orleans, his cousin, whose political ideas he feared and whose religious opinions he detested. By his last will he instituted a Council of Regency in which his own illegitimate children were to have place, and in which the Duke of Orleans was to be nothing more than president. He hoped thus that his own system would in its main features be carried on after his death, which occurred in the year 1715.

The tragedies of Louis XIV.'s old age.

The Council of Regency.

His death marks an epoch in European history. France had led European civilization for nearly a century, and nearly all States looked up to her as their example, not only in the arts of peace and of war, but also in methods of government. The financial exhaustion caused by the last war, and the miserable government under which she was soon to fall, degraded her from that high position and left the European arena free for other combatants.

All French histories devote much attention to this, which is in many respects the most important period of French history. The

best account is to be found in vols. 7 and 8 of the *Histoire de France*, edited by Lavisse. Saint Simon's *Memoires* are the chief authority for the life of the court. There is a useful abridged version in English in three vols. by Bayle St. John. Hassall's *Louis XIV*. Macaulay's brilliant essay on the War of Spanish Succession.

CHAPTER X

Great Britain in the Seventeenth Century

I

WE have surveyed the history of the chief states of Europe during the seventeenth century. It is the object of this chapter to cast a glance on the history of Great Britain during the same time, and we shall extend our survey as far as the accession of George I. in 1714, which marks a much clearer epoch in our history than the accession of Queen Anne in 1702.

Isolation of Britain in the seventeenth century.

We saw that the history of our island in the sixteenth century has certain features in which it resembles closely that of the chief states of Western Europe during the same period; the overshadowing of representative institutions by the monarchy; the great influence of religious controversies and aspirations; a splendid participation in all that is loosely called the Renaissance. But in the seventeenth century the history of England and of Great Britain becomes much more isolated and develops peculiar characteristics to which no country in Western Europe can offer at all a close parallel. The communication with the rest of Europe was, of course, constant throughout, and the example of France exercised over the royal government of England almost throughout the whole Stuart period a strong and dangerous fascination. Strafford tried to do for Charles I. much what Richelieu had done for Louis XIII., and when the Restoration brought back Charles

II. after the storms of the Puritan Rebellion, the king spoke often of the "French model" as that which a king ought to set before himself, and he would have liked to follow that model in both politics and religion; but all such ideas suffered hopeless shipwreck in the revolution of 1688. This great victory for Parliament was England's most important contribution to the political life of Europe. If we look round Europe at the beginning of 1688 the trend was everywhere away from parliamentary institutions and towards the centralized administration of monarchies. It seemed that the state was weakened when the people were "taken into partnership." The victory of the English Parliament in 1688 and its great triumphs in the following century—triumphs in war, commerce, colonization and finance—gave a new tendency to European history and re-established political liberty in favour both with statesmen and theoricians.

Importance of the revolution of 1688.

When James I. came to the English throne in 1603 a change from the policy of Queen Elizabeth was certain, for the Tudor system had been unconsciously accepted as a means of meeting dangers, internal or external, and was bound to suffer change when those dangers had passed away. But the character of James I. made the change rapid and dangerous. He was the greatest possible contrast to Queen Elizabeth. He had none of her caution and sagacity; none of her knowledge of the realities of European life; above all, while Elizabeth nearly always acted as the representative of the state, James I. was in politics and religion an egoistic partisan. He held strongly the doctrine of the "divine right of kings." This unfortunate phrase had meant in the sixteenth century that the secular state, represented by the prince or king, had a right to exist, whether the church approved of it or not. It was at first pre-eminently a Protestant idea. But in the seventeenth century the phrase changed its meaning, as phrases often do, and meant that there was a special sanctity about the *persons* of kings; that the will of God as revealed in scripture was in favour of the absolute authority of kings and opposed to any interference with their

James I.

The divine right of kings.

rights and prerogatives; that kings were in a special sense the successors of Adam and had of right dominion over the whole earth. It was a doctrine known elsewhere, but nowhere so loudly proclaimed as in England.

Parliament in the seventeenth century.

Parliament on its side was stirred with a new life. If we compare England with France in the sixteenth century there is a superficial resemblance, but a profound contrast. There had been a time in the sixteenth century (about 1560) when an onlooker might have said that the States General were likely to be a greater influence in France than the Parliament in England; but it would have been a thoroughly superficial judgment. The States General claimed much, but they possessed no more power than they could win from the weakness of the government. When the government was strong it easily pushed them aside: and, as we have seen, they disappeared in 1614 only to reappear for a moment during the first earthquake shocks of the Revolution. And if the States General had but shallow roots in the history of France the Parliament of Paris was wholly unsuited to champion the cause of liberty. Lawyers have done much for liberty, but they are apt to give it a narrow and one-sided interpretation; and if the Paris Parliament had been more enlightened than it was it had no constitutional powers to act as an efficient check on the government, still less to act as an opposition government itself. But the English Parliament had been a chief part of the public life of England for centuries. Its powers were not yet defined; its theory had not been thought out; but to destroy it altogether was, even in the Tudor period, an unthinkable revolution. When the monarchy was weak and unpopular and the country free from grave external danger, Parliament stepped naturally forward; claimed at first "to be something in the state," and ultimately to be the chief authority. Nor was there any possibility in England of the soldier's sword being thrown with immediate and decisive effect into the opposite scale. The sea preserved our liberties by saving us from the need of a standing army.

The French States General and the English Parliament.

Strength of the English Parliament.

Religion, too, came to increase the antagonism between king and Parliament. The settlement of the Church by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth seemed to many a half-way house: some wanted to revert in order and ritual to the standard of an earlier age; others wanted to make the ideas of Geneva supreme at Canterbury and preferred Presbyterianism to Episcopalianism.

Influence of religion on the king's position.

The reign of James I. saw the preparation for the great struggle. Parliament tried to enforce against the king its exclusive right of granting taxation, and it criticized his general conduct of public affairs. James met its criticism without dignity or tact, and at his death bequeathed a difficult task to his son Charles I. With the history of France in our minds we may note, too, another feature of the struggle in England—the failure of the foreign policy of the government. The kings of England must sometimes have asked themselves why they might not give to the government of England the form that was so much admired in France. One answer (not perhaps the most important) is that they did not give to the foreign action of England either dignity or success. Richelieu and Mazarin made France the arbiter of Europe, but the first two Stuarts made England a laughing stock to foreign nations. She was humiliated by her old rival, Spain, and constantly outwitted by France. The connection between the constitutional government of England and her foreign policy is not so close as it is in some other countries, but it is always important.

James I. and Parliament.

Influence of foreign policy on the constitution.

When Charles I. faced his first parliaments he was discredited by his failure in the wars against Spain and France, and by the support which he gave to the unpopular Duke of Buckingham. The first two parliaments were angrily dismissed. But he was anxious to carry through his expedition to Rochelle on behalf of the Huguenots (the siege was an incident almost equally important for the history of England and of France; it established the power of Richelieu; it shook fatally the authority of the English king), and he therefore called a third Parliament. The king's need

Charles I.

of money has always been the lever by which Parliament has won power for itself and liberty for the people. Charles I. was now forced to accept the Petition of Right (1628), which declared that taxes could not be levied without consent of Parliament; that Englishmen could not be imprisoned without cause shown and trial given; and that soldiers and sailors could not be billeted on private householders without their consent. It is one of the capital documents of English liberty. But the contest between king and Parliament was not settled; and soon this Parliament was dissolved like its predecessors.

The Petition of Right.

Eleven years followed (1629–1640) during which Charles I., with Wentworth (afterwards Earl Strafford) as his agent, ruled without Parliament and tried to bring England into harmony with "the French model." Means were found of raising money that would suffice to meet the expenses of the state in time of peace; and when the Judge declared that Ship money could be levied, to such amounts and at such times as the king thought necessary, the King of England must have seemed to some near the goal of a "French" absolutism. Had the view of the judges been maintained it would have had somewhat the same effect upon England that the *ordonnance sur la gendarmerie* of 1439 had upon France. And how could it be annulled? If resistance were offered the army that Wentworth was raising in Ireland would suffice, it was hoped, to beat down all opposition.

Eleven years of unparliamentary government.

II

If religious passions had not come to the support of political aims would Charles I. have been overthrown? It was, at any rate, from this side of religion that the decisive blow was struck. The king had co-operated with Laud, who was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, in giving or restoring to the Church of England certain ornaments and ceremonies, which seemed to the Puritans "the leavings of Rome." Then he endeavoured to do something of the same kind for the Church in Scotland. Already Bishops had been

Laud and the Church of England.

introduced by James I.; now a Book of Common Prayer closely analogous to that of England was insisted on. It was denounced by the Presbyterians as Papistry and idolatry; and acting along with other grievances of a secular kind produced the risings which are known as the Scotch Bishops' Wars. At once all the carefully built plans of Charles I. collapsed. The *regime* of these eleven years was possible only in peace or at most with success in war. And now there came war and failure. How to meet the heavy expenses that had been incurred? The king must needs approach Parliament again. He called in 1640 the Parliament, which is known as the Long Parliament, and which is the most important of all parliamentary assemblies, unless the French Convention of 1792 can put in a better claim to the title.

The Bishops' wars in Scotland brings the Long Parliament.

The years 1640 to 1660 have probably attracted more attention and been the subject of more books than any period of our history. We must not attempt to tell the story even in outline; but a few words may be said as to the contrast between this civil war (the real English Revolution) and the contemporary civil wars in Germany and France. There is not much resemblance between the Puritan Rebellion and the Thirty Years' War in Germany, except that in both ecclesiastical co-operated with political causes. The struggle in England (the story is a very different one in Ireland) was not savage nor inhuman; the destruction of life and property was not great; the soldiers for the most part had an interest in the cause for which they fought and cannot fairly be called mercenaries. The people of these islands too settled their destiny by their own hands; there was little interference from foreign nations; and foreign armies never touched our shores. The Thirty Years' War involved nearly every state of central and western Europe; but the Puritan Rebellion was confined to England, Ireland and Scotland.

The Puritan Rebellion compared with the Thirty Years' War

The parallel with the French Fronde is perhaps closer, but cannot be pushed very far. The religious motive was not wanting in France; but the Jansenism, by which many of the parliamentarians of Paris were influenced, had little of the

strength of English puritanism, nor was it so genuinely and so widely influential. The two movements are separated from one another by all the distance which divides Jansenism from puritanism; the *parlement* of Paris from the Parliament of Westminster; Cromwell from Condé; the English aristocracy from the French noblesse.

and with the Fronde.

The Long Parliament embarked on a course of action that swiftly led to civil war. They sent Earl Strafford to the scaffold and Charles let him perish. (How French history would have been changed if Louis XIII. had abandoned Richelieu to his enemies!) Then they attacked the king's policy in church and state. The king thought to intimidate Parliament by seizing its ringleaders, but the attempt failed; and was taken as a declaration of war. During the first two years the fighting was not unequal. Then two causes gave victory to Parliament. First, Pym negotiated an alliance with Scotland on the basis of the acceptance by England of the "Solemn League and Covenant," and Scotch armies entered England to fight on the side of the Parliament. Next, at the same time Cromwell was building up the army of the new model; a regular army, regularly paid, well drilled, well equipped; permeated by strong religious enthusiasm, which favoured independency rather than presbyterianism. So Charles was beaten at Marston Moor (1644) and crushed at Naseby (1645).

Victory of the Long Parliament.

The army that had achieved this end was no ordinary army. It had very strong ideas of its own on politics and religion; and entirely refused to submit to the dictation of Parliament. It negotiated with the king, and perhaps if the king had accepted its proposals and entered into alliance with the army leaders he might have won his way back to the throne and to some measure of power. But he was fatally optimistic and had an unshakable belief in his powers of diplomacy. He took advantage of the widely divergent views between the Scotch and the English army leaders, and induced the Scotch to invade England on his behalf. There had been no notion of his death before this. It was this second civil war, not his first attack on the constitution, which led to his execution.

The army turns against Parliament.

For Fairfax held the English supporters of the king at Colchester, and Cromwell crushed the Scotch and their English allies at Preston. Then the army, flushed with victory and habituated to bloodshed, returned to London to deal with the "man Charles Stuart." Parliament was coerced by the army. The members, who were not favourable to the army's policy, were driven off. It was a small minority of the Long Parliament—the Rump as it was called—which under the dictation of the army set up a court to try and to execute the king (January, 1649).

Execution of Charles I.

III

A Commonwealth or Republic was set up. There were enemies on every side. The majority of the English people were against the Commonwealth men; Ireland was against them and Scotland. It hardly seemed that the new form of government was likely to last for the eleven years that Fate actually allotted to it. But at first it overcame all its enemies. In Cromwell the Commonwealth possessed a leader of extraordinary power for war and for administration: a man enthusiastic and yet practical: devout and yet alive to the financial and commercial interests of England: who was driven by circumstances to be a revolutionary and yet had strong conservative instincts. He beat down the opposition of Ireland; but the cruelty of his action and his ruthless and unjust expropriation of the people from their lands left bitter memories and problems in the government of Ireland that England was never to solve. The threat to the Commonwealth from Scotland seemed more serious. Charles II. had been proclaimed king in Edinburgh and the whole Scotch nation, divided though it was on many questions, was unanimous in its dislike for what the army had done in England. But the military supremacy, which had seemed to belong to Scotland at the beginning of the war, had now passed decidedly to England. The Scotch army was unexpectedly defeated at Dunbar (1650), and when Charles II. undertook a raid into England he was caught and

The Commonwealth.

Cromwell and Ireland.

Cromwell and Scotland.

defeated at Worcester. Cromwell was the agent in both victories; more and more he became the one man who really counted in the country.

The future government of England was occupying the attention of many. The country at large had little influence: the army had become the one force in England: in 1653 Cromwell expelled the Rump Parliament which had no longer any claim to speak as the representative of the country. A new scheme emanated from the officers, which was embodied in the Instrument of Government. There was to be a Parliament consisting of a single House of Commons elected by constituencies which anticipated the Reform Bill of 1832. At the head was to be a Lord Protector assisted by a Council of State. The Lord Protector could be no other than Cromwell and he was to occupy the office for life.

Cromwell made Protector.

But though Cromwell was a great man, whose honesty of purpose no one now disputes, the position was unstable, and the scheme of government unworkable. The plain fact is that the mass of the population did not want the dominion of Puritanism, desired the return of the monarchy, and disliked the rule of Cromwell. His power rested on the army alone, but he was unwilling to believe it. He sought hard, but in vain, to find some readjustment of the new machine of government which should make it acceptable to at least a large section of the people of England. But he had won his power by the sword, and was doomed to rule by the sword. How great his power was, was shown when, in 1655, Spain and France became rivals for his favour. His alliance with France gave her her final victory, and led soon to the Peace of the Pyrenees. But Cromwell did not live to see the Peace, and died in September, 1658.

Cromwell's political failure.

Then followed a period of extraordinary confusion, which may be summarized as follows. The great mass of Englishmen was opposed to the new *régime*; Royalists, English Churchmen, Presbyterians, Democrats, Parliamentarians—none really accepted the system in Church or State which had been established under the Protectorate of Cromwell. It rested only on the support of

Anarchy after Cromwell's death.

the army, and now that support broke. Richard Cromwell, who succeeded his father as Protector, was a man of little force, and soon resigned. The army leaders quarrelled with one another. The Rump Parliament found amidst the confusion a chance of returning to office, and imagined that it had returned to power. It was only from the army that any final solution could come. Monk, who was in command of the army in Scotland, who had begun as a Royalist and had always been rather a Cromwellian than a Puritan, marched into England, and, after a period of embarrassed silence, declared that England must decide her destinies in a freely elected Parliament. The first act of the new Parliament was to declare that "the government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons," and to invite Charles II. to return to the throne of his father. He came, and was received with a hysterical passion of repentant loyalty.

Monk.

IV

England was again a monarchy like the other States of Western Europe. The opinion of the king was that the resemblance should be carried further, and that England should copy the "French model" in political and ecclesiastical affairs. But all efforts to that end were doomed to failure. England was no nearer to the French model in 1660 than she had been in 1640. The Restoration was the result of a revulsion against the government of the army and the Puritan dominion; it was inspired by no fondness for royal despotism; it was the restoration of Parliament quite as much as the restoration of the monarchy. Parliament and monarchy were again face to face with no real settlement of their conflicting claims, and the conflict was not really one of theory or precedents, but of *power*. "If two men ride on a horse, one must ride behind."

The aims of Charles II.

Charles II. found the life of a king very pleasant after the adventures of his long exile, and was resolved "not to go on his travels again." He was nimble witted, a master of expedients, incapable of fanaticism for any cause, and quickly

sensitive of the approach of danger. The tension with Parliament soon began again. The ideas of Parliament were not the ideas of the king, either in politics or religion. Parliament was strongly Anglican, and passed statutes bitterly oppressive of all forms of dissent, while the king leaned strongly to the Church of Rome, and was anxious to try the experiment of religious toleration. Foreign affairs played their part: much would have been allowed to a king who gave the country glory and success. But England blundered into a war with Holland for commercial and colonial reasons, in 1665, and suffered bitter humiliation in the contest. A Dutch fleet sailed up the Thames, attacked Chatham, and held London blockaded for several weeks. It was the bitterest naval humiliation that England has ever received, and it reacted instantly on the political situation at home. The country was exasperated, too, by the Plague and the Fire of London. The king sacrificed his great minister, Clarendon, and had to submit to still closer financial control by his Parliament.

Charles II. and Parliament.

War with Holland.

In 1668, when France was pressing hard on the Belgian provinces of Spain in the War of Devolution, Charles II. adopted a policy which gave great satisfaction to the country. He joined with Holland and with Sweden in the Triple Alliance to check the aggression of Louis XIV. The new arrangement was immediately successful, and Louis XIV. accepted the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. But the new aim in the foreign policy of England was soon abandoned. Charles II. was personally disappointed with its results, for Parliament had not relaxed its watchful control over his expenditure, nor allowed him to grant toleration to Catholic and Protestant dissenters. The example of France still exercised its fascination. With the help of the French king he hoped to make himself the real ruler of England, and to be able to declare himself a Roman Catholic. So, in 1670, he made with France the Secret Treaty of Dover. He promised to join with France in an attack on Holland whenever France desired it, and in return, France was to help him with men and money in his designs of making the monarchy independent of Parliament, and Roman

The Triple Alliance and the Secret Treaty of Dover.

Catholicism a tolerated form of religion in England. No king of England has ever entered into a compact nearly so treasonable against his people. The actions for which Charles I. lost his head were venial in comparison: the treason of Louis XVI., according to the worst interpretation of his actions, was of not nearly so black a dye.

It was a crime and it was a blunder too. The later troubles of his reign are to be traced to it, and it contributed to the expulsion of James II. and the Stuart dynasty from the throne of England. We have seen how the French attack on Holland failed, and how it brought to power the young Prince of Orange who was destined to reign as William III. in England. The secret of the Treaty was well kept, but it was suspected and ultimately it leaked out. The Protestant and parliamentary opposition to the king became far more bitter than before. He was forced in 1674 to make peace with Holland; but the suspicions and hostility of his opponents were not allayed. Charles II. had no legitimate children. It was probable that his brother James would reign after him and James was a declared Roman Catholic. The opposition, which was at first known as the "Country party" and subsequently as the "Whigs," concentrated their efforts on the Exclusion Bill, by which it was proposed to remove James from the succession on the ground of his religion. Could the bill have been passed it would have been a great victory for the Whigs; it would have done nearly all that the Revolution of 1688 did; for it would have clearly destroyed monarchy by divine right, which always tended to become monarchy with absolute powers, and it would have based the English monarchy for the future on the grant of Parliament. But Charles II. resolved to resist the proposal with all his force. He showed in the contest great energy and even conviction; the principle of hereditary right was what he most held by and most believed in. Parliaments were dismissed again and again because they pressed the Exclusion Bill. And on the other side the Whigs, under the leadership of Shaftesbury, perhaps the ablest conspirator in the annals of England, shrunk from no means of gaining their

Later troubles of Charles II.

The Exclusion Bill.

Shaftesbury and the Popish Plot.

object. They made use of all the monstrous fabrications of the Popish plot even if they did not invent them. The country seemed on the edge of civil war.

Victory rested with the king. His opponents overreached themselves by their unscrupulousness and their passion. They put forward, as claimant to the throne, the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of the king, and a man of weak character and poor talents. The king on his side entered again into close relations with Louis XIV. to get from him the money that he wanted. For the contest turned on money. Could the king carry on the business of the state without taxes granted by Parliament? That was the question on the answer to which all depended. The support of Louis XIV. allowed Charles II. to dispense with Parliament, and from 1681 to his death in 1685 he called none. This was in itself a triumph for the king, and it was accompanied by a revulsion of opinion in his favour. The fraud and cruelty of the alleged revelations of the Popish plot recoiled upon those who had fabricated or used them. The Whigs were thoroughly discredited. Shaftesbury fled to Holland and died there. James, Duke of York, against whom the Exclusion Bill was directed, was brought by the reaction of opinion into the councils of the king, and had great influence there during the last two years of the reign.

Triumph of Charles II.

The triumph of the king had been bought at the price of the weakness of England in foreign affairs. If Charles II. could not call a Parliament it was clear he could not contemplate any military or naval action, for it was only from Parliament that he could get the necessary funds. This was the time of Louis XIV.'s Courts of Reunion and of his annexation of Luxemburg. If Parliament had been sitting it would have demanded interference, and many powers were looking to England for a lead in the matter. But no lead came, and so Strasburg, Luxemburg and Casale were annexed without more than a futile protest from Germany and a hopeless military effort by Spain.

England and Louis XIV.

V

When James II. began to reign in 1685 the omens were favourable to a great development of royal power. The Whigs were discredited. Parliament was subserviently loyal. Had James II. been prudent, had he kept his politics separated from his religion, the Revolution of 1688 might not impossibly have been a successful royalist *coup d'état*, which would have established in England a government somewhat after the French model. But prudence was not among his virtues, and he was willing to run risks and make sacrifices for his religion. His aim was to introduce a measure of toleration for Roman Catholics along with the Protestant dissenters from the English Church. But the Protestantism of Parliament was stronger than its royalism, and it refused to co-operate in the king's policy. It was promptly dismissed, and the king blundered along towards his fall. In no case would the country have been likely to accept his declaration of religious "indulgence," but its hostility to the proposal was rendered greater by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in France, which served to show that Roman Catholicism would never be satisfied with a position of equality in the state. The king's proposal to give the Roman Catholics of England freedom of worship was entirely just and safe, for they had long ceased to harbour treasonous designs against the state. It was the cruelty of Louis XIV. to his Protestants in France and the union in men's minds of Roman Catholicism with political absolutism which ruined the chance of a change in itself just and right. Seven Bishops were charged with treason for presenting a petition against an edict that was certainly illegal; the charge provoked general indignation, and their acquittal was the occasion for an outburst of enthusiasm. At the same time the unexpected birth of a son to the king showed that the king's death would not bring any change in the royal policy, for the child would be brought up in his father's religion and would be likely to pursue his father's political designs.

Prospects of James II.

The coming of the Revolution.

So William III., Statthalter of Holland, and the king's son-in-law, who was already known as the great champion of

Protestantism in Europe and the bitter enemy of the French power, was invited to come over and save Protestantism and parliamentary liberties in England. We have already seen the importance of the incident for the general European situation: we have seen how Louis XIV. might have prevented William III. from sailing by an attack on Holland and how he attacked the Rhine instead. So William sailed and landed at Torbay on November 5, 1688. James, partly through failure of nerve, and partly through a misreading of the situation and a belief that he could procure revenge and victory from France, abandoned the struggle and fled to France. William III. was made king and the Revolution of 1688 was an accomplished fact. We have already seen the war that followed in dealing with the history of France. William had a long struggle and some critical hours before the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 secured the "Revolution Settlement."

The landing of William III.

What was the Revolution—"the glorious Revolution" as it was long the custom to call it, though the phrase is now out of fashion? Europe has seen so many revolutions since then, so much more far-reaching and violent, that the movement of 1688 hardly seems to deserve the title: it was comparatively so orderly, it was so legal in its forms and in England it entailed such little bloodshed. How great is the contrast between the ideas evoked by 1688 and by 1789 or 1848! But 1688 was in the highest degree successful, and its results may be summarized under two heads. First, it secured the individual liberties of Englishmen against the Crown and government. Henceforth it was not disputed that the king could not tax without consent of Parliament; could not maintain a standing army without the same consent; could not imprison anyone without trial. And next the power of Parliament was in fact established. The authority that had belonged to the king passed as a result of the Revolution of 1688, though not as an immediate result, over to the Parliament. And Parliament was not yet the representative of the whole people; it was, by the constitution of both houses and by tradition, the landed aristocracy that really controlled the

The Revolution of 1688.

The rule of the aristocracy.

nation; and for nearly a century and a half it was really the landed aristocracy of England that guided her destinies. What a contrast England presents to France, where the aristocracy had been expelled from all power and the king ruled supreme through his intendants and his civil service, drawn usually from the middle class! It was the landed aristocracy, entrenched in Parliament, and supported by the traders of London, which won the British Empire. It was a body not unlike that Roman senate which created the Empire of Rome.

The revolution in Scotland and Ireland.

The reign of William III. is chiefly occupied with foreign affairs, and these have been dealt with, as far as the scope of this book allows, in the chapter dealing with the reign of Louis XIV. We need not repeat the story, but we may note that in Scotland Presbyterianism, against which the Stuarts had struck so many blows, was now firmly established. Scotland was still an independent state joined to England only by the fact that the same king reigned in both countries. The Revolution allowed more friendly feelings to develop between the two countries, and in the next reign the Whig ministry succeeded in inducing Scotland to allow her Parliament to be joined with that of England to produce the Parliament of Great Britain. The history of Ireland during the seventeenth century is a long and tragic story. The ardent Catholicism of the land and its hostility to England had drawn it over to the side of James II. There was at one time some hope of a great triumph, but the Stuart hopes had been broken at the Battle of the Boyne by William III., and later destroyed by the Duke of Marlborough. The ascendancy of the Protestant landowners of Ireland was fixed upon the country and was not shaken for about a century.

Act of Settlement.

At the end of the reign, when it was clear that there would be no children of William III. nor of his sister-in-law, the Princess Anne, to succeed to the throne, an Act of Settlement was passed, excluding from the throne the descendants of James II. and all Roman Catholics, and transferring the Crown to the Electress of Hanover, a Protestant and the granddaughter of James I. The parliamentary title of the monarchy was thus a second time asserted.

The reign of Queen Anne may be lightly touched on. Its main interest is the War of the Spanish Succession, and that has been already dealt with. Nor can the domestic politics of the reign, interesting though they are, detain us long, who are occupied with a survey of all European history. The sum of what happened is this. The Tories regained power, and came near to upsetting the Act of Settlement, and bringing to the throne the Roman Catholic son of James II. instead of the Protestant Elector of Hanover. There is nothing mysterious in all this. The Revolution of 1688 had been the work of a minority, in which the nation had unwillingly acquiesced because of their fear and hatred of the Papal power. But William III. had never been popular, and the loyalty to the house of Stuart was by no means dead. It was kept alive especially by the English Church, which had not ceased to preach the doctrine of the divine right of kings. The chance of the Tories came in Queen Anne's reign. The queen herself sympathized with them. The Church declared itself ardently on their side. The war was essentially a Whig war, and in its early stages it kept the Whigs in power; but as it dragged on and the nation grew weary of the expense and loss of life, the Tories came rapidly to the front. The queen's personal quarrel with the Duchess of Marlborough contributed to the change. It is a moment of intrigue without parallel in the modern history of England, and the chief agents in it were Oxford and Bolingbroke.

Queen Anne.

Jacobitism.

The country was saved from the Stuarts by a violent quarrel between the Tory leaders and by the unexpected death of Queen Anne. If the Hanoverian succession were to be resisted it could only be done by war, and Bolingbroke had not the nerve for that. George I. was proclaimed king in 1714 without opposition, and a well-marked epoch in English history was ended.

The Hanoverian succession.

VI

The seventeenth century has probably attracted more attention from foreign students than any other part of our

history. It is a period full of great and dramatic events, in which great actors and great principles play a part: a period, too, of which Englishmen may well be proud, because of the noble figures which are to be found on both sides of the great contest that runs through the whole of it. In literature and thought it cannot claim to rank quite with the sixteenth century; but it comes not far behind that. The Restoration marks in the political life of England and in the surface of her social life a great deterioration: English society took from France what was worst in her ways and ideas, and seemed incapable of assimilating what was noblest in the thought and art of the age of Louis XIV. But Charles II. and his dissolute court and the fashionable society of London during his reign are not really representative of England, or at least are representative only of one section of it. The age of Charles II. and Buckingham and Titus Oates was also the age of Milton and Newton, of Wren and Bunyan and Penn.

Newton's Principia, 1687.

Wren was without question the greatest architect of England since the Renaissance: and the beauty of St. Paul's and his other churches is hardly yet properly appreciated. Newton's work constitutes altogether perhaps the greatest victory of the human mind. The famous couplet—

> "Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night,
> God said, 'Let Newton be' and all was light,"

gives no hint of the work of his countless predecessors, which alone made his own possible. But by his development of mathematical method and by his discovery of the precise operation of the law of gravitation, he was able to penetrate the laws that govern the movements of the heavenly bodies, and to put into the hands of man a clue to the universe.

Religious leaders.

The whole century is full of eager religious controversy. We have seen the political importance of the career of Archbishop Laud; but, apart from the political consequences of his acts, he has left his mark upon English history by making clear and unquestionable the claim of the English church to a share in the inheritance of mediæval Catholicism. It is curious that the great names in English

nonconformity, or at least their writings, belong not to the triumph of Puritanism but to its defeat. Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, began his work in 1648, and lived and worked during the reigns of Charles II. and James II., dying in 1690. Penn's is a name hardly less important in the history of that society, and he has an additional importance that is derived from his connection with America, where he founded Pennsylvania. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* was published in 1678, and his career as well as his writings illustrates the strength and greatness of the nonconformist bodies of the time.

Milton.

Milton's name is too great a one to be joined even with those of Fox, Penn, and Bunyan as illustrating the character of nonconformity. "His soul was like a star and dwelt apart." There is no greater name in the history of English poetry, and an appreciation of his greatness may be taken as the touchstone of poetical insight. *Paradise Lost* was published in 1667, when England had just passed through the humiliation of the Dutch war, and the evil character of the court of Charles II. was beginning to be known.

Hobbes.

The whole century too is occupied with political philosophy, which is always influenced by the actual problems and experiences of the time. At the beginning there was the doctrine of the divine right of kings, which has already been noted. The sufferings of England during the confusion of the Civil Wars prompted Hobbes to write his *Leviathan; or the Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth* (1657). He saw in the power of the state and its royal chief the only safeguard against the recurrence of such evils. It is one of the books that has influenced the thought of the world, and in its exaltation of the power of the state has some resemblance to the political philosophy of Treitschke and other German writers, which has had so much influence on the outbreak and course of the recent great war. If the Puritan Rebellion was reflected in Hobbes, the ideas of the Revolution of 1688 found their great exponent in Locke. He was equally opposed to the divine right of kings and to the absolute state of Hobbes. He

Locke.

found the origin of the state in a social contract and deduced from it the wisdom of a balanced constitution and a closely limited monarchy. For a century his writings remained the great exposition of the views of the Whigs and of the English constitution.

Two excellent volumes in the *Political History of England* by F. C. Montague and R. Lodge cover this period. S. R. Gardiner's *History of England to the Outbreak of the Great Civil War* (10 vols.); *History of the Great Civil War* (4 vols.); and *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* (3 vols.) are the one great authority on the period they cover. Firth's *Last Years of the Protectorate*. Ranke's *History of England* gives a narrative for the whole period, especially valuable for the Restoration. Macaulay's *History of England* (the most popular of all histories) deals with the reign of James II. and of William III. Hallam's *Constitutional History*, Burnet's *History of My Own Time*, Burton's *Reign of Queen Anne*, Firth's *Oliver Cromwell*, Airy's *Charles II.*, Traill's *William III.*, Seeley's *Growth of British Policy*, are a few of the many excellent books that deal with this period.

CHAPTER XI

The Baltic Lands and the Rise of Russia

The Baltic and the Mediterranean.

THE lands adjoining the Baltic Sea are so much less fertile than those round the Mediterranean, and many of the harbours of the Baltic are blocked during so large a part of the year by ice that there is little wonder that it has played in history a much less important part than the Mediterranean, which it resembles in many important features. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries great powers arose upon its shores, and we must trace in this chapter, in briefest outline, the destinies of the chief Baltic lands.

Temporary union of the three Scandinavian States.

It seemed quite possible at the beginning of the sixteenth century that the whole Baltic Sea might be dominated by a single Scandinavian power. Christian II. ruled in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and though the three countries were not by any means blended into one, it seemed possible that they might become so, for the three kingdoms had once been united, and might join together once more. Such a result would have made for the progress of Europe, for the Scandinavian races have shown their capacity to rank with the foremost of the nations of Europe in the arts of peace and war. But it was not to be. The storms of the Reformation era shattered the union : for Christian II., by his efforts to force on Sweden a Roman Catholic Government, provoked an insurrection which he was unable to suppress. Christian II. kept possession of Norway, and for a long time of the southern provinces of Sweden, but Denmark and Sweden, despite their kinship in

language and character, were plunged into two centuries of intermittent warfare. Denmark, before the middle of the century, adopted Lutheranism; but the common religious interests thus established were not enough to bring about political union or common action.

Gustavus Vasa in Sweden.

In Sweden a nobleman, Gustavus Vasa, had taken the lead in the resistance to the King of Denmark and his religious policy; and he was soon rewarded by the throne of Sweden (1523), and with him there arose one of the most gifted of the royal houses of Europe. The Swedish kings of the house of Vasa were men of varied character, and some of their reigns were stained by acts of perfidy and cruelty; but not even the Prussian house of Hohenzollern produced a line of rulers more remarkable for patriotism and capacity. Under them Sweden played a part in the affairs of Europe out of all proportion to her wealth and population; for the country was poor, and the population of Sweden down to the end of the eighteenth century never exceeded a million and a half, nor with its dependencies did it exceed two millions and a half. But a large part of the population consisted of sturdy farmers and mountaineers, and these provided an unsurpassable material for military purposes. We have already glanced at their heroic exploits, a century later than we have reached at present, under Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War. Long after that they were reckoned the best fighting men in Europe, though they had degenerated from their old heroism and devotion and had become mercenaries, to whom pay was the chief inducement to service. There was, moreover, in Sweden a vigorous constitutional life, sometimes crushed, but never entirely destroyed by her powerful kings. Sweden and England were in the eighteenth century almost the only examples of a free political life when the general tendency was towards despotism.

The poverty and smallness of Sweden.

In 1587 the house of Vasa won another throne; for in that year Sigismund Vasa was elected to the throne of Poland. But this was no gain to Sweden, but rather the reverse. Sigismund was a Catholic, and between the two branches of the house of Vasa—the Swedish and the Polish—there

was soon the fiercest antagonism. The Polish branch would not altogether give up the idea of reigning in Sweden as well, and the kings of Sweden treated the Polish kings as dangerous pretenders. Fear of the Polish kings and their claim was one of the motives which impelled Gustavus Adolphus to plunge into the Thirty Years' War.

The House of Vasa in Poland.

Let us now glance at the southern shores of the Baltic. At the beginning of the Reformation a number of German states stretched from Denmark to the eastern limits of the Empire—Holstein, Mecklenberg, and the Duchies of Pomerania. The Hanseatic League from its centre at Lübeck exercised a control over the trade of the Baltic. But the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth saw great changes. The Hanseatic League fell before the rising power of Sweden and Holland. By the Peace of Westphalia, Sweden became a power in Germany also. She became possessed of the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, and thus controlled the mouths of both the Weser and the Elbe. She held also Western Pomerania, and thus held the lower reaches of the river Oder and the island of Rügen. The Electorate of Brandenburg (out of which the kingdom of Prussia was soon to grow) had secured Eastern Pomerania, and had thus got a great interest in all Baltic affairs.

Decline in the Hanseatic League.

Sweden after the Peace of Westphalia.

Eastern Pomerania was the limit of the Empire, and the lands that lay beyond that were none of them originally German. These lands had been the scene of the labours of the Knights of the Teutonic Order and the Knights of the Sword. Through their efforts the country had been opened up to trade and commerce. The Slavonic inhabitants had been to a very large extent killed off; what remained of them had accepted Christianity. We have seen already how disaster had fallen upon these armed missionaries of German commerce and Christianity. East Prussia had become attached to the Electorate of Brandenburg, and was held until 1660 as a feudal dependency of Poland. Between East Prussia and the German lands Poland had pushed down her territories to the sea. To the

The south-eastern shores of the Baltic.

east of Prussia, Poland touched the Baltic again. Then came the lands which surround the gulf of Finland, viz. Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Kexholm, and Finland. These lands were the chief bone of contention between Sweden and Russia.

The possessions of Sweden in the Eastern Baltic.

Their early obscure history need not be traced It is enough to say that in 1617, as the result of much hard fighting on the part of Gustavus Adolphus, they were all united to Sweden. Russia (or Moscovy, as she was called then) was shut out from the Baltic and from all that trade on the high seas brings with it. Sweden was decidedly the first of the Baltic lands, and her power had not yet reached its zenith; but she was already burdened with vast non-Swedish territory in Germany, Finland, and the newly won lands, and her scanty population, in spite of its military ardour, would in the long run be insufficient to maintain them.

The general changes in the map of East Central Europe.

There have been great changes in the political geography of these lands. Not one of the frontiers of the seventeenth century is to be found on the modern map of Europe. Brandenburg, under its later title of Prussia, has swept along the north of Germany and has dispossessed all rivals. The territories of Denmark have shrunk to the northern part of the peninsula. Norway is an independent kingdom. Sweden has lost all lands but those where the Swedish tongue is spoken. Russia has hurled down all barriers that Swedish policy and valour tried to place in her westward path. And Poland, the other great Slavonic state, in the seventeenth century as populous as Russia and much more civilized, disappeared entirely from the map, until the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 restored her along with much else of historic interest in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe.

Contrast between Poland and Russia.

The contrast between the destinies of Poland and Russia is all the more striking because not only were the inhabitants akin in race and speech, but their institutions and social order were closely similar. But while the Government of Russia developed into an efficient despotism, Poland in pursuit of what she called liberty, allowed disorder of every kind to prevail,

until her anarchy made her a helpless prey to her neighbours.

The vast extent of Poland was caused by the union of Poland proper with Lithuania. It was the special glory of the Jagellon dynasty in Poland that it managed to carry out and perpetuate this union. The Lithuanians, for the most part, belonged to the Eastern (or Orthodox) Church, while the Poles were predominantly Catholic. The Protestant movement had made at first great progress in Poland, but was defeated by the force and the enthusiasm of the Catholic reaction and the Jesuits. But it is to the great credit of the Poles that, though Catholicism was predominant, it was not oppressive or persecuting; religious oppression is one of the few evils which may affect a state from which Poland did not suffer.

Religious history of Poland.

The Jagellon dynasty died out in 1572, and from that time on the crown of Poland was elective, and the nobles and the gentry were the electors. Poland displayed, in the most exaggerated form, all the evils which spring from elective monarchy; the bitter rivalry of the different candidates and of their supporters; the interference of foreign Powers; the dangerous concessions made by the candidates to secure election; and in the end the helpless weakness of the sovereignty that is thus won. But it was not only the sovereignty that was weak in Poland; all other institutions, even those that were the natural rivals of the crown, were weak also. There was a diet, but it was reduced to complete impotence by the *liberum veto*—the right, that is, of each member to veto and prevent any proposition by his single vote, and even at last to dissolve or "explode" the diet when he chose. Fifteen diets in succession at one period of Poland's history met without performing any business through the application of the *liberum veto*. For while feudalism in all other countries was giving way to a centralized and national State, in Poland the anarchical tendency which was always present in feudalism grew constantly stronger. The country squires (their number is estimated at 80,000) were like kings on their own estates, to the ruin of the State and the bitter oppression of the unfortunate

The Polish Crown elective

The "liberum veto."

peasantry. Efforts were constantly made by the kings to strengthen the monarchy and give to the State the machinery of an efficient government; but they all failed, at first through the opposition of the Poles themselves, and later through the action of the neighbouring powers who did not wish Poland to be strong or united.

Polish anarchy.

Space forbids us to attempt to trace in detail the history of Poland. It is full of exciting incidents and not without military glory. John Sobieski (1674–1696) was the last of the great kings of Poland. He is remembered best by his march to Vienna when the Turks were besieging it. He was the chief author of the epoch-making defeat of the Turks which followed. "There was a man sent from God whose name was John," was applied to him in the Cathedral of Vienna in the thanksgiving service. There are many other feats of arms to his credit, but Poland was not strengthened by them. He himself said to the Diet, "Posterity will be amazed to learn that the only result of so many victories and triumphs, shedding an eternal glory on the Polish name throughout the world, was irreparable ruin and damnation. Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed." The words characterize most of Polish history. The forty days required for the destruction of Poland turned out to be a little less than a hundred years; but destruction crept nearer with every decade.

John Sobieski.

Far different was the development of Moscovy or Russia. There, too, was a monarchy, partly elective, as all early monarchies were; there, too, was a large noble class, the *boyars*, jealous of their privileges and hostile to the development of the power of the monarchy. But, except in the earliest stages, there was no resemblance between the development of Russia and that of Poland. Poland drove towards anarchy and dissolution; Russia was hammered by the blows of a cruel absolutism into a powerful State and embarked on a yet unended career of conquest north and south and east and west. It is difficult to determine the causes of this great contrast. Poland was Catholic, while Russia belonged to the "orthodox" Eastern Church; and the Eastern Church has often been a pliant instrument of

The development of Russia.

absolutism. Poland also had escaped the Tartar invasion, which had contributed much to the centralization of Russian power. But most seems due to the action of the remarkable rulers who at frequent intervals sat on the Russian throne since the sixteenth century.

Ivan the Terrible (1533–1584) stands at the beginning of modern Russian history, and is a most characteristic figure. He was barbarously cruel, and after the destruction of the great city of Novgorod seemed to delight in the spectacle of torture inflicted upon men, women, and children. But he favoured the middle and lower classes, opened his country to the commerce of Western Europe, and showed some interest in learning. It was upon the nobles that his blows fell with merciless severity ; and at every point he was the precursor of Peter the Great. With him the Russian monarchy appeared as the rough protector of the commons and the bitter enemy of the aristocracy.

Ivan the Terrible.

Troubles of many kinds fell on Russia after Ivan's death, famine and plague and foreign and civil war. The family of Ivan soon died out, and in 1613 Michael Romanof, a boy of sixteen, was chosen, and nearly all the rulers of Russia since that date have been descended from him. We may pass over the next seventy-five years, though they are full of interesting incidents, domestic and foreign. The great epoch in the history of Russia came when in 1689 Peter the Great mounted the throne, which he occupied until 1725. His *régime* is indeed a continuation of that of his predecessors and of Ivan the Terrible. But it gave definite victory to forces which hitherto had had to struggle for existence. The history of modern Russia seems logically to develop from the events of his reign.

Peter the Great.

His childhood had been passed amid scenes of terror. He had seen his uncle murdered and his mother's chief minister cut to pieces as he clung to her grasp ; and he knew that the aristocracy was the chief cause of these outrages. History presents us with no stranger character than his. He was capable of worse than bestial cruelty, and showed himself a true successor of Ivan the Terrible when he tortured his rebellious bodyguards

The contrasts in Peter the Great.

to death by hundreds and permitted the cruel murder of his own son. But this ferocious tyrant was passionately interested in science and in industry, and anxious, above all things, to introduce the civilization of Europe into his own semi-barbarous land. There is a part of his career which recalls the worst side of Attila the Hun ; but there is a part too which suggests resemblance to Louis XIV. and to Colbert.

Let us see first what he did for the inner life and organization of the State ; and then turn to his struggles with foreign powers. The two may be treated separately, though they are throughout dependent on one another.

Domestic policy.

His aims are clearly written in his life. He wished to exalt the authority of the monarchy above all rivals ; to introduce European ways of life and thought ; and to promote the wealth of Russia by commerce and industry. The nobles were reduced to obedience ; and education and service in the army were a surer road to the royal favour than high birth. Aristocratic privileges and financial corruption found in him a determined censor. But he found also in the *streltsi* a dangerous enemy to his schemes. These soldiers formed the old bodyguard of the King of Russia, and may be compared with the Janissaries of Turkey or the Prætorian Guards of the early Roman emperors. They were indolent, incapable, and excessively privileged, and resisted the efforts of Peter to introduce new methods. They rebelled and were defeated, but Peter was not satisfied with victory. The horrible death of a thousand of them bore witness to Peter's supreme authority within the army.

The Europeanization of Russia.

Throughout his life he laboured to Europeanize Russia, but he encountered a dogged resistance from the habits and traditions of the people supported by the Church. He declared that the Russian nobles should no longer wear the vast untrimmed beards which had become a symbol of old Russian ways, and though the patriarch had excommunicated all those who obeyed, the royal edict was executed, and Peter clipped the beards of some of the *boyars* with his own hands. A tax was later imposed on all who continued to wear beards of the old type. Peter also encouraged the wearing of European clothes, introduced

European dancing, and fought against the oriental seclusion in which Russian women were kept. Russians had hitherto begun the year on September 1, "the anniversary of the creation," but Peter adopted the Western practice of beginning the year on January 1. He eagerly promoted the teaching of science and mathematics, and reformed the whole machinery of administration, taking on this point the advice of the German philosopher, Leibnitz. From early youth he had been attracted by ships and the sea-faring life, and later experience confirmed him in his view that access to the sea was a matter of life or death for Russia. It was largely that he might know how to organize a fleet that he set out on his famous travels which took him to Holland, England, and France. He worked as a ship's carpenter in Holland, and laboured hard to understand the naval system of England during his residence at Deptford. On his return he built a considerable navy, and sailing with it down the river Don, appeared before Azov and took that strong Turkish fortress.

Russia as a sea-power.

With such views and such ambitions it was impossible for Peter to accept as permanent the actual frontiers of Russia. The open sea was always in his thoughts, and he was shut out from the sea entirely. In the south the Turkish power controlled the shores of the Black Sea; in the north access to the Baltic was barred by Poland, and, above all, by Sweden. There were good harbours within a short distance of the Russian frontiers, but they were inaccessible to Russian sailors. Only at Archangel did Russian territory touch the sea; and the Arctic Ocean afforded no channel for the expansion of Russian trade.

Russia without harbours.

To see how Russia reached the Baltic we must turn again to the history of Sweden. We must pass over the romantic reign of Christina, daughter and successor to Gustavus Adolphus. We must pass over the reigns of Charles X. and Charles XI., though Charles X. expelled the Danes from the southern provinces of Sweden, and Charles XI. made of the limited and constitutional monarchy of Sweden an absolutism in which the king was "a sovereign lord, responsible to God alone for his actions." But in 1697 Charles XII. succeeded to the throne at the age

Charles XII.

of fifteen, and before his death, in 1718, the balance of power among the Baltic states had profoundly altered. The young king grew up daring, ambitious, capable ; as great a soldier as Gustavus Adolphus, a very thunderbolt of war, but without the sanity and statesmanship which belonged to Gustavus. But in the Northern War, which threw northern and eastern Europe into confusion, while Western Europe was occupied by the War of Spanish Succession, Charles XII. was acting on the defensive. The position of the Swedish territories provoked the jealousy or the greed of Denmark, Poland, and Russia ; and the youth of the king and the poverty and scanty population of Sweden made the conquest and partition of the Swedish lands seem an easy task. So the three powers united for an attack on Sweden in 1699.

Attack on Sweden.

But they were soon aroused from their dream of easy victory by the exploits of their young antagonist. He turned first on Denmark. A great victory brought him up to the walls of Copenhagen, and in the peace that followed he forced Denmark to abandon her allies and pay a war indemnity. He then turned against Russia, and at Narva (in Ingria, close to the gulf of Finland) he destroyed, with an army of 8000 men, a Russian force five times as large. His next blows fell on Poland, whose King Augustus had been the first to suggest the idea of the partition of Swedish territories. A campaign of fabulous victory followed. The Poles were courageous but most undisciplined, and for military or any other purposes without organization. Nor were the people eager to fight for their king. So the Swedish force struck with irresistible might: numbers had no effect in checking the advance of Charles. Augustus was not only King of Poland, but also Elector of Saxony, but Saxon armies proved as frail as the Polish. Warsaw was taken, and the war might have ended if Charles had not insisted on the deposition of Augustus and the election of his own nominee, Stanislas Leczinski, in his place. But even this had to be conceded in the end. After Saxony had been overrun the King of Poland signed a peace and consented to abdicate (1704). It was Russia's turn now. The Czar,

Battle of Narva.

Overthrow of Poland.

Peter, had overrun the Baltic provinces of Sweden while Charles was in Saxony; but he was unable to hold them, and Charles determined to march on Moscow, and hoped to end the war by its capture. But the task proved beyond his powers. The resistance of the Russians grew fiercer as their own country was invaded. He abandoned the idea of seizing Moscow, and marched south to join hands with Mazeppa, the leader of a revolted band of Cossacks. He still could gain victories, often against overwhelming odds. But the Russian winter fell upon him, and not only carried off many of his men, but broke the spirit of the remainder. At Pultowa, a fortress lying near the southern frontier of Russia, the Swedes attacked the Russians, who were in vast numbers and strongly entrenched (1709). The Swedish force was defeated and driven to surrender. The king escaped into Turkey. He emerged later to engage in fresh intrigues and fight more battles before he died in an obscure conflict in Norway (1718).

Battle of Pultowa.

Sweden's power as a conquering military state was broken and not destined to revive. Her power of resistance had been strained to the breaking point. "Every artisan, and one out of every two peasants had been taken for soldiers." A series of treaties was arranged after the death of Charles XII. Western Pomerania went to Prussia, which henceforth became the most powerful Baltic state and the chief rival of Russia. Yet to Russia came the most important of all gains: she took from Sweden all the provinces lying round the gulf of Finland. There Peter founded the city of St. Petersburg to be the chief support for the commerce and the navy of Russia, and her chief connection with the west of Europe. In 1721 he was acclaimed as "Father of the Fatherland, Peter the Great, and Emperor of all the Russias." Russia still bears, even after the storm of revolution, clear traces of his influence.

Partition of Swedish territories.

Russia was now a despotically governed and firmly administered state: and Peter gave to his successors a tradition of aggressive statesmanship. The surrounding states were either weak like Sweden; or decadent like Turkey; or anarchical like Poland; or formless and vague like the peoples of Central Asia. The amazing

The Expansion of Russia.

The Growth of PRUSSIA 1415-1914

English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 100

The Mark of Brandenburg at the end of the 15th. Century
Acquisitions 1500 to the death of Frederick the Great
Acquisitions 1786 to the abolition of the Empire 1806
Boundary of Prussia 1807-1815 (From the Peace of Tilsit to the Peace of Paris)
Lost territory regained at the reconstitution of Prussia (Congress of Vienna and 2nd. Peace of Paris, 1815)
Acquisitions 2nd. Peace of Paris, 1815
Acquisitions 1815-1888
Boundary of Prussia in 1914
Dates of acquisitions 1648 Dates of losses (1693)

Emery Walker sc.

territorial expansion of Russia which now began is no miraculous phenomenon: she has made no important conquests from Western European powers or from well-governed states of any kind. We have not space to follow the story of the following reigns. The most remarkable of Peter's successors was Catherine II. the German wife of Peter III., who, in 1762, gained the throne by the deposition and murder of her husband. German though she was, she reproduced the characteristic features of the Russian Monarchy. In vice and violence she fell no whit behind the worst of them: she was intensely interested in the movement of thought in France and Western Europe, and corresponded with Diderot and Voltaire; but all the time she ruled her dominions without allowing rivalry or partnership, and grasped at territory on every side. It was while she reigned that the French Revolution broke out, and we shall trace in another chapter her relations to that movement and the gains she made during its early stages.

The best sources for this chapter are Nisbet Bain's *Scandinavia and Slavonic Europe*; Morfill's *Poland*; Rappoport's *Russia*; Wasilewski's *Peter the Great*; Rambaud, *Histoire de la Russie*.

CHAPTER XII

Prussia and Austria in the Eighteenth Century

Importance of Prussia in modern Germany.

If we look at the map of Europe in 1914 Prussia stretches right across the north of Germany from the Russian frontier to the boundaries of Holland, Belgium, and France. The mouths of the chief rivers and the chief harbours are in her hands: she has acquired the lower half of the Danish Peninsula: such independent states as still remain in North Germany are of little importance. It was Prussia which had given unity to Germany, and which controlled the foreign policy of the land. English opinion often identified Prussia with Germany, and though this is an

error it is a pardonable one, for Germany, as a state, only exists through the efforts and history of Prussia.

The history which has brought about this condition of things is a strange one. Modern Prussia is, at first sight, an artificial state; it consists of many distinct parts, once widely separated and often antagonistic, and only brought together into one whole by the accident of marriage and inheritance, or by the force of diplomacy and war. Yet if we look deeper into the history of Prussia the impression of accident and artificiality disappears. The rise of Prussia has been the new birth of Germany; and Prussia has attained the position she occupies, because she has been the most national of the great states of Germany, and has best represented the aspirations of the whole people.

Prussia the representative of Germany.

There are three main elements in the growth of Prussia: the Electorate of Brandenburg which is the real origin and heart of the state; the lands of Prussia originally so called, which form the chief of the many additions to the lands of the Elector of Brandenburg, and have given their name to the whole state; and the House of Hohenzollern, whose marriages, diplomacy, conquests, and good fortune have brought the whole into one solid state.

Three elements in the growth of Prussia.

We have already seen something of the rise of Brandenburg. It was, to begin with, a *mark*, or frontier outpost against the Slavonic and other non-German races which dwelt beyond the Elbe. The mark had flourished and expanded under the first or "Ascanian" House, but when this died out, in 1319, there followed a century of confusion in the mark, with frequent changes of masters and of diminution of territory, until in 1415 the Emperor Sigismund conferred the mark and the Electoral dignity, which went along with it, upon Frederick of Hohenzollern, Burgrave of Nürnberg, a close ally of the emperor in all the troublous period of the Council of Constance. There lay before him the difficult task of restoring order in the mark and regaining alienated lands. There was always a tendency in Germany for the great states to be broken up, in

The early history of Brandenburg.

spite of the Provisions of the Golden Bull, which said that the Electorates were to descend in the male line without diminution or division. But in 1473 the perpetual union of Brandenburg was again guaranteed by the *Dispositio Achillea* (or family arrangement of the Elector Albert Achilles). It was laid down that other possessions of the house might be divided to a limited extent, but the whole of Brandenburg must go to the eldest son.

Albert of Hohenzollern, chosen Grand Master, 1511.

Thus the Hohenzollerns had come to Brandenburg. Prussia as yet had no connection with them. There, in those non-German lands, the Teutonic Knights had been preaching and conquering, and they had no other connection with Brandenburg, except neighbourhood and Christianity. But as we have seen, things had been going badly with the Knights. They had been defeated by the Poles in the great battle of Tannenberg. A part of their territory (West Prussia) had been annexed by Poland ; over the rest they had to recognize the feudal superiority of the King of Poland. Their position had become precarious, and they needed a foreign protector. So in 1511 they chose as their chief (or Grand Master) Albert of Hohenzollern, a near relative of the family that ruled in Brandenburg. When the Reformation came, Albert saw that if he declared himself a Protestant the territories of the Knights would become a secular state under his rule, which he might hand down to his descendants. The step was taken, and thus a branch of the Hohenzollern house ruled in Prussia.

Union of Brandenburg and Prussia, 1611.

In 1611 the family of Albert became extinct, and Prussia thus became part of the dominions of Joachim Frederick, Elector of Brandenburg. But Prussia was still a feudal dependency of Poland and Polish territory intervened between Prussia and Brandenburg. Just about the same time another inheritance (and one nearly as important) fell to the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg as the result of marriage and inheritance. When in 1609 the Duke of Julich, Cleves and Berg died, there was fierce dispute as to the inheritance. One of the claimants was the Elector of Brandenburg, who had married the niece of the duke. The contest ended in the occupation of the larger

part of the duchy by Brandenburg. The lands were valuable in themselves, and they became the nucleus round which were gathered in course of time other possessions. Thus the Electors of Brandenburg governed, by different titles, three chief blocks of territories, widely separated from one another. These were (1) the possessions on the Rhine, (2) the Electorate of Brandenburg, (3) the Duchy of Prussia. A mighty and coherent state, destined to carry the principles of unification and organization further than elsewhere in Europe, seemed little likely to grow out of these elements.

Acquisition of Julich, Cleves and Berg, 1609.

Brandenburg played a poor part during the Thirty Years' War. The Elector, George William, was Calvinist, while his people were Lutheran. He tried to remain neutral, but his lands were overrun by both parties, and no part of Germany suffered more grievously in that terrible period. In 1640 he was succeeded by Frederick William, the Great Elector as he is called, and one of the real founders of the greatness of modern Prussia. He was a type which has been frequently seen on the Prussian throne; strong, inflexible, and even despotic in character; unattractive and unimaginative; but devoted to the interests of the state and sparing neither of himself nor others in its service. Brandenburg made important gains at the Peace of Westphalia. Magdeburg became hers and Eastern Pomerania, the last of great value, because it opened up ready access to the sea. But it was after the peace that the elector's most fruitful activity began. The chief characteristic of all his work is unification; but he also contributed to the advance of the commercial prosperity of Prussia, and raised her armies from the disrepute into which they had fallen during the Thirty Years' War.

Brandenburg in the Thirty Years' War.

The Great Elector.

The road to the unity of the state lay through the destruction of representative institutions in every part of the state. There were flourishing "Estates" in Brandenburg, Prussia, and Cleves, but in each place they were suppressed. They struggled against their fate and found capable and devoted leaders, but in vain. The will of the head of the state was henceforth to be the one

Destruction of free institutions.

source of authority, and the administration was to be conducted through his council. Wide differences in institutions were still left, but the first important step towards unification had been taken, and it is noteworthy that it lay through the destruction of free institutions.

Military success of the Great Elector.

The Great Elector was concerned in many wars, and often changed sides; but the most fruitful of glory and gain were those which were fought against Poland. In alliance with the Swedish king he gained a great victory at Warsaw; but the chief result was that in 1657 he induced the Polish king to abandon his feudal overlordship over Prussia, and to recognize him as king there, *cum summa atque absoluta potestate*. In 1675 came his greatest feat of arms. He was fighting against the Swedes, who were in alliance with the King of France; they invaded Brandenburg, but were decisively beaten by Frederick William at Fehrbellin: it was for this victory that he received the title of the Great Elector.

Promotion of industry.

He built canals, and he attempted to foster the industries of the state by means of a protective tariff. The chief measure, however, which he took for the promotion of industry was in 1685, when he granted to the French Huguenots, who had been expelled by the short-sighted despotism of Louis XIV., a refuge in Berlin. It is to their settlement that Berlin owes the beginning of her greatness. The immigrants were allowed wide privileges, and in agriculture, as well as in industry, contributed to the wealth of the country.

King Frederick I. of Prussia.

Frederick William was succeeded in 1688 by his son, Frederick III., a man in every way unlike himself, absurdly fond of the pomps and ceremonies of his position, and without much practical instinct for the administration of the state. Yet his reign is noteworthy, because Frederick III., the Elector of Brandenburg, became Frederick I., King of Prussia. Three of the German princes had already got royal titles; the Elector of Hanover was King of England, the Elector of Saxony was King of Poland, the Duke of Holstein was King of Denmark. The Elector of Brandenburg might naturally claim the same title. The negotiations which led to the War of the Spanish Succession made the alliance of

Brandenburg valuable to the Emperor, first as a means of resisting the partition treaty projected by the Kings of France and England, then as a weapon against the efforts of Louis XIV. to gain for his grandson, Philip, all the dominions of Spain. So the sanction of the Emperor, Leopold I., was obtained, with the proviso that the title must not be taken from any part of the territory of the empire. Prussia was outside of the empire, and thus, somewhat to the confusion of the student of history, the leading German power took its title from lands which had not originally been German at all. The new step was not merely one of etiquette and precedence: the royal title gave further strength to the government in its efforts to establish absolutism. We shall not follow the history of Prussia during the War of the Spanish Succession, and the contemporary Northern War, which saw the triumph and the catastrophe of Charles XII. of Sweden. But the soldiers of Prussia at Blenheim and elsewhere more than maintained the reputation they had won at Warsaw and Fehrbellin.

Frederick William I.

In 1713 Frederick William I. succeeded to the throne of his father. No European throne had ever a stranger occupant. He inherited many of the qualities of the Great Elector, but in him they were exaggerated, brutalized, and touched almost with madness. He despised his father's fondness for pomp and ceremony, especially on grounds of economy, and on his accession he at once dismissed many of the ministers of royal luxury whom his father had appointed. He turned then with undivided zeal to the vigorous, economic, and, on the whole, the efficient administration of all parts of his dominions. There was to be no room for liberty or representative government in Prussia; no interference, and hardly any criticism of the royal actions would be allowed; "We remain King and Master," he wrote, "and we do what we like." The state was to be administered by royal officials, poorly paid, strictly watched, and, in case of any offence, severely punished. The king showed some interest in education, a point on which few Prussian rulers have been indifferent, and he took a keen interest in theological disputes. But he was in everything Prussian in the narrowest sense of the word. Ancient history

His absolutism.

and the history of other countries could teach nothing of value, he said: it was the history of Brandenburg alone that was important. And in Brandenburg or Prussia two things attracted all his attention—the payment of the taxes and the organization of the army. His lands were poor in comparison with those of the older European states, and he was bent on making them produce all that they could, and in extracting from the produce the largest possible share for the service of the state. His fiercest rage was reserved for corruption in the finances.

His economy.

He maintained peace during the whole of his reign (with unimportant interruptions), but he built up the Prussian army to what seemed a monstrous size, and maintained it in the highest efficiency. On his accession in 1713 there was an army of 38,000 men: in 1739 it numbered more than 83,000. France had 160,000 soldiers: Austria barely 100,000. And the Prussian army was even more remarkable for efficiency than for size. Doubtless the king would have shown no great talents as a general if there had been a call for them: but he was an ideal drill sergeant, and his force was weaponed, clothed, and disciplined to perfection. The touch of grotesqueness, which is never absent from anything that he did, was seen in his regiment of giant grenadiers, whom he loved as a dog-fancier loves his pets, and for whom he ransacked his own lands and the lands of his neighbours.

The growth of the Prussian Army.

His domestic life was of European importance, because his son was Frederick the Great. Between father and son there were bitter quarrels from an early date. The father was tyrannical, unpolished, and illiterate, and in his manners incredibly coarse. His son seemed to cross his father's will at every point: he was cosmopolitan in his interests and tastes, rather French than German, apparently uninterested in Prussia, an amateur of the fine arts, and a sceptic in matters of religion. The young Frederick displayed a hearty distaste for the drinking, gluttony, and smoking that were so dear to his father. Life at court became intolerable to him, and he attempted flight. He was caught, brought back, and condemned to death. His life was in the end spared, but

Father and son.

his friend was executed, and brutal punishments fell on other men, in some instances without trial, in all without justice.

Youth of Frederick the Great.

The young prince bowed to necessity; professed with a bitter heart the religious opinions that his father dictated to him; flung himself with genuine enthusiasm into the tedious work of administration, and took, at his father's bidding, a wife whom he neither loved nor liked. His intellect and will were too strong to break; but when he mounted the throne in 1740 his early idealism and humanity had quite gone; he was cynical and bitter, and believed in nothing but force.

The date of the accession of Frederick II. is that also of the death of the Emperor, Charles VI., whereby a new chapter was opened in the history of the House of Austria, in which Frederick was destined to play a great part. The Austrian House had seen its projects defeated in the Thirty Years' War, but since then it had gained much in territory and apparent power; but all its gains were in non-German lands, and the future was to show that it was thereby losing all chance of becoming the real head of Germany. The Roman Catholic reaction had triumphed through all its territories; education was at a very low ebb; science, literature, and art made no progress on Austrian soil. But the arms of Austria were, on the whole, victorious in the War of Spanish Succession, and against the Turkish enemy on the south-east she gained a long series of victories. The Turkish power at sea had been decisively checked in the Battle of Lepanto (1571), but its prestige on land was nearly undiminished. The year 1683 seemed likely to mark a great increase of its power, but turned out to mark the beginning of its decline. The Turkish army reached Vienna and laid siege to it. The Emperor, Leopold I., fled, and the fall of the city seemed certain. It was saved by the march of John Sobieski, King of Poland, and the Turkish retreat was turned into a rout. In 1687 the Turks were decisively beaten on the field of Mohacz, where they had gained the great victory in 1526 whereby they had won Hungary. Their power and territory sank henceforward with

Death of Charles VI., Emperor.

Austrian victories over the Turks.

Vienna.

Mohacz.

every decade. In 1699 the Sultan made a peace by which he evacuated all Hungary: hitherto, though the head of the Hapsburgs had called himself King of Hungary, it was only a strip to the west and north over which he actually ruled. At the same period the royal power made headway both in Hungary and Bohemia against the power of the feudal aristocracy and the sentiment of national independence. The crown of Hungary had hitherto been in theory elective, but in 1687 the hereditary right of the Austrian House to the throne was recognized. There was resistance still, but the free elements of the Hungarian constitution were undermined.

Charles VI. and Maria Theresa.

Charles VI. succeeded to the Imperial throne in 1711. He had no son. The chief aim of his life was to secure the rule over all Hapsburg territories for his daughter, Maria Theresa, and the Imperial title for her husband, Francis of Lorraine. He drew up a Pragmatic Sanction—a recognition of the claims of his daughter—and procured its signature by the different parts of his dominion, and by nearly all the powers of Europe. His great soldier, Prince Eugene, warned him that an efficient army would be of more value than a treaty; but before he died he believed that he had secured the great inheritance to his daughter.

Frederick invades Silesia.

On the death of Charles VI. (1740) it was seen at once how valueless the paper guarantee would be. Frederick of Prussia invaded Silesia, the rich province lying on the upper Oder. He could work up some fair claim to part of the province, but he has himself confessed in his memoirs that the wealth of the province and his own ambition were the causes of his action. His father's carefully prepared army proved itself efficient in spite of its want of experience, and Silesia was soon in the hands of Prussia.

The War of Austrian Succession.

A great European war speedily developed, and the famous Pragmatic Sanction did not influence the action of a single power. France joined with Prussia; Great Britain throughout the century was to be found in opposition to France, and she helped Maria Theresa with money. Prussia and France agreed to support the claims of Charles, the Elector of Bavaria, to the Imperial title. The war

lasted until 1748, and was not confined to Europe. Great Britain's interests in the war were chiefly colonial and commercial, and French and English soldiers fought in North America and in India, in a quarrel which had its ostensible cause in Vienna.

The war was full of great battles, but no attempt will be made to trace the course of the campaigns. Things went at first very hardly with Maria Theresa. Her troops were beaten in Silesia, and Bohemia was penetrated by a Bavarian and French force. In her extremity she turned to Hungary, which had so often fought against her ancestors, and still claimed its old constitutional liberties. She restored many of its privileges and promised to respect the independence of its Diet, and the Magyars (for that is the proper name of the Hungarians) were seized with an enthusiasm for the beautiful queen, who appeared before them with her child upon her arm. "We will die for our king, Maria Theresa," they exclaimed, and their actions justified their words. A great Hungarian army poured westward, and the wild troops quickly turned the scales in Bohemia in favour of Austria. The French army escaped with difficulty back to France. The English helped the queen chiefly with money, but they created a diversion by taking an army to the Netherlands and the Rhine. At Dettingen they escaped from apparently certain disaster by a fine exploit, but in 1745 they were heavily defeated at Fontenoy, and the next year the armies of France completely overran the Low Countries. Frederick retained Silesia in spite of all efforts to dispossess him. So in 1748 came the Peace of Aix la Chapelle. Frederick kept his conquests, but French diplomacy was not able to hold what French armies had won. All the conquests of France were surrendered.

Maria Theresa and Hungary.

Fontenoy.

The peace was felt to be little more than a breathing space. Maria Theresa had not made up her mind to abandon Silesia, and the colonial questions at issue between England and France were by no means settled. But before war came again the alliances were strangely changed, and what is known as the Diplomatic Revolution occurred.

France and the Austrian House had been at almost constant

enmity since the beginning of the sixteenth century. Their opposition had been regarded as the permanent feature in the European situation, and around these great antagonists the other European powers had grouped themselves. The hostility between Great Britain and France was not of such long standing, nor did it attract so much of the attention of the diplomatists. Now France and Austria joined together, and Great Britain thereupon passed over to alliance with Frederick of Prussia. The movement emanated from Austria, and it was Maria Theresa's minister, Kaunitz, who persuaded her of the necessity of the French alliance. It would probably have been wise and feasible for France to have remained outside the coming struggle altogether, but the court of Louis XV. was without wise advisers and largely under the influence of the king's mistress, Madame de Pompadour. France embraced the Austrian proposals; and war soon came, partly through the tension between Austria and Prussia, and partly through the conflicts of Great Britain and France in India and Canada.

The Diplomatic Revolution.

Renewal of war.

We shall not attempt to trace the colonial struggle which led to the definite victory of Great Britain in Canada and India. In Europe the outlook was exceedingly black for Frederick of Prussia. He had to face the Austrian armies, which were much improved since the last war, and he was threatened in the west by the French, who had gained in the last war many triumphs. Before long, to these enemies were added the armies of Russia, for Maria Theresa, after much negotiation, succeeded in winning the alliance of the Czarina, Elizabeth. The diplomatic struggle had gone wholly against Frederick; for, against these three great and dangerous opponents he had no serious ally except Great Britain, and her strength lay in her navy and her wealth.

The new alliances.

In this war, which is known as the Seven Years' War, Prussia passed through experiences as terrible as those which had befallen her in the Thirty Years' War. Her armies, after achieving brilliant victories at first, were beaten both by the Austrians and Russians. Berlin fell into the hands of the enemy. Frederick for a time meditated

The Seven Years' War.

suicide. Prussia seemed likely to disappear amidst ruin and defeat. That in spite of all she emerged from the war without loss of territory, and with vastly increased influence and prestige, was due to various causes.

Rosbach and Leuthen.

Frederick showed military qualities which place him among the greatest soldiers of all time. He showed himself a master of both campaigns and battles. In 1757 he defeated the French army at Rosbach, and not only defeated but humiliated it by the ease with which he gained the victory, and the obvious superiority of the Prussian troops. In the same year he gained a great victory at Leuthen, and revolutionised by his novel attack the methods of war. The British alliance, too, proved unexpectedly valuable to him. Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, controlled the policy of England, and he decided to send over troops in large numbers to the Continent, thus distracting the efforts of the French from Canadian and Indian affairs, and "winning Canada," as he said, "on the plains of Germany."

Pitt, Prime Minister in England.

Frederick recognized with gratitude the services which Pitt had rendered him. The utter rottenness of the French Monarchy counts for much in the explanation of Frederick's escape: for France no longer seemed to produce either statesmen or soldiers. Yet in 1761 it seemed that all Frederick's military skill and all his unsurpassed courage and hopeful endurance could not save him. He had been heavily beaten in 1759 by the Russians in the great Battle of Kunersdorf; Russians and Austrians had entered Berlin in 1760; they occupied Prussian territory throughout 1761. The splendid troops with which Frederick had begun the war had, for the most part, disappeared: his finances were exhausted. Perhaps, worst of all, in 1761, the policy of the young king George III. in England led to the resignation of Pitt, and the accession to power of ministers pledged to withdrawal from the continental war. The ruin of Prussia seemed at hand. But then Frederick was saved by the death of the Czarina Elizabeth, a determined and personal enemy. It was much to be rid of her. But her place was taken by her nephew, Peter III., whose weak mind had conceived a

The extremity of Frederick.

Accession of Czar Peter III.

passionate admiration for the Prussian King, whom he spoke of as "the king, my master." Russia made at once an alliance with Frederick, and the whole face of the war changed. Four months later Peter III. was overthrown and put to death by his German wife, who reigned henceforth as Catherine II. She withdrew at once from the Prussian alliance; but Frederick and Prussia were saved. Europe was exhausted by the struggle, and in 1763 the Peace of Paris brought it to an end. Frederick retained Silesia. Prussia was the wonder of Europe. Frederick's system of government and of war was the admiration of his neighbours, and even those who had suffered most severely at his hands began to imitate him.

Frederick "the Great."

The eighteenth century has been called the Age of the Enlightened Despot. In various countries great changes of a beneficent kind were carried out by the concentration of all power in the hands of a well-intentioned ruler. Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Austria afford examples of this, but Prussia is the great example. The monarchy of Frederick was the very antithesis of that of Louis XIV. There was little pomp or ceremonial. The king was the hardest worked servant of the State. He took on himself heavy duties and he placed heavy duties on his subordinates and subjects. The welfare of the State was the one object that all must set before them, and to the king this took the place of religion. After the Peace of Paris, Frederick never engaged again in any serious war. The State had almost to be built again from the foundations, so great had been the ravages of war. Agriculture and commerce were supervised and stimulated by the State, and before the end of his reign the beneficent effects of his policy were apparent. He had been in his youth a pupil of the philosophers of France, and in the abolition of torture and the establishment of complete religious toleration he showed himself throughout faithful to their lessons.

The Enlightened Despot.

He reigned until 1786, and in 1772 he gained for Prussia a great and valuable territory. For in that year came the first partition of Poland. Poland lay helpless between the three great powers: Prussia, Russia, and Austria. Her

people were divided into factions; her peasantry sunk into a degrading serfdom; her constitution unworkable; her king the favourite of the Russian Czarina. It seemed, in 1772, that the outbreak of a great war in Eastern Europe threatened. It was on Frederick's suggestion that the three great powers agreed to forget their quarrels and their rival claims on the Turkish frontier, and to seize instead each a slice of unresisting Poland. Maria Theresa shrank at first from sharing in an act as unjustifiable as Frederick's seizure of Silesia; but in the end she joined with the others. To Russia fell the greatest extent of territory, and to Prussia the most valuable part, for she laid hands on Western Prussia, and thus her Prussian lands were made continuous with Brandenburg. The state gained thereby immensely in strength and unity.

First partition of Poland.

Maria Theresa died in 1780. She is a great figure in European history, and a noble one. The House of Hapsburg has not produced any ruler who appeals so much to the sympathy and admiration of posterity as this woman—beautiful, religious, patriotic, determined, and in the end not unsuccessful. Her husband had held the Imperial title until his death in 1765. Then her son Joseph II. had succeeded in the empire, and now, in 1780, he ruled over all the Hapsburg lands.

Maria Theresa.

Joseph II. regarded Frederick of Prussia with a strange mixture of hate and admiration. He saw in him the worst enemy of his house, but also he regarded him as the ideal of a modern ruler. No sooner was he safely established in power than he began to inaugurate reforms in imitation of the Prussian King. The unification of the State and the unchecked power of the Crown: these were his ideals. Religious toleration was to remove one great cause of division: the German language was to be used everywhere as the official tongue; the whole of his dominions were to be divided into administrative districts, equitably governed without reference to the privileges of race or class. He desired, in fact, to transform the multifarious possessions of the House of Hapsburg, with all their differences of religion, race, language, and

Joseph II. of Austria.

character, into a single modern state after the fashion set by Frederick in Prussia. He had not calculated the difference between the territories of Frederick and his own. Prussia was divided, indeed, in many ways, but the inhabitants were nearly all German and Protestant, while Austria was a collection of states hostile to one another by the traditions of five hundred years, and in some instances still in the early feudal and mediæval stage. The chief divisions into which his territories fell were the following: (1) Austria proper, the original possessions of the House of Hapsburg, German and Catholic for the most part. (2) Hungary, including Transylvania, consisting for the most part of Magyars, proud of their nationality; feudal in its institutions to which it adhered tenaciously. (3) Bohemia, and Moravia: Czech and to a large extent Protestant; their sense of national existence beginning to revive. (4) The Italian possessions; united by religion with Austria, but quite alien in character, language, and aspirations. (5) The Austrian Netherlands (Belgium): acquired by the Treaty of Utrecht; Catholic, but alien in language and character, in both which respects they were attracted rather to France than to Austria. This is not by any means a complete list, but it is enough to show how difficult was the task which Joseph II. had set before him, how hard it would be to reduce these different states to unity on the basis of common administration with German as the official language. His insistence on religious toleration, and his opening of education to laymen, which are among the best of his proposed reforms, were those which roused most hostility. His reign, full of noble effort, ended in gloom. There were protests against his schemes in Bohemia and Hungary, while in Belgium the people rose in revolution for the maintenance of the privileges of the Catholic Church. His foreign designs succeeded no better; and the failure of his plans hastened his death. He bequeathed to his brother, Leopold II., a difficult task. His aim was to conciliate the many elements in his dominions which had been exasperated by Joseph II., and before this task was accomplished, he had

Contrast between Prussia and Austria.

Failure of Joseph II.'s plans.

to face the diplomatic difficulties arising out of the French Revolution.

The English books dealing with this chapter are many and good. Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*; Tuttle's *Prussia* and *Frederick*; Reddaway's *Frederick the Great*; Coxe's *House of Austria*; Macaulay's *Essay on Frederick*.

CHAPTER XIII

The Decline of France and the End of the Ancient Regime

We have always to be on our guard against reading a period of history in the light of what we know happened afterwards. The coming of the French Revolution is for Europe and for France the great event of the end of the eighteenth century; and there is a tendency, therefore, to see in all that happened after the death of Louis XIV. merely the signs of the ruin which was impending over the old monarchy. The seeds of the Revolution were unquestionably being laid then, but the Government of France was in many respects successful, and no one foresaw a revolution of the kind that actually occurred.

The Regency and Reaction.

The efforts of Louis XIV. to rule France from his grave failed entirely. All the arrangements that he had made in his will were thrown to the winds, and the Duke of Orleans governed as regent for Louis XV. with all the powers that traditionally belonged to the office. France was weary of Louis XIV.'s ideas, which had ended in such great failure, and the regency saw a period of reaction at almost every point. It was the finances of France which claimed the most immediate attention. The reforms of Colbert had been quite swept away by the long wars of the reign, and especially by the exhaustion of the War of the Spanish Succession. France found herself face to face with an immense and constantly increasing debt, which the poverty of the people seemed unable to bear. There came

forward at this juncture a Scotch adventurer, John Law by name, who proposed to the Regent a scheme by means of which the debt of France was to be paid off and the deficit converted into a large annual profit. Political economy and accurate thought of any sort on financial matters were only just beginning, and Law was by no means a mere impostor, as he has been sometimes represented, though his scheme ended in utter collapse. Briefly, he proposed to issue paper money to an immense extent upon the credit of the vast possessions of France in Northern America, which were under the control of the Company of the West. He did not think that it was necessary actually to have gold and silver with which to pay the notes that were issued. He believed that the financial life of a country rested on its credit, and the Northern Continent of America over most of which France held a claim, seemed capable of supplying credit for any possible issue of notes. The whole scheme was a complicated and difficult one. It is thought that Law might have achieved a large measure of success, if gambling—to an extent then quite unexampled—had not begun in the shares of the Company of the West, which controlled the American territories upon which Law relied for the success of his scheme. In the end, Law, after seeming arbiter of the finances of Europe for a time, had to retire into exile, and France had still to face the financial difficulty, and to endeavour to meet it by less questionable methods. In 1723 the regent died, and after a short interval Louis XV. nominally assumed the reins of power; but his youth prevented his actually controlling the State for some time, and the chief minister of France was his old tutor, Cardinal Fleury.

Law's schemes.

Failure of Law.

Cardinal Fleury was in many respects a remarkable man, and hardly any one in the history of Europe has exercised such power at so advanced an age. He died, still in possession of the chief authority in France, while France was reckoned the leading country in Europe, at the age of ninety years. He pursued a pacific policy, and looked especially to England for alliance and support. Between Fleury and Walpole there was an understanding which was highly beneficial to the peace of Europe and the prosperity

Fleury.

of both countries. His administration was a time of recovery and of peace, but before the end there came a serious though short war, and we must look to that for a moment.

The king had been married for political reasons to Maria Leczinska, the daughter of Stanislas, the exiled King of Poland.

The War of the Polish Succession.

Now there was a vacancy again in the Polish succession, and the father of the French queen was once again a candidate, and a candidate who had the goodwill of a vast majority of the Polish people. The Polish throne was nominally elective, and if the election had been freely conducted, there would have been no doubt about the result; but Polish affairs, in the weakness and decrepitude of that miserable state, were coming more and more to be the concern of her neighbours, and the question of the Polish succession involved the chief European powers in war. France, Spain, and Sardinia were prepared to support in arms the claims of Stanislas, while Russia and Austria supported the rival candidate, Augustus of Saxony. We must not follow any of the military details: French arms gained an important victory in Italy, but then suddenly peace negotiations were opened, and the war came to an end.

Peace of Vienna.

By the Peace of Vienna which followed (1738) some important alterations were made in the frontiers of Europe. Lorraine was now promised to France in full sovereignty. It was the last gain of the French monarchy upon the continent of Europe before the storm of the Revolution broke. Spain gained possession of Naples and Sicily. France and her allies did not succeed in securing the throne for Stanislas, and he had to be contented with the possession of the Duchy of Lorraine.

Death of Fleury.

This was Fleury's last important exploit. He lived for several years yet, but his declining powers were not equal to the control of the great diplomatic movements which preceded the outbreak of the War of Austrian Succession.

The story of that war and of the Seven Years' War which succeeded it has been told in the last chapter, and it is characteristic of the changed position of France in Europe, that it is possible to tell the story of wars, in which the destiny of France was deeply involved, from the point of view of Berlin and

Vienna rather than of Paris. France lost her position as the central and controlling power of Europe. Not only was she defeated as Louis XIV. had been, but she lost also her diplomatic prestige which he had never done. Yet we must not exaggerate the extent of the military humiliation of France during those wars. In the first war, indeed, there was no humiliation at all. The French troops defeated the English in the two great battles of Fontenoy and Lawfeldt, and they overran and conquered the Netherlands, a feat which Louis XIV. had often tried, but in which he had never succeeded. The second war, the Seven Years' War, opened with some brilliant French successes; but then the fortune of war changed, and there came upon France, not merely defeat, but disgrace and ruin as well. The causes of these humiliations are to be found partly in the fact that France was fighting against two of the most powerful military leaders that Europe has ever known, the Earl of Chatham, the English Prime Minister, and Frederick the Great, King of Prussia; but partly also they are to be traced without question to the wretched character of the king and of his court, and of most of his ministers. There was a time when Louis XV. was thought to be possessed of military ardour and skill: but that soon passed, and for the greater part of his reign he lived a life of vile private immorality, not ceasing to claim the control of the foreign affairs of France, but showing in his policy neither patriotism nor diplomatic skill. He distrusted his ministers, and often intrigued behind their backs, and the chief influence upon his policy was not that of any of the great servants of the Crown, but rather that of the women who in succession held the position of mistress at court. The chief of these are Madame de Pompadour for the first part of the reign, and Madame du Barri for the latter part. The great change in alliances, sometimes known as "the Diplomatic Revolution," which took place between the Austrian Succession War and the Seven Years' War, wherein France passed from the alliance of Prussia to the alliance of Austria, was not, indeed, altogether due to Madame Pompadour or her vanity, as has sometimes

Changed position of France in Europe.

Character of Louis XV. and his Court.

Madame de Pompadour.

been alleged, but was certainly influenced and promoted by her. The decline of France is justly traced in part to the influence of this woman, who had some good private qualities, but whose influence upon public affairs was altogether for evil.

France loses India and Canada.

One result of these wars—though not one upon which European diplomacy fixed its eyes with any great interest—was the loss to France of India and of Canada. In both countries her policy had been for a time successful, and had been conducted by men of eminent ability. It was Dupleix who, by skilfully engaging in the quarrels among the Indian princes, by throwing the strength of France now on one side and now on the other, and by training Indian troops in European methods, increased the possessions of France in India, and showed also to his English rivals the means whereby, without actual declaration of war, they subsequently made themselves masters of the vast peninsula. In Canada the French possessions were large, and, on the whole, well-governed. The French had in Montcalm a soldier and statesman of the highest worth, and possessing, as they did, not only territories in the north, but also in the south of the continent, where New Orleans and the lower valley of the Mississippi were in their hands, it seemed not impossible that the future of North America might lie with them rather than with the English. The first war, so far as Indian and Colonial affairs were concerned, was a drawn battle, but it was clear that the end had not been reached. It was Indian and American interests which drew England into the second war, and, in that, victory came swiftly and decisively to the side of the island state. When the Peace of Paris was signed in 1763 the flag of France had ceased to fly in Canada, and it flew in India only over small possessions and by permission of the dominant English power.

Dupleix.

Montcalm.

Cause of French failure.

It will be better instead of giving any incidents in this well-known struggle to consider the causes which led to so disastrous a result for France. Some weight must be attached to the refusal of France to give to her representatives in distant lands a free hand: in Canada especially the enterprise of the colonists was

checked by the interference of the Home Government. More weight must be attached to the fact that while England was fighting on the Continent with limited responsibility, and could withdraw from it at any time behind the security of the surrounding seas, France, on the other hand, was engaged there in a war which demanded all her energies, and in itself overstrained her resources. We have seen that the Spanish colonial power owed its wreck largely to the continental complications of Spain, and it is true also that it was the ambitions and the contests of France in Europe which prevented her colonial enterprise from striking a deep root and bearing permanent results. If we look to the contests themselves we shall find that the result was decided by naval supremacy. There were not, indeed, during the Seven Years' War, any encounters of importance between the navies of England and France in distant waters; but none the less, campaigns in both India and Canada were controlled by the failure of France to send out reinforcements or to maintain constant intercourse with her representatives. France was not immediately conscious that she had lost so vast a prize, but she was conscious of her defeats and humiliations in Europe. The rise of the absolute monarchy in France had been due largely to the services which it rendered and the victories which it won in war, and the military failure of the government of Louis XV. destroyed the popularity of the government and undermined the loyalty of the people. Napoleon is reported to have said that the battle of Rossbach (the battle in which the French were so hopelessly defeated by Frederick) was the cause of the French Revolution, and there is much truth in the view that is implied by that saying.

Interference of the Home Government.

Complications in Europe.

British naval supremacy.

Strength of French monarchy undermined.

The end of Louis XV.'s reign saw foreign events which must be briefly noted. There came upon Poland in 1772 what is known as the First Partition, the seizure, that is to say, of outlying provinces by Prussia, Austria, and Russia. France tried to interfere, but in vain, and her failure marks again the decline of her prestige. Just before

Poland.

the end of the reign, however, there came a notable acquisition. The island of Corsica had long been in insurrection against the rule of Genoa. The struggle was ended by the cession of the island to France. The resistance of the islanders was beaten down, and the government of France thus gained a position which would be of the greatest value to France as a naval base in the Mediterranean.

Corsica.

We turn now to the domestic history of the reign, and we see there how opposition to the monarchy was rising up, and the forces were being accumulated which produced the great outbreak of the Revolution a quarter of a century later. It was a sign of the weakness and the unpopularity of the government that men and institutions who would not have dared to express their opposition against the government of Louis XIV., persisted in their attacks upon Louis XV. and in several instances won their point against the Crown itself.

We have already noted the rise of the religious movement known as Jansenism, and we have seen that its supporters had been crushed by the combined action of the papacy and the Crown of France; but the Jansenists still existed, and their opposition to religious and political authority was not lessened by the injustice from which they had suffered. They found a champion in the Parlement of Paris, which was primarily, as we have already seen, a Court of Justice, but acted also generally as a guardian of the laws of France. This power it had used in past ages mainly to draw away cases from the authority of the feudal courts and to bring them within the power of the king's courts; but it now used its functions to resist the royal authority in matters ecclesiastical. For the Jansenists were being subjected to an odious and irritating oppression. The last consolations of the Church were refused to any one suspected of Jansenism. The Parlement declared that this was an attack upon the laws of France, and again and again interfered on behalf of the Jansenists. The people of Paris applauded the boldness with which the government was attacked, and in many instances Parlement secured its aim.

Jansenism.

Supported by the Paris Parlement.

But there was little life in Jansenism, and the Parlement shortly turned from the defence of this body to an attack upon the greatest of all religious corporations within the Roman Catholic Church, the Jesuits. We have seen how the Jesuits had been the chief agency of Rome in turning back the tide of Protestant success. Since the end of the era of the religious wars and the Peace of Westphalia, they had turned to other enterprises, and had been singularly successful in their conduct of foreign missions. In France they were unpopular because they had identified themselves closely with the royal authority, and were believed to have inspired some of its worst acts of religious oppression. Their position seemed strong and unchallenged, when a storm arose from an unexpected quarter. The manager of a Jesuit mission in the West Indies had become insolvent owing to the depredations of English vessels during the war. His creditors claimed that the whole society was answerable for his debts, and the matter was brought before the Parlement. Parlement had long regarded the Jesuits with hostility, and eagerly seized upon this opportunity to inquire into the whole organization of the Jesuit order. In vain the king tried to take the matter out of the hands of the Parlement and bring it before a tribunal of his own choosing. The Parlement went on in spite of all, and soon declared that the Jesuit order, as then constituted, was inadmissible in France, because its members swore an absolute allegiance to their general, who might be a foreigner, and had rarely, if ever, been a Frenchman. The international character of the Jesuit order had been one of the chief sources of its power in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it was now the cause or the excuse of the attack that was made upon it. Proposals were made for a compromise. It was suggested that the Jesuits of France should choose for themselves a chief who should always be a Frenchman; but the idea of concession or conciliation was rejected. "They must be as they are," was the answer, "or they must cease to be," and Louis XV., though he would have liked to save them, yielded to the pressure that was put upon him, and in 1764 the order was

Attack upon the Jesuits.

Suppression of the Jesuit order in France.

declared suppressed in France. The attack upon the order in France was by no means an isolated incident. In all Catholic countries about this time, and especially in Portugal and in Spain, the Jesuits were the subject of inquiry and cruel attack. The movement against them was part of the intellectual current of the time which we shall shortly examine, and it was distinguished by nothing more clearly than by its opposition to the authority and coercive power of the Roman Catholic Church. After the Jesuits had been expelled from Portugal and Spain, and from several of the Italian states as well as from France, great pressure was put upon the papacy to recognize the suppression and to abolish the whole order. At last, in 1773, Pope Clement XIV. was constrained to yield. "It is my own right hand," he is reported to have said, "that I am cutting off, but it has sinned." The Jesuit order was, therefore, abolished, but the abolition did not last very long. The order was too valuable a weapon of the Church to be thus sacrificed, and it was soon restored and became again, what it has continued to be, the chief agency and influence within the Catholic Church.

Abolition of the Jesuit order.

Parlement thus gained a notable victory, and soon it was quarrelling with the king once more, this time on the question of the various edicts of taxation which were sent down to it for registration during the last years of the reign. The opposition of the Parlement had become a constant annoyance, and was probably a real check to good government as well as bad. The king's anger was stimulated by his mistress, Du Barri. She compared the action of the French Parlement to that of the English Parliament in the seventeenth century; she pointed to a portrait of the English Charles I., and said to the king, "Your Parlement also will cut off your head." The king in the end determined to have recourse to vigorous measures. The members of the Parlement were arrested and exiled; their courts were declared to be for ever abolished, and their place as the highest court of justice in France was taken by new royal courts, which would never have the old powers of

Parlement and taxation.

Suppression of Parlement.

interference in public affairs which had been possessed by the Parlement (1771).

Louis XV. died in 1774. Few kings, if any, have ruled in Europe with such evil consequences to the State that was committed to them. He was not by nature cruel, nor did he desire to strike a blow at the prosperity or progress of France, but he was centred in himself and in his own pleasures. He was mastered by idleness and self-indulgence; he made no effort to see beyond the immediate future. He had some suspicion that the present system would not last long; it was enough for him that it would last his life time. "After me, the deluge," he is reported to have said; and the deluge was not long in coming after his death.

Death and influence of Louis XV.

Here, before we proceed with the narrative of events in France, it will be well to survey the condition of the country upon the eve of this deluge of which Louis XV. spoke. A great number of books have been written about what is known as the ancient *regime*, but we must confine our survey to a few pages. What we find in France is by no means a solitary or unexampled condition of things. In most countries of Western Europe there was something like it, and there were several countries in which the same general abuses were found with greater intensity and oppressiveness. The peasant of Poland or of Spain, or of some states of South Germany, if he had been transported to France, would have found there social conditions better than his own, and liberty far greater than he was accustomed to. It is not the intensity of the suffering of the French people which by itself produced the Revolution, but other causes which we shall have shortly to consider.

Characteristics of the Ancient Regime.

The Government of France was an absolutism. It was reckoned the most absolute government to be found in Europe, with the exception of Turkey. It owed its strength to the fact that it had at one time represented the people and served the needs of France better than the aristocracy or any elected assembly could do. Its absolutism remained, but its social and national service had almost ceased. The people no longer

The absolutism of the French government.

regarded it as the champion of their cause; it was closely linked with the aristocracy which was historically its greatest enemy. It had triumphed over the feudal nobility; it had destroyed or it had controlled all the representative institutions which France had at one time possessed. The States-General had ceased to exist; the provincial estates were destroyed either in name or in fact; municipal institutions had been brought under the control of the central government; Protestantism and Jansenism had been coerced; the Catholic Church, by the Concordat of 1516, had been turned into the instrument of royal policy. An absolute government is not only the most efficient for certain purposes when strong, but it is also the most unstable when it is weak, and the French monarchy had come into this condition of weakness. There were signs of the coming change in the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV., but the development had gone on rapidly during the reign of Louis XV. His government had shown neither patriotism, nor a careful choice of instruments; neither efficiency, nor success. The State was thus dominated by a single institution, and that institution was corrupt and tottering.

Its opponents overthrown.

Its instability.

While the political condition of France was, before all things, unstable, her social condition was antiquated, irrational, and oppressive. The social condition of France before the Revolution is sometimes described as feudalism; but this is a mistake. Feudalism, in the strict sense of the word, such as has been described in a previous chapter, had been destroyed, perhaps, more completely in France than elsewhere in Europe: the nobles possessed less political power in France than in England or in Germany. But the land was still burdened by the ruins of the feudal system, by institutions, customs, and rights which had once been capable of defence when the nobles of France were the real government, but which had become now merely oppressive since the triumph of the monarchy and the withdrawal of the nobles from their estates to reside in Versailles or Paris.

The ruins of feudalism.

The chief relics of feudalism were the judicial rights and

the financial privileges of the nobles. They still possessed and exercised certain judicial rights over the residents on their estates; and they were a privileged class in the matter of taxation. They were not the only privileged class: the clergy shared the title with them, and a large number of rich men, who neither belonged to the nobility nor the clergy, purchased the same financial privileges. The privileged classes were not, indeed, entirely exempt from all direct taxation as they had once been. Efforts had been made ever since the Age of Louis XIV. to place some part of the burdens of the State upon their shoulders; they paid their share of excise and customs; there were certain property taxes from which they did not entirely escape; but they were wholly free from the *taille*, and bore a far smaller share of the taxation than any corresponding class in any state of modern Europe. What they escaped from fell mainly upon the peasantry, and it is to the peasantry that we must now turn.

The privileged classes.

Serfdom had almost entirely disappeared from the soil of France; there was a large number of day labourers working upon the land, but the soil was largely in the possession of small cultivators who were either *metayers* or proprietors. The former class paid to the owners of the land a certain proportion of its produce as rent, and are described as being generally both poor and discontented; but the class of proprietors was the most distinguishing feature of agricultural France. A large part of the soil was in their hands, and an English farmer (Arthur Young) who visited France shortly before the Revolution deplored the subdivision of the country, which, he believed, led to bad and unproductive farming. These peasants took an active part in the disorderly movements which accompanied the beginning of the Revolution, and the causes of their discontent are not difficult to find. The land which was cultivated was their own, which they could sell or bequeath, and yet it was surrounded by many arbitrary and irritating restrictions. Thus they had sometimes to pay to some feudal lord a certain number of sheaves of corn; or a certain number of chickens

Condition of the peasantry.

Peasant proprietors.

or of sheep; or they had to grind their corn at the feudal mill; or to crush their grapes in the feudal winepress. More serious probably than all of these were the game laws of France, according to which the peasantry were forced to allow the great and small game of the neighbouring lords to invade their fields and destroy their crops. These burdens, and others like them, were the remains of the old feudal system of France, intelligible and defensible, while the nobles still carried on the government, but no longer anything but an anomaly since feudalism had been overthrown by the monarchy and the nobles were for the most part resident in Paris or at Versailles.

The annoyance caused by these feudal dues and restrictions was very great; but the chief burden was caused by the taxes of the State. The towns had managed to a large extent to escape; it was upon the country districts and upon the unprivileged peasantry there that the chief load was placed. The State taxes which the peasants had to pay were heavy, and they were assessed and collected in a way so exasperating that they produced more resentment than they need have done. The chief taxes were as follows. From the fifteenth century onwards the government had looked to the *taille* as its chief source of income. This was a tax upon the houses and the landed property of the unprivileged. It was assessed by the central government and divided among the various districts of France by the intendants and their agents, and was regarded by the taxpayers with particular dislike. It was increased arbitrarily upon any sign of well-being in house or land, and the squalor of the villages of France, which is described by visitors before the Revolution, is to be attributed partly, indeed, to poverty, but partly also to the hope of avoiding taxation by the appearance of poverty.

The State taxes on the unprivileged.

Taille.

Gabelle.

Next in importance was the tax called the *gabelle*. This was not properly speaking a tax, but rather a salt monopoly in the hands of the State. The State alone could sell salt, and it forced every individual, man, woman, and child, to buy a certain amount in each year. The price was arbitrarily fixed, and it varied widely between one district

and another; the smuggling of salt, from areas where it was cheap, into those where it was dear, was, therefore, constantly practised, and the prisons were full of men who were charged with salt smuggling. Another tax was the *corvée*, a system of forced labour exacted by the State from the peasantry: but it had been reduced to very small proportions, and was, on the eve of the Revolution, rather a cause of irritation than a crushing burden.

The burden of taxation.

The total weight of taxes and feudal dues upon the peasantry was very great. It is calculated that in some districts the peasant paid to the State 55 per cent. of all that he earned. He came to regard the system of government as the cause of his troubles. He passionately desired the overthrow of the government and the freedom of his land from all restrictions and arbitrary charges, and it is easy to understand, therefore, why he so readily co-operated in the early movements of the Revolution.

Wide-spread opposition to the government.

The peasantry were the most decidedly revolutionary class at the beginning of the movement, but there was no really conservative class. The towns were full of new ideas, and the commercial classes were irritated by the restrictions placed upon them by the government, and inspired to demand freedom by the sight of the far greater prosperity of commerce and trade in England. Even the aristocracy regarded the monarchy with feelings of jealousy, and though the upper ranks of the clergy warmly supported the established order, the parish priests were for the most part in sympathy with the desire for change.

The intellectual movement.

We must turn now to the new ideas, which were spreading on all sides, all tending to the overthrow of the established order in Church and State, with a view to founding a more equal and a more humane society. Some kind of change was probably inevitable in any case, for the old forms of government were wearing out, and there were positive grievances enough to make the people press for practical reforms; but the Revolution was hastened and influenced by the writers of the time who inspired the French people generally

with dislike for the existing order, and with passionate hope and belief in the possibility of the regeneration of France. There has probably been no era in the history of the world when literary men—writers, that is to say, without any official position in Church or State—have exercised such an influence upon the minds and actions of men; and it is necessary, therefore, to examine the nature of this influence at the end of the reign of Louis XV.

Its general tendencies.

The movement was many sided, and some of the most prominent writers of the time who joined in it were to be found in Germany, in England, and in America. Some of its main tendencies may be summarized as follows. In the first place, all the writers were opposed to the established order; some of them were conservative in temper, some of them revolutionary, but all were agreed in regarding the established order in Church and State with disfavour. A second marked characteristic of the movement was its humanity. All institutions were brought to this tribunal, and the writers almost without exception, condemned in the strongest terms religious persecution, cruel and vindictive punishments, the use of torture in trials at law, and all the many cruelties of the ancient *régime*. It may be noted further that most of these writers turned away with something like contempt and loathing from the actual history of France during the Middle Ages: but, while they were accustomed to speak of everything mediæval as barbarous, they regarded the classical world of Greece and Rome with indiscriminating enthusiasm. Many mistakes were commonly made as to the history and institutions of Greece and Rome, and legend was uncritically accepted as history: and without any misgivings the writers of the time drew their illustrations and their lessons from ancient history, taking examples of heroism and civic virtue from Plutarch's lives of the Greeks and Romans, and of despotism and vice from Tacitus' lurid pictures of the Roman Empire. Popular education had not spread widely in France, and the philosophical writings of the time, though written in easy and popular style, must have circulated chiefly among the upper and middle classes: but ideas once current

Revolutionary.

Humane.

Unhistorical.

cannot be restrained within limits, and the criticism of the established order and the vague hopes that were entertained of a new era spread far and wide among all classes in France.

Voltaire.

Voltaire (1694–1778) was the greatest name in French literature of the eighteenth century, and his activity extended to almost every field of literature ; to drama, to poetry, to philosophy, to history, and to fiction, all written with perfect lucidity and illuminated with never-failing wit. He devoted his long life to the preaching of enlightenment, and to an assault upon the religious beliefs and institutions of his time ; it was coercion in religion which he especially attacked, and religious toleration has had no more effective champion. In political and social matters his standpoint was less clear ; he did not desire a democracy, though he saw that the French monarchy was weak and corrupt. He had been closely associated with Frederick the Great of Prussia in the early part of his reign, and he seems to have desired for France some ruler of the same kind, vigorous and unscrupulous, who would rule with absolute power, in the interests of enlightenment and humanity.

Montesquieu.

Another name that deserves mention, even in this slight sketch, is that of Montesquieu (1689–1755). His great book is "The Spirit of the Laws," in which he sums up the lessons of history on matters of government. His ideas were largely influenced by his admiration for the institutions of England, and he would have liked to see a free and balanced aristocratic government established in France. One special contribution which he made to political thought was his insistence upon the separation of the legislative, the executive and the judicial parts of the State, and his chapters dealing with this point had a great influence on the making of the constitution of the United States of America, and on the French constitution of 1791.

Rousseau.

A more immediately influential name than either of these is that of Rousseau (1712–1778), who stands in many respects quite apart from the others. His deeply emotional nature was very far indeed from the intellectuality and rationalism of Voltaire and of Montesquieu. In many respects he threw himself against the currents of the age :

he preached a return to nature, and in the spirit of this famous phrase desired to alter the prevalent system of education from the family upwards; he rejected orthodox Christianity in every shape, but he held passionately to a belief in God and preached this belief with evangelical fervour. His political ideas are to be found in many of his works, but they are summed up in the small book which is entitled the "Social Contract," which had an immense influence upon his own and the next generation, and has been rightly described as the Bible of the Revolution. In this book he asserts that the origin of all governments is to be found in the people themselves, not in any divine right of monarchy, nor in any contract between the people and their rulers. The power belonged, he maintained, originally to the people, and always belongs by right to them; as all governments emanate from them, so they have a right to overthrow all governments: but when they have established a government that suits them there can be no limit to its power either in matters political or religious. So that whilst he seems at one moment to be preaching doctrines of wild revolution, another part of his book was quoted by the revolutionary leaders as justifying their most despotic action. It was not only the doctrines of the book, but also the style in which they were enunciated, in short epigrammatic sentences, which procured for it its great influence upon its generation.

The "Social Contract."

In conclusion, if we think of France upon the eve of the Revolution, we must not imagine that its people suffered more grievously than those of many other lands, but they were more conscious of their suffering. They were inspired by a more hopeful determination to abolish the causes of it, and they were face to face with a government powerful in appearance, but weak in reality, the overthrow of which would leave the forces of rebellion in complete command of the field.

Conclusion.

In addition to the ordinary histories of France, Taine's *Ancient Regime*; De Tocqueville, *The Ancient Regime and the Revolution*; Arthur Young's *Travels in France*; John Morley, *Voltaire* and *Rousseau*; Rousseau, *Social Contract*, translated by H. J. Tozer; Lecky, *History of England*, chapter xx.; Lord Acton, *Lectures on the French Revolution*.

CHAPTER XIV

The French Revolution

Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette.

LOUIS XVI., who became King of France in 1774, was one of the most well-meaning men who ever occupied that position. He had seen with disgust the character of the Court of Louis XV., and he himself was influenced by the philanthropic ideas of the time. He had been married to Marie Antoinette, an Austrian princess, at a moment when it was hoped to bring France and Austria together in common action in Europe. His queen was a woman of great strength of character and of more intellectual power than her husband possessed ; but she was a stranger in France, and understood neither its problems nor its government, and her influence upon her husband was an evil one. From the first she was disliked as being a foreigner and an Austrian, and at the end she was regarded with some truth as the bitterest enemy of the Revolution.

The States-General, 1789.

The financial situation in 1774 was a very serious one France had a large debt, and the debt grew year by ye.er We have seen in the last chapter some of the causes of. the unsatisfactory condition of things. So long as the classes were exempt from their fair burden of taxati, and the ground of privilege, it would be impossible to put.ry questions of France on a satisfactory footing, or to get si to as the needs of the country demanded. The cl the years of the reign is to be found in the necessit' .y, or of pecuniary privileges and in the various .g, on the ad ice of made to secure this end. The first m nist which was known as appointed was admirably chosen. It s cl ll remained as to how a man already well known for his vote. Were they to sit ment of a poor provincial district, a by a simple majority (in and sympathizer with the philosophic commons, with much Louis XVI. supported him as his an from the nobles, would supported Richelieu, great reforms migh sit in three chambers,

carried out, and France might have been spared the revolutionary trials that were to follow. Turgot projected many schemes for the abolition of privilege and the better government of France, and carried some out; but he found himself resisted by a court intrigue, which was supported by the queen, and the king unwillingly dismissed him. The next finance minister

Necker.

was Necker, a banker of Geneva and a Protestant, whose employment as a minister raised some constitutional difficulties. He was not, like Turgot, a great reforming statesman, but he was an excellent financier, and did much by economy and by skilful borrowing to bring about something like a balance between the income and the expenditure of the State. But while he was in office France became

The American War.

involved in the war between England and her revolted colonies in North America. The war was a great triumph for France. Great Britain was humiliated both by land and by sea, and the victory of the colonies could not have been won, as it was and when it was, if it had not been for the assistance rendered in many ways by the French Government. But this victorious war did little or nothing to strengthen the position of the monarchy or to undo the effects of the military failures of the last reign. The eyes of France were fixed upon the triumph of the United States rather than on that of the French armies. They hailed with enthusiasm the rise of a democracy and a Republic, and instead of supporting the government which had carried them through to victory, they began to think more seriously than ever of importing into France the ideas which they saw so successful beyond the Atlantic. In another way, too, the war damaged the prospects of the monarchy. Necker's careful management of finances could only be successful in a time of peace; the war, in spite of its triumph, had involved France in great expenses, and Necker's economies were completely effaced. He came to the conclusion that the privileged classes must be taxed, and he put out a full statement of the economic position of France in order to prepare the way for further measures. There arose, thereupon,

Fall of Necker.

against him the same opposition as had been fatal to his predecessor, and in 1784 he had to retire from office.

The financial administration was now reduced to miserable expedients. The government was carried on for a time by reckless borrowing at a high rate of interest, and when this was no longer possible, the king tried to impose taxes upon all classes in France by means of royal edicts. There can be no question that in so doing he was only acting as his predecessors had often acted before, but the monarchy was no longer what it had been. It was weak because of the character of the king, and because of the rapidly increasing confidence of the opposition, and the king found his financial edicts resisted by the Parlement of Paris, whose existence he had revived immediately after his accession. And the resistance of Parlement was supported by the great mass of the people of France. Amidst all these confusions the cry was often heard that the nation itself must be taken into council, and that the States-General must be restored. The States-General, the ancient representative assembly of the three orders in France, had not met since 1614, and their functions and their organization were little known; but it was known that they had formed a general representative assembly, and their restoration was now loudly demanded. The king, partly through weakness and partly through genuine sympathy with the aims of the popular party in France, determined to yield to this constantly growing demand. He restored Necker to his councils, and he declared himself ready to summon the States-General.

Demand for States-General.

The decision was greeted with general enthusiasm, and the king was unquestionably popular. Two preliminary questions called for settlement. First, were the commons to have as many representatives as each of the privileged orders, the clergy and the nobility, or were they to have twice as many? The king, on the advice of Necker, decided for the popular claim, which was known as double representation. The question still remained as to how the representatives were to sit and vote. Were they to sit together and decide every question by a simple majority (in which case the representatives of the commons, with much support from the clergy and a little even from the nobles, would be able to carry the day); or were they to sit in three chambers,

The States-General, 1789.

and was every question to be decided by a majority of chambers? In the latter case double representation would prove little better than a mockery, and the privileged orders would be in a position to force their will upon the nation. This second question was not decided when, on May 5, 1789, [illegible]e hundred representatives of clergy, nobility and commons came together at Versailles. The king opened the proceedings with an optimistic speech, but it soon turned out that nothing could be done until the question of the method of voting had been settled. Negotiations between the three orders came to nothing. The commons felt their hands strengthened by petitions and the general support of France, and a large number of the clergy declared themselves ready to come over to the side of the commons. After much negotiation and hesitation the commons on June 17, 1789, took to themselves the title of the National Assembly, and declared that they would proceed to their task of making a constitution for France, whether the privileged orders co-operated with them or not. By this act the Third Estate (or Commons) claimed the right to act for the nation as a whole. The Crown now was obliged to interfere. It had been driven from side to side by contending factions at court, but the king now determined to go down and announce his will to the representatives. He promised a large number of reforms; and he declared that the States-General were to be a permanent institution of France, but he spoilt all by announcing that the States-General were to be organized upon the three-chamber model. The commons, under the leadership of their greatest orator and most determined statesman, Mirabeau, who, though a nobleman by birth, had joined the popular side, determined to resist a proposal which would have given power to the privileged classes. The king, through humanity and through weakness, was not willing to make use of the army and to crush down the rebellion against his power which had thus clearly begun. In a few days, in spite of the bold words that he had spoken, a complete victory crowned the efforts of the commons. Many of the nobility and clergy came over to the commons of their own free will: the rest were asked to do so by the king himself; and by the end of the

The National Assembly.

Mirabeau.

EURO[...]

Eng[...]

0 50 100 20[...]

France at th[...] end of 1802

Acquisitions

Acquisitions

Kingdom of I[...] directly ruled b[...]

Dependent S[...]

Boundary of France 1792

Boundary of Confederation of the Rhine

BRITISH ISLANDS

Atlantic Ocean

IRELAND

SCOTLAND

ENGLAND

WALES

Dublin

Edinburgh

London

North Sea

Heligoland (Brit. occ. 1807-14)

Copenhagen

Bornholm

Baltic Sea

SWEDEN

Danzig

Tilsit

Friedland

PRUSSIA

Berlin

GRAND DUCHY

Warsaw

WARSAW

Breslau

SILESIA

Brussels

Aachen

Mainz

Strassburg

Luneville

Paris

Brest

Quiberon

Fontainebleau

La Vendée

Rochefort

Bordeaux

Boulogne

Antwerp

FRENCH

Geneva

Milan

Turin

Marengo

Verona

Venice

Genoa

Toulon

Toulouse

Bayonne

Ferrol

Corunna

Vigo

Oporto

San Sebastian

Santander

Vitoria

Pamplona

ANDORRA

Zaragoza

Madrid

Barcelona

Tarragona

Valencia

SPAIN

Baylen

Seville

Murcia

Cartagena

Cadiz

C. Trafalgar

Gibraltar (British)

Corsica

Elba

Rome

Naples

Benevento

SARDINIA

Palermo

Messina

Maida

SICILY

Catania

Syracuse

Malta (British)

Mediterranean Sea

Adriatic Sea

BOSNIA

SERVIA

MONTENEGRO

WALACHIA

Danube

Pruth

Constantinople

TURKEY

ALBANIA

Janina

Ionian Islands (French)

MOREA

Crete

MOROCCO

ALGIERS

TUNIS

EURO[...]

Engl[...]

0 50 100 200

Boundary of C[...]

Confederation[...]

Hanover

Netherlands

Prussia

Austrian Empi[...]

Kingdom of Sa[...]

OLD. = Oldenburg

HES. = Hesse Darmstadt

H.N. = Hesse-Nassau

H.C. = Hesse-Cassel

THUR = Thuringian States

L.D. = Lippe-Detmold

MEC. = Mecklenburg

ANH. = Anhalt

PAL. = Palatine

BRITISH ISLANDS

Atlantic Ocean

IRELAND

SCOTLAND

ENGLAND

WALES

Dublin

Edinburgh

London

North Sea

Heligoland (Brit. 1814)

Amsterdam

NORWAY AND SWEDEN

DENMARK

Copenhagen

Baltic Sea

Danzig

Hamburg

Bremen

Berlin

Brunswick

Posen

Warsaw

Cracow

Leipzig

Cologne

Calais

Channel Islands

Amiens

Luxemburg

Metz

Paris

Orleans

FRANCE

Neuchâtel

Munich

Lyons

Bordeaux

Rhone

Marseilles

Nice

Genoa

Florence

TUSCANY

Po

ANDORRA

Douro

Madrid

Tagus

Guadiana

Guadalquivir

Ebro

Lisbon

Gibraltar (British)

Corsica

Sardinia

Rome

Naples

TWO SICILIES

Sicily

Malta (British)

Mediterranean Sea

Adriatic Sea

Ionian Islands (under British protection)

BOSNIA

SERVIA

MONTENEGRO

ALBANIA

WALACHIA

MOLDAVIA

Danube

Pruth

BULGARIA

RUMELIA

TURKEY

RUSSIA

MOREA

Athens

Crete

MOROCCO

ALGIERS

TUNIS

month, all the twelve hundred representatives of France, or such of them as cared to attend, were assembled in one room and proceeded to draw up a constitution, each question being decided by a simple majority, and the popular party holding a decided preponderance in the assembly. The key to this strange surrender of the Crown is to be found in the financial situation. Money the crown must have. It had failed to get money under the former *regime* by any of the ordinary methods; it could only hope to secure a position of solvency by the help of the people; and the help of the people could not be gained except on the conditions which had now been won.

Causes of the surrender of the Crown.

But the surrender of the king was to a large extent in appearance only: his courtiers were urging him to action and to repress, by means of the army, the movement in Paris, which grew more dangerous every day. It seems that in the end he acquiesced, and a great movement of troops was ordered and many regiments were to concentrate upon Paris. Necker, who had shown no great ability in his administration, but who was still a popular hero with the people of Paris, was dismissed, and men of known aristocratic and reactionary opinions were appointed in his place. When the news of these events reached Paris it produced a storm of opposition. The whole city seethed with political excitement, and agitation. The assembly sat at Versailles, twelve miles away, but in Paris itself there were politicians and mob orators, such as Marat and Camille Desmoulins, who were quite capable of leading the people. Some of the troops quartered in Paris went over to the popular side. A storehouse of arms was attacked and taken, and then on July 14, the crowd proceeded to the attack of the great fortress of the Bastille. This was no longer a place of any military importance; it had a small garrison and only contained a handful of prisoners, none of them imprisoned for political reasons. But it had been a famous prison a hundred years earlier; it was regarded as a symbol of absolutism; and it might have been used, if properly garrisoned, as a means of holding Paris in check. It could have resisted the assault made upon it for a long time, but its provisions were scanty

The fall of the Bastille.

and its garrison half-mutinous. The commander was told that the king himself had surrendered. He determined in the course of the afternoon to surrender to the insurgents on condition that his life and the life of his garrison were spared. The promise was given, but as the commander and his officers were being taken off, the unruly crowd broke in through their guards and cruelly murdered them.

The king to Paris.

The king and court were at once frightened from their designs by this successful attack upon the Bastille. The unpopular ministers were dismissed and Necker was restored: the Revolution had gained its first great victory over the monarchy. A few months later, in October, 1789, it gained another equally important. From the first the people of Paris had desired to have the king resident in their midst, but hitherto he had refused to leave his great palace at Versailles. On October 5, however, a women's demonstration against the scarcity of food in Paris was turned into a movement against the Palace of Versailles. A great crowd partially armed made its way out thither and requested the king to come and live in Paris. He returned a dubious answer, but on the morning of October 6 the crowd broke into the palace and made their way to the apartments of the king and queen. The royal couple were for a time in great peril, but the arrival of Lafayette, at the head of the recently formed National Guards, relieved them from the pressure of immediate danger. Lafayette, however, had himself brought a request from the town council of Paris, urging the same point, that the king would come and reside at Paris. He was as unwilling as ever to go, for his Parisian palace of the Tuileries was wholly unprepared to receive him, and he realized that he would be practically a prisoner there; a refusal would, however, probably have led to a further outbreak of violence, and on the afternoon of October 6, the royal party made its way to Paris and was installed in the Tuileries. From henceforth the king found himself more and more a prisoner in the hands of his people, and longed before all things to escape.

As a result of these events, the Revolution found itself for a time secure from interference, and the Assembly which had

now taken to itself the name of the "Constituent Assembly," was free to go on towards its declared object, the framing of a constitution in France, which should replace the old *regime* of royal absolutism and aristocratic privilege. The work of constitution-making was preceded by a declaration of the Rights of Man, in which the influence of Rousseau's teaching may clearly be seen. In this famous declaration it was laid down that all men are born free and equal in their rights; that the end of all governments is the maintenance of liberty and property, security and resistance to oppression; that all citizens have the right to take a share, personally or by their representatives, in the making of the laws; that all sovereignty rests with the nation, and that no one can exercise authority except as the representative of the nation. When the actual work of constitution-making was begun, the general lines followed were those of the English constitution. Louis XVI. was willing to accept many of the changes that were proposed, though they reduced him to a position very different indeed from that which his great ancestors upon the French throne had held. But there was one part of the new constitution which mortally offended him. The Assembly had undertaken to reorganize the whole government of the Church; the dioceses of the bishops were altered; the incomes of the clergy were somewhat equalized; the appointment of all clergy, high and low, was taken from the hands of the king and of the Pope, and was made subject to the voters at large, whatever their religious opinions might be. These changes, which all breathe the spirit of equality and democracy which characterizes the Revolution, were disliked by the Pope, and in the end he issued against them a bull of condemnation, and excommunicated all those who were answerable for them. The king had been forced to sign them, however, and his conscience was profoundly uneasy. He hoped for an early opportunity of undoing what he regarded as an impious work.

The Constituent Assembly.

Religious legislation.

The king's position in Paris grew more and more difficult. The public orators and many of the newspapers were beginning to suspect his intentions, and to denounce him as an enemy of the Revolution. He had long thought of flight, and his queen,

Marie Antoinette, urged him in the same direction. He made arrangements with the general in command of the north-eastern armies, and intended to place himself under the protection of the troops in that region and to dictate certain changes in the constitution. He escaped from Paris in June, 1791, but, when he was close to safety, he was discovered, arrested, and brought back to Paris. The situation was a very difficult one, but in the end the Assembly determined to suspend him from his functions until the constitution was completed. When completed, it was to be offered to the king: if he accepted it, he would reign with the powers which it gave him; if he refused it, that would amount to abdication. There were, however, a number of politicians in Paris who believed that this course would lead to no good result, and who pressed for the king's immediate deposition and the declaration of the republic. A petition was drawn up, and a crowd gathered to sign and support it; the crowd was, however, dispersed by the National Guards, and many people lost their lives in the confusion that followed. In September, 1791, the constitution was at last completed. France was to be governed by a king, who had the right of appointing his ministers and of controlling the army and navy, but had no power of permanently vetoing legislation. The work of legislation was entrusted to an assembly of some 750 persons, elected by those who possessed a certain amount of property, a qualification which included the peasantry, but excluded most of the workers of the towns. It consisted of one chamber only, which was to sit for two years. The local government of France had also been reorganized: the old provinces with their historic memories were swept away, and for them were substituted eighty-three small departments with names derived from some river or mountain, or other natural feature. This constitution was now offered to the king. He formally accepted it and declared his intention of ruling according to it. Many, both at home and abroad, thought that this marked the end of the Revolution, and that France would henceforth enjoy a constitutional life very similar to that which was to be found in England.

The king's flight.

Completion of the constitution.

But the Revolution was not nearly over; its most violent period had not yet begun. Many causes contributed to the next outbreak of revolutionary violence. The constitution was not easily workable; the king was not loyal to it; and the queen was bitterly hostile. The Revolution, so far as it had gone, had by no means satisfied the indefinite aspirations and hopes which had been entertained at its beginning. It would have been difficult in any case to prevent a further movement in favour of equality and democracy, but now a new influence began to act upon the French Revolution. War came between France and a European coalition, and this war altered the whole course of the movement.

Causes of the next wave of Revolution.

War.

An all-important factor in the European situation was the condition of the kingdom of Poland. We have spoken in an earlier chapter of its weakness and of its decadence, and we have seen how, in 1772, Prussia, Austria, and Russia had each of them seized a portion of the outlying territories of the unhappy kingdom. But after that it seemed as though better times were in store. All classes of the people were awake to their danger, and the king, Stanislas II., though in no sense a great or a strong man, was really anxious to give to the country a workable constitution by abolishing the dangerous powers of the aristocracy and establishing an assembly that could really make laws, and a ministry that could really govern. The country made undoubted progress, but the neighbours of Poland, and especially Russia, were not anxious to see their victim acquiring new strength, and when therefore in 1791 the reformed constitution was at last forced through, they prepared to interfere. Excuses of the most flimsy kind were discovered; Poland was invaded: her neighbours determined to seize upon portions of her territory, but the principle to be adopted in the division of the spoil awoke violent contentions. In the end Austria was left out from the scheme; Russia gained the larger amount of territory; but Prussia seized valuable lands which rounded off her own. It will be well to look a little further, and to see the actual end of the unhappy country. Divided and pillaged as she had been, the State was unstable,

Poland.

The Second Partition.

and the population irritable and discontented. The Russians brought matters to a head by ordering the entire disbanding of the Polish army. The order was met by a rebellion under the leadership of the Polish hero, Kosciusko. He gained some remarkable successes, but it was impossible that he should win any final triumph against the vast powers leagued against him. In October, 1795, the third and last partition of Poland took place. Prussia, Austria, and Russia all joined in the spoil, and mutually promised that the name of Poland should never reappear on the map of Europe.

The end of Poland.

These Polish troubles have been put here at the beginning of the foreign relations of the French Revolution, because they had throughout a great influence upon the actions of every European power, and did much to make an efficient and energetic coalition against France impossible. There were two revolutions in Europe, the Polish and the French, and the Polish Revolution assisted the French Revolution to triumph by withdrawing a large measure of the energies and attention of the great powers.

Influence of Poland on France.

From the first the French Revolution had attracted a great deal of attention. At first Europe saw with satisfaction the disappearance of the old monarchy which had so often kept Europe in alarm during the last two centuries, and it was believed that the new constitutional government would be weaker and less dangerous to the peace of Europe. But soon the action of France provoked the hostility of several powers. The principles which the Revolution proclaimed tended to subvert the existing order in every European country, and Austria and the other German states had also more definite grievances. France had declared the total abolition of feudalism: tithes and feudal dues were no longer to be paid; and it turned out that many of the tithes and feudal dues paid upon the eastern frontier went into the treasuries of German powers, and that these payments had been guaranteed by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. The French refused adequate compensation and they declared that the protests of the German powers were an insult to French independence

Causes of war with France.

Grievances of Germany against France.

and powers of self-government. They on their side had their grievances against the German states. A number of French nobles, including the brothers of the king, had left France since the beginning of the Revolution, partly in fear, but partly in order that they might not in any way participate in a movement which they detested. They had taken up their residence beyond the frontiers, at Trèves and at Mainz, and there they kept up the appearance of a royal court, and openly enlisted and drilled troops with a view to interference in France and the overthrow of the Revolution. The French king had formally protested, and the emperor, Leopold, who succeeded Joseph II. in 1790 used his influence and procured the disbanding of these troops, but on both sides the war fever was growing. Nearly all classes in France desired war. The king believed that it would secure his liberation at the hands of the foreign army; the conservative party thought that it would consolidate the constitution; most of the revolutionaries believed that it would reveal the duplicity of the king and hasten the establishment of a republic. The only opponents of the war were to be found in the extremest members of the revolutionary party, the so-called Jacobins.[1] The leaders of these men, Marat, Robespierre and Danton, protested and declared that under the existing circumstances no good could come of an European war. In April, 1792, war was declared against Francis I. of Austria, who at the age of twenty-three had just succeeded his cautious and diplomatic father.

The emigrant nobles.

Declaration of war.

The war opened on the side of France with great enthusiasm and confidence of victory, but the first campaign in Belgium was an entire failure, and the immediate result of the war was the exasperation of public opinion against the king. He was believed to be in sympathy rather with the enemy than with the armies of France, and to desire a victory for the Austrian troops which would lead to the liberation of himself and his court

Influence of the war on the position of the king.

[1] This famous name is derived from the fact that the political club which represented the most advanced revolutionists met in a building which had once belonged to the Jacobin Friars.

from his Parisian captors. The Assembly was unwilling to take any definite action, and the next great move in the Revolution was carried out by a secret conspiracy of the Jacobins. Danton, a barrister of good standing, who had thrown himself with ardour into the cause of the Revolution, was the leading force in the movement. It was due to him that on August 10, 1792, an attack was made upon the palace by the revolutionists of Paris, assisted by troops which had arrived in Paris on their road to the frontier. The king and queen and the royal party fled before the attack was actually delivered, and found a place of refuge in the hall where the Assembly met. The palace was stormed; the Swiss guards who defended it were cut down; the victorious insurgents invaded the Assembly room and demanded the deposition of the king. It could not now be refused. Louis XVI. was declared deposed, and a new Assembly to be elected by manhood suffrage, and to be called the Convention, was summoned to decide the future destinies of France.

Deposition of the king.

This great upheaval was soon followed by a deed more terrible. To understand it we must remember that France was for a time without effective government; the legislative assembly was soon to disappear; the ministers whom it had appointed were new to their work and possessed little authority. The most powerful agency that was to be found in France was the Municipal Council of Paris, which was known as the Commune. The constitution of this body had been changed on the morning of August 10, and it consisted now of men of extreme opinions, among whom the chief influence was that of Marat. Paris was doubtless full of men who deplored the overthrow of the monarchy, and who looked forward to an early opportunity of reversing the decision that had been taken on August 10. It was alleged that conspiracies were being formed to overthrow the newly established government. It was determined to search Paris for hidden arms and possible traitors, and the prisons of Paris were, at the end of August, crowded to overflowing by men who had been thus arrested. Then, on September 2, extemporized tribunals were set up by

The Commune of Paris.

order of the Commune, and the prisoners were brought before them. Ordinary offenders were sent back to prison, but those who were believed to be friendly to the monarchy and therefore hostile to the new Government, were thrust out from the doors of the prisons and massacred in the street. For three, and to some extent for five, days this hideous work went on, and it is probable that about 1500 persons, among whom were to be found several women, were butchered. The responsibility for the act rests with the Commune and with its Executive Committee, on which Marat had a place. In a document subsequently circulated in the provinces the massacre was described as the spontaneous vengeance of the people against traitors in their midst at a time when France was engaged in a dangerous war, but there can be no doubt that, if it was partly carried out by the anger and suspicion of the people, it was also to a large extent planned and organized.

The September massacres.

Marat

If we turn to the frontiers, we see there an unexpected result. The Austrians had been joined by the Prussians, and together they had invaded France under the leadership of the Duke of Brunswick. The frontier towns fell into their possession, and they marched on without meeting with serious resistance until they reached the hills of the Argonnes where an army was posted under the command of Dumouriez. A battle was fought at Valmy. It resulted in a serious check to the forces of the allies, and the check was made much more serious by what followed. The Duke of Brunswick had never been in favour of a march to Paris. The weather was very bad, his troops were suffering from illness, it was difficult to procure provisions. Instead, therefore, of making any further attempt to penetrate through the lines of the enemy, he negotiated with Dumouriez for a retreat, and fell back towards the German frontier and subsequently passed the Rhine. The Battle of Valmy was a small one, but it is one of the most important in European history. It first gave confidence to the revolutionary armies and inaugurated that series of military triumphs, which under Napoleon carried the French flag into nearly every European capital.

Battle of Valmy and retreat of the allies.

The Convention promised on August 10 was elected in the early days of September, and it was believed at first to have resulted in a considerable victory for the more moderate party; but the events which followed soon gave the supremacy in France to the extremest of the revolutionary parties. The Republic was declared; then the king was placed upon his trial, and in defiance of the provisions of the constitution of 1791, he was found guilty of treason and was executed in January, 1793.

The Convention. The Republic. Execution of the king.

The year 1793 saw the establishment of the Reign of Terror. The control of the government soon passed into the hands of the extreme revolutionary party of the Jacobins, although without question they were not supported by more than a minority of the people. But they were daring and decided, and their rivals, the Girondists were timid and uncertain in their aims. France meanwhile, was plunged into a war of ever-increasing magnitude. Civil war was soon added to the foreign wars. In La Vendée, a district of Western France, the peasantry rose in insurrection against the republic, protesting against the attacks upon the Church and the attempt to force them into the army. In the south and in the east there were dangerous movements, especially in Lyons, and Toulon. Abroad, the number of the enemies of France was increasing. Britain, Holland, and Spain joined early in 1793 and soon France had to face the coalition of all the great states of Europe, except Russia, and Russia herself was unfriendly. The French armies were defeated and the collapse of France seemed imminent. The Jacobins had to organize resistance against these apparently overwhelming dangers. There was no possibility of applying constitutional methods, for a free vote would certainly have overthrown the Jacobin power. They ruled therefore by terror; they ruled, that is, as many governments have ruled before them, by frightening their enemies into submission. The chief agency of their power was the Committee of Public Safety, a body of twelve men, in which first Danton, and then later Robespierre, was the chief influence. This body overruled all other authorities

The Reign of Terror.

Committee of Public Safety.

whatever, but it was specially concerned with raising troops and directing campaigns, and in the end it succeeded in winning a series of remarkable victories for France. In Paris the Revolutionary Tribunal had been established, and before it were sent large numbers of men and women accused of offences against the State. Hostility to the Jacobins was interpreted as high treason, and, after a hurried trial, those who were found guilty were sent to the guillotine. The batches of victims showed a constant tendency to increase. The queen followed the king to the scaffold, and many men who had taken a prominent and an eager part in the early scenes of the Revolution were put to death. Soon even moderate republican opinions were interpreted as an offence against the State, and the leaders of the once-powerful Girondist party were sent to prison and the guillotine.

The Revolutionary Tribunal.

Soon the Jacobins began to quarrel among themselves. It is difficult to distinguish the aims and the limits of the different parties. There was one party of more moderate men led by Danton and inclining to more merciful measures at home, and to a limitation of the foreign war. Another party which was led by Hébert and Chaumette had its centre in the Paris Commune, and urged on social changes of the most radical description. Through the influence of this party a new era was inaugurated, the first year of which was to date from the declaration of the Republic in September, 1792; and France dated officially by this new era until the reconciliation of Napoleon with the papacy brought back the Christian calendar. The year was at the same time rearranged. The old months were abolished, and new names, taken from the characteristics of the seasons, were adopted; divisions of ten days were substituted for the weeks of seven days. A new decimal system of weights and measures was introduced. Then, through the influence of the Commune, Christianity was suppressed in Paris, and the worship of Reason substituted for it. A third party consisted of Robespierre and his followers, who were opposed to the moderate counsels of Danton on the one hand, and the violence of Hébert on the other. Their chief source of

The worship of Reason.

power was to be found in the Committee of Public Safety, where Robespierre ruled for several months before his downfall. We cannot go into the contests between these rival parties; failure or success, though it meant death or life, turned often on small incidents. The great mass of the people of France and even of Paris had no influence upon the course of affairs. The one aim of each party was to secure the support of the energetic revolutionaries of the capital and the armed force of the streets.

In the end Robespierre triumphed, his rivals were sent to the guillotine, and it seemed as though he might be able to found some orderly and efficient government. Robespierre was a man of definite and fanatical ideas; he had accepted the teaching of Rousseau, and he desired to carry it out as far as possible. The worship of Reason was abhorrent to him, and he desired to replace it, not by Christianity, but by that vague Theism which had been preached by Rousseau. The assembly tamely co-operated with him: it voted that the one worship suitable to France was the worship of the Supreme Being. A day was set apart when with many symbolical incidents and much speech-making the new religion was inaugurated by Robespierre himself. But for all this the Terror did not cease: fear in the case of Robespierre had much to do with his cruelty. He knew himself to be surrounded by enemies whose triumph would mean his destruction. He struck on all sides, and the batches of the victims for the guillotine increased week by week. He openly aimed also at the establishment of a sort of dictatorship, a step which his teacher Rousseau had also recommended; from this position he hoped to organize the State so as to realize the vision of happiness and of austere virtue, which had always been before his mind as an ideal. But his power could not last long: he exasperated too much opposition, and he roused the fears of too many rivals; he could bear no competition, and the guillotine was his method of settling all rivalries. In the end, therefore, a conspiracy was set on foot; many men who differed very widely from one another in opinions and in characters, united in a desire to overthrow the hated dictator.

The worship of the Supreme Being.

In July, 1794, an attack was made upon him in the hall of the Convention. He tried to find means of meeting the blow in the Commune, which since the death of Hébert had been in his power. But the Convention could not now withdraw. Paris seemed likely to be the scene of a pitched battle, but Robespierre's followers fell away from him, he was himself seized, and having been already declared an outlaw, was guillotined without form of trial.

Fall of Robespierre.

With the fall of Robespierre the reign of terror soon came to an end. Some of those who had overthrown him were terrorists even fiercer than himself, but the overthrow of the dictator allowed public opinion to declare itself in many ways, and it was soon obvious that the general feeling was bitterly opposed to the measures of cruel oppression under which Paris and France had groaned for so long. The members who had been excluded from the Convention returned to it, and before the end of the year, though occasionally measures of great severity were adopted, the general tendency was towards more normal methods.

End of the Reign of Terror.

Moreover the great cause of the Reign of Terror had disappeared. It had originated in an idea, false but natural, of the needs of France when she was fighting for her existence against the European coalition. In face of the dangers into which she was thrown all measures seemed permissible, and the cruelest repression of the enemies of France laudable, if only it led to successful resistance to the invading armies. In the spring of 1793, the military outlook for France had been extremely dark. The early successes that had been won in Belgium had been turned to defeat, and Dumouriez, the chief commander of the French armies, was beaten at Neerwinden, and went over to the enemy, declaring himself in favour of restoring the monarchy. His army refused to follow him, but all through the summer of 1793 the enemy was penetrating French territory in the north, the east, and the south; while in various parts of France, but especially in the south and in the west, civil war of a particularly bitter kind had broken out. All these dangers had to a large extent passed away before the fall of Robespierre. Through the energy of the Jacobin

Course of the war.

Treason of Dumouriez.

government the rebels in France had been beaten down and punished with great cruelty. The tide of foreign war had also turned in favour of France: her territory was almost free from enemies, and the French armies were entering upon a career of conquest beyond her own borders. The Revolution had begun by a declaration that France desired to live at peace with all men, and would make no conquests; but those ideas were forgotten now. It was declared that French territory must expand as far as her natural frontiers, and the phrase was interpreted as implying at least the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. Very soon, as the French armies proved their superiority to all those whom they met, even this aim was not high enough, and France entered upon a career of indefinite conquest. There was clearly no need any longer to maintain the terror in order to give confidence to the armies and energy to the government. Men's nerves grew steadier, and more sober views of the situation were rendered possible. They turned now with loathing from the reign of terror, and from the Jacobins who had supported it so long.

War for the natural frontiers of France.

The new trend of ideas was shown by the Constitution which was accepted in July, 1795. The infant son of Louis XVI. had recently died in prison; the next heirs to the throne were both of them exiles from France and fighting in the ranks of her enemies. It was felt that there was a real opportunity for winning to the Republic a great mass of opinion hitherto hostile to it, if only a moderate constitution were drawn up and proclaimed. So there came what is called the "Constitution of the year III." It was preceded not only by a declaration of the rights of man, but also by a declaration of the duties of a citizen. Two chambers (not one as in the constitution of 1791) were henceforth to guide the policy of France. There was to be a Council of 500 forming the lower house, and a Council of Ancients—men over forty years of age—forming the upper house. The upper house was to have a suspensory veto upon all legislation, and in order to avoid the pressure of the armed mob of Paris, the chambers were allowed to sit where they chose. The Executive Government was to be vested in a Directory of five

The Constitution of 1795.

persons, who were to take over most of the powers of the Committee of Public Safety, and to have in their hands the direction of diplomacy and of war. It was further decided that one third of the assembly should retire each year, and that two-thirds of the first assemblies should consist of members of the present Convention. This last regulation is defensible, but it gave at the time great offence. Men had hoped for a complete change of system, and now it was clear that the next assemblies would to a large extent carry on the policy and ideas of the Convention. All parties rose in protest against this regulation, and an insurrection of Paris took place in October, 1795.[1] The Convention faced the new rising in a spirit very different from that which had been shown in face of demands of the mob in the earlier days of the Revolution. The defence of the Convention was entrusted to soldiers, and Napoleon Bonaparte was one of the chief of them. When the attack was made upon the Convention it was driven off with artillery, and the new Constitution was thus imposed upon France. On October 26, 1795, the Convention came to an end.

Napoleon crushes a rising against the Convention.

The Revolution now became to a very large extent merged in the career of Napoleon; he had hitherto played only a subordinate part, but he had distinguished himself in the suppression of the rising, and from this time forward he was promoted from post to post until he became the Emperor of France, and the most prominent figure in Europe. It will be well, therefore, now to follow the course of the war and then return to the political history of Europe, for it is the war that is henceforth the most important feature of the times. The prophecy of Burke was about to come true: France was turning away her eyes from the confusion and ignominy of her domestic politics and was watching with enthusiasm and with rapture the triumphs of her soldiers. The politicians lost hold upon the public imagination and the soldiers won it, and it is as a result of this tendency that Napoleon, the darling and the hero of the French armies, made himself before long the supreme master of the government of France.

Rise of Napoleon.

[1] This is known as the Rising of Vendémiaire from the name of the month in the new calendar in which it took place.

The coalition against France was breaking up. We have seen that Polish affairs and rivalries in various parts of Europe had strained already the relations between Austria and Prussia. The victories that the French had won in 1794 had made the Prussians still more anxious to have done with the war; and in 1795 the Peace of Basel was signed, whereby Prussia ceded territories upon the left bank of the Rhine to France and received a promise that Germany, north of a certain line, should be free from operations of war, and that Prussia should be recognized as the leading power in the north of Germany. Spain also withdrew, so that France now had to face Austria and Great Britain only. It was against Austria that all her efforts were directed. The campaign was to be conducted along two lines: one French army was to advance towards Vienna by the valley of the Danube, whilst another was to attack the Austrian power in Italy, and if successful was to march against Vienna through the north-eastern passes of the Alps. It was to the command of the Italian army that Napoleon was appointed. It was here that for the first time he showed his military genius and demonstrated the immense superiority of the French armies over those which Austria could put into the field against her. He forced his way over the Maritime Alps, compelled the King of Sardinia to withdraw from the Austrian alliance, pushed on and occupied Milan. He was welcomed by a large body of Italian opinion, which loathed the Austrian rule and saw in the French their best hope of gaining national independence.

Peace of Basel.

Siege of Mantua.

Napoleon next advanced upon Mantua and laid siege to that city, which was an all-important fortress in the Austrian occupation of Italy. The Austrians put out all their strength in the effort to save the place. Five separate armies were despatched to the relief of the city, but each army was met by Napoleon and defeated. The crushing defeat of the Austrians at Rivoli, in January, 1797, showed that they could never hope to dislodge Napoleon, and Mantua surrendered in the following month. Napoleon now felt himself master of Italy, and he advanced into the Austrian territories by the north of the Adriatic. All efforts to resist him failed, but he felt his own position not altogether

safe, and he accepted in April, 1797, a truce which soon led up to the treaty of Campo-Formio in October, 1797. By this treaty the emperor renounced his claims to the Netherlands which were already in the possession of the French republic, and recognized the establishment of a free Italian State in the north of Italy under the title of the Cisalpine Republic. On the other hand, as the result of a very odious series of intrigues, the Austrians were placed in possession of the free republic of Venice, which was at this time the oldest of all European states. Venice had in vain tried to maintain her neutrality during the great war: her lands had been traversed by both armies, her actions had been misinterpreted, and the French had at last laid hands upon the city itself. It was incapable of resistance. The old warlike spirit which had made Venice for so long "the bulwark of Europe against the Ottoman" was at an end: the long range of Napoleon's artillery made the waters of the lagoons no adequate defence, and it surrendered somewhat unheroically into his hands. Then without any consultation of the wishes of the people, who were indeed bitterly opposed to what was being done, it was handed over to the Austrian power and its possession nearly compensated for losses sustained elsewhere.

Treaty of Campo-Formio.

After the peace of Campo-Formio, France had no enemy except Great Britain, but so great was the superiority of the British navy, that it seemed impossible to inflict upon her any serious blow. The next step in the war was a strange one. Napoleon was instructed by the Directors to undertake the invasion of Egypt. Egypt was a portion of Turkish territory, and against the Sultan the French had hardly the semblance of a grievance, but it was believed that in addition to the value of Egypt in itself, it would be a serious blow to English prestige and power if the French were established in a country which would bring them so far in the direction of India. They proposed already to cut the Suez Canal, and emissaries were sent forward to test the feelings of the Indian peoples.

The Egyptian campaign.

On his road to Egypt Napoleon seized Malta, which had hitherto been in the power of the Knights of St. John. He

reached Egypt safely, and soon made himself master of the whole country. The situation was, however, entirely changed by the naval victory which Nelson and the British fleet won over the French in the Battle of the Nile. Napoleon's communications with France were now rendered precarious, and his own future uncertain. He attacked Syria, but had to abandon the siege of Acre. On his return to Egypt he easily defeated the Turkish forces which were brought against him, but he received news from Europe that a second great European coalition had come into being, and that the French armies had suffered serious defeats. He determined to return to France. He left the Egyptian armies under the command of subordinate officers and himself managed to reach the coasts of France, though the waters of the Mediterranean were being patrolled by English ships.

Failure of the Egyptian expedition.

The coalition was as serious as Napoleon had believed. Prussia, indeed, still stood aloof, but the Russian Czar had thrown himself heartily into the movement, and Russian armies under the great general, Suvorof, had inflicted serious defeats upon the French in Italy, and had cooped the French armies up within the city of Genoa. Before Napoleon arrived in France, however, the situation had somewhat improved. The allies were quarrelling among themselves, and France was no longer in serious danger of invasion. Napoleon's campaigns in Italy had made him the hero of France, and his glory had not been tarnished by his Egyptian campaigns, for he had fought no battle which he had not won, and the naval supremacy of England was a force against which he had no means of contending. Public opinion regarded him as the man of the future; almost every party believed that it was he who could bring order and peace to France, and he was credited with designs very different from those which he entertained. The Directory was already in serious difficulties. From the first the Directors were at variance with the legislative assemblies, and that variance only deepened as time went on. They pursued a policy in religious and social matters which offended the mass of the people, and was not in itself successful. On more than one

The prestige of Napoleon.

occasion they had come into direct conflict with the assemblies, and had forced their will upon them by violent means. The disasters which attended the armies of France after the formation of the second coalition had ruined the authority of the Directory, and it was plain that the institutions of France were not likely to remain long in their present condition. Napoleon's ambition already aimed at the acquisition of the supreme power. On his arrival in Paris he entered into negotiations with various politicians, but he found his chief support in Siéyès, who had been prominent at the beginning of the Revolution as a political theorist, and who still believed that he could invent a constitution which would give to France the good government which it at present so clearly lacked. Napoleon joined him without by any means sympathizing with all his views. It was hoped that Napoleon's prestige and popularity were so great that he would be able to carry out changes which would lead to the establishment of his power and that of his colleagues without having to draw his sword and appeal to force. The soldiers quartered in Paris were put under his command and the legislative assemblies were moved to Saint Cloud, some few miles outside of Paris. Some of the Directors, acting in collusion with Napoleon, resigned, the others were forced to resign. Napoleon and Siéyès now hoped that the assemblies would pass a decree naming Napoleon, Siéyès and Ducos a triumvirate (a committee of three), for the government of France, and the drawing up of a new constitution. At first all went well, but in the end it was seen that the assemblies valued their independence and would not pass the required vote, unless they were forced to do so. An excuse was found in an imaginary attack upon Napoleon. The grenadiers were called in to disperse the rebellious legislators. A few who were left behind, acting in the name of the majority, passed the necessary decrees, and at the end of the day the "Revolution of Brumaire" [1] was accomplished. Napoleon was not as yet

The Directory discredited.

Coup d'état of Brumaire.

[1] So called from the name of the month in the new Revolutionary calendar in which it took place. Its date in the old reckoning, which was soon restored in France, was Nov. 10, 1799.

either consul, dictator, or emperor, but his foot was clearly on the road which soon led him to absolute power in France.

No period of history has had so many books written about it as the French Revolution. For English readers the summaries by Mrs. Gardiner and J. H. Rose are most useful. The larger histories of Carlyle, Mignet, and Morse Stephens, regard the movement from widely different points of view. For the war and the early career of Napoleon Mr. J. H. Rose's *Life of Napoleon* is valuable. Fyffe's *Modern Europe* gives an unsurpassed narrative of European history from 1792. Walter Scott's *Life of Napoleon* may still be read with interest for a contemporary view of the events of the time.

CHAPTER XV

Napoleon

Early life of Napoleon.

NAPOLEON, who arrived at power by the Revolution of Brumaire, has been the subject of more books and of more discussion than any other figure in modern history, and there are many points in his career and character about which widely different opinions will always be held. He had been at first a warm supporter of the Revolution in its extreme form, and had been associated with the group around Robespierre; he had seen service with the armies of the Revolution, and had specially distinguished himself by his rapid insight and his daring at the siege of Toulon. We have seen how, for the suppression of the rebellion of Vendémiaire, he had been appointed to the command of the Italian army, and how uninterrupted his progress towards power had been from that date. His career shows that he was a man of extraordinary military genius, as capable of conducting a campaign as of directing a battle; but his achievements in the government of France prove that he possessed abilities nearly as high for the management of affairs in time of peace. He had a vivid imagination which allowed him to conceive great plans, and at the same time he had a grip upon

details which allowed him to carry them out efficiently. Many of his schemes were in accord with the spirit of the Revolution, and with the past history of France as well. He desired to see the State united and efficiently administered from the centre. He wished to maintain the spirit of equality in social and legal matters, and he allowed no vestige of privilege to reappear. He aimed at the conciliation of all classes that were willing to be conciliated, and only struck at those who proved bitter opponents of his power or of the welfare of France. Were it not for the unlimited ambition and passion for power which runs through the whole of his career, history might have seen in him one of the greatest of all agents in the progress of civilization ; as it is, we see in him the cause of many beneficent changes in France and in Europe, but also the cause, and often the guilty cause, of fifteen years of continuous warfare.

The plans of Siéyès.

His first task was to construct the new constitution that had been promised on the day of the Revolution of Brumaire. Here Siéyès and Napoleon differed widely in their aims. Siéyès aimed at a strange and curiously balanced constitution, which would have been presided over by a magistrate called the Grand Elector, who would have been little more than the pompous figure head of the State. Napoleon, however, was determined that the State should be in the hands of a vigorous and effective ruler, and his strength of will and command of affairs soon brushed his colleague aside.

The Constitution adopted.

In the scheme adopted by Napoleon, the Executive Government was to be vested in a first consul and two colleagues, who were also to be called consuls, but were to be entirely subordinate to the first consul. With him was to rest the control of the army, the appointment of ambassadors, and the whole executive machinery of the State. He was to be assisted by a State Council, which was to be nominated by himself, and which was to be the source of all legislation. There were various other councils resting to some extent on the choice of the people, but the whole tendency of the new order was to restrict the power of election within the narrowest compass. There was a complete reaction from the

enthusiasm for election which was visible in all the work of the early revolution. The chief body was to be a conservative Senate of sixty members, appointed at first by the consuls, though subsequently, when vacancies occurred, they were to be filled up by the Senate itself. This body was to elect the other councils, and was to decide whether any proposals were in harmony with the constitution or not.

The Senate.

Next to this Senate of sixty, was a Tribunate composed of one hundred members appointed by the Senate: this was the only body to which was allowed freedom of debate. All legislative proposals were to be brought before it and discussed; if they were accepted by the tribunate they were next brought before the so-called legislative body consisting of 300 members appointed by the Senate, and these men were to hear speakers from the tribunate who brought before them the legislative proposals, and upon these proposals they were then to vote without discussion and without assigning a reason. Such a constitution could hardly last very long, and while it lasted the First Consul and his Council of State came to be more and more the predominant and effective part.

The Tribunate.

Hardly was the constitution accepted when Napoleon marched off for his campaign in Italy. The early successes of the coalition had not been continued, but the Austrians and their allies still held the north of Italy, and threatened the frontier of the Upper Rhine. Napoleon, as in 1796, prepared to invade Italy, while General Moreau was to attack the Austrians upon the Danube. In this campaign, as in all in which Napoleon took a part success was absolutely necessary to him. He owed his position in France to the splendour of his military achievements. Success in war was always the condition of his power. Military failure would have undermined his authority at once, and, peace had come, the French would have soon returned to the old ideals, their belief in liberty and equality, their desire for free constitution and a true republic.

The attack on Austria.

The campaign of 1800 was brilliant throughout, and successful in the end. First there came the famous and probably overpraised crossing of the Alps, which broug

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of Trinidad and Ceylon. The most important clause of the treaty was one which laid down that the island of Malta, which the English had taken from France, was to be restored to the Knights of St. John under certain conditions. We shall see shortly that this clause was nominally the source from which the next great European war was to grow.

The transformation of Germany.

Meanwhile Napoleon enjoyed not only the glory of unparalleled military triumphs, but also the credit of having given to Europe the peace that she had been vainly desiring for ten years. Germany at this time was passing in consequence of recent events through a rapid transformation. The conquests of the French had proved again and again the utter incapacity of the old Imperial organization to protect Germany, and in the peace of Campo-Formio and again in the peace of Lunéville, great changes in Germany had been clearly hinted at. A deputation of the Imperial Diet had been called together to accept changes in the relations and possessions of the German States which had practically been decided upon by the great powers of France, Russia, and to a less extent by Austria. The chief

The aim of French diplomacy in Germany.

effort of Napoleon was to push both Austria and Prussia away towards the east of Germany, and to bring the western and south-western powers under the protection of France; thus Bavaria, Baden, and Wurtemberg all received great additions of territory which were gained by annexing the ecclesiastical states which were so numerous and so large in the west of Germany. Napoleon trusted that these acquisitions which had been won through the agency of France and could only be kept by the protection of France, would maintain Western German States in alliance with France. The ecclesiastical States had been notably corrupt and inefficient, and these changes probably worked ultimately for the better government and the improved prosperity of the land. The empire still existed in name, but it had long been reduced to a mere shadow, and the shadow was now beginning to fade away: it lasted, however, yet for some five years.

The Peace of Amiens allowed Napoleon to turn to his schemes of domestic reconstruction, and first he was anxious

settle the religious question, which had been one of the greatest sources of the weakness of France ever since the legislative assembly had passed the unwise "civil constitution of the clergy." Napoleon's motives in his religious policy were almost entirely political. He saw how great was the power of the Catholic Church, and how large a proportion of the people of France were really devoted to it. He believed, too, that no state could rest upon a stable foundation until its religion was in a settled condition. He had already shown himself more favourable to the papacy than most of the leaders of the Republican armies. Immediately after the battle of Marengo he opened negotiations with Pope Pius VII. The Pope was restored to his dominions from which he had been expelled, and in return he was induced to accept the Concordat or religious settlement of affairs in France (Easter, 1802). By this, the Catholic Church was again established and again endowed by the State. Napoleon as First Consul was to be allowed to appoint to all high ecclesiastical offices, and he thus stepped into the position which the kings of France had held with regard to the Church before the Revolution. The Concordat, however, was not to be associated with any measures of religious persecution; religious toleration was definitely proclaimed, and the ministers of other religions besides the Catholic were taken into the service and received the pay of the State. Such was the general character of the Concordat. It was made much less acceptable to the Pope when, immediately after it, Napoleon issued certain "organic articles," which he declared henceforth binding upon the Church in France, and which he issued without referring them in any way to the Pope. No papal bulls were to be received in France; no synod of the Church was to be held without permission of the Government; no bishop was to leave his diocese upon the summons of the Pope; and the famous declaration of Gallican Liberties which had been issued in the year 1682, and had then been bitterly resented by the Popes of that date, were declared still to be binding upon the Church and people of France. Could the Pope have foreseen these organic articles, he would probably not have

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The Concordat.

The organic articles.

accepted the Concordat. Accepted however it was, and all priests and bishops agreed to hold office according to it. Religious unity was restored to France, and gave to the government an immense increase of strength.

The Legion of Honour.

The Revolution had declared all titles and decorations abolished, but Napoleon, in 1802, instituted the famous Legion of Honour, declaring that the nature of Frenchmen was such that they must have distinctions. The new institution proved extremely popular and has never been abolished.

Education.

Napoleon turned his attention, too, to education : he established the university of France, a central institution in Paris, with seventeen subordinate academies in the provinces. He organized also primary and secondary education ; for hitherto, though many attempts had been made, little had actually been done.

The Napoleonic codes.

The work that he did for the judicial system of France was perhaps the most important of all his efforts at this time. He had no special knowledge of legal affairs, for all his training had been that of a soldier ; but he quickly made himself acquainted with the legislative system of France and the problems connected with it. He determined to introduce classification into the laws of France, and to codify them as the Emperors Theodosius and Justinian had codified the laws of Rome many centuries before. He established a commission to work at the matter, and in a short time five great codes were drawn up. In some respects they exhibited a rather retrograde tendency. The jury was not used as much as it had been by the legislators of the Revolution : in the penal code, branding was admitted : confiscation of property was allowed, and hard labour was made almost as terrible as torture ; but the general effect of the codes was no doubt as beneficial as their principles were rational.

While Napoleon was engaged on this admirable and conciliatory work a new war cloud was arising in ever more threatening form on the horizon of Europe. From the signing of the Peace of Amiens the relations between Britain and Napoleon had never been quite satisfactory, and a rupture was

now impending. The causes of the new war are still disputed, but their general features are plain. On the side of Napoleon it must be admitted that his actions since the conclusion of the peace had been in many ways provocative. He had made great additions to the possessions of France; he had practically annexed to France the Cisalpine Republic, which had hitherto existed as an independent state in the north of Italy; for in 1802 he had himself been chosen as President of the Cisalpine Republic, which soon afterwards became the kingdom of Italy. Piedmont was definitely annexed; Parma and Elba were also declared to be parts of the territory of France. Still more provocative were his dealings with Switzerland. The Helvetic Republic, which had been independent since the fourteenth century, was troubled by internal disputes of democrats against oligarchs, and of those who desired central government against those who wished to maintain the independence of the cantons. Napoleon took advantage of the situation to occupy the country, declaring that Switzerland must be saved from herself. The independence of Switzerland was nominally maintained, but she was henceforth to provide a large number of troops to the French army. For all practical purposes she also had become a portion of French territory. Moreover, while the possessions of France were being thus increased upon the mainland, there was evidence that the eyes of Napoleon were being turned again upon Egypt, and even upon India, and the reports of his commissioners sent out to the East seemed to show a design to take up at an early date the schemes which the Battle of the Nile had forced him for a time to drop. The balance of power which had been established by the Peace of Lunéville had clearly been upset, and Europe had often gone to war to prevent any overthrow of such a balance.

Renewed war with Great Britain.

Occupation of Italy and Switzerland.

The balance of power overthrown.

On the side of England there had been much disappointment with the results of the peace. It had been hoped that it would lead to a great increase of commerce, but it was found that no commercial treaty between the two countries would be accepted by France, and that Napoleon was determined to maintain

against England a barrier of almost complete commercial exclusion. The English government moreover refused to abandon Malta. The conditions annexed to the treaty had not indeed been fulfilled, but it is certain that Britain made no attempt to fulfil these conditions. The rapid progress made by the French power upon the continent in time of peace was regarded as a sufficient excuse for maintaining in British hands this island, which might be made so important a basis of operations in any naval war in the Mediterranean. An English ambassador was sent to Paris, but from the first he was instructed on no account to consent to the abandonment of Malta; and as Napoleon insisted on acquiring the island, partly for military reasons and partly because to abandon his claim would have meant a great loss of prestige, war was probable from the first. It was declared in March, 1803.

The question of Malta.

Before we proceed to the war it will be well to follow the changes in Napoleon's personal position which rapidly led him to the assumption of the Imperial title. Immediately after the Peace of Amiens, the proposal was made to bestow upon him the Consulship for life, which he held at present only for a term of years. The proposition was submitted to a public vote, and three million and a half voted in his favour, while only eight thousand voted against him. The constitution was at the same time modified in the direction of absolutism; especially the tribunate, whose debates had hitherto kept alive the spirit of liberty and of criticism, was henceforth ordered to debate in secret, and no report was published. Shortly after this, various plots against the life or the power of Napoleon were reported. Some of the leading soldiers of France, such men as the exile Pichegru and Moreau who had just achieved such triumphs in Germany, were now leagued with various malcontents against Napoleon's power. The plots were discovered and their leaders suffered various penalties. The Duke d'Enghien, a Bourbon prince, was resident beyond the frontiers of France, and was believed by Napoleon to have had a hand in the recent plot. He was seized, contrary to all international right, was brought to Paris, sentenced by court

Napoleon Life Consul.

Execution of the Duke of Enghien.

martial and executed. No incident in Napoleon's career had hitherto so shocked the feeling of Europe as this. In face of these attacks upon Napoleon's power, and with a new European war clearly before them, it was felt by his supporters that it would be well to show the confidence which France felt in Napoleon by giving him a higher title than any that he held at present. The title of emperor had suggested itself for some time. A proposal was definitely made in the tribunate, and in May, 1804, a decree of the Senate bestowed it upon him. It was the political culmination of his career, and was rendered even more striking by the fact that Pope Pius VII. was induced to come to Paris and preside over the ceremony of coronation. The new emperor restored at once the old military title of Marshal, and bestowed it upon some twenty of the great soldiers, who had already won for themselves a European reputation by fighting under the banners of France.

Napoleon Emperor.

In the war which now opened, France forced Spain into alliance with her, but with this exception she stood alone against the coalition which soon contained the leading states of Europe. Great Britain at first was unassisted, and Prussia never gave effective assistance, believing that her position in Germany was secure; but Sweden, Russia, and Austria soon joined, and they declared that their object was to force the power of France to return within her ancient limits. Napoleon's first aim was to win a victory, which would have been decisive of the whole campaign, by invading England and dictating terms in London. He prepared an army and flotilla of boats upon the English Channel near Boulogne, and clung obstinately to a belief in the possibility of his plan. But the supremacy of the British navy made the scheme highly dangerous. All efforts to decoy or drive the navy from the Channel proved unavailing, and Napoleon had abandoned his scheme of invasion before Nelson won the overwhelming victory of Trafalgar (October, 1805) against the combined fleets of Spain and France. The campaign thus opened with a failure, but the impression of it was soon effaced by the amazing victories which Napoleon won in Germany. His

Third alliance against France.

Failure of the invasion of England.

troops were directed to converge by different routes upon the upper basin of the Danube. The campaign which followed was a marvel of organization and foresight. First the Austrian General Mack, who had boasted of the triumphs he was going to win, found himself surrounded at Ulm and forced to capitulate with thirty-three thousand men. Then Napoleon pressed on towards Vienna. If Prussia had joined with the allies the situation would have been extremely dangerous for France, but under her king, Frederick William III., she pursued a wavering and ineffective policy, and Napoleon struck against Austria and Russia alone. On December 2, 1805, the armies met in the great battle of Austerlitz, and what followed was the most wonderful of all the victories that the military genius of Napoleon won. The enemy was hopelessly defeated. Vienna was in Napoleon's power, and the Czar thought himself fortunate to be able to retreat out of danger. The resistance of Austria was broken, and she was forced in December, 1805, to accept the treaty of Pressburg, the third treaty which she had made with Napoleon after having suffered overwhelming defeat.

Ulm.

Austerlitz.

Treaty of Pressburg.

The overthrow of Austria was followed by the disappearance of the Holy Roman Empire, that institution which had existed since the reign of Otto the Great in the tenth century, and in a sense since the reign of Charlemagne in the eighth, and carried back the memories of men to the Imperial line of the old Roman Cæsars. We have seen that every effort to give it vigour and efficiency, though such efforts had been frequently made, had resulted in failure. With every decade it grew weaker, more obviously a sham and an anachronism. When Napoleon took the title of emperor, the Emperor Francis called himself Emperor of Austria. Now in 1806, without awaking the regrets of any one, the Holy Roman Empire ceased to be.

End of the Holy Roman Empire.

Shortly after the overthrow of Austria there broke out war between Napoleon and Prussia. Prussia had hitherto been carefully handled by French diplomacy, and had not fought against France since 1795. She found herself, however,

now driven into an ever more subordinate position in Germany. Napoleon formed the states of Western Germany into a body called the Confederation of the Rhine, and thus created a rival power to Prussia. Moreover promises which had been half-made to Prussia were not kept. She had hoped to annex the kingdom of Hanover to her dominions, but that hope was not realized. It had been proposed that Prussia should assume the Imperial title, but now no encouragement was given her to carry out that scheme. At last, seeing that delay would only reduce her to greater extremities, and relying upon the alliance of Saxony and of Russia, she declared war against France.

War against Prussia.

The war that followed was perhaps the most amazing of Napoleon's triumphs. The prestige of the Prussian army was little diminished. The name of Frederick the Great, and the tradition which he established, still seemed a guarantee for the efficiency and the victory of the Prussian troops. But in truth the traditions of Frederick the Great had been a positive drawback to the Prussian armies of late, for they had prevented the adoption of the new methods which had been introduced by Napoleon. It came as an overwhelming surprise to all Europe when in October, 1806, in a double battle, which is usually known as the Battle of Jena, two Prussian armies were annihilated. And worse still was to come. At Jena the Prussian armies had been beaten, but in what followed they were disgraced. Fortress after fortress with strong fortifications, large garrisons, and sufficient provisions, surrendered to insignificant French forces. Prussia seemed at a blow removed for ever from the list of the great nations. The king kept up a fierce resistance in the north-east, relying upon the assistance of Russia, but in June, 1807, the Prussian and Russian armies were again defeated in the murderous battle of Friedland, and Prussia and Russia accepted peace.

Overthrow of Prussia.

This is the famous Peace of Tilsit which marks the zenith of Napoleon's career. It took the shape of a friendly alliance between the Czar and Napoleon, in which Russia promised to support his schemes against all his enemies, and especially against England. Russia lost nothing

Peace of Tilsit.

by the peace, but upon Prussia the blows of the conqueror fell with extreme severity. The western lands of Prussia were taken away and made into the kingdom of Westphalia, which was given to one of Napoleon's brothers; and the Polish territories of Prussia were made into the independent duchy of Warsaw and given to the King of Saxony. Prussia was not to be allowed to have an army greater than a fixed and low figure, and French troops remained in occupation of the land.

Kingdom of Westphalia and Duchy of Warsaw.

The only enemy that now remained was Great Britain, which since the Battle of Trafalgar seemed almost invulnerable. Napoleon hoped, however, if he could not attack her upon the high seas to ruin her through her commerce. He issued in November, 1806, his famous Berlin Decrees whereby all the coasts of Europe, which were under the dominion of Napoleon, were absolutely closed to British trade. He hoped in this way to bring Great Britain to her knees by ruining the commercial class, which he knew to be the most powerful there; and he did not sufficiently understand the nature of commerce to see that his own dominions would suffer even more severely than those of his enemy. Great Britain retorted by the "orders in council" which placed all the coasts of Europe under blockade and allowed of no commerce from port to port in Napoleon's territories, until the Berlin Decrees were withdrawn. In Western Europe two small countries alone were outside of Napoleon's control, Denmark and Portugal. His designs against Denmark were frustrated by the vigorous action of the English Minister, Canning, and the British fleet. Portugal was overrun by a French army, and the royal family took refuge in Brazil.

Commercial decrees against Great Britain.

British control of Denmark and Portugal.

Had Napoleon died after the Peace of Tilsit he would have seemed a man of almost supernatural powers. He had so far hardly attempted any enterprise in which he had not succeeded: his failures against the British navy had been quite lost sight of in the multitude and magnitude of his victories on land. Every European state in turn had come into collision with him, and the French armies had shown their unquestioned superiority to every one.

The causes of Napoleon's victories.

It was a wonderful but not a miraculous result. It is to be explained firstly by considering the military genius of Napoleon, his skill in every department of warfare, the originality of his methods, and the vigour with which he applied them. But it is to be explained also by considering the difference in character between the forces that France brought into the field, and the forces against which she had to fight. France was a nation under arms: her soldiers were proud of their leader, and felt themselves personally interested in the cause in which they were engaged. On the other side were no nations, but merely governments, separated for the most part in interest and in sympathy from the people governed, and relying upon armies which were brought into the field either by compulsion or by payment, which had no sort of personal interest in the victory of the cause for which they fought. Napoleon could conquer the governments of Europe, but he failed as soon as behind the governments there rose the peoples of Europe, convinced at last that the struggle was one which interested them, and prepared to fight, not at the bidding or coercion of their governments, but out of their own enthusiasm and eagerness for revenge. It should be noted also that in many parts of Europe a good deal of the programme of the French Revolution was accepted by those countries which were fighting against it incarnate in Napoleon, and that France was in the end overthrown by the ideas, the reforms, and the military methods which she herself had brought into being.

France a nation under arms.

France overthrown in the end by her own weapons.

From the time of the Peace of Tilsit onwards, our chief interest is no longer with France and her emperor, but with the various nations which one after the other rose in fury against him. In Prussia there was the stirring of a new spirit, and reforms of the greatest importance were introduced into the army and the civil order of the State. This is the most heroic period in the history of Prussia, when in spite of the terrible catastrophe that had fallen upon her armies, she began soberly but with invincible courage to reorganize her army and to set her government in order in hopes of the coming of better times. The chief agent of these

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changes was Stein, who passed a series of decrees abolishing serfdom and giving to the peasant a more direct interest in the State. At the same time Scharnhorst introduced new methods into the army; military service was already compulsory, but, as a matter of fact, it fell only upon the peasant serfs. Now it was made equally binding upon all. A new sense of honour and a higher patriotism began to show itself in the ranks of the army, and a force thus came into being on which the might of Napoleon was broken in the end.

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But it was not in Prussia that the first successful blow was struck. It came from a part of Europe where it could least have been expected. No part of Europe seemed sunk in more hopeless decadence and political apathy than Spain. So weak, so disunited did Spain appear to Napoleon, that he treated it with even greater contempt than was usual with him in his dealings with foreign powers. There was a quarrel between the reigning King Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand. Napoleon enticed Ferdinand into France and acted as arbiter in the quarrel. In the end he thrust both father and son aside, and, by an act of extraordinary violence, appointed his own brother Joseph to be King of Spain. France seemed in all but name to have annexed the Spanish peninsula. At first all went well. The Spanish government was incapable of energy, and Joseph was received in Madrid without difficulty. But then the Spanish people, deserted by their government, themselves began to protest against the French dominion, and in various parts of Spain, both in town and in country, spontaneous organizations began to arise. The French garrisons were attacked and driven within their fortifications. At last in July, 1808, General Dupont, who had been sent into the south to repress a rising, was trapped at Bailen, and there forced to surrender with the whole of his army. It was the first defeat of any magnitude which the French troops had received since the rise of Napoleon. Its effect upon European opinion was immense: it demonstrated that the armies of France were not invincible: and everywhere there was a stirring of rebellion

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The victories of Wellington in Spain.

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Fourth war with Austria.

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the executed queen, Marie Antoinette, and Europe was amazed at an incident which seemed to admit a Corsican usurper to the ranks of the royal families of Europe.

War with Russia.

Soon Napoleon was faced by a much more terrible war. He had, as we have seen, made alliance with the Czar, Alexander, at the Peace of Tilsit, and he had at one time relied upon the friendship with Russia as the indispensable basis for all his schemes. But his friendship with Russia had been rapidly cooling of late: the Czar seemed to him backward in his co-operation in the commercial war against Great Britain. Napoleon had offended the Czar by his large annexations of territory in Germany. Above all, the establishment of the Polish Duchy of Warsaw seemed to be an encouragement to the Polish nationality, and a step therefore fraught with great danger to Russia which had annexed so large a territory inhabited by Poles. After a period of diplomatic friction, Napoleon declared war against Russia, and called upon all his allies—Germans, Prussians, Saxons, Austrians—as well as upon the subjects of his own enormous empire, to assist him in this campaign which he hoped would establish the dominion of France in Europe, and indirectly lead to the overthrow of Great Britain as well. The campaign which followed is perhaps the most wonderful and the most tragic page in all the military annals of Europe. An army of five hundred thousand men crossed the Russian frontier, and the Russian generals retreated before this mighty force and did not attempt to resist the march of the French until they had reached the river Borodino. There was fought there a great and murderous battle, which resulted in the end in the decisive victory of Napoleon, who pushed on at once towards Moscow. To his surprise he was allowed to enter the old capital of Russia without difficulty, and he hoped that overtures would at once be made for peace. No overtures, however, came: fires broke out in Moscow and a large portion of the city was burnt down. The Russian winter was approaching and Napoleon saw himself insufficiently provided with food. He determined, therefore, to march back again into central Europe. But his march back was from the first harassed by watchful Russian armies, and

1812.

Borodino.

EUROPE
1815-1912
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Boundary of the German Empire after 1871
Prussia since 1866
OLD. = Oldenburg. L. = Lippe. S.L. = Schaumburg-Lippe
ANH. = Anhalt. THUR. = Thuringian States
W. = Waldeck. BRUNS. = Brunswick
HOH. = Hohenzollern. PAL. = Palatine.
SCHB. Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen and Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt.
Kingdom of Italy formed by the union of the various States with the Kingdom of Sardinia
The figures (1859) show date of Union
Balkan Peninsula
Boundary of Turkey under direct rule of the Sultan after the Treaties of Adrianople (1829) and Constantinople (1832)
Country ceded by Russia by the Treaty of Paris (1856, but restored by the Treaty of Berlin (1878)
Rumania
Servia
Montenegro
Bulgaria
after Treaty of Berlin
Bosnia & Herzegovina under Austrian occupation 1878, annexed 1908
BRITISH ISLANDS
Atlantic Ocean
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Edinburgh
Dublin
London
Stockholm
Berlin
Paris
Madrid
Munich
Moscow
FRANCE
SPAIN
ALGERIA
GREECE
BULGARIA
ASIA MINOR
EGYPT
Sardinia
Corsica
Sicily
Cyprus
Malta (British)
Gibraltar (British)
Barcelona
Valencia
Sevastopol
Constantinople
Alexandria
Cairo

was soon turned into a terrible disaster by the frightful cold of the Russian winter. In any encounters that took place the French were still victorious, but the army dwindled at a dreadful pace through famine, through death from cold, and through desertion. In the end it was only with a small fragment of his original force that Napoleon crossed the frontier into Germany. Hundreds of thousands of his men were left behind prisoners in the hands of the Russians. So terrible a catastrophe at once awoke the hopes of all Europe. Germany began to stir: the Austrian armies had throughout the campaign fought slackly for Napoleon: although the Prussian King still declared himself the ally of the French, his armies in many instances joined themselves to the Russians, who following upon the tracks of the retreating French army invaded Germany. The campaign which followed was in many respects the greatest that Napoleon was ever engaged in: the armies were the largest, the movements of the troops the most intricate. We can only chronicle the result. Napoleon had by no means given up hope: he believed, he said, that he was nearer to Vienna than his enemies were to Paris, and he won one last battle at Dresden. But then he had, with 185,000 men, to fight the converging forces of his enemies which numbered 300,000 at Leipzig, and there a battle that lasted for two days resulted in the complete overthrow of the emperor of the French. Germany now turned against him, and with the remnant of his forces he fought his way back with some difficulty into France. He still showed all his old military skill and tenacity, but he could only postpone the end. The armies pressed on to Paris, and Napoleon was forced to surrender. He abdicated his authority, and was allowed to retire with a scanty income to the little island of Elba (1814).

The catastrophe of the campaign.

Battle of Leipzig, 1813.

It was thought that Napoleon's career was ended, and the diplomatists of all Europe gathered together in Vienna to consider what arrangements could be made to bring back order into the confused chaos, which had been brought about by the French Revolution and Napoleon. But while the diplomatists were engaged

Reappearance of Napoleon.

upon their difficult task and were already beginning to find that the resettlement of Europe might very likely cause the outbreak of a new war, suddenly the news fell upon them like a bombshell that Napoleon had left Elba, had re-entered France, and that the whole people had arisen to give him an enthusiastic welcome, and that he was once more prepared to face the armies of Europe.

Mistake of Louis XVIII.

This strange result had been brought about partly by the folly of the restored King Louis XVIII., brother of the executed Louis XVI. The government which he had established proceeded very quickly to make mistakes which exasperated against it the opinion of France. The military glory of the country was tarnished ; her frontiers were withdrawn ; but most important of all, it seemed as if the new government were going to tamper with the land settlement which had been made by the Revolution, and which Napoleon had always so carefully respected. The property of the Church, we must remember, had been confiscated by the State, and had been divided into small farms. It was believed that this property would be once more claimed by the Church and the crown, and the fear of such a revolution of property made even the peaceable classes in France welcome the return of Napoleon.

Waterloo.

What remains of his career in Europe can be summarized in only a few lines. He made concessions to liberal demands, and seemed prepared to abandon much of his old despotic and Imperial claims, but all constitutional questions were of no importance until the issue had been settled by arms between France and Europe. The diplomatists in Vienna had declared Napoleon an outlaw, and each state had promised to do its utmost in forming an irresistible army for the defeat of France. The British and the Prussians were most nearly ready, and it was against them therefore that Napoleon directed his first blows. He hoped to get between them, to defeat them separately, and then to offer to them terms of peace which they would be willing to accept. But after he had won two indecisive victories at Quatrebras and Ligny he had to face the army of the British and their allies on the battlefield of Waterloo. He delivered a fierce direct attack

upon them, but failed to dislodge them. Early in the afternoon the arrival of the Prussian army began to press upon his right flank, while Wellington's ranks still stood, diminished indeed, but unbroken. The joint attack of the British and Prussian armies produced the complete rout of the French and the flight of their emperor. He reached Paris and tried in vain to organize further resistance there: but he found himself abandoned on all sides. He abdicated, and threw himself upon the generosity of the British. Had he fallen into the hands of the Prussians it is probable that a much harder lot would have been his. It was decided by the British to send him a prisoner to the island of St. Helena, where he lived for a few years and died in 1821.

J. H. Rose's *Life of Napoleon* is the best guide for English readers. The histories of Lanfrey, Thiers, Fyffe, and Alison, may be read with interest and profit. Seeley's *Life of Stein* gives a clear picture of the rise of Germany against the power of Napoleon. For the relations of France to Europe from 1789 to 1815 the one great authority is *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, by Sorel; Henderson's *Life of Blücher*.

CHAPTER XVI

Great Britain in the Eighteenth Century (1714-1815)

I

Characteristics of the eighteenth century.

THE century that we undertake to survey in this chapter has a well-marked character. It was during these hundred years that Great Britain gave to her government some of the features that have most clearly marked it off from the governments of other countries; and it was during this period also that the foundations of her colonial and Indian Empire were firmly laid and the edifice began to attract the attention of the world. Briefly, the cabinet system and the colonial Empire are the great results of the eighteenth century for English history.

The cabinet system.

No one foresaw the cabinet system; it found a place in no Utopias; it had no prophet. It was the result of the practical ability of English politicians, meeting emergencies as they arose with the best expedients that they could devise.

The revolution of 1688 had transferred the political centre of gravity from the monarchy to the Parliament; but it was not at first Parliament that ruled. William III. was by no means inclined to abdicate his powers as diplomatist and soldier into the hand of a great assembly; and, while he lived, he treated Parliament as an ally that must be cajoled and humoured rather than as a master. With the accession of Queen Anne the power of Parliament became vastly greater. The queen was not as unimportant an influence as she has been sometimes represented, but she had neither the will nor the knowledge necessary for the control of the nation's destiny. It was becoming clear during her reign that the power of ministers rested on Parliament as well as, and even more than, on the royal will. The great change in the policy of Great Britain, which contributed so much to the dramatic turn at the end of the war of Spanish

succession and to the withdrawal of Great Britain from the ranks of the combatants, was largely the result of a General Election, which gave the Tories an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons. Never had the fate of parties at an election been of nearly so direct importance for the policy of the nation. But a really strong king might still have had a chance of seating himself firmly on the saddle.

At Queen Anne's death there came no strong king—but the Hanoverian Georges. Their rule was weak because they did not understand the complex political structure of Great Britain; because they were primarily interested in the Electorate of Hanover; because they were men of little real ability; and because George I. and George II. knew little English and could not therefore usefully preside at the deliberations of the Council.

Constitutional influence of the Hanoverians.

The king then must reign, not rule; and yet rule was necessary. What would take his place? Not the people themselves; even now that is impossible, and in the first half of the eighteenth century there were no public meetings, no political journals through which the people at large could express itself. Hardly could Parliament as a whole rule. It was too large to play the part of the Roman senate; and the Roman senate had not succeeded in keeping control over affairs when the Roman Empire began to develop. And yet the country must have a government capable at need of swift and decisive action; small in size, therefore, and closely organized. And such a government must be in harmony with the majority in Parliament, for its opposition had been fatal to the monarchy, and would be fatal to any government which attempted to take its place. The cabinet system with the Prime Minister at its head solved the problem satisfactorily.

Who was to rule in place of the king?

The essential feature of the cabinet system after its full development are these. The ministers, who are in charge of the chief departments of the state, are drawn from the party that is supported by a majority of the House of Commons. (There have been Coalition governments, but these form no real exception to the rule.) Each minister

The cabinet system.

is in a sense responsible for the conduct of all departments. He must give them his general approval. If a minister disapproves of the way in which any department is managed, he cannot criticize beyond a certain point and retain his own duties. He must be silent or resign. This is the principle of the solidarity of the cabinet system. The Prime Minister exercises a general supervision over the whole Cabinet, which is in effect a committee of ministers. Until recently his office received no official recognition, and the name was for long repudiated as being French in origin and suggesting more personal authority than English Parliamentary feeling cared to admit. But the office of Prime Minister was a necessity of the situation, by whatever name it might be called. As the personal authority of the king has weakened the Prime Minister has tended more and more to become the real ruler of England, with an authority depending upon the support of Parliament, and varying according to his own talents and temperament, but always great and the real keystone of the arch of the cabinet. It is the Prime Minister who holds the cabinet together, enforces on it a common general policy, and prevents it from dissolving into government by departments.

The solidarity of the cabinet.

The Prime Minister.

The system has gradually developed. No single statesman is the author of it. But no one contributed more to its organization than Walpole (the Minister of George I. and in all but name the Prime Minister of George II.). He passed no law and made no open declaration about it, but it was during his long tenure of power (1721-1742) that we first see the system regularly working and solving the problem of founding an efficient government on a deliberative assembly. The one thing necessary to it was the definite organization of parties; and to this also Walpole contributed much, using often corrupt means to keep his supporters together, though not to the extent that has sometimes been supposed.

Development of the cabinet system—Walpole.

Such was the form of parliamentary government in England. It would be absurd to speak of it as the agency of the people of England, for though the constituencies varied widely in character, Parliament was very far from representing the

whole mass of the people. The franchise in the counties was more popular than in the towns, for there it was often in the hands of a narrow and corrupt oligarchy. The social class that ruled through Parliament was without doubt the landed aristocracy of England. Whigs and Tories differed on certain political principles though their differences grew very unreal as the century advanced. But both were equally dependent upon the support of the landowners of England.

Character of Parliament.

There were efforts to alter the system. George III. was brought up with the idea that he must at all costs "be a king." He was imbued with the doctrines of Bolingbroke, who had taught in his "Patriot King" that the king ought to govern as well as reign; and he tried when he came to the throne in 1760 to act much as Louis XIV. of France had acted a century before and to be his own Prime Minister, to confine the ministers to their own departments, and to secure the support of Parliament for himself. He overthrew the Whig rule which had lasted since 1714; he roused bitter opposition in England; he was largely answerable for the outbreak of the American war. But the failure of the arms of England in that war entailed the failure of the king's plans, and under the younger Pitt the old system was soon re-established, though in a spirit less distasteful to the king.

George III.'s efforts to "be a king."

There were proposals to "reform" Parliament, to abolish the flagrant inconsistencies of the old constituencies and to make Parliament more truly representative of the people. Great men gave a lukewarm support to this idea: Chatham and Pitt both were in favour of it for a time: it had powerful support in Yorkshire. But the agitation lost whatever chance it possessed at the outbreak of the French Revolution, which seemed to Englishmen a terrible example of the result of yielding to ideas of reform. The Reign of Terror seemed most unreasonably a strong argument against any sort of change. The wars against the French Revolution and Napoleon were fought, in the opinion of many, for the maintenance of the old order.

Proposals for the reform of Parliament.

Influence of the French Revolution.

So the land was chained fast to its unreformed Parliament until the Battle of Waterloo relieved the tension of fear and hate.

II

The greatness of the eighteenth century.

Certain writers used to speak of the eighteenth century with scorn and contempt—a bankrupt century they called it, without faith, whose chief significance was that it prepared the way for the Revolution. But this is really absurd. The eighteenth century can give a good account of itself and produced quite its fair share of greatness, heroism and progress. In literature the line of great writers never ceased from Swift and Pope at the beginning up to the glorious group of poets and writers that illuminate the end of the period ; Wordsworth, Scott, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley—men whose importance has grown clearer and more certain with every decade that has passed. The full light of the dawn is on their faces. The eighteenth century too was great in art (it is the century of Gainsborough, Hogarth, and Sir Joshua Reynolds) and in philosophy and science (Hume died in 1776 ; Priestley in 1804).

The Industrial Revolution.

But we must note especially how it was in the third quarter of this century that the great change which we call the industrial revolution began to pass over the land. Machinery began about 1764 to be introduced in the manufacture of cotton and wool ; the industrial towns of the north began to develop and the population of England to move from the south to the north. Roads and canals were built and tended to the increase of commerce. The methods of agriculture were improved. The common lands of England were very largely enclosed and by their enclosure the productivity of the land was greatly increased, though the poor, to whom the commons belonged, were often robbed in the process. The face of England began to change. The countryside, with its strict adherence to custom, was shaken by the new methods. England was not alone in the adoption of these new methods, but she adopted them long before the other countries of Europe, largely because the most important mechanical inventions were the work of

Englishmen, and because her geographical situation had saved her from the perils of invasion. Wealth rapidly increased; and men did not at the time see or realise how poverty was assuming a harder and more evil form in the crowded industrial centres than it had done in the rural villages. There were some features in industrial England in the eighteenth century worse than anything that was to be found in pre-revolutionary France.

The century too saw the rise of a great and far-reaching religious movement. John Wesley (1703–1791) inaugurated an evangelical revival, and by his preaching and his genius for organization gave it wide influence and a permanent form. Not only did the movement lead to the establishment of the Wesleyan Methodist Churches, but it also introduced a new spirit and a new life into the Church of England. It found its way among all classes of society, but its adherents were at first chiefly to be found among the artisans of the towns and the labouring classes of the country.

Wesleyanism.

Why did the Revolution break out in France rather than in England? Why, when it had broken out in France, did it find bitter antagonism and not sympathy in England? Generally speaking the conditions in England were not so bad as in France, though the English agricultural labourer would find much to envy in the French peasant's ownership of the soil he cultivated. But the chief anti-revolutionary features of English politics and society were (1) the absence of despotic centralization in the English political system. Large sections of the population were concerned in the management of affairs. Local government was largely in the hands of the country gentry. The government was far from democratic; but those who controlled it were a large body: rich, strong and able; far better able to resist than the discredited French monarchy. The absolutism of the French monarchy was the real political parent of the French Revolution. (2) There was no demand for revolution in England. The importance of the intellectual movement of France as preparing the way for the revolution

Why was there no Revolution in England?

(1) no absolutism

(2) difference of intellectual environment.

has been emphasized in a previous chapter. England had been touched by the same movement, but touched only. The eager hopes, the universal ideas that embraced all humanity, the fierce fanaticism of France were known to very few in England. The wide influence of Wesleyanism was a force that made the spread of revolutionary ideas impossible in just those classes that were most revolutionary in France.

III

Foreign and imperial history.

The history of the foreign relations of Great Britain can easily be told in relation to the growth of the Empire. It is characteristic of the century that it can be so told; for Colonial and Indian questions appealed to the statesmen of this time more strongly than any other issue; and there was hardly a war fought during these hundred years in which imperial considerations did not play a primary or at least an important secondary part. France had a strong hold, in some ways a stronger hold than Great Britain, upon both India and America; and it was the rivalry for these distant possessions which brought Great Britain into antagonism with France in nearly every war that was fought throughout the century.

Walpole and France.

The period opened quietly. George I. and his Whig Ministers had their hands full with domestic difficulties. The throne had to be protected against the assaults of the House of Stuart, the country had to be conciliated to Hanoverian rule by peace and light taxes. Walpole, too, who ruled England for many years during the reigns of the first two Georges (he became "Prime Minister" in 1721 and fell from power in 1742), was the most pacific of statesmen, and was in no way attracted by the glamour of imperialism. He entered into very close relations with Fleury, the minister of Louis XV., and sought to establish what we should now call an *entente cordiale* with France. We have already seen what he did for the development of our parliamentary system. He was an excellent financier and concerned before all things to conduct the affairs of Great Britain on a sound business footing. He was himself incapable of idealism and enthusiasm; and he

did not see the importance of these qualities in others. But there was much in England that was not in sympathy with Walpole for reasons both good and bad. Especially many thought that his foreign policy was unworthy of the greatness of England. In 1739 there came a quarrel between Great Britain and Spain, which turned on the limited right of trade with the Spanish colonies, which had been given us by the treaty of Utrecht. To Walpole the affair seemed a petty one, unworthy to cause the death of a single Englishman. But the military enthusiasm of the governing classes flared up, and Walpole was forced to declare war against Spain.

War with Spain.

Before that had well begun there came in 1740 the question of the Austrian succession. Walpole was still pacific, but was driven from office in 1742, and, as we have seen, Great Britain joined in the struggle as an ally of Austria and an enemy of France. The war reflects little credit upon the arms or policy of Great Britain. We rendered little help to Maria Theresa in her life and death struggle with Frederick the Great. Against the victory of Dettingen has to be set the defeat of Fontenoy (1745). It seemed indeed that the disaster of Fontenoy might shake the crown from the head of George II. The supporters of the House of Stuart were still a force in the land: they still held the doctrine of the divine right of hereditary kings, and hated the revolution of 1688, and the Hanoverian kings who ruled as a result of it. Charles Edward, the grandson of James II., better known to history and romance as the Young Pretender, landed in Scotland, raised a fine force of highlanders, occupied Edinburgh, and marched on London. It seemed for a moment as though the country were incapable of resistance, and he made his way, without serious opposition, to Derby. But then the hopeless nature of his enterprise became apparent. The defenders of the Hanoverian monarchy had been taken by surprise but now gathered to resist him. He retired with all speed into Scotland, and was there crushed in 1746 at the battle of Culloden. The expedition had shown rather the unpreparedness of the

The war of Austrian Succession.

Fontenoy.

Failure of the Jacobites.

British government than the strength of the supporters of the Stuart cause.

The war of the Austrian succession was, as we have seen, only the prelude to a fiercer and greater struggle in which we now see clearly that the existence of the German Empire and of the British Empire was at stake. And it seems a strange paradox, since the Great War of 1914–1918, that these two empires, which were then engaged in a struggle so furious and deadly, each assisted the other to gain the first and decisive steps towards power. Great Britain had no fondness for Prussia and no hatred for Maria Theresa; it was the rivalry with France for the colonial Empire which decided her action. War had already begun in India and in Canada before Europe was engaged in actual fighting.

War of Austrian Succession.

The war which was to be one of the most successful in the annals of the British fighting forces, opened badly. There were disasters in India, in America, in Germany, and even at sea, where the British navy was thought to be invincible. But in 1757 a strong government was established under the joint direction of Pitt (afterwards the Earl of Chatham, whom we will henceforth call by his later title) and Newcastle. Newcastle was chiefly concerned with domestic affairs; Chatham devoted himself wholly to the conduct of the war. His is the most romantic figure among the statesmen of England, and he fastens our attention all the more because he is so great a contrast to his age. The political society which surrounded him feared and despised enthusiasm, valued only material success, condoned financial corruption, and moved along well-worn paths by the help of tradition and custom. Chatham stood apart, incorruptible, original in his ideas and methods, and in consequence difficult to work with, endowed with an eloquence perhaps the highest that the British Parliament has known, loving justice and liberty for their own sakes, and fascinated by the vision that he had caught of the Empire that Britain might win in the East and the West. Enthusiastic himself, he had a singular power of inspiring enthusiasm in others: no one, it was said, ever went into his private cabinet without coming out a

Chatham's character and aims.

braver man. But his power did not end with words and ideas; he showed also great executive capacity. He saw the road to victory and induced the nation to follow it. By strongly supporting Frederick the Great of Prussia in Europe he could give France plenty of occupation there, and meanwhile, preventing with the British fleet the despatch of French reinforcements across the seas, could make sure of securing ultimate victory in America and in India.

The triumphs of the Seven Years' War.

The plan carried his country forward to a great triumph. English troops co-operated with the Prussians in defeating the French in Europe. The British navy established its control of the seas by the battle of Quiberon Bay in 1759. Clive had gained the battle of Plassey in 1757, which laid the foundation stone of British dominion in India. In 1759 Wolfe's victory at Quebec carried the British far towards the dominion of Canada. Hardly any campaigns have altered the course of the history of the world more than these. While we admire the skill with which they were conducted and believe that the result was favourable to progress and civilization, we must deplore the bitter and quite unjust hatred of France that was engendered by the struggle, sentiments from which Chatham himself was by no means free. If the *entente* with France so happily inaugurated by Walpole had been continued, what woes and wars might not have been avoided for both countries!

Accession of George III.

Before the end of the Seven Years' War, the accession of George III. had produced a great change. The Prussian alliance was abandoned, Pitt was driven from office, and George III. made his great experiment in the art of "being a king." A new ministry under his favourite, the Marquis of Bute, brought the war to an end in the Peace of Paris (1763). Contemporary opinion thought that Great Britain had not gained so much as she might have done, but she had gained enormously. The words of the treaty do not represent the real gains. A British North America, and British control of India, were the real results of the war, though in both countries the future had great surprises in store.

IV

Great Britain possessed then, in 1763, a great Colonial Empire, but it was not by any means so extensive as that of Spain or of Portugal. We know how little the Empires of these two States have profited them and how very little of them they still retain! If the history of the British Empire has been different, it is partly the consequence of the sharp lesson which the statesmen of Britain received soon after at the hands of the American colonies.

The revolt of the American colonies cannot be called inevitable, unless all human events are qualified by that adjective. It was a case where wise statesmanship at a critical juncture might have altered the whole course of history.

Was the American War inevitable?

That colonies necessarily revolt when they are strong, and become independent as soon as they can manage their own affairs, was a view widely held in the eighteenth century, and one that is probably true with regard to the old colonial system, which regarded the colonies as the possessions of the mother country, to be administered for her own advantage; but the experience of the British Empire during the great war of 1914 has shown that colonies with five times the population which the English colonies in America possessed during the War of Independence, show no desire to break away from the home land, but rather display an eager and tenacious loyalty, and a readiness to spend life and money in the defence of the unity of the Empire. It is liberty which has worked this miracle. And if the statesmen of the eighteenth century had realized this, it is probable that the American revolution would have been avoided. For the Americans were generally loyal; they had co-operated eagerly in the Seven Years' War; in spite of the blundering folly of the British Government, a very large number remained devotedly loyal to the end of the War of Independence. Some British statesmen—Chatham and Burke especially—were anxious to try the effect of liberty and confidence, but other views prevailed with King and Parliament.

In their Declaration of Independence, the United States of America declared: "The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states." Hardly any student of history in Europe or America would be found to accept that statement now. George III. was a man of second-rate intelligence, with a sensitive conscience and a strong sense of duty. The revolt of the colonies was not the result of "tyranny and usurpation," but of the conflict between the system of colonial government prevailing the world over, and the growing strength and aspirations of the Americans; it was the result, above all, of lack of imagination in the politicians of Great Britain, who controlled her destinies at this crisis.

The grievances of the American colonists.

The quarrel found its occasion in the expenses incurred by Great Britain in the Seven Years' War. That war had been fought largely in the interests of the American colonies, to secure them from the threat of the French in Canada, and to break through the barrier which the French were trying to establish between Canada and Louisiana along the line of the Ohio and Mississippi, which would have cut the English colonists off from the lands of the centre and the west. There seemed a case for making the Americans pay some part of the cost of a war from which they had profited so much. The Americans replied that they had already contributed their fair share to the expenses of the war, and they protested strongly against the claim of the British Parliament to enforce any taxation upon them. We will not follow the course of this controversy. We may note instead the different views that were held by the chief politicians of England. To George III. the issue seemed simple. The Americans were his subjects, and they must be taught to obey. The Tory party was generally with him, and he found his chief agent in Lord North, who was Prime Minister during the course of the war. The Whigs were for the most part favourable to the claims of the Americans. During the short Whig

The question of the taxation of America.

Lord North and the Tories.

ministry of the Marquis of Rockingham (1766), a real and successful effort at conciliation was made. The real intellectual force in the Whig party was to be found in Burke, who was a failure as a politician, but who as a thinker has left a permanent mark on the convictions of Englishmen, and whose speeches have passed, as no others in the English language have, into the literature of the country. He implored the House to abandon its prejudices against the Americans; to see them for what they were, Englishmen with many of the characteristics of Englishmen intensified; and to drop all attempts at taxing them, while still maintaining the theoretic right of Parliament to do so. Chatham took, as he often did, an independent and personal line, and refused to co-operate with either party. He praised the Americans for "setting a just value upon that inestimable blessing, liberty"; he declared that Parliament had no right to tax the Americans, and that the attempt to do so was tyranny; but he protested with horror against the rupture of the bonds that bound them to Great Britain, and declared himself ready to maintain at all costs "the superintending power and control of the British legislature." It is not easy to make out exactly all that Chatham would have done, but he would have abandoned all attempts at coercion, and would have trusted to the spontaneous loyalty of the Americans to maintain the connection with Great Britain. It is probable that his trust would not have been vain.

The Whigs and Burke.

Chatham.

When war came in 1774, the British Government expected the easy victory which numbers, wealth, and the control of the sea seemed to promise them. And though the Americans found in Washington a man pre-eminently fitted to conduct their defence, a man who plays in America a part very closely analogous to the part played by William the Silent in Holland (though Washington was a much greater soldier than William the Silent), it is hard to believe that they could have been victorious, if they had not found foreign support. But France saw with delight the opportunity of paying off old scores: and after the Americans had declared their independence, she came to the

The War of American Independence.

France helps the United States.

side of the new Republic. The war went nearly everywhere against the British; the fleet failed them for a time; General Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown (October, 1781); and though the British gained a great naval victory over the French after this and held Gibraltar against all attacks, there was never any chance of the re-conquest of the United States.

It was a victory that had far-reaching effects. If the American colonies had remained in connection with Great Britain they would have been great, prosperous, and probably in the end united; but they would have been far more English and far less European than they actually are. For the United States, though English will always be the language of North America, have become representative of nearly all European countries: it is the people of Europe who have on this new soil entered on a new life. The United States of America are Europe with a fresh start. Upon England, too, the issue of the contest in America had important effects. It altered entirely the ideas of the British government in colonization. Coercive methods were abandoned. For long it seemed that the idea of a colonial Empire would have to be abandoned too. But the nineteenth century found a new and much more secure basis in the freedom and independence of what are no longer called colonies but dominions, and the successful resistance of the United States has contributed not a little to this happy result. Lastly, the light of liberty which was held up in America was soon flashed back from France. The spectacle of the Republic, which had declared that "governments exist for the security of the Life, the Liberty and the Happiness of the people," victorious in its struggles with Great Britain, was a powerful influence on the thought and the imaginations of Frenchmen, and was among the causes which carried her forward to her own Revolution. The statue of Liberty that stands at the entrance to New York harbour, facing Europe and holding her light aloft, is a symbol of a great fact in history.

Effects of the American victory

on the British Empire

on European politics.

V

The failure of the attempt to coerce the American colonies entailed the failure of George III.'s schemes at home. Parliament was restored to its position as the one base of political power. In the younger Pitt—the son of the Earl of Chatham—a statesman rose who, while he rested his power entirely on the support of Parliament, made himself also acceptable to the king. He was a great contrast to his father, with none of the romantic quality which we have noted in him. He was an excellent speaker, but rarely rose to eloquence; a careful and methodical man of business; an excellent financier with a strong leaning to free trade. He seemed likely to make a name in history as a reforming statesman; for he reorganized the government of India; introduced financial reforms, and arranged a commercial treaty with France that removed many barriers to trade between the two countries; attacked the slave trade; and did not reject the idea of reforming Parliament. But the French Revolution, and the war against it, divided his career into two widely different parts and made of him pre-eminently a minister of foreign affairs and war, who devoted the rest of his life to fighting against the Revolution and the power of Napoleon which grew out of it.

The English Parliament after the American War.

Pitt and the French Revolution.

The feeling of England was at first generally favourable to the Revolution. We had fought against the French monarchy for many generations and we were not sorry to see the outbreak of a movement which would certainly change it and seemed likely to weaken it. The usual charge brought against the French was their slavish devotion to their kings; they seemed in 1789 to be imitating what had been done in England in 1688. So while the poets acclaimed the new movement as the harbinger of an era of peace, harmony and prosperity, the politicians of England generally welcomed a movement which seemed likely to remove a cause of unrest from Europe. Burke alone thought from the beginning that there was in the French movement a

England and the French Revolution.

spirit that was quite alien from that of the English Revolution, and was more likely to bring a sword than peace.

War with France in 1793.

War between Great Britain and France came in February, 1793. Could it have been avoided? A difficult question which we are bound to ask. England and nearly all the civilized world have accepted much of the principles of the French Revolution. An alliance or an understanding between Great Britain and France would have possibly saved the Revolution from its worst horrors, and Europe from a quarter of a century of war. There were statesmen on both sides of the channel who thought that some such alliance was possible. But from an early date the violence of the Revolution shocked the conservative instincts of England and the treatment of the king completed the alienation. Commercial opinion (and that was throughout the eighteenth century one of the strongest influences on English policy) was frightened (though without sufficient cause) by the "opening of the Scheldt," which meant the re-establishment of Antwerp as a great port and a rival of London. Pitt, with more justice, denounced the act because it violated promises made in treaties, and pointed to a declaration of the French Republic, that it would help any nation that rose against its government, as a proof of the dangerous designs that it cherished. The execution of the king brought matters to a head and war was declared.

The opening of the Scheldt.

The course of the long war has been traced in the last chapter. It is only necessary here to say a few words about Great Britain's part in it. For a long time the part that she played on land was by no means creditable to her. Her armies were ill prepared and ill commanded. Pitt quite miscalculated and prophesied that the war would be ended in "one or two campaigns"; and only gradually did Great Britain come to realize the efforts that she would have to make. The early expeditions of the British armies to the Low Countries were conspicuous failures, and made men think that Great Britain was not more efficient than she had been during the American War. But in spite of the ineffectiveness of the British army, the influence of Great Britain was from the first

The part of Great Britain in the great war.

of the utmost importance. It was exercised through three channels: the diplomacy of Pitt, whereby coalition after coalition was built up: the wealth of England, which often alone kept continental armies in the field: and the navy, which, in spite of dangerous mutinies, maintained its supremacy throughout.

Trafalgar.

The Peace of Amiens in 1802 gave Great Britain a breathing space and nothing more. Pitt had temporarily retired from office, in consequence of Irish troubles, which will soon be glanced at, but the renewal of hostilities brought him back again. He gave courage to England in face of Napoleon's threatened invasion, and the spirits of the people were raised by the news of Nelson's crowning victory of Trafalgar. But that battle did not mean to contemporaries all that it does to us. Pitt was overwhelmed by the news of Ulm and Austerlitz, and died in January, 1806.

Fox, Castlereagh, and Canning.

We must not follow the ministerial changes that followed his death. Fox, his great Whig opponent, succeeded for a time and hoped to establish peace and good relations with Napoleon, but died in September, 1806, after all his hopes had failed. The ministers chiefly responsible for the conduct of the war and its successful conclusion were Canning, sometimes regarded as Pitt's heir, a Tory of an original stamp who was foreign minister from 1807 to 1809: and Castlereagh, who conducted the foreign policy of England during the last stage of the war with great skill and sureness of judgment. Two features marked the remainder of England's war against Napoleon.

Commercial war with France.

First it developed a bitter commercial war. Napoleon, despairing of successful naval action, thought to bring the "nation of shopkeepers" to its knees by excluding all British commerce from Europe. The attempt failed, and was met by the British blockade of the coasts of Europe, so far as they were in the power of Napoleon. Next, the British army at last began to play a part as efficient as that which the navy had played from the beginning.

Wellington.

The Duke of Wellington was the great agent of the change; Spain was at once the training ground of his armies and the scene of some of

his greatest triumphs. Readers must be referred to the last chapter for an account of the way in which his action in Spain co-operated with the struggles of Austria and the resistance of Russia in 1812. He took a large share in the first overthrow of Napoleon in 1814; and a still greater share in the second of 1815. When Europe was at length restored to peace there was no greater name than Wellington's; and the tenacity and final success of Great Britain had established the reputation of her people and of her type of government in the admiration of the peoples of Europe.

VI

It remains to notice certain other events that have been left on one side in order to complete the narrative of the struggle with Napoleon.

Ireland.

Ireland had been passing through a time of civil war and revolution, to explain which we must glance back to the beginning of the century. After the conquest of Ireland by William III. and Marlborough, Ireland passed without power of resistance under the rule of Great Britain, though a Parliament was still maintained at Dublin. But in this Parliament only Protestants could sit, and in the elections only Protestants could vote. A series of laws, which follow pretty closely the lines of the laws by which France had crushed the Huguenots in the reign of Louis XIV., oppressed the Catholics and drove them from the land and from all office. National feeling seemed broken, and little resistance was made. The Roman Catholic Church was the only force that still kept alive the tradition and the nationality of Ireland. It is during this period that the Irish language was largely replaced by the English in the speech of the people. But during the American War the Irish saw their opportunity in the troubles of England. A movement for legislative independence was inaugurated among the Protestants of Ulster, and soon spread to the rest of Ireland. Large bodies of volunteers were organized and armed; it was impossible for the English Government to refuse permission, when it was itself unable to protect Ireland

Grattan's Parliament.

against a possible invasion. These volunteers, thus constituted, proceeded to make demands, first, for free trade with England, and then for legislative independence. Grattan was the great spokesman of the movement in the Irish Parliament. He carried, in 1782, a motion affirming the right of Ireland, "to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of Ireland." The English Government was in no position to resist, and the legislative independence of Ireland was conceded. The independent Parliament of Ireland is usually known as Grattan's Parliament.

The weakness of the new regime.

The Independent Parliament of Ireland showed many good qualities. Protestant though it was, it gave the vote to Roman Catholics (1793). But it was thoroughly corrupt, worse even than the contemporary English Parliament, and, as it had no control over the administration of the country, it acted without responsibility. The social and agrarian condition of the country was full of abuses. And the influence of the French Revolution produced a new movement for complete independence that should be won by armed revolt. A rising broke out in 1798, and though it received only feeble support from France, it was not suppressed until much blood had been shed, and bitter hatred left behind.

"1798."

The Irish Union.

Pitt believed that the separate Irish Parliament was a constant threat, which was especially dangerous while a foreign war was raging. He proposed that the Irish Parliament should be merged in the British as the Scotch Parliament had been merged in 1707. Bribery played a great part in inducing the Irish Parliament to yield; and Pitt also promised that he would introduce a measure granting Roman Catholics the right to enter Parliament and to hold all offices. Persuaded by these different influences, the Irish Parliament passed the proposed measures and the Act of Union was passed in 1800. But the measure of Catholic Emancipation, which might have worked on Irish opinion with a healing and reconciling power, never found its way on to the Statute Book. The fault was almost entirely that of King George III. His intellect had already given way, and he was

Catholic emancipation not granted.

on the verge of another attack of insanity. He declared that his coronation oath did not allow him to grant the proposed privilege to Roman Catholics; and Pitt, out of compassion to the king, promised not to bring the matter forward again, and resigned his office as Prime Minister, because he could not fulfil the hopes he had held out to Ireland. It was an act which saved his own honour, but did not appease Ireland. The history of Ireland is a history of missed opportunities, and the year 1800 marks one of the most unfortunate.

Coercion in England.

The war against the Revolution had been accompanied by measures of harsh repression against those (and their number was large) who felt and expressed sympathy for the French and their ideals. The country saw in any suggestion of reform a proposal that might bring England to a Revolution of the French type and establish a Reign of Terror. All proposals for the reform of Parliament were therefore laid aside, though Pitt had himself been at one time their advocate. In order to deal with possible rebellion the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. The Seditious Meetings Bill did not allow political meetings of more than fifty people without the presence of a magistrate. The meaning of treason was enlarged so as to include the expression of opinions hostile to the government. Newspapers were brought under a severe censorship; in Scotland there were some cruel punishments for the selling of books and the utterance of opinions. England was saved from similar scenes by the open administration of the law and the jury system. The country generally was with the government and acquiesced in their measures. Towards the end of the war there was great distress and unrest among the industrial classes. There were riots (known as the Luddite Riots) which were specially directed against the new machinery that had been introduced into the wool trade. When the Battle of Waterloo at last gave the country a sense of security, the pent-up passions and aspirations soon showed themselves again.

The foreign possessions of Great Britain had made considerable advances since the outbreak of the war in 1793. The Treaty of Vienna recognized the right of Great Britain to the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, and certain of the West

Indian Islands. The possessions of the East India Company had advanced and its power increased, in spite, or because of, the attacks of the French. The British Government began to take a more direct part in the government of the great peninsula; but few or none as yet guessed what destiny was in store for the governors and the governed.

Growth of the Empire.

The volumes in the Political History of England dealing with this period are by I. S. Leadam (1702–1760); W. Hunt (1760–1801); and C. G. Brodrick and J. K. Fotheringham (1801–1837). There are detailed histories by Stanhope (1715–1783) and by Lecky (to 1800): the latter specially valuable for Irish history. Massey's *History of England* deals with the whole reign of George III. Macaulay's *Essays* are specially valuable for this period. There are short and excellent biographies of Burke by Morley; of Chatham by F. Harrison; and of Pitt by Lord Rosebery. The short histories of Ireland by O'Connor Morris (1 vol.) and of Scotland by Hume Brown (3 vols.) are useful. The short history of the *United States of America* by Channing is an excellent summary. The War of American Independence is excellently handled in a number of volumes by Fiske.

CHAPTER XVII

Reaction, Revolution, and Reaction again

WHEN the exile of Napoleon had relieved Europe from the pressure which he had exercised for so many years, the chief desire of the diplomatists who met at Vienna was so to order European affairs as to make the outbreak of another revolution for ever impossible. The Revolution seemed to them a mere rebellion against authority, and they were blind to the passionate hopes of a better and juster social order that were at the bo[illegible] it. These ideas would come to the surface again by a[illegible]nd [illegible] work as powerfully as ever; but for the present E[illegible]rop[illegible]red above all things peace and order; and the dip[illegible]omat[illegible]ts who met at Vienna were little more than the [illegible]nstrum[illegible]ts of

Reaction after 1815.

Reaction. The whole map of Europe lay before them, and nearly all its frontiers needed consideration and readjustment. No task of such magnitude had been attempted by any body of diplomatists since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

France returned almost exactly to the frontiers of 1792. Some wanted to take from her all the lands west of the Rhine, which had once been a part of the empire, and were still largely inhabited by Germans; but the proposal was resisted by the Duke of Wellington. The problem of the future of Germany was more difficult. An intense spirit of nationality had been roused by the struggle against Napoleon, and there were many who hoped that a free, united, self-governing Germany might be built up by the diplomatists at Vienna. But those hopes were disappointed. The old decrepit empire was not restored, but the new system was from the first weak, unpopular, and clearly not destined to a long life. Thirty-nine sovereign princes and free cities were recognized. To this number had the three hundred and fifty, which had been recognized by the Peace of Westphalia, been reduced. These thirty-nine States were to be joined together into the perpetual "Germanic Confederation" under the presidency of Austria for the purposes of military defence. Of the German states included in this confederation (omitting Austria for the moment) Prussia was far the most powerful. She had arisen from her degradation with a more vigorous national life than she had ever possessed. She abandoned certain of her Polish possessions, but she received in exchange important territories on the Rhine and the rich lands of Swedish Pomerania on the Baltic coast, which she had coveted for so long. The great majority of her inhabitants was now German, and thus Prussia became the leading German power. Next to Prussia in importance came Bavaria. She had been for long the favoured ally of Napoleon, but she lost nothing at the peace. She was the Catholic and south German rival of Protestant and north German Prussia.

Results of the Congress of Vienna.

Germany.

The Germanic Confederation.

Gains of Prussia.

Bavaria.

No country had suffered so severely at the hands of Napoleon as Austria, but it was Austria and her great statesman

Metternich, who played the leading part in the Congress of Vienna. She lost Belgium, but that loss was richly compensated for by the gain of Venice, Lombardy, Illyria, and a portion of eastern Bavaria. But it must be noted how large a proportion of these possessions consisted of non-German lands. The Austrian Emperor ruled over some twenty-eight million subjects; but of these only about four millions were Germans. The rest were a strange mixture of races, languages, and religions; Bohemians, Hungarians, Italians, Poles, Servians, Roumanians, held together only by their subjection to the emperor. The territories of the house of Hapsburg had never been so compact or defensible; but her preponderant non-German population made it impossible that Austria should ever be willingly accepted by Germany as her leader and representative. Moreover the reaction reigned at Vienna in every sense: art, literature, freedom of thought, religious life, all died or decayed under the *régime* of coercion. Music alone flourished.

Austria.

Other points about the changes introduced by the Congress of Vienna must be briefly noted. Italy was divided into many states, but was largely controlled by Austria. Venetia and Lombardy were ruled by Austria. Modena, Parma, Tuscany submitted to rulers of Austrian birth, and were in close alliance with Austria. The Pope came back to the states of the Church. The Bourbons were restored to Naples and Sicily. In the north-west, Piedmont and Savoy were in the hands of the King of Sardinia. We shall see in the next chapter how his descendants became kings of a united and independent Italy.

Italy.

Belgium was united to Holland and was ruled over by the King of Holland. The arrangement was suggested by the desire to have a strong state on the northern frontier of France; but the two peoples were distinct and in many respects hostile, and the new arrangement soon broke down. Norway was joined to Sweden and placed under the rule of Napoleon's old marshal, Bernadotte, who ruled in Sweden as King Charles XIV.: this union lasted longer than that of Belgium and Holland, but broke down in 1905 when

Belgium and Holland.

Norway.

Norway became a separate kingdom. The conquest of Finland by Russia was recognized, and this union, despite frequent attempts on the part of the Finns to break away, subsisted until 1914.

Finland.

The years from 1815 to 1830 were very quiet in comparison with what had gone before and what were soon to follow. The four chief powers of Europe—Austria, Russia, Prussia, Great Britain, entered into an alliance to maintain the treaties of Vienna, and agreed to hold meetings of Plenipotentiaries every four years to discuss difficulties that arose. This was sometimes called the "Holy Alliance"; and the aim of some of its members was quite as much to repress revolutionary movements as to maintain the terms of the great peace. France joined the alliance in 1818. But soon it was seen that the alliance of the five powers would not avail to repress all such movements. As the memories of the great war began to grow dim the ideas of the Revolution began once more to find expression. The first trouble came from Spain, where the restored Bourbons were ruling in the old evil way. In 1820 the army broke out into Revolution; and declared that the free constitution which had been established in 1812 must be renewed. The king had to yield, and measures were taken against the Church and the monasteries. But the reappearance of liberal ideas south of the Pyrenees was alarming to north and central Europe, and especially to France. The movement was crushed and the autocracy restored. But the revolution produced important permanent results in a distant part of the world. Spain still possessed a vast colonial empire in central and south America. The colonies refused to accept the restored autocracy and were supported by Great Britain under the leadership of Canning. By the year 1830 eight republics had arisen into being, of which the chief were Mexico, Peru, Chili, and Buenos Ayres. They have had a stormy existence, and have perhaps not yet reached a settled constitutional life, but there can be no doubt that they are destined to play an important part in the future of civilization.

The "Holy Alliance."

Liberal movements in Spain.

Revolt of Spanish colonies.

Before the Spanish trouble was settled the Greek question emerged. Greece, the first home of organized freedom in Europe, had known no liberty for many centuries, though in her mountains a wild independence had always been maintained by men who were half patriots and half banditti. The population had suffered terribly, and had seen swarm after swarm of barbarians pass or settle. Greece had suffered much more than Italy from foreign invasion; but the Greeks had always preserved a confused memory of their greatness, and a form of the Greek language was still spoken by the people. The way had been prepared by secret societies, and insurrection began in 1821. It roused the passionate enthusiasm of all lovers of liberty. Byron gave to the movement his support and his life. The Greeks fought with furious but ill-regulated courage: and the Turks took, when they could, a horrible revenge. If left to itself the revolution would have been crushed, but Great Britain took an eager interest in it from the first, and at last joined with Russia in the coercion of the Turks. In 1827 the Turkish fleet was entirely destroyed in the Battle of Navarino, and the independence of Greece was secured.

The revolt of Greece against Turkey.

Independence of Greece.

There was one characteristic of the Greek rising full of significance for the future of Europe. It was a national rising against a foreign yoke. There had been many national risings in earlier years, but the "national idea" was to play so preponderant an influence in European history for the next half century that it deserves a moment's examination. It is almost vain to ask "what constitutes a nation?" It is not identity of race; for that is to be found nowhere. It is not a common language, nor a common religion, nor even common interests. All these are important, but all together do not necessarily make a nation, and a strong national feeling can exist where some of them are absent. A nation exists where the sentiment of nationality exists; and the sentiment of nationality is the result of many forces, and, above all, of historic development. In process of time, and as the result of common interests and common struggles, and usually of a common language, certain

The rise of nationalism.

large groups of men come to feel themselves closely bound together. They call themselves a nation. And in the nineteenth century the feeling and the belief grew that all who belonged to the same nation should form a single state; and that each nation should manage its own affairs and be freed from the dominion of any foreign nation. This idea of nationality was a vague and a highly revolutionary one. It demanded a new grouping of powers—the union of some, the disruption of others. Germany and Italy moved, in the strength of this idea, towards union; Austria by the same force was threatened with dissolution. The Poles, the Irish, the Belgians, the Finns, the Norwegians, put forward inconvenient claims.

The revolutionary tendencies.

In the year 1830 there came two successful revolutions in Western Europe. First came the Belgian Revolution. We have seen that Belgium had been joined to Holland and placed under the rule of the King of Holland by the Congress of Vienna. It would have been difficult in any case to maintain the arrangement; for the Belgians were more numerous than the Dutch, they were Catholic, and they spoke for the most part a language akin to the French; and yet they were in all things subjected to the harsh rule of the Protestant Dutch. All parties among the Belgians joined in the movement, which the Dutch were quite unable to beat down. Belgian independence was declared, and Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was set up as the first king of independent Belgium.

The Belgian Revolution 1830.

A more serious movement broke out in France. The restored Bourbon monarchs (Louis XVIII., brother of Louis XVI., until 1824, and then his brother Charles X.) had tried to rule as though the French Revolution had never been. Promises to rule constitutionally were withdrawn or broken, and in 1830 the *ordinances of St. Cloud* removed almost every vestige of free popular government. Paris, as in the days of the great Revolution, took the lead in the protest that arose. Thiers, a young journalist, vehemently attacked the ordinances. Charles X., alarmed by the memories of the past history of the French monarchy, made little resistance. He fled to England, and Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, was proclaimed king.

Revolution in France.

The new monarchy entered upon a policy widely different from that of the restored Bourbons. There was to be constitutional government, friendship with England, and peaceful development of the industry and commerce of France. Much was done to realize these ends. The land was covered with railways and telegraphs. Joint stock companies were founded. The occupation of Algiers provided a new opening for French commerce. The wealth of the country increased greatly, and the people were fairly prosperous. And yet another revolution followed in eighteen years.

The Orleanist monarchy.

Two chief forces worked for the overthrow of Louis Philippe. First national pride. France had not forgotten the great days of Napoleon, when her soldiers had been the arbiters of the destinies of Europe: and the loss and agony which had accompanied all that military glory were growing dim. In comparison with those great and glorious days the *régime* of Louis Philippe seemed mean and contemptible. France, men said, had become a satellite of Great Britain, and dared no longer have an opinion of her own. Thiers wrote the history of Napoleon in a tone of eulogy. When in December, 1840, the body of the great emperor was brought from Saint Helena, where it had been first buried, and placed amidst splendid ceremonies in the Hôtel des Invalides at Paris, many felt that the dead warrior would be strong enough to drive out the Orleanist government.

New revolutionary movement in France.

Side by side with the growth of Imperialist feeling there was an intellectual movement which may be compared with that which preceded the Revolution of 1789. Again men fixed their eyes on a distant goal and proclaimed the possibility of establishing a social system, juster and happier than the present one. Fourier and Saint Simon each brought forward an elaborate scheme of social reconstruction. But for the immediate future the most important fact is that Louis Blanc began to preach socialism in something like its modern form. His ideas were not new. They had appeared during the great Revolution, and may be traced back to the philosophers of Greece. But

The new ideas.

Louis Blanc.

now they were proclaimed more definitely than ever before, and urged home with fervid eloquence. Louis Blanc painted the social condition of France in colours of terrible blackness; he demanded that the State should provide work for all: "we will work and live, or we will fight and die," was the watchword he gave to the people of Paris.

The opponents of the government concentrated their attention on the need of an electoral reform which should give to the people the reality of power. Louis Philippe might perhaps have overcome the movement by force or conciliation; but he gave way at once and took refuge in England. A republic was declared, and Louis Blanc and his ideas had great influence with the new government (1848).

The Second Republic.

But the new government was in grave difficulties almost from the first. The elections to the Assembly gave a majority of moderate opinions; but in Paris "National Workshops" were opened where any one could get work for the asking. But those who managed them were not anxious that the experiment should succeed; the expense was great and the work done of no value, and in June, 1848, the workshops were closed. There came at once a fierce outbreak from the workmen of Paris, influenced as they were by the teaching of Louis Blanc. The streets were barricaded and there was fighting for four days; but the insurrection was suppressed by Cavaignac with much bloodshed, and over two thousand men were banished to Algiers. The assembly was re-established in power, and it proceeded with the work of constitution-making. But it was popular with no party and bitterly hated by the Parisian workmen.

National workshops.

It was now that Louis Napoleon saw his chance. He was the son of Louis Bonaparte, who had been made King of Holland by his greater brother. He was now the eldest representative of the Napoleonic dynasty. He had been banished from France, and had twice made rather foolish attempts to raise rebellion. He was now elected to the Assembly and soon, when it had been decided that the President of the Republic was to be appointed by the vote of the whole people, he

Louis Napoleon.

President of the Republic.

became a candidate for the Presidency. His name was the great argument in his favour; and the other candidates were for various reasons unpopular. He was supported by five and a half million votes: all the rest of the candidates together did not get two millions.

His progress from the Presidency to the empire was even more rapid than that of his uncle from the Consulship to the same dignity. The new assembly had passed a bill restricting the franchise, and Napoleon made himself the champion of manhood suffrage and demanded a revision of the Constitution that should allow the President to hold office for a second time. The assembly did not support the proposed change by a sufficient majority. Napoleon thereupon carried out a *coup d'état*. He arrested the leaders of the opposition and dissolved the assembly. His opponents were arrested by thousands, and by thousands they were sent into exile. He then submitted to the people the outline of a constitution. A legislative body elected by universal suffrage was to vote the laws and the taxes, and there was to be a President elected for ten years. Seven millions and a half voted for the new Constitution. A little over half a million voted against it. It was a great and powerful position that he had thus won, but he felt that a higher title and a hereditary position would be safer. The nation was asked to express its wish as to whether he should be emperor or no, and in 1852, 7,800,000 votes were given for the new title, and only 233,000 against it. So Napoleon reigned as the Emperor Napoleon III. He had eighteen years of rule before him; at first much brilliant success; then alternations of triumph and defeat; and then a catastrophe unexampled in history for its completeness.

Napoleon's coup d'état.

The Emperor Napoleon III.

These years of revolution and reaction in France saw analogous changes sweep over the centre of Europe.

"Nation awakens by nation,
King by king disappears"

sang an English poet, full of republican enthusiasm. All over Europe kings seemed in flight. We have seen how Louis Philippe fled from Paris; Frederick William IV. had to

escape from Berlin; Ferdinand I. found his capital of Vienna dangerously revolutionary; King Ferdinand II. was deposed in Sicily; Pope Pius IX. fled from the insurrection of Rome. It seemed to many that it was all over with monarchy in Europe. But then reaction set in at every point, and the returning tide brought back the exiled kings (except in France) to their thrones, some for their lives, some only for a few years.

Revolution and Reaction in Europe.

All these risings aimed at the establishment of a free constitution and the satisfaction of the national ideal. The attempt at social reconstruction, so prominent in Paris, played quite a subordinate part elsewhere.

Metternich had tried to keep the population of Austria asleep and he seemed to have succeeded, but there was dangerous stuff fermenting even in Vienna. And except Metternich himself there was no element of strength in the Austrian government. The king was of weak intellect, and Metternich had not trained any one to succeed him. In 1848 a rising in Vienna forced Metternich to resign and soon a Constituent Assembly met which abolished all "feudal abuses," and proceeded to draw up a constitution for all parts of the empire.

Revolution in Vienna.

But, while Vienna was disturbed, a fierce revolt had blazed out in every part of the Austrian Empire. Bohemia had for some time been recovering her national self-consciousness and chafing under Austrian rule. She now demanded that the original native population, the Czechs, should be put on an equality with the Germans, and later a Pan-Slavist congress was summoned at Prague to consider the future of all the Slavonic peoples. The troubles in Hungary were far more serious. There the Magyar population was surrounded by many alien races (Roumanians, Poles, Servians, Croatians), but the Magyars were the dominant race. In a Diet held in 1848 they demanded many reforms, and ended by declaring that Hungary was completely independent of Austria, though they still professed allegiance to the emperor. The position they demanded was what would have been known half a century later as Home Rule. Kossuth,

Bohemia.

Hungary.

Kossuth.

hitherto known chiefly as a journalist, was the inspirer of the movement.

Revolution in Italy.

The Italian possessions of Austria had risen in armed rebellion at the same time. They were rich, fairly prosperous, and provided Austria with a large proportion of her revenues. The idea of Italian unity and independence had been planted by the victories and the policy of Napoleon, and was fostered by the enthusiastic writings of Mazzini, who founded the organization of Young Italy to realize it. Milan rose in insurrection and drove out the Austrians; Venice declared herself a republic. The insurgents were clearly unequal to a struggle with the forces of Austria, but they relied on the hearty support of Piedmont and Sardinia, and they knew that the Austrians were hampered by troubles at home. Success flattered them at first, and the Austrian armies were driven from Milanese territory.

Victory of Reaction in the Austrian dominions.

The Austrian Empire seemed on the eve of dissolution. It was saved by the bitter conflicts of the subject nationalities among themselves and by the readiness of Russia to lend a hand in the suppression of revolution at her frontiers. It was a gain when the Emperor Ferdinand abdicated and was succeeded by Francis Joseph then aged eighteen. The real management of affairs lay with Schwarzenberg, a man of great energy and determination. First the Bohemian movement collapsed. Then came the turn of Northern Italy. Reinforcements were sent forward to Radetzky, the Austrian general, and Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, showed the greatest incompetence in the handling of his troops. He was beaten in July, 1848, at Custozza, and crushed in March, 1849, at Novara. Thus Austria won back her Italian possessions. The King of Sardinia abdicated and was succeeded by his son Victor Emmanuel, who steadily maintained the liberal constitution which had been promised by his father, and lived to reign as king over United Italy. Hungary still remained in fierce rebellion against Austria; but here too the scales turned decisively against the movement for constitutional liberty. There was no help to be hoped for from Vienna, for there the arms of the reaction had triumphed and the liberals had been severely

punished. In April, 1849, Kossuth (probably unwisely) declared the complete independence of Hungary, not only of the Austrian constitution, but of the Austrian Emperor. Some early successes flattered his hopes; but the Serbs, the Croatians and the Roumanians supported the Austrians against the Magyar claim to ascendency. Kossuth was no soldier, and he quarrelled with the army leaders. The decisive blow came from Russia, for the Czar readily joined his troops to the Austrians for the suppression of the revolutionary movement. In August, 1849, the Magyar army capitulated at Villagos. Kossuth escaped into exile. Utter ruin seemed to have fallen upon his cause. Yet in less than twenty years his countrymen were destined to win a great part of what they were then struggling for.

Failure of the Revolution in Hungary.

The course of events in Germany was more intricate. There was in Germany, as a whole, a constitutional movement which aimed at giving to all Germany an efficient federal constitution; and there was in Prussia a violent revolutionary movement. Both gained some early victories and then both failed.

Germany.

The German Confederation which had been established in 1815 was not a government, but rather a meeting of diplomatists incapable of any action unless they were unanimous. It was dominated by Austria, and had done nothing for German interests in any shape. The successful French Revolution of 1848 roused new hopes, and the many revolts with which Austria was troubled did not permit her to make any resistance. With wonderful ease a German Parliament was called at Frankfurt to debate on a new constitution for Germany. Liberalism anticipated an easy triumph; but the situation was not so favourable as appeared at first sight. The Parliament could *debate*, but it had no power to *decide*. Whatever decision was taken would have to be referred to the constituent states of Germany. And when the debates began the difficulty arising from the nature of the Austrian State grew larger and larger. Was Austria to be a part of the new German State, or was she not? If she was admitted, were all the twenty-eight million subjects of Austria to be represented in the German

The Parliament at Frankfurt.

Parliament or only the four millions of Germans? There were difficulties every way. If all Austria were admitted, the Parliament would not in any way satisfy the national aspirations of Germany; if the non-German populations of Austria were excluded, the Austrian Emperor would probably not permit his German subjects to come in; if Austria were excluded altogether she would be an enemy of the new constitution and a very dangerous one.

The Austrian difficulty.

It was decided in the end to face the hostility of Austria and to exclude her. In face of strong opposition the majority declared for the re-establishment of the German Empire. The head of it was to be called "The Emperor of the Germans": his office was to be hereditary. Then it was determined to offer the new title and office to Frederick William IV., King of Prussia. (March, 1849.)

Prussia offered the empire of Germany.

We shall see that Prussia had been struggling with a revolutionary movement of her own. Her king was not at all inclined to accept this dangerous title, offered him by an assembly which had a doubtful right to make the offer, and carrying with it the certain hostility of Austria. He refused, and with his refusal the whole movement collapsed. The Parliament remained in existence a little longer but with rapidly dwindling numbers, and was soon dispersed by the King of Wurtemberg. The national ideals of Germany were not to be realized by parliamentary methods.

Prussia declines.

Prussian affairs passed through an even more stormy crisis. There was no constitutional life in the country. The strong centralized government lay in the hands of the king. There was universal military service and a well-developed system of education; but in appearance little political interest in the nation at large.

Prussia.

In 1847 the king called an assembly (the Land-tag), to which he proposed to give the right of voting taxes and advising on all legislative matters but no final powers. "According to the law of God and the country," he said, "the crown must reign according to its free decision, and not according to the will of majorities."

Revolution in Berlin.

When the Assembly demanded fuller powers it was dismissed. But at this juncture the news of the revolution in Paris threw Berlin unto fierce excitement. The streets were barricaded; there was hard fighting in the city; and the king gave way. He declared that Prussia was henceforth to be absorbed in Germany; and allowed a national assembly to meet for the elaboration of a constitution. It set to work in a liberal spirit and decreed the abolition of feudalism and many measures of personal liberty.

"Prussia to be absorbed into Germany."

But the news from Vienna, where the revolution had been crushed and the city re-taken by the Imperial forces, soon encouraged the King of Prussia to strike at the assembly, whose disorderly debates were becoming a scandal. He appointed as his minister, Brandenburg, a man of strong reactionary views. The Assembly was called on to leave Berlin, and on its refusal it was dispersed by the military and dissolved. In December, 1848, a constitution was given by the king on his own initiative, and the power of the crown was safe.

Victory of Reaction in Prussia.

Victorious over the revolution at home, Frederick William IV. was not inclined to accept the crown of Germany, which was offered to him by the revolutionary party at Frankfurt; and we have seen how he rejected "a crown picked up from blood and mire." But he tried to give to Germany a new organization. The German governments were invited to Berlin with a view to the formation of a new federal constitution. From the first it was evident that the new government would not include all Germany, for both Austria and Bavaria declined to join, and Hanover and Saxony soon retired. In the end a federal constitution under the presidency of Prussia was drawn up for north Germany, and some twenty-eight states accepted it. Austria answered by re-establishing the federal assembly at Frankfurt. Thus Germany had two rival assemblies, dominated by the two great rivals among the German States.

Rivalry of Prussia and Austria.

Collision was likely from the first. A quarrel with regard to Hesse Cassel brought matters to an issue, for while the Prussian federal assembly took the side of the "Estates"

of Hesse Cassel, its government appealed to the Diet at Frankfurt. Perhaps Prussia might have won in the conflict; but the statesmen of Prussia and her king were timid and nerveless, and Austria was represented by Schwarzenberg, who was ambitious, clear-sighted, and energetic. Some think that if he had lived he would have done for Austria what Bismarck afterwards did for Prussia. The question of Hesse Cassel was referred to the arbitration of the Czar, who gave every point in favour of Austria. Then Schwarzenberg demanded under threat of immediate war the dissolution of the federal assembly set up under the auspices of Prussia and the recognition of the Federal Diet which had been re-established by Austria at Frankfurt. Prussia cast away all thoughts of resistance and purchased peace by an abject surrender of every point at Olmütz.

Victory of Austria.

The surrender of Olmütz.

Austria seemed to dominate Germany; and Prussia's hopes of supremacy seemed doomed to failure. Yet a very different destiny was in store for both countries; and the memory of the humiliation at Olmütz counted for much in the determination of the next generation of statesmen to give a new character to the policy and action of Prussia.

Fyffe's *History of Modern Europe*; Alison Phillips, *Modern Europe*; Dickinson, *Revolution and Reaction in Modern France*; Cambridge Modern History, Vol. x.; Seignobos, *Political History of Modern Europe*.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Winning of Italian Unity

In 1852 Napoleon III. seemed the strongest power in Europe. His character and abilities were at present undetermined, but his success was unquestionable. The people of France by an enormous majority had declared that they rejoiced to see another Napoleon ruling in France with the old title of Emperor.

Comparisons between the two Napoleons naturally suggested themselves ; but, though there were resemblances in their careers and their positions, the contrasts in the character and capacity of the two men were great, and were made clearer by the lapse of time. Napoleon III. had great abilities, but he had nothing of the iron will and tenacity of purpose of Napoleon I. ; little of his wide survey of politics and society ; nothing at all of his military genius. He was by nature amiable and idealist, a dreamer of dreams that sometimes turned into realities, often brilliantly clever as statesman and diplomatist, but usually without a sufficient grasp of realities and the possibilities of the actual world. His position was like that of the first Napoleon in one respect. He could not sit still. He held power on condition that he dazzled the eyes of his countrymen by adventure, novelty and victory. A commonplace policy would undermine his power : failure would hurl him at once from the throne.

Position and prestige of Napoleon III.

The first great European problem with which he had to deal arose out of the weakness of the Turkish power. Since the seventeenth century the decline of Turkey had been continuous. Nor is there any mystery about its causes. In Europe the Turks were a minority, who held their dominion by the power of the sword, and made no effort to conciliate or to absorb the populations they had conquered. They despised the characteristic features of European civilization and made no effort to assimilate it. Turkey was a military despotism, without industry, without science, without liberty. Generalizations in history are dangerous ; but it is safe to say that such a state can never be stable. The Ottoman Empire had never recovered from the naval defeat which she had received at the hands of the Spaniards and their allies at Lepanto in 1571 ; the disaster of the siege of Vienna in 1683 had shown that on land her methods were no longer capable of success against those of Western Europe ; the rise of Russia in the eighteenth century had established upon her northern frontier a strong, hostile and aggressive neighbour, who was impelled against Turkey by difference of

The disintegration of Turkey.

Threatening neighbourhood of Russia.

religion and by the fact that Constantinople controlled the exit from the Black Sea, whose northern shores Russia possessed.

The Crimean War seemed to spring from a trivial incident. The "orthodox" and the "Catholic" Christians in Jerusalem quarrelled as to the use of the holy places, and their quarrel involved Russia and France, who were their official protectors. Under cover of this quarrel a Russian envoy at Constantinople demanded that Russia should be recognized as the Protector of the Christians in the Turkish Empire. This claim, if conceded, would have led to perpetual interference; and Turkey, with the support of the English ambassador, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, refused. Conferences at Vienna proved unavailing to settle the questions at issue, and in 1853 war was declared. France and England joined next year in support of Turkey; England following what she believed to be her commercial interests, and inspired by jealousy and fear of Russian expansion; Napoleon III., anxious to signalize his power by some striking military exploit.

Origin of the Crimean War.

The Russians invaded the Balkan provinces, but encountered a more stubborn defence than they had expected, and soon withdrew as the army of the Western Powers approached. Peace might perhaps have been made then; but it was determined by Napoleon III. and the English Ministry to invade the Crimean peninsula, where they anticipated a speedy victory and the annihilation of the naval power of Russia. But instead of the short struggle that was expected, there came a fierce and expensive war of nearly two years' duration. The Russians were beaten in the battle of the Alma, and perhaps an immediate attack might have led to the fall of Sebastopol; but the Russians were given time to prepare their defences, and under Todleben they made a vigorous resistance. The English, French and Turks were reinforced by an Italian army of the King of Sardinia; they were not defeated in any battle, but they suffered terribly from lack of food and clothing, from the severities of winter and the ravages of disease. Sebastopol was never cut off from communication with Russia, and held

Invasion of the Crimea.

Siege of Sebastopol.

out until September, 1855. Then the war soon came to an end. By the Peace of Paris the Russian claim to a protectorate over the Christians of Turkey was abandoned; Russia promised to keep no warships in the Black Sea; the integrity of Turkey was to be recognized. But the treaty was written in sand. The decadence of Turkey was not checked by it, and Russia before long advanced again both by sea and land.

Peace of Paris.

The Crimean War had few of the characteristic features of the wars of the nineteenth century. National sentiment counted for little. It was an affair of diplomacy and the balance of power, and resembled in this respect the wars of the eighteenth century. But Napoleon III. had soon to deal with a question of a different type.

The revolutions of Italy in 1848 had all been failures. The reactionary power of Austria seemed more firmly planted than ever. From the Alps to the Ionian Sea the governments with one exception were alien in race, interest and feeling from the peoples. Italy seemed more than ever "a mere geographical expression." But Italian sentiment had not in any way declined: nor were the people of Italy more reconciled to the Austrian supremacy. Moreover there was, as has been said, one notable exception to the oppressive and alien character of the governments. Piedmont under the King of Sardinia possessed a government which was really popular, and which had retained liberal and representative institutions in spite of all temptations to abandon them. The King, Victor Emmanuel, fell short of greatness, but he was a brave soldier and an honourable politician. He was brilliantly served by his great minister Cavour, perhaps the most interesting figure in European history since the Battle of Waterloo. He was a passionate Italian patriot, and typically Italian in the subtlety of his policy; but he knew England and the English constitution well, and was proud to be called a statesman of the English type. He gave his whole life to the cause of Italian liberty, and in pursuit of his aim was ready to sacrifice even his honour.

Condition of Italy after 1848.

Piedmont and Sardinia.

Victor Emmanuel and Cavour.

Cavour could count on two forces—the sentiment of Italy and the army of Piedmont; but they were not by themselves enough to drive the Austrians from Italy. It was to France that he looked for effective help. Napoleon had genuine sympathies with the cause of Italian liberty, and he was anxious for another opportunity to exhibit his diplomatic talents and the power of France. In July, 1858, he had a famous secret interview with Cavour at Plombières. It was agreed between them that, if war came between Austria and the King of Sardinia, France would come to the help of Victor Emmanuel with an army of 200,000 men. Austria was to be driven from the whole of Italy: Lombardy, Venetia and the Duchies of Central Italy were to be annexed to Piedmont. France was to receive as a reward, Savoy and Nice, the original home of the house of Savoy.

Cavour and Napoleon III.

The promises of France.

It was now Cavour's business to provoke a war. Napoleon hesitated at the last, but Cavour held him to his engagements. "I will fire the powder," he said, "and when Italy runs with blood you will have to march." The military preparations of Italy alarmed the Austrian government, and they sent an ultimatum demanding the reduction of the Piedmontese army to a peace footing. So Cavour heard the sound of the cannon that he had so passionately longed for. To the Parliament he said, "This will be the last Piedmontese Parliament. The next will be that of the Kingdom of Italy."

Cavour provokes a war.

Napoleon III. was true to his engagements and himself led the French army into Italy. In June, 1859, he won, after hard fighting, the battle of Magenta, and at the end of the month defeated the Austrians again at Solferino, after a contest that was doubtful for a long time, and cost the French 12,000 soldiers. Cavour was full of eager hopes for the complete realization of his wishes. But then suddenly Napoleon III. made overtures to Francis Joseph of Austria, and signed peace. His motives are somewhat uncertain. He had been impressed by the slaughter of Solferino, and was not altogether confident in the military power of France. He had found too, that the Italians

Battles of Magenta and Solferino.

were not so willing to be guided by him in everything as he had hoped. Perhaps most important of all there were threatening movements in Germany, where Prussia was mobilizing her army. So peace was made; Lombardy and Parma were to be joined to Piedmont; Venice was to continue under Austrian rule. Vague hopes were held out of "an Italian federation under the Presidency of the Pope." Victor Emmanuel saw no means of resisting the proposals of Austria and France; but Cavour, indignant at what seemed to him the betrayal of Italy, resigned and retired to private life.

The "betrayal" of Napoleon III.

Cavour had despaired too easily. The spontaneous movement in Italy towards unity and liberty was too strong to be repressed by the Emperors of France and Austria. The Duchies of Central Italy—Parma, Modena, Tuscany, together with the Romagna, the northern portion of Papal territory—expelled their rulers and drew together. Their movement was at first republican and was not supported by Piedmont; but though the revolted states mustered an army of 25,000, they would clearly be unable to stand alone against the Austrian and Papal armies. They offered themselves therefore to Victor Emmanuel. He made pretence of refusing, but Cavour was recalled to the Ministry. He saw at once that the new move could only succeed if it were supported by France. He negotiated with Napoleon III.: he offered to cede to him Savoy and Nice, which had been promised at Plombières, but not handed over, because Napoleon had not himself carried out his promises. The French emperor was further appeased by the promise that a popular vote should be taken and that the centre of Italy should not be attached to Piedmont unless the population made it clear that such was its wish. In the plebiscite a huge majority (386,000 against 15,000) voted for annexation. In April, 1860, Victor Emmanuel opened the first Italian Parliament at Turin, though that city was not to be the final capital of Italy. The history of the past marked Rome as the only satisfactory capital; but Rome was still in the hands of the Pope.

Central Italy joins the national cause.

Savoy and Nice ceded to France.

The first Italian Parliament.

A great step had been taken towards Italian unity, but much remained to be done. The Papal States were seething with revolutionary ideas, but Pope Pius IX., after his early disappointments with liberalism, had become wholly opposed to political freedom and Italian emancipation. In the South the kingdom of the Two Sicilies lay under the oppressive and retrograde rule of the Bourbon King, Francis II. The population was ignorant and superstitious; but vague ideas of change and of liberty were stirring there. There had been already several attempts at rebellion, but all had been beaten down.

What remained to be done.

The next stage in Italian liberty was connected not so much with the name of Cavour as of Garibaldi. He was the soldier-hero of the cause; while Cavour was its statesman; and Mazzini its evangelist. Garibaldi had distinguished himself in the campaign of 1859 at the head of his regiment known as the Hunters of the Alps. Now he prepared for a greater adventure—one of the most amazing in history. With the connivance of Cavour he left Genoa in May, 1860, with 1072 volunteers. Many of them were drawn from his old regiment, many were ardent patriots, some were adventurers of a more ordinary type. Their red shirts were their only uniform, and these were soon famous throughout Europe as a symbol of national liberty.

Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily.

He landed at Marsala and, seeing that under the circumstances the only road to safety lay in audacity, he marched on Palermo. Had the enemy shown courage and endurance, Garibaldi could hardly have avoided defeat. But Palermo was surrendered and the whole island was in his power. That was much; but more was to follow. Relying on the disaffection of the Neapolitans, Garibaldi crossed the straits in August, 1860. Francis II. made at first no attempt at resistance. With ludicrous ease Garibaldi and the nationalist movement became masters of the kingdom.

Conquest of Sicily and Naples.

Cavour watched Garibaldi's triumphal progress with mixed feelings. He rejoiced in the overthrow of the Neapolitan government, but he was uneasy as to what Garibaldi might do. For his adventurous and explosive temperament was

a great contrast to the subtle and restrained character of Cavour. He feared that Garibaldi might refuse to bring Naples and Sicily under the same government as the North of Italy; he feared the establishment of a republic in the South; and he feared foreign complications, if the red shirts invaded the Papal States, as they declared that they intended to do. Cavour determined to anticipate Garibaldi in the Papal States. He secured himself from foreign interference by another interview with Napoleon III. Then he raised an army and invaded the possessions of the Roman See.

Cavour and Garibaldi.

The Papal government was not a good one, and it was not popular with the inhabitants; but it had been recognized by all the powers of Europe, and Cavour's attack was the most flagrant possible violation of international right. Victor Emmanuel had no grievance against the Pope, but he professed anxiety as to the Papal army of 20,000 men, and demanded its disbandment. When the Pope refused, the Italian army invaded and defeated the Pope's forces at Castelfidardo. Then the victorious troops pushed on towards Naples. Cavour could now meet Garibaldi on something like equality, and probably he had been wrong in mistrusting him. Garibaldi handed over his new conquest to Victor Emmanuel. But soon disputes arose between the king and his great soldier. Garibaldi believed that the services of his red-shirted volunteers had not been sufficiently recognized and rewarded: he differed from the policy of Cavour both in domestic and foreign affairs; and he retired in a bitter mood from the king's service (1860).

Conquest of the Papal States.

Garibaldi's quarrel with the King.

A huge stride had been made towards the achievement of Italian unity. But a fragment of Papal territory, including Rome, still remained outside and was secured by a French garrison, and Venice and the land as far west as the Adige were still in the power of Austria. Both were won for Italy in the next ten years, but with the annexation of Naples and Sicily the heroic period of the struggle for Italian liberty was at an end. Cavour died in June, 1861.

Death of Cavour.

The new state was faced with many difficulties, economic,

political and religious. A large part of the population was not ready for the self-government which had been won so easily.

Venetia was won to Italy in 1866, but though the Italians fought for the great prize it was not won by their arms. Italian history here comes into close relation with the story of Germany, which we shall trace in the next chapter. It is enough to say here that Prussia in 1866 was about to enter on a war with Austria, and was looking round for allies. If Italy attacked the Austrians in Venetia that would necessarily distract and weaken the efforts of the Austrians in Germany. Bismarck secured the alliance of Victor Emmanuel by a promise that he would make no peace with Austria, which did not include the surrender of Venice to Italy.

The winning of Venice.

In April, 1866, the war began. We shall see in the next chapter how Prussia overwhelmed her enemies and established herself as the leader of Germany without a rival. Very different was the fate of her allies in Italy. The Italians had no statesman to take Cavour's place. Garibaldi gained little success with his irregular troops in Tyrol. The Italian armies were without capable commanders, without proper equipment, without discipline, without a definite plan of campaign. They were beaten at Custozza, where it cannot be said that even their military honour was saved. Even their navy was beaten by the Austrian fleet, which had been held in supreme contempt. Had the war proceeded without foreign interference the outlook would have been very black for Italy. But the Italians had detained a large Austrian army in Italy, and thus rendered invaluable service to Prussia. Bismarck praised "the immutable loyalty of Italy," and was himself faithful to his promises. Italy did not get all she wanted. Southern Tyrol still remained "unredeemed," but Venice was declared free to make her choice. By 640,000 votes to 60 she declared for union with the Italian Kingdom.

The war of 1866.

Venice secured for Italy by Prussia.

Rome still remained unconquered: and the Roman problem was a more complex one than the Venetian problem had been. Rome, under Pius IX., became more and more identified with opposition to liberal ideas. In the "Syllabus of the Principal Errors of our Age," published in

Italy and Rome.

December, 1864, it was declared to be an error "that the Pope can or ought to be reconciled to progress or liberalism or the modern state." The king of Italy had promised France to respect papal territory, and when in October, 1867, Garibaldi, with a body of volunteers, invaded, relying on the assistance of a Roman insurrection, he was easily defeated by a French force, which hurried to the assistance of the Pope. The French government declared that it would never allow Italy to occupy Rome.

The Vatican Council.

In 1870, while Europe beyond the Alps was occupied with the coming of the huge conflict between France and Germany, Rome was the scene of a great Œcumenical Council. Just as the temporal power of the papacy was about to pass away, and the very day after war had been declared between France and Germany, the infallibility of the Pope, " when he speaks *ex cathedra* and defines a doctrine concerning faith or morals to be held by the whole Church," was solemnly proclaimed.

Occupation of Rome.

The disasters of France led to the withdrawal of the French garrison. Italy declared herself no longer held by her promise to respect papal territory. An Italian army crossed the frontier and occupied Rome on September 20, 1870. The people were asked to vote as to their future, and by 133,000 to 1500 they decided for union with the Italian Kingdom. In vain the Pope launched sentence of excommunication against the invaders: in vain he repelled all overtures for a reconciliation. The capital of Italy was moved to Rome. The dream of a long line of Italian patriots from Dante to Mazzini had come true. Italy was free from the foreign yoke, united under a single government and mistress of her destinies.

Fyffe's *Modern Europe* and Alison Phillips' *Modern Europe* give an excellent account of these events. For more detailed treatment, Stillman's *Union of Italy*; Bolton King, *History of Italian Unity*; Countess Cesaresco, *Life of Cavour*; Marriott, *Makers of Modern Italy*. The whole story, from the side of France, is admirably told by Pierre de la Gorce in his *Histoire du Second Empire*. Nearly the whole story is covered by G. M. Trevelyan's three volumes: *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic*, *Garibaldi and the Thousand*, *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy*.

CHAPTER XIX

The Unification of Germany and the Foundation of the German Empire

THE revolutions of 1848 had done nothing for the cause of German unity. The bold words of the Prussian King, Frederick William IV., had ended in smoke. The Prussian effort to form a national government for all Germany had failed as disastrously as the Parliamentary movement at Frankfurt. The high hopes and noble struggles of the year of revolution had, however, by destroying illusions prepared the way to more practical measures, and the humiliation of Olmütz impressed on Prussia the need of a different policy and different preparations if she were to succeed in her competition with Austria for the headship of Germany.

No progress towards German unity.

Mental trouble necessitated the retirement of Frederick William IV. in 1857. Prince William ruled as Regent until 1861, when he succeeded to the throne as King William I. He had been known in 1848 as a strong opponent of liberal ideas, and when they triumphed for a time in Berlin he withdrew to England. But English constitutional ideas had no attraction for him. He was always primarily a soldier and upheld the prerogatives of the crown in their extreme form. "I am the first king to mount the throne," he said, "since it has been supported by modern institutions, but I do not forget that the crown has come to me from God alone." His reign was full of the conflict between the Divine right of kings and modern institutions; and in the end it was the Divine right of kings that won.

King William I. of Prussia.

The road to German unity under Prussian leadership was prepared by financial and military organization. After 1815 Prussian territory was divided into many parts, with a very long total frontier, and many internal customs barriers. The early effort of Prussia was to establish complete internal free trade within her own

The Prussian Zollverein.

dominions, to lower the frontier dues so as to decrease the inducement to smuggling and at the same time to levy heavy transit dues on all goods passing through Prussian territory. This was the first of the famous Zollvereins. These arrangements were a great advantage to Prussia, and a serious drawback to the commerce of other parts of Germany. Other similar customs unions were in consequence formed—a South German Union consisting of Bavaria and Würtemberg; and a Central German Union in which Hanover was the most important State. There was for a time great jealousy between these three unions; but the advantages of free trade throughout Germany were great and obvious. The greater part of the South German union joined Prussia in 1834; and Hanover came in in 1854. So that long before German political unity had come within the range of practical politics very nearly the whole of Germany had achieved a commercial unity from which Austria was excluded.

Commercial unity of Germany.

The military reorganization of Prussia was equally important, though it attracted at first little attention in Europe. It consisted largely of the complete realization of the ideas of the reformers who after 1806 had worked for the overthrow of Napoleon's power in Germany. The war minister of William I. was Roon: he shares with Moltke and Bismarck the credit for the measures whereby Prussia rose to be the most powerful State in Europe. Universal military service for three years was enforced with a further obligation to serve with the reserve (*Landwehr*) for four years. At the same time new weapons (especially the needle gun) were being adopted, and drill and tactics were being carefully studied.

Military reorganization of Prussia.

The crown of Prussia in pursuit of its aims came at once into vehement conflict with the representative house. The "progressive party" in 1861 held a large majority and demanded that the ministers of the crown should be responsible to the assembly, according to English example; that the upper house should be reformed; and that the obligations of military service should be limited to two years. When the king refused to yield. the Assembly

Conflict of crown and assembly.

refused in September, 1862, to pass the money vote for the army. It seemed that the king must give way; he even thought of abdicating; but it was at this juncture that he appointed Bismarck to be his chief minister and thus opened a new chapter in German history, the most important probably since the death of Charlemagne.

Bismarck was sprung from the landed aristocracy of North Germany. He had been a member of the Prussian Assembly during the period of revolution, and had been utterly opposed to any unification of Germany through the absorption of Prussia into Germany. "Prussians we are," he said, "and Prussians we will remain." He had already been employed in important diplomatic missions, and had upheld the claims of Prussia against Austria with unflinching firmness. When he entered on his new post at the request of the king he promised "that he would never yield." The administration in Prussia was not dependent (as in England) on the representative assembly, but lay entirely with the king. Bismarck had no belief in votes or debates. "The decision on these principles," he said on one occasion, "will come not by Parliamentary debate and not by majorities of votes. Sooner or later the God who directs the battle will cast his iron dice."

Bismarck.

According to all English experience Bismarck was engaged in a hopeless struggle. William I. and Bismarck faced the representatives of the people as Charles I. and Wentworth faced the Long Parliament; as Louis XVI. and his ministers faced the States-General or the Legislature. But William I. was not destined to take a place in history by the side of Charles I. and Louis XVI.: his reign was to show one of the greatest of all triumphs of royal power over Parliamentary opposition. The different result is to be explained partly by the special history and circumstances of Prussia, partly by the powerful personalities of the Prussian king and his minister; but chiefly it was success in war and foreign affairs that saved William and Bismarck, as it was failure in these departments which did much to drag to ruin the monarchies of France and England.

Crown and People.

Bismarck came into conflict with the Assembly with regard

to an insurrection of the Poles against Russian rule: the progressives sympathized with the Poles, but Bismarck co-operated with the Russians in the suppression of the rising. He showed his strong opposition to Austria by refusing even to consider a proposal which she brought forward for a new constitution for Germany. But the most important question that he had to deal with was the future of Schleswig-Holstein. This was in its details one of the most obscure diplomatic questions that ever occupied the attention of the governments of Europe, but it led directly up to Bismarck's greatest triumph.

Conflicts between Bismarck and the Assembly.

Frederick III., King of Denmark, was also Duke of Schleswig and of Holstein; but there was no constitutional union between the Kingdom and the Duchies; and, as Frederick III. was childless, his death would raise the question of the future of the Duchies in an acute form. In Schleswig and perhaps in Holstein no woman could succeed and no woman could transmit a right to succeed, while in Denmark there was no such "Salic Law." The question, even if the decision had rested on legal right, was an obscure one. But Bismarck was determined to make it a question on which "the God of battles should throw his iron dice."

The Schleswig-Holstein question.

Should the Duchies be permanently incorporated with Denmark? Should they be entirely taken from Denmark and incorporated with Germany? Should Schleswig go to Denmark while Holstein remained German? These different solutions found support both in and out of Germany. Bismarck gradually came to see a plan by which the Duchies might be incorporated neither with Germany, nor with Denmark, but with Prussia.

The future of the Duchies?

The King of Denmark before his death passed a decree giving separate treatment to Schleswig and to Holstein, and almost incorporating Schleswig with Denmark (1863). The Diet at Frankfurt protested, for there was still a Diet, though its power was small in comparison with that of Prussia and Austria. It declared that the Duchies should be occupied by a German army pending their decision,

Incorporation with Denmark.

and they desired that both the Duchies should go to the German Duke of Augustenburg, a claimant with a strong title. The occupation of the Duchy of Holstein took place. But Austria and Prussia were not in the least inclined to leave the matter in the hands of the Diet. They determined themselves to act in the name of Germany and to occupy the Duchies by force. The King of Denmark appealed in vain to Europe. There was sympathy with him everywhere, but no one was ready to help. He determined, however, not to withdraw without a struggle. But the Danish armies could effect nothing against the joint forces of Prussia and Austria. The little state was soon helpless in their hands.

War.

The victory of the two great powers had not made the future of the Duchies much plainer. Bismarck's own mind was made up. He had not driven out the King of Denmark to give the Duchies to the Duke of Augustenburg. With or without a pretext they must come to Prussia. Austria, on the other hand, supported Augustenburg's claims, and the chief members of the Diet were also in favour of that solution. There were attempts at compromise that had a temporary success. The King of Prussia would have welcomed a road to peace. Bismarck was determined on war. A protest against the action of Austria in bringing the question before the Diet led to the outbreak of hostilities.

Occupation of the Duchies by Prussia and Austria.

All technical questions of legal right fell now into the background. The war was not for the Duchies any longer. Prussia was to fight Austria and the rest of Germany for supremacy in Germany. Bismarck secured, as we saw in the last chapter, the valuable support of Italy whereby a large body of Austrian troops was kept south of the Alps. In Germany Prussia was practically without allies, and had to face Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, and Hanover, as well as the smaller German powers.

War between Prussia and Austria.

The war which followed was the first intimation to Europe of the new power that had risen in her midst. It was also the first war in which modern methods were used. Moltke directed the campaign by telegraph from Berlin, and only came to the front when the decisive blow had to be delivered. The

railways were largely used for the movements of the troops. In comparison with this war the campaigns in the Crimea seemed to belong to a bygone age.

The war of 1866.

Prussia won a rapid and a complete success. The Hanoverian army was defeated at Langensalza in June, as it strove to effect a junction with the Bavarians and Austrians. The decisive battle came at Königgrätz in Bohemia in July. Victory hung in the balance for some time. But the arrival of the Crown Prince, Frederick, decided the issue in favour of Prussia, and brought the war to an end. It was one of the shortest of wars, but few wars have decided more momentous issues.

The settlement after the war.

The statesmanship of Bismarck after the war was as remarkable as the military skill of Moltke during the campaign; and it prepared the way for the next great triumph of Prussia. Austria was excluded from all participation in German affairs. The states of the north which had resisted Prussia—Schleswig, Holstein, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel—were annexed to Prussia, so that her territory now stretched without serious interruption across the north of Germany. The Southern States—Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden—were treated with great consideration. There was a real danger that they might come to see in Prussia their most dangerous enemy, and be driven in consequence into alliance with France. Napoleon III. was eagerly working for such an alliance. But Bismarck treated them generously, emphasized their common German nationality and left them their independence. A little later they all entered into secret treaties with Prussia, whereby they promised that in case of war they would join their forces to hers.

The Southern States.

The North German Confederation.

The States of Northern Germany which still retained their independence were joined together in the North German confederation. This was entirely the work of Bismarck, and the later German Empire was only an expansion of it by the admission into it of the South German States. It had many original features, and diverged widely from the example of the British constitution, which had hitherto been taken as a model in most constitutional experiments on the continent. At the

head was the Federal Council, consisting not of elected representatives, but of envoys from the various governments of Germany, and in the hands of this council lay the control of the administration and the initiative in all legislation. Next came the Parliament (Reichstag). It was elected by manhood suffrage, for Bismarck disliked the liberalism of the German middle classes and thought that he would find in the people a more loyal support for his schemes. It controlled finance; it passed or rejected the legislation that was initiated by the federal council; but it was not like the English Parliament; it was not a government: it did not control the ministers, and had no right of direct interference with the executive.

Reichstag.

The administration was in the hands of the ministers, and at their head was the Chancellor. He had a power greater than that of the English Prime Minister. The ministers were responsible to him; and he alone was responsible to the king for their action. We have to go to the Grand Vizier of Turkey or the Frankish Mayors of the Palace to find any subject with an authority so great as his. Bismarck was the first Chancellor. The war had saved him. The gravity of the issues had silenced opposition, and then the magnitude of his triumph had turned him into a popular hero.

The Chancellor.

The war had had important consequences for Austria also. It hurried on a settlement of her long-standing troubles with Hungary. The Hungarian claim for a separate Diet and government had been temperately urged by Deák, and Austria now consented. The claims made by the other nationalities were refused. But henceforth the Austrian Emperor ruled over a "dual" state. Austria and Hungary had little connection except their submission to the same sovereign.

The settlement in Hungary.

Napoleon had seen the outbreak of the war without uneasiness, but he was alarmed to find that he could exercise no influence on the settlement which followed it. Prussia and France were brought into clear rivalry, and in four years' time appeal was again made to "the iron dice."

Napoleon III. and the war.

Napoleon III.'s power seemed for some time firmly established. The industrial and commercial development of the country proceeded at a great pace. Paris was to a large extent rebuilt and became the centre of European fashion. The emperor had the warm support of the Church on the one hand, and of the commercial classes on the other. He was popular with the majority of the people of France in spite of the despotic character of his rule. The chamber was indeed elected by manhood suffrage; but it had only the shadow of power. It could initiate nothing; its debates were secret; and the electors were to a large extent controlled by the agents of the government. The Senate or upper chamber consisted of 150 men nominated by the emperor and completely under his influence. Its chief duty was to check the action of the chamber. The Council of State, consisting of the king's ministers and others whom he appointed, superintended the general administration of the State; but here, too, the emperor maintained a complete ascendency. The ministers were directly responsible to him, and he was always "his own Prime Minister." The local government of France was controlled by his Præfects. He made unscrupulous use of the tribunals for the punishment of his political opponents, and kept strict watch on the press and on education in all its branches.

The bases of Napoleon III.'s power.

Some critics have thought that if he had kept peace he would not have lost his throne. He himself judged differently: he believed that it was necessary "to gratify the military and domineering instincts of France." We have seen how large a share he took in the Crimean War and in the first stage of the war for Italian liberty, and how numerous were the military successes of France. But, though he probably won some popularity in this way, he also alienated strong supporters. The clergy in France were indignant at the alliance between their emperor and the house of Savoy, which was the great antagonist of the papacy in Italy. Europe was alarmed by his acquisition of Nice and Savoy, which seemed to indicate that he was not without the aggressive ideas of the first Napoleon.

The necessity of success.

Moreover, in 1860, he alienated the commercial and moneyed classes by signing a commercial treaty with England. Napoleon III. had himself been convinced by the arguments of Cobden and his associates in the Free Trade movement, and he believed that a reduction in the duties charged on English goods would be to the advantage of French trade. On his own authority and without consulting the chief commercial houses of France, he signed the treaty. If Napoleon III. was a free trader by conviction the commercial classes in France certainly were not, and they were indignant at what seemed to them a betrayal of their interests.

Commercial treaty with England.

After 1860, Napoleon's foreign policy was never again successful. He entered in 1863 on his strange Mexican adventure. His attention had been directed to central America from an early date, and he had dreamed of cutting a canal through the isthmus of Panama. Just now circumstances in America were unusually favourable for European interference. The United States of America were in the throes of their civil war. Mexico was disturbed by recurrent revolution, and the fact that she owed money to Europeans gave an excuse for interference. The first design was for a joint occupation by England, France, and Spain. But the other two states withdrew, and France went on alone.

The Mexican adventure.

It was a fantastic and grandiose project. Mexico was occupied by a French force. A constituent assembly was called and a vote was procured, electing Maximilian of Austria as emperor. But then the house of cards collapsed. The Mexicans did not at all accept the new arrangement, and the French troops which supported Maximilian were harassed by continual guerilla warfare. As soon as peace had been restored in the United States the government of the Republic threw all its weight against the scheme of Napoleon, and that was decisive. The French troops were withdrawn. Maximilian was betrayed by his officers and shot. The adventure left behind it nothing but a record of dismal failure and serious financial loss.

Maximilian of Austria in Mexico.

The ground was shaking under Napoleon's feet. The clergy and the commercial classes were both largely alienated

from him. It was necessary to look for support elsewhere. He proposed to make large concessions to liberalism. He took as his chief minister, Olivier, who had been a republican and a strong opponent of Napoleon's power. What was practically a new Constitution was promised. The elected Assembly was to have the power to initiate laws; the ministers were to be responsible; the sessions of the Senate were to be public; the control of the Assembly over the Budget was to be made real. Then Napoleon appealed again to the people: 7,300,000 votes were given for the new Constitution, 1,500,000 voted against it.

The Liberal Empire.

On June 30, 1870, after the popular vote had been taken, Olivier said, "On whichever side we look there is an absence of troublesome questions: at no moment has the maintenance of peace in Europe been better assured." Fifteen days later war was declared against Prussia: in a little more than two months the second empire disappeared amidst disasters greater than Leipsic and Waterloo.

Optimism in June, 1870.

The causes of the great war which broke out so suddenly are in their main features not difficult to determine. Neither France nor Germany desired war. But Napoleon III. saw that a successful war would establish his tottering power on a firm foundation. He was in ill health, and neither his will nor his intelligence possessed their former strength. Probably he did not wish for a war, but he did not energetically wish to avoid one. On the other side, Bismarck, Moltke and Roon undoubtedly desired war. It would put the coping stone on all their work. The defeat of Austria had established the supremacy of Prussia in Germany; the defeat of France would establish a German Empire under Prussian leadership. The past histories of France and Germany seemed to require one last duel to decide the question of mastery.

Causes of the war.

The excuse for the war—the *casus belli*—was a flimsy one. There had been a revolution in Spain. The Queen, Isabella, had fled to France. The question of her successor had to be decided. Leopold of Hohenzollern, a distant relative of the Prussian King, and a Roman Catholic, was a candidate. Napoleon III. protested against

The Spanish question.

the idea of a Hohenzollern mounting the throne of Spain. King William acquiesced in the protest, and the candidature was withdrawn. Napoleon thought he saw an opportunity of scoring a diplomatic triumph. He instructed his ambassador, Benedetti, to demand of the Prussian King that he should promise "to oppose the candidature of Leopold, if it were ever raised on a subsequent occasion." Benedetti met the king at Ems: the king declined to give the promise, but repeated his approval of the withdrawal of Leopold's candidature. The interview had passed without heat, and the affair seemed at an end.

The Ems telegram.

Yet this affair lit the flames of a furious war. The king telegraphed to Bismarck giving an account of what had occurred. Bismarck was at first depressed by the news, for it seemed to remove any possibility of immediate war; he thought even of resigning his post. But then he modified the wording of the message that he had received from the king, and published it in such a form that it seemed to imply that the Prussian King had been insulted and had broken off all communications with France. A loud cry for war was raised in Germany, and was answered by a shout of defiance from Paris.

Comparison of the forces.

France anticipated victory with confidence; but she won no battle and hardly an engagement, and had to drink the cup of humiliation to the dregs. The German preparations were perfect, while on the side of France all was disorder. The German armies were largely superior in numbers to those of France, and were under the sole guidance of Moltke, while in France there was neither unity of command nor any plan of campaign. The German artillery, too, was far superior to that of France.

The Disasters of France.

Half a million of German soldiers poured over the French frontier in three main armies. The campaign was conducted with a rapidity unexampled in history, and the chances of France vanished almost with the first incidents of the war. MacMahon was defeated at Wörth with huge loss. Then Marshal Bazaine's army was beaten and shut up in Metz. The emperor and MacMahon (though the emperor had ceased almost to control events)

decided to retreat on Paris and fight the decisive battle under the fortresses of the city. But the empress believed that a retreat would bring about the fall of the dynasty, and the army changed its direction and marched again towards the enemy in the hope that it might effect the relief of Metz. They were caught by the German army at Sedan on September 1, 1870, and after losing 17,000 men Napoleon surrendered with 85,000.

Abolition of the Empire.

At the news of this disaster the empire was at once abolished in Paris, and a Republic declared. The government rested chiefly with Jules Favre (foreign affairs) and Gambetta (home affairs). The new Republic might have had peace if it would have consented to the surrender of Strassburg and Metz; but it proudly answered that it would not surrender an inch of French territory, and the war therefore went on. The German army gathered round Paris, and the long siege began. No one has denied the heroic endurance of the Parisians during the siege, but no one in Europe would stir a finger to help them, and on January 28, 1871, the end came. Paris capitulated. By the treaty of Frankfort Strassburg and Metz were surrendered with Alsace and Lorraine to the Germans; a huge war indemnity was paid.

Surrender of Paris and end of the war.

Foundation of the German Empire.

Before the end had been reached the Prussian King had become the German Emperor. He was acclaimed by his new title in the great hall of Versailles, which had been the scene of the glories of Louis XIV., while Moltke and Bismarck stood by his side.

The Commune of Paris.

The war was over, but before France could go forward to the task of social and political reconstruction she had to pass through another terrible experience. A National Assembly at Versailles seemed hesitating as to whether France should be a republic or a monarchy. Paris meanwhile was fermenting with the wildest revolutionary ideas. Socialism, communism, anarchism, were preached with a violence all the greater because of the recent disasters. Paris proclaimed "the Commune"—declared, that is to say, that she would have a government of her own and go

her own way independently of the rest of France. The movement was partly a republican protest against the monarchical principles which were supposed to be held by the Assembly at Versailles. It was determined that the movement must be suppressed at all costs, and the armies of France were turned against the capital of France. The German troops, not yet withdrawn, looked on at this ghastly epilogue to the war. After much fighting and great cruelty on both sides the Commune was crushed.

The Third Republic.

Amidst such birth pangs was the third Republic born. There were long and fierce controversies as to the precise form it should take. Thiers was the first President, but it was not until 1875 that it was formally constituted.

Fyffe, *Modern Europe*; Alison Phillips, *Modern Europe*; De la Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*; H. A. L. Fisher, *Bonapartism*; Headlam, *Bismarck*; Grant Robertson, *Bismarck*.

CHAPTER XX

Great Britain in the Nineteenth Century

I

We must attempt in this chapter the difficult task of surveying the history of Great Britain in the nineteenth century and of comparing it with what we have already seen of the chief countries of Europe.

Characteristics of the nineteenth century.

(1) Industry and commerce.

Certain characteristics of the period may be noted: (1) It has been a period of unprecedented commercial and industrial expansion. That is a characteristic of the nineteenth century the world over; but, especially during the first three-quarters of the century, Great Britain outstripped all other competitors. The Napoleonic wars had exhausted Europe to a far greater extent than Great Britain. Our soil had been free from invasion and war, and even before the Battle of Waterloo the industrial era had clearly

begun; but the rapidity of its advance was much greater afterwards. Inventions came in an almost continuous succession. The face of England was transformed by steam and later by electricity. (2) The constitutional life of the country had during the period moved forward to more liberal and democratic forms. Many men in 1815 would have said that they had fought the Revolution and Napoleon in order to avoid all changes in the political life of England. But the flood could not be stayed. By the end of the century nearly the whole adult male population of the country was admitted to the franchise. At the same time the cabinet system was developed and clearly recognized as the invariable method of government. Parliament became clearly the seat of sovereignty, and in Parliament the centre of gravity moved decidedly from the House of Lords to the House of Commons. There were some who thought that these changes would entail the establishment of a republic and the overthrow of the monarchy. But the monarchy has managed to harmonize itself with the new order of ideas, and during the latter part of the century has enjoyed almost universal loyalty. The growth of the overseas Empire has made the Crown a symbol of unity more valuable than ever before. (3) In England, as in all civilized countries, a predominant feature of the nineteenth century has been the rise of social questions to an importance at least as great as that occupied previously by political controversy. This is the really new feature of the age in England and elsewhere. Forms of government have not ceased to be important, but more and more loudly the question has been asked of them—What influence have they on the condition and life of the people? (4) The public life of Great Britain during the nineteenth century has been in comparison with most countries quiet and orderly. If we except the history of Ireland, which rarely falls into line with the history of the rest of the Empire, there have been no revolutionary outbreaks: there have been no civil wars. Party feeling has often run very high; but all parties have been agreed that controversies should be settled by methods

(2) Democracy.

(3) The rise of social questions.

(4) Peaceful development of England.

which the constitution admits. Thus Great Britain is a land of singular contrast. In some respects the freest and most "modern" of States, it has also retained many of the institutions, ceremonies, and ideas of a long past age, which other countries have for the most part abandoned. (5) The growth of the Colonial and Indian Empire, especially towards the end of the century, became an influence on domestic history of great importance, which seems likely to increase rather than to diminish.

(5) Growth of the Empire.

II

As soon as the fall of Napoleon had given Britain security the first signs of opposition to the political and social order began to manifest themselves. The glory and power of Great Britain in 1815 had not brought comfort or prosperity to the labouring classes, and there were several societies anxious to bring about changes in the constitution of the country. But all were suppressed, and those in authority were determined before all things to resent innovations. The death of George III. in 1820 produced little change. His intellect had been clouded for a long time past, and George IV. had neither the character nor the intelligence required to make him the real ruler of the land. The Tories monopolized political power. The greatest name among them was the Duke of Wellington, who, covered with glory by his peninsular and Waterloo campaigns, soon came to exercise a great influence on domestic politics. Then came Canning, brilliant, eloquent, and somewhat erratic, the champion of great causes abroad, but at home hostile to all changes in the parliamentary system; Castlereagh, unsympathetic in manner, and in popular opinion identified with the cause of reaction, but hard working, efficient, and sincerely devoted to the cause of peace; and lastly Sir Robert Peel, whose time was not yet, but who was destined to be most important of all.

Opposition to reform.

Castlereagh, Canning, Wellington, Peel.

The first blow for liberty and progress was struck in Ireland. The conditions laid down by the Act of Union had not been changed. The vast majority of the people of Ireland were

as Roman Catholics ineligible for Parliament, although they could vote in elections. The stigma thus placed on Roman Catholics was a serious grievance, and it formed a good rallying cry for all the many discontented elements in Ireland. In Daniel O'Connell Ireland had found one of her greatest leaders. His great stature, his eloquence, his audacity, even his powerful voice made him the ideal representative of the Irish at this juncture. He was supported by the powerful Catholic Association, and Ireland rose in enthusiastic support of him. In 1828 he came forward as a candidate for County Clare, though as a Catholic he could not sit in Parliament. The peasant voters, who had usually voted so tamely for the candidate recommended by the Protestant landlords, found courage (though vote by ballot had not yet been introduced) to support O'Connell, and he was returned with a huge majority over his opponent. The incident might have been unimportant in itself, but it was clear that Catholic Ireland was ready to support the agitation even, if need be, by civil war. To resist would mean civil war; and Wellington had the courage to advise the House of Lords to yield. In 1829 a bill was passed putting Catholics on a level with Protestants, so far as political privileges were concerned, both in Great Britain and Ireland. A measure, which had caused panic and terror in some quarters and raised unmeasured hopes in others, had none of the revolutionary results that were hoped or feared.

Condition and influence of Ireland.

Dan O'Connell.

Catholic emancipation.

But it had been a breach in the established order, a change in the parliamentary constitution. The friends of further reform were encouraged, and the Tory party was divided by its passing. There had been for some time an agitation for a more thoroughgoing reform of Parliament—an agitation which took up again a movement which had been strong in the eighteenth century, but had been pushed aside by the struggle against the French Revolution and Napoleon. Its supporters now proceeded with more confidence. The existing franchise could only be defended as part of the established political order; if that

The agitation for reform.

order were to be altered in any way new methods for elections to Parliament were almost inevitable. For the existing constituencies did not in the least correspond to the distribution of population in the country. Since the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century the population had migrated largely to the north of England, especially to the industrial areas of the midlands, the West Riding of Yorkshire, and Lancashire; but the thinly peopled districts of the south and west of England returned the majority of the members to the House of Commons. Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, and Birmingham were not represented.

Defects of the existing representative system.

The old system seems to us indefensible, but the struggle was long and severe. The fear of change for many years lay heavy on the minds of men. Reformers' Unions were hard at work in various parts of the country; and feeling ran high. Wild hopes were entertained of the effects which the measure would produce. The revolutions in Belgium and in France in 1830 had an effect, and this time rather in favour of change than against it. Wellington resisted as long as he could, but the House of Commons contained a strong majority for reform. If he had continued his resistance civil war might possibly have broken out. He wisely yielded, and in June, 1832, the Reform Bill passed the House of Lords and received the king's consent.

The Reform Bill of 1832.

The Reform Bill of 1832 marks an epoch in our history almost as important as the Revolution of 1688; but whereas the Revolution of 1688 was complete in itself the Reform Bill was the prelude to half a century and more of sweeping constitutional and legislative changes which completely altered the political and social balance of power in Great Britain. The immediate effect of the bill was to give power into the hands of the middle classes. The working classes, whose support of the Bill had been of the utmost importance, did not get votes, and their leaders felt themselves defrauded by the Bill. The representative system of Great Britain was made more regular and reasonable. Representatives were taken away from petty and unimportant places: the franchise in the boroughs was made uniform

Effects of the Reform Bill.

and was widened in the counties. The measure was regarded by most of its aristocratic and middle-class supporters as *final:* no further change was to be thought of. But those were right who said that the Bill would inevitably lead to other changes. The arguments that carried the Bill of 1832 led ultimately to a democratic basis for the constitution of the country.

III

Lord Grey, the leader of the Whigs, who had presided over the movement for reform, was Prime Minister in the first reformed Parliament with a very large majority. The Tories were for the present reduced to insignificance. The new Parliament passed some measures of great importance. By an Act of 1833 all slaves in the British Empire were set free. A new and important poor law was adopted. Above all, in 1835, the Municipal Corporation Reform Act prepared the way for the development of civic life which has become so marked a feature of Britain at the present day. The municipal life of England had hitherto been poor compared with that of France, or Italy, or Germany or the Netherlands. Now the towns became generally self-governing communities and, though they were slow to make use of their opportunities, in course of time they bid fair to do for Britain something of what the great cities of Italy and Germany did for the intellectual and artistic, as well as for the commercial, life of the State.

The Whigs in power.

Their legislation.

George IV. had died in 1830. William IV. reigned until 1837, and that the events of the reign can be told without reference to him shows how little influence he had on the life of the nation. Victoria became queen at the age of 18 in 1837.

Victoria.

The first years of her reign were those during which on the continent the revolutions of 1848 were maturing. England was not altogether undisturbed by the movement; but it came in Britain in a peculiar fashion and with hardly anything of the violence which marked the time in nearly all continental States. There was

England and the Continent.

much hardship and suffering, but it was felt that the remedy lay within the framework of the constitution. Only in Ireland did the movement assume a character that threatened violent revolution.

Chartism.

In England the social movement had a double character. On the one side there was the genuine working-class movement of *Chartism;* which, though it was inspired by social aims, nevertheless demanded only political change. It took the form of an agitation for the people's charter, which contained five demands—manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, annual Parliaments, the abolition of any property qualification for members of Parliament, and the payment of members. There was certainly a widespread movement in favour of the charter, and the violent language with which it was recommended inspired great alarm. But the chartists found no really capable leader, and the movement died away, though it exercised indirectly considerable influence on political thought. Most of what the charter demanded has since been granted.

Agitation for Free Trade.

Side by side with Chartism, and often bitterly hostile to it, ran the agitation for Free Trade and the abolition of the Corn Laws, which by imposing a duty on all imported corn kept up the price of corn to an artificial point. The Corn Laws owed their origin to a time when agriculture was the one important industry of the country. But now the industrial towns were springing up on all sides, and the high price of food caused much distress among the artisans. Since Adam Smith, political economists had often advocated the free interchange of all commodities between State and State; and the abolition of the Corn Laws was the most urgent application of this principle of Free Trade. No movement for reform in all our history has been so well organized or so powerfully conducted as this. The great leaders were Cobden and Bright. Cobden was an unrivalled speaker of an intellectual and argumentative kind, and a brilliant exponent of financial theory; Bright had a more emotional eloquence, with which he swayed great crowds as hardly anyone else has done in England. His speeches seem likely to become a

Cobden and Bright.

permanent part of English literature. These men passed up and down the country denouncing the Corn Laws and proclaiming the domestic prosperity and international harmony which would follow the adoption of Free Trade.

Peel and the Corn Laws.

The Irish famine.

Repeal of the Corn Laws.

The Tory ministry of Peel and the Duke of Wellington long resisted the movement; but Peel's clear intellect had been gradually becoming aware that the Corn Laws were logically indefensible. Then there came in 1845 a severe Irish famine in consequence of the failure of the potato crop; and yet the only corn that could be sent to the famine-stricken peasantry was at a high price because it had to pay the corn-dues. Peel saw that the Corn Laws must be abandoned for Ireland; and he believed that, once abandoned, they could not be recalled. He took the plunge; acknowledged the debt of the country to Cobden, and with the help of his Whig opponents carried the Repeal of the Corn Laws through the House of Commons. It was a step momentous for the social and economic life of England; momentous also for its political life. For the action of Peel split the Tory party and indeed destroyed it. What emerged and exercised subsequently a great influence on the destinies of England was a conservative party, which had none of the bitter dislike of the Tories for reform and change, but was anxious that change should be so introduced as not to threaten the country with disorder. But if Peel was the creator of the conservative party he did not live to lead it. He died suddenly in 1850.

IV

Palmerston.

We now come to fifteen years in British history, which are largely dominated by the figure of Palmerston. Certainly he does not rank among the great statesmen of our history. He is not a Walpole, nor a Chatham, nor a Pitt: he has not permanently influenced the political life of Great Britain like Peel or Disraeli or Gladstone or Chamberlain. He was neither a great scholar, nor a deep thinker, nor was his judgment sure on practical affairs. But he has

left a name that always attracts attention. He was an eager and somewhat blatant patriot; hostile to and rather contemptuous of the strong monarchies of the continent, eager to help all movements for liberty abroad, but suspicious of all changes suggested at home. But no catalogue of his opinions gives any idea of the man; he looked on politics as a sort of sport and was popular with the sport-loving English public. He gave to British foreign policy a truculent and aggressive character, which has often been attributed to it by foreigners after it has ceased to deserve it.

His foreign policy.

These fifteen years are full of wars, which have in most cases been dealt with already. There were troubles with the newly-founded kingdom of Greece; an unjust and cruel war with China; but above all there was the Crimean War, of which enough has already been said; and there was the Indian Mutiny which was even more important than the Crimean War for the British Empire. The governing power in India was still nominally the East Indian Company, supported and largely directed by the Home Government. The army in India consisted mainly of native troops officered in part by men of British origin. The limits of British rule in India had advanced rapidly of late, Lord Dalhousie especially having annexed important native territories where there was no direct heir to succeed. After his retirement the Mutiny broke out in 1857. Its name properly describes the character of the movement; it was a mutiny of the army not a rebellion of the people. So small was the number of British soldiers in India that the position was for some time extremely dangerous. The loyalty of a portion of the army and of the chief native princes allowed the British to master the rising and to restore British rule. The immediate result was the dissolution of the East India Company and the transference of the government of India to the Crown. The chief authorities for India were henceforth the Viceroy in India and at home the Secretary of State for India.

Palmerston's wars.

The Indian Mutiny.

V

Palmerston died in 1865. He had acted at home as a check on all projects of reform, and at his death a further stage in the democratization of Parliament at once took place. The Ministry was Whig and Lord John Russell was Prime Minister. Gladstone was the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he introduced a Reform Bill in 1866. It encountered vigorous opposition not only from the Tories but also from the discontented Whigs, who had hitherto followed the lead of Palmerston. The government was left in a minority and resigned.

The Reform Bill of 1866.

During the debate on the Reform Bill the attack on Gladstone's measure was led by Disraeli. These two were, until Disraeli's death, in constant opposition, being drawn into opposite camps by belief, temperament and aim. Our party system tends to make political contests develop into a struggle between the trusted champions of either side. Pym and Wentworth; Halifax and Shaftesbury; Walpole and Chatham; Pitt and Fox —these are names that naturally come together in history. But no pair of combatants so famous as Gladstone and Disraeli have ever wrestled in the parliamentary arena. Gladstone was a distinguished scholar of Eton and Oxford, a devout and devoted member of the Church of England, who had appeared at first in Parliament as an "unbending Tory," with a great admiration for Canning, and then had gradually become an eager reformer, first through his adherence to Peel's finance measures and later through his dislike for Palmerston's truculent foreign policy. As he grew older he grew even more ready to accept new ideals and more convinced of the need of change of a democratic kind. Disraeli was a Jew by origin, but a member of the English Church. He had been first known as an eccentric and a novelist. His early sympathies were with the radicals, but he too was drawn over to the other side, especially by his interest in foreign affairs and his desire for a more spirited policy in dealing with them. But to the

Gladstone and Disraeli.

end, though he became leader of the conservative party, he was more ready for change than most of them, and spoke of himself as "educating the party." In 1866 he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, while Lord Derby was Prime Minister, and he surprised his party and England by himself introducing a Reform Bill, as democratic as that which he had been instrumental in throwing out. Some of his own party protested; but the liberal opposition was bound to support him. The Bill gave the vote to every male householder in the towns and to some lodgers. There was also an extension of the franchise in the counties. But, while a close approximation to democracy had come in the towns, the counties remained in the hands of the middle class for some twenty years longer.

Disraeli's Reform Bill of 1866.

Let us look forward to this last extension of the franchise, though it carries us away from chronological order. It was in 1884 that Gladstone's ministry produced a Bill for placing the franchise in the counties on the same footing as in the towns. The measure was, after much controversy, accepted by both parties, and coupled with a Redistribution Bill, which removed some of the worst anomalies in the arrangement of seats. With this measure something very close to a democratic basis for the British constitution was established. So far as the male citizens of Great Britain are concerned a long controversy was practically brought to an end. Already voices—penetrating and persuasive—were raised claiming for women the vote and full political rights: but though these claims opened a new and important chapter in our political history they need not be considered in this book.

Gladstone's Franchise Bill.

In 1868 Disraeli, who had become Prime Minister on the resignation of Lord Derby, dissolved Parliament and appealed to the new constituencies which had been created by the Reform Bill. The decision of the new constituencies was decisively against the conservatives, and the liberals came back to power with a majority of over a hundred. Gladstone became Prime Minister and started at once on a course of reforms.

Bills followed one another thick and fast. There was in

1870 the Elementary Education Act by which Great Britain followed other countries of Europe in establishing a system of universal national education. But the nation was far from realizing all that was implied in making education an affair of the State and the nation and not only of private effort and individual initiative. The ballot was introduced for all parliamentary elections. There were important reforms in the army and in the organization of the judicature. But Gladstone's name will always be most closely associated with the Irish question; and it was now that he made the first of his many efforts to remedy the grievances of Ireland and to bring to an end the difficulties and dangers into which the connection between Great Britain and Ireland had constantly brought the larger island. The policy that he adopted is still a matter of fierce debate. We can only chronicle the stages in it.

Gladstone's administration.

Education.

Ireland.

Two sides of the Irish problem were treated by Gladstone; the one ecclesiastical, the other agrarian. The Protestant and Episcopal Church of Ireland was the church of a small minority. The vast mass of the people were Roman Catholics; even among the Protestants nearly half were Presbyterians and had much to complain of at the hands of the dominant Church. A Bill introduced by Gladstone in 1869 took from the Church its official standing and its chief sources of income. It was disestablished and disendowed. Gladstone turned then to the problem of Irish land. The Irish land question is almost the history of Ireland, from the "conquest" of the island by Henry II. down to the latest date. The roots of the trouble were these. (1) The landlords of Ireland were, very many of them, absentees; they lived in England and drew their rents from Ireland. (2) The custom of Irish land tenure was much harder than that of the English. The tenant received no compensation for improvements which he himself effected, whereas in England compensation for such improvements was secured by custom. (3) The population of Ireland was so great that there was no difficulty in letting farms even at high rents and on harsh conditions. Gladstone's

Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

The Irish Land Bill.

Bill was an attempt to remedy these abuses. Tenants who had improved their holdings were to be paid for their improvements: if they were evicted, except for non-payment of rent, they were to be compensated. The tenants' lot was improved; but the country soon found how far the Bill was from finality. No stopping place was found on the road of land reform, until the peasant had been made the full owner of his land.

Gladstone's government was intent on domestic politics and was anxious above all to escape entanglement with foreign problems. It succeeded in maintaining peace, but foreign problems of great urgency presented themselves. The Franco-German War of 1870 roused keen excitement in England; and Gladstone refused all interference. His action (or the want of it) was generally approved by the nation; but when the Great War of 1914 came there were many who thought that it would have been best if England had used her utmost efforts to prevent that great duel between two of the foremost nations of Europe from being fought out to the utter defeat of one of them. Then a little later Gladstone submitted to arbitration the sum that should be paid to the United States of America for the depredations committed during the civil war by the cruiser *Alabama*, which had been built in England. His action was thought to be weak at the time, but no one will be found now to blame him for avoiding at any cost, but that of honour, a struggle with the United States.

The Franco-German War.

The *Alabama* arbitration.

Gladstone's term of power came to an end in 1874 and a general election gave Disraeli a good working majority. It is remarkable how during the nineteenth century the tendency (there are exceptions) has been for the electorate of England to transfer its favour at a general election to the party in opposition. The votes of Ireland, Wales, and Scotland have been much more stable.

The Disraeli government was in power for the normal period, from 1874 to 1880. There was little legislation that has left a mark on the life of the State. Disraeli's real interest was in foreign affairs, and he had serious problems in this department to face while he was in office. Above all there was the Russo-Turkish War of

Disraeli's administration.

1877–1878, which brought the two great rivals, Gladstone and Disraeli, into sharp collision: for, while Gladstone inveighed against the cruelty with which the Turk had crushed the Bulgarian rising, Disraeli was mainly concerned to prevent the complete collapse of the Turks and the occupation of Constantinople by the Russians. It was the threat of British interference which was largely responsible for the limit that was put to the Russian advance, and for the continued occupation of Constantinople and the Dardanelles by the Turkish power. Disraeli returned to England from Berlin, where he had represented Great Britain at a European congress to settle the Balkan trouble, and claimed that he had brought back "peace with honour." But in the greatest of all European wars, which raged from 1914 to 1918, Britain struggled hard with the help of Russia to undo the work of Disraeli in this respect: and his solution of the question, his hopes and his fears are all unsupported by the verdict of history.

The Russo-Turkish War.

Egypt presented another problem, which he dealt with in a manner that was full of importance for the future. He had, in 1875, bought from the Khedive his shares in the Suez Canal; and later, when the Khedive was again in hopeless financial embarrassment, he arranged for a joint control of Egyptian finance by England and France, whose financial interests there were greater than those of any other countries. In 1880, a General Election brought back the liberals to power. Disraeli had already gone to the House of Lords with the title of Lord Beaconsfield: and in 1881 he died.

Egypt.

VI

From this point on we will take even less notice of chronological order than we have done hitherto. We will follow instead, independently of one another, two topics, which are of primary importance, the history of the Irish question and the history of the foreign relations of England.

The well-meant land legislation of Gladstone had entirely failed to bring peace to Ireland. While Disraeli was in power the Irish movement became more urgent than ever with a new leader and a new organization. The

Irish affairs.

leader was Charles Stewart Parnell, certainly one of the most important figures in the political history of the nineteenth century. He was of English origin, a Protestant, and a landlord. But he was the most effective leader that Catholic Ireland ever found in her struggle against the landlord interest and the dominion of the English Parliament. Hardly any of the characteristics of the Irish nation were to be found in him. He was not eloquent, he was not emotional; he knew little and cared little for the past wrongs of Ireland. But he hated England with a real passion; and with the coolest judgement searched out the weak places in her armour. The chief instrument that he used to gain his ends was an Irish party in the House of Commons, well disciplined and obedient to himself, which acted quite independently of the historic parties, and was so far from feeling any loyalty to the constitution of Britain that it was delighted to wreck it. The new organization was the Land League. The movement for Home Rule had always had a social aim; but now that aim was declared. The Irish people were to be made masters of the soil of Ireland. The movement was accompanied by many scenes of outrage and violence. No reforms in the government or land system of Ireland were attempted by the government of Disraeli. But when Gladstone formed his second ministry (1880-1885), he again turned to the Irish question which was indeed the great preoccupation of his life. He brought forward in 1880 the Irish Land Act, which was an extension of his earlier legislation. A Land Court was set up which was to fix rents by judicial process, and the landlord's control over his land was thus still further weakened. No immediate improvement in Irish feeling resulted, though rents were in many cases reduced. Rather there was increased bitterness in the relation of the Government to the Irish leader. Parnell was arrested, but liberated again. Some working arrangement might perhaps have been found, but in 1882 occurred the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish, the Secretary for Ireland, in Dublin. Fresh coercive measures were at once passed, and the Irish leaders threw

Parnell.

New tactics of the Irish party.

The Land League.

Irish Land Act, 1880.

Murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish.

their weight against the liberals in the General Election that soon followed.

In 1886 a new House of Commons came together in which the liberals were more numerous than the conservatives, but had not a clear majority of the House. Parnell's Home Rule party held the balance. In April, 1886, Gladstone brought forward his first Home Rule Bill. An Irish Parliament was to be created with power to manage all exclusively Irish affairs; but Ireland was to remain a part of the United Kingdom, and was to have no separate military, foreign, or financial policy. Another measure was promised for the purchase of the land from the landlords.

Gladstone's First Home Rule Bill.

Since the Reform Bill of 1832 there had been no such fierce party ferment as this Bill produced. Gladstone's motives were hotly challenged by some, and it was declared that his whole object had been to maintain himself in power with the help of the Irish vote. The wisdom of the measure was hotly denied by others, and the claims of Protestant Ulster were urged for consideration. Nearly a hundred liberals, including Bright, Chamberlain, and the Duke of Devonshire, refused to accept Gladstone's policy, and their secession brought down the Government. A General Election was held, but the constituencies decisively rejected the Gladstonian policy. A conservative ministry followed under Lord Salisbury (1886–1892), but the Irish question was still the most urgent. Gladstone believed that the country would accept his policy of Home Rule, when it was a little more used to the idea, and confidently anticipated that the next General Election would give him the necessary mandate. A charge of having approved of the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish, brought by the *Times* against Parnell, told in his favour, for it was proved that the letters on which the charge was based were forged. But in 1890 the situation was altered by charges brought against Parnell in a petition for divorce. Gladstone thought that Parnell's reputation was so badly damaged by the revelations at the trial, especially among the supporters of the liberal

Controversy on Home Rule.

The Salisbury administration.

The fall of Parnell.

party, that it was impossible any longer to co-operate with him as the leader of the Irish party. Parnell, however, refused to retire, and his own party was bitterly divided between those who still adhered to him, and those who accepted another leader satisfactory to Gladstone and the English liberals.

The General Election, when it came in 1892, gave Gladstone and his supporters a small majority, but much smaller than he had hoped for. He brought in a new Home Rule Bill in 1893, and with much difficulty procured its acceptance by the House of Commons. But the House of Lords rejected it without hesitation. It was Gladstone's last political effort. He attacked the power of the House of Lords in the last speech that he made in the House of Commons. He resigned office in 1894, and died four years later at the age of eighty-eight. The Irish question never ceased to agitate Parliament, but there are no more incidents that we need chronicle here before the death of Queen Victoria, in 1901.

Gladstone's conflict with the House of Lords.

VII

The barest summary of foreign affairs must suffice: we shall glance again at the general character of international relationships in the next chapter.

British foreign policy.

Great Britain became deeply involved in Egypt. We have seen that England and France were jointly concerned in the financial administration of Egypt. But the position proved unstable. A rising, headed by Arabi Pasha, broke out against the foreign government, and France declined to assist in its repression. The task fell therefore to Great Britain alone, and the native army was defeated in 1882 at the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir. The government of the Khedive was not abolished, but the actual control of the country lay in the hands of the British, who have remained there up to the present, in spite of promises that the occupation should be temporary and that the British would leave as soon as circumstances rendered it possible. Three years later attention was again

Egypt.

turned to Egypt. A religious leader, the Mahdi, rose in the Soudan, the great district to the south of Egypt, which was part of the territories of the Khedive. He overran the whole country and blockaded the garrisons at Khartoum and elsewhere. The situation was a difficult one, and was not handled with consistency or vigour by Gladstone's government. In the end General Gordon was sent out—a soldier-saint born out of due time—to bring away the garrisons, the intention being to abandon the country to the Mahdi. But, on his arrival at Khartoum, Gordon refused to come away until he had reorganized the country. He was soon besieged himself by the Mahdi, and it was necessary to send out an expedition under Wolseley to rescue him. But the city fell and Gordon was killed, just when the relieving force was close to him, and the fanatical forces of the Mahdi spread unresisted over the whole of the Soudan (1885). Twelve years later, when Egypt had been reorganized and the government vastly strengthened under British influence, a force was dispatched under Kitchener to attack the power of the Mahdi's successor in the Soudan. The Battle of Omdurman, fought just outside of Khartoum, entirely overthrew the power of the enemy, and the British henceforth ruled in the Soudan by a more direct title than in Egypt (1898).

General Gordon.

Battle of Omdurman.

At the very end of the queen's reign a still more serious war broke out in South Africa. The Dutch Republic of the Transvaal contained a large number of "outlanders" or foreigners, mostly British citizens, who had been attracted by the gold mines. The relations between them and the government were strained and difficult, and were rendered much more so by a raid, conducted by Jameson from Cape Colony, which aimed at the overthrow of the government and perhaps the annexation of the Transvaal to the British Empire. The expedition was a wretched failure (1896). The British government, under the direction of Joseph Chamberlain, attempted by negotiation to procure full rights of citizenship for the outlanders. But the problem was one of very great difficulty, and Kruger, the President of the Transvaal, refused the proposals of the English government. War

The Boer War.

broke out, and brought at first disappointment and defeat for the British arms. But, though the Boers fought with great skill and courage, they were a mere handful fighting a great Empire, and in the absence of all foreign help the end was certain. Roberts and Kitchener had already occupied the capitals of the Boer Republics, and were in sight of the end of the war when Queen Victoria died (1901).

Victory of the English.

The Victorian era, in spite of the Crimean War and almost constant fighting in India and the colonies, was at home a period of profound peace. The country was proud of its soldiers and of their victories, but the chief energies of the nation were turned to the peaceful development of the country, to commerce and industry, to science, art, and literature. The few voices which said that the present condition of things would not last for ever, and that Great Britain might yet have to defend herself against some mighty rival and enemy were not listened to. The mood of the nation was one of confidence, hope, and pride. Great Britain had indeed during the queen's long reign done great things; it had been the pioneer in industry and commerce: it had adapted its old constitution to modern needs without breaking continuity with the past, in a way which is one of the greatest political achievements in history. The country was behind most European countries in the organization of education; but no people can claim to have done more than the English during this period for literature and science. If it is possible to generalize about so long a period, which covered great changes in the national temper and thought, we may say that the defect of the Victorian era was a certain complacency and a belief that Great Britain was a world apart, capable of controlling her own destiny without much reference to Europe or the rest of the world. It is a belief that has been rudely shaken by the Great War of 1914.

Pacific character of England under Queen Victoria.

The last volume of the *Political History of England* by S. Low and L. C. Sanders carries the story from 1837 to 1901. There is no detailed history of high reputation dealing with England since 1815,

but Miss Martineau's *History of Thirty Years' Peace* and McCarthy's *History of Our Own Time* are interesting and useful. The period can perhaps best be approached through the memoirs in which the period is very rich. Note especially Morley's *Cobden*, G. O. Trevelyan's *Macaulay*, Morley's *Gladstone*, O'Brien's *Parnell*, the *Life of Disraeli* by Moneypenny and Buckle, G. M. Trevelyan's *Bright*, Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*. The *Memoirs* of Greville and the *Letters* of Queen Victoria belong to a different category, but are equally useful.

CHAPTER XXI

The Latest Age: Between Two Wars

I

The great war of 1914 not foreseen.

WHEN this period comes to be written by historians in some distant age, it is probable that they will speak of it as showing the blindness of statesmen. It was an age when sociology—the science of society—was beginning to be generally recognized; when men spoke of human affairs being submitted to laws as invariable as those of natural science, some large portion of which were already discovered. Men's eyes were eagerly fixed on the future. It was an age of Utopias. Writers in all countries, but especially in America, England and France, allowed their imagination to play on visions of the future, and they nearly always saw there the banishing of poverty and the coming of human peace. But none foresaw the war of 1914, and, if any foresaw a war at all, it was something far smaller and shorter, infinitely less terrible, than this struggle for which as yet no name and no adequate epithet have been found. The future historian will perhaps speak of the war as inevitable (it is a word that historians use much too easily and superficially), and compare the generations between the two wars with those who went on with the ordinary pleasures and occupations of life on the eve of the deluge.

The statesmen of Europe were doubtless constantly

occupied with thoughts and fears of war, and there were wars, great and small, in various parts of the world; but the populations of Western Europe, and especially of Great Britain, were rarely disturbed by the shadow of the coming catastrophe. Western Europe, indeed, had never, since the end of the peaceful period of the Roman Empire, enjoyed so long an immunity from war as those forty-three years. The friends of peace began to hope that it might be indefinitely prolonged, and many thought that we were on the eve not of the greatest military convulsion in history, but rather of the establishment of some sure basis of European concord.

Hopes of peace.

Let us, before tracing the history of this golden interval, notice some of its general characteristics.

It was a period of rapid progress in invention and science. There was no science that did not make great advances, and scientific men seemed to some to have the control of the world in their hands. The progress of invention was even more obvious. Dreams that had been thought wild came true. Man learnt to fly in the air and to make his way beneath the waves of the sea: the first by the invention of aeroplanes and "Zeppelins"; the second by the development of submarines. On land the means of locomotion increased enormously. The steam-engine became old-fashioned; electric traction and the petrol engine filled our streets with trams and our roads with motor cars. Medicine and surgery claimed glorious triumphs and made victorious attacks on disease.

Invention and Science.

In the realm of politics the period saw a great advance almost everywhere towards some form of constitutional government. The British constitution was no longer the invariable model, but in all civilized or half civilized states the government ceased to stand apart from the nation, and entered into some form of partnership with it. In Russia and in Germany this partnership was very far from amounting to democracy: but in Western and Southern Europe the state began to rest on a frankly democratic basis. A few voices,

General adoption of parliamentary government.

such as Carlyle's, were raised against this tendency, and proclaimed that civilization was "shooting Niagara," but the tendency was generally regarded as inevitable and desirable.

The conception of the state changed and grew wider and deeper. There was a change in practice and a change in theory too. There were still some thinkers (such as Herbert Spencer in England) who wished to limit the activity of the state to the protection of the lives of citizens and the maintenance of the frontiers. But the general trend was towards a vast enlargement of the scope of the activity of the state. There was a conscious return to the Greek view of the state and to the philosophy of Aristotle. The state now felt it should secure to citizens not only life but "a good life." Some protests were made; but the tide ran so strongly in that direction that resistance was impossible. Since 1871 all European states have begun to undertake functions which they would not have ventured to touch half a century earlier. The State controls or influences nearly every department of life; and every difficulty that arises is met by a demand for the extension of state control. It educates the great mass of the citizens; it takes measures for their health; it determines the circumstances and surroundings under which they shall work; it begins even to determine what wages shall be paid. It is itself the greatest of capitalists, and perhaps of landowners. Literature, newspapers, and religion are as yet usually outside the sphere of its activities; but indications are not absent that it may begin to control them also. The modern state has been called "omni-competent" and "omnipresent." It has been held that it will take in the future the place of the Church. Some theorists, especially German theorists, have declared that the state can recognize no moral law except the duty of advancing its own power, and that for the individual the only morality is the service of the state.

The new State.

The omni-competent State.

The state, too, has tended to become more and more national. It was indeed one of the great aims of the nineteenth century to identify the state with the nation and to give the management of its own affairs to any people, which feels itself to be a nation. The great war

The national State.

of 1914 has compelled careful and intense thought on many subjects; but on none more than on the question of nationality. It is seen now more clearly than ever before that nationality is an idea and a sentiment, rather than a scientific or physical fact; that no race is really pure; that it is quite impossible to give to every racial group its own government, and that there must be states in the future, as in the past, which contain many national elements. But the nineteenth century affirmed the national basis of the state, and only a few thinkers saw all the consequences which would flow from the logical application of the idea.

Socialism.

The growth of socialism (using the word in the most general way) falls into line with this enlargement of the idea of the state; for an approximate definition of the aims of socialism is "the organization of industry by the state in the interests of labour"; and this would have been unthinkable while the old ideas of the state were adhered to. Socialism and the social movements of the age form one of its most novel and characteristic features. Social questions have emerged as a controlling force in political life, and even as an important factor in the religious thought of the time. Social conditions have always exercised a great influence on the character and development of every state. Modern research emphasizes the share that they had in determining the external and internal life of the Athenian state and in precipitating the decline of the Roman Empire. Feudalism, as we have seen, corresponded at every point with the social condition of the time. But the world has not known before, to anything like the same extent, the organised social movements which have distinguished our age. They had begun long before 1871. They are to be found in the first French Revolution; they exercised a preponderating influence over the movements in France from 1848 to 1852: they appeared in a wild form in the Commune of 1871. But since then their force has been much increased and their organization improved. There are strong labour movements in every country in Western Europe; but it is in France that they are most revolutionary: in Germany that they are most powerful. The German Empire and

Germany and Socialism.

the Kingdom of Prussia were reckoned the most powerful state organizations in Europe before the Great War. They had done their utmost by direct and indirect methods to resist the growth of socialism, but they had failed to produce any impression upon it. There were fewer signs in Germany than elsewhere of any yielding to the demands of socialism. Two admirably organized armies faced one another in the political arena. Then came the war of 1914; and among the causes contributing to its outbreak must be reckoned the desire of the German government to divert the attention of the nation from the questions to which socialism directed it.

The national omni-competent State is thus the first object that greets our eyes as we survey contemporary Europe. But there are signs also of movement in a different direction. If nationalism is a feature of the times, so is internationalism: and the latter tendency has made great advance in the last fifty years. Capital and Labour—the still unreconciled opponents of the modern world—are both international, and, up to the outbreak of the great war, we should have said they were becoming more so. Capital found investment in foreign countries as readily as at home; and the international interests of capital have sometimes seemed to be a force making for international peace. The organization and sympathies of labour were even more openly international. Socialism was a movement common to all the world and trade-unionists from many lands met in congress and regarded their interests as identical. Further, art, science, literature and thought are all common to the whole world. Universities have become far more exclusively national than they were in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; but, if scholars and teachers migrate less from university to university than they did once, books and ideas circulate easily, as easily in spite of difficulties arising from language, as when Latin was a common medium for all educated people.

Nationalism and internationalism.

The State, too, is not without its adversaries and rivals. There are, in the first place, those who sympathize to a greater or less extent with the views of the anarchist and regard all coercion by the State as wrong. Then there is everywhere in Western Europe freedom of association; and where

association is free there may arise at any time some organization—whether it be called trades-union, international league or church—which may claim the allegiance of its members even before the State itself. We have seen how the Roman Empire was afraid of associations which it did not control, and its fear was based on reasonable grounds.

The enemies and rivals of the State.

We may notice in this connection the changed position of religion with regard to the State. Religion is still without doubt a great force: it is perhaps as great a force as it ever was. But the methods and the channels through which it exercises its influence are widely different. How absolute is the contrast in this respect between Europe in the twentieth and Europe in the thirteenth century! All organs of unity have disappeared from it. There is no one who claims to be universal Emperor; there is no belief anywhere that a universal Emperor is desirable. There is no church, no doctrine, no form of worship which comes near to finding general acceptance. The spiritual life of Europe, as well as its political life, has no representative. The various churches which exist side by side have all of them abandoned the practice of compulsion and most of them have lost even the desire to compel. Religious toleration in the widest sense of the phrase is one of the most decided gains of the modern world. We have found that what most statesmen in the sixteenth century thought impossible is really quite easy: men of different faiths can live side by side with one another in the same State.

Religion and the State.

Toleration.

II

We will now briefly survey the history of the great States of Europe during these years of general European peace.

The crushing disaster of the war of 1870 did not remove France from the ranks of the great European powers. Her influence on international affairs was at first much diminished: but her prestige in the domain of art, science and letters has perhaps never been greater than since her humiliation by the Treaty of Frankfort. Her political life has been in

France.

many ways successful—no other State has met the pressing problems of European life with more success—but it has not been of a kind to stamp itself on the imagination or memory. In framing the constitution the legislators were anxious to leave, if possible, no loophole for another invasion of monarchy or imperialism. The President is elected not by the votes of the people but by a joint meeting of the two legislative assemblies. Of the Presidents since 1871, with the exception of Thiers, none have exercised a controlling influence on the history of France, and Thiers owed his election to the war and the need of a strong man to preside over the early days of the new republic: he was not elected by the method laid down in the republican constitution as it was subsequently adopted. The Prime Ministers of France have not left as a rule a more permanent impression than the Presidents. The life of ministries has been very short. There have been important Prime Ministers—Gambetta, Ferry, Waldeck-Rousseau, Clémenceau: but there is nothing in French political life that resembles the rigid party system with its recognized chiefs, which is familiar to us in England, and on which the power of English Prime Ministers rests. So that French politics give at first the idea of perpetual flux and even of anarchy. Yet the administration is continuous and successful. The Assembly keeps a closer hold on the administration than Parliament does in England; and in France, as everywhere, there is an army of permanent officials whose unseen energies are often more important than those of the politicians.

Thiers.

French Prime Ministers.

The history of the French Republic during these years can best be grouped round the dangers that have threatened the republic. There has been no open attack from the royalist and imperialist parties, though they have had many adherents in the chambers and the nation. The attacks on the republic have been indirect.

The danger of the Republic.

There was in 1887 the Boulangist movement. General Boulanger was a general of good repute, who as minister of war had made himself popular with the army. In 1886 he became the leader or the figure-head of a strange movement. He never showed any talent as speaker or

General Boulanger.

statesman, and the movement which goes by his name was a general attack on the republic by various groups who were widely at variance among themselves. The overt aim of his supporters was to "revise the constitution," to introduce into it the element of the plebiscite, and to reduce in some way the power of parliamentary institutions; but under his name the Catholics hoped for the restoration of the privileges of the Church, and legitimists and imperialists hoped that, if the constitution were thrown into the melting-pot, it might come out in the shape that they liked best. For a time Boulanger was supported by a great wave of enthusiasm, and he was elected by many constituencies and even by Paris. Many think that if he had dared to strike the republic would not have survived; but he fled from France on hearing that his arrest had been ordered (1889) and shortly afterwards committed suicide in Brussels. The whole affair left a painful sense of the insecurity of the republic.

The next crisis in the life of the republic was the Dreyfus affair, in its details one of the most highly controversial affairs in European history. In 1894 Captain Dreyfus, a Jewish artillery officer, was found guilty on a charge of betraying military secrets to Germany. He was degraded and transported to the Devil's Isle in the West Indies. The affair seemed unlikely at first to have further consequences, except as a weapon in the odious campaign against the Jews which was being conducted by a section of the press. But in 1896 Colonel Picquart, at the War Office, produced evidence which seemed to show that Dreyfus was innocent of the crime alleged against him. There broke out in France a furious controversy, in which all Europe took part, over the guilt or innocence of Dreyfus, and over the question as to whether an appeal for revision of sentence should be allowed. The personal question—the fate of the miserable prisoner—stirred men deeply; but it was more than a personal question. The anti-Dreyfusards were generally the enemies of the republic: the clericals, the monarchists and the imperialists were ranged against him. On the other side there stood at first only a few distinguished men, such as Zola, Picquart, Anatole France and Scheurer-Kestner,

The Dreyfus case.

Colonel Picquart.

The issues at stake.

but gradually their appeal to justice and to humanity rallied a great part of the nation to their side. The struggle became one for the existence of the republic. The end was undramatic and unsatisfactory. Dreyfus was brought home and tried again at Rennes. He was again found guilty, and sentenced; but was at once pardoned by the President. It was the Prime Minister, Waldeck-Rousseau, who was largely responsible for having guided the republic in safety through this dangerous storm.

The Disestablishment of the Church.

The "affaire Dreyfus" led up to a very questionable and very important step. The religious orders and the Catholic Church in France were charged with having taken a leading part in the agitation against Dreyfus and the republic. Heavy blows now fell upon them both. The religious orders were subjected to a close scrutiny; a great number were proscribed; none were allowed to teach; the members passed as exiles into foreign countries. Then followed an attack upon the whole position of the Church in France. The Concordat established by Napoleon was denounced, and the complete separation of Church and State was decreed. No salaries to religious leaders were henceforward to be paid by the State; but Associations for worship were to be founded, which would take over the fabric of the churches. The Pope protested but in vain (1906).

Syndicalism.

Since that date the French Republic has been chiefly occupied with labour questions, involving on some occasions strikes and struggles of extreme bitterness. Two features have marked the labour movement in France—the growth of "syndicalism"—a movement for the action of trade-unions, independently of the State—and the strong pacifism of many of the leaders of labour. But when war broke out in 1914 labour was as resolute as any other section of the French people in its determination to drive back the invader, who was again trampling on the fair fields of France.

Germany.

We may pass over the history of Germany more rapidly, for we are postponing the story of international relations to a later part of this chapter. The country made extraordinary progress in commerce and industry and organization during these years. Before Europe was aware

of it a new Germany was born; no longer sentimental, idealist and divided, but united, closely and rigidly organized, military as no other state in Europe was military, pursuing wealth with a concentration and eagerness greater even than in England, worshipping power. The first part of the period is the reign of Bismarck. He had made the German Empire, but he saw with alarm some tendencies and aims in the new generation. The great change came when in 1888 William I. died. He was succeeded by his son Frederick III., who during the three months of his reign showed a strong liberal tendency. He died in June, 1888, and William II. reigned.

The character and the aims of William II. will exercise the pens of historians for many years to come. But there is much that is even now not doubtful about him. He was headstrong and passionate; full of a sense of the authority of the Crown, which he held came to him directly from God; he was determined that the real government of Germany should rest in his own hands. His character and his aims brought him into conflict not only with the memory of his father Frederick III., but with Bismarck. The contest between them was partly one of power; Bismarck was clearly a check upon his individual absolutism. But it was also a conflict of policy: Bismarck wished to make Germany an acceptable member of the European State system, he had a very limited enthusiasm for colonial enterprise, and saw the dangers into which a vigorous naval policy might bring the country. The Emperor had no fears, no hesitations. He declared that "the future of Germany lay upon the water," and that it was his ambition to do for the German navy what his grandfather had done for the army. Above all he declared that if Bismarck remained in office it must be in subordination to himself. The great chancellor refused and was dismissed in 1890. There is a great contrast between his policy and that of the young Emperor who succeeded him; but Bismarck had not only made Germany: he had also by his teaching and by his triumphs given it the characteristics which have marked its policy ever since: reliance upon force, contempt for the idea of international law and justice, the refusal to recognize any power higher or more sacred than the State.

William II.

Fall of Bismarck.

The building of a strong fleet, the foundation of a Colonial Empire, and the development and organization of socialism are the chief features of Germany since William II.'s assumption of personal power. The winning of Heligoland, as the result of an arrangement with Great Britain in 1890, gave Germany an important naval base; the completion of the Kiel Canal in 1895 vastly increased her naval power by allowing the Baltic and North Sea fleets to join without passing through Danish waters. The German Navy League supported the policy with a great weight of public opinion. In 1897 a great shipbuilding programme was undertaken which has been continually added to. This new German fleet was the most direct cause of the estrangement between Germany and England.

The German fleet and Colonial Empire.

The German Colonial Empire was largely the result of the partition of Africa, which was negotiated by Lord Salisbury in 1890, but in 1897 the emperor took advantage of disturbances in China to gain possession of Kiao-Chou, and during the succeeding years the new possession was made the basis for the persistent and successful organization of German commerce in China, which was looked on as one of the greatest triumphs of the Empire. Germany also entered into intimate and friendly relations with the Sultan of Turkey, though he had just been guilty of appalling massacres of Armenians, and gained by this means an entry into Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. When the great war came Germany was building a railway to Bagdad, which would have opened to commerce and to European influence the earliest cradle of civilization, which had been desolate for many centuries. Her ambitions in the "near east" came to be cherished almost beyond all others.

Germany in Africa and China.

The growth of socialism dogged the steps of Germany's victorious march. The autocracy of the government drove into the socialist ranks many men who would have been liberals or conservatives in freer countries. The emperor tried at first to conciliate the movement by labour legislation; then he denounced it as unpatriotic and traitorous; but there was hardly a check in the growth of the socialist vote. It became the largest single party in the

German Socialism.

Reichstag, and if the electoral system of Germany had been reformed on any reasonable basis, its numbers would have been vastly increased. Its opposition to the government was outspoken and exceedingly bitter. It seemed to many onlookers that it would be an effective check on the military ambitions of Germany, for its leaders often declared that the party would not co-operate in any war of aggression. But the great war of 1914 showed the fallacy of all these hopes. In the modern State, in time of military crisis, the action of large minorities exercises very little influence on the government. The socialists, in spite of their quite genuine dislike of aggressive war, marched in the German armies to the murder of Belgium and the invasion of France. One of the most interesting questions after the war is the future of German socialism, its political and social programmes, its attitude towards the policy in which it has, willingly or not, co-operated.

Austria-Hungary.

We must summarize the history of Austria-Hungary in a few lines. Her internal history has been chiefly occupied with the questions of the franchise and the relations of the different races of the Empire to one another. After many preliminary attempts to solve the question, a bill was passed in 1907 which gave in Austria the franchise to all men over twenty-four: the Germans got more seats, and the Czechs fewer than their numbers warranted; but the measure was generally accepted. Concessions were made to the Czechs in Bohemia and to the Poles in Galicia; but the racial problem remained an acute one. Hungary, since 1867, had possessed something that may be called complete Home Rule, and the constitution has been based on universal suffrage. The chief effort of Hungary has been to affirm more strongly her independence and power, and to assert the dominance of the Magyar race over the subordinate races of the monarchy. Up to the coming of the great war (which was destined to efface Austria-Hungary from the map) it seemed that a great change was passing over the State. Her rulers were no longer the "mandarins of Europe." Industrial and intellectual progress characterized the greater part of her territories: interesting constitutional experiments were being made: less was heard of the inevitable disruption

of the Empire at the death of the Emperor Francis Joseph. It almost seemed as if some means had been found of placing the Austrian Empire, in spite of its divisions and antagonisms, on a stable basis. But all those hopes were swept away in the Great War.

Russia.

The domestic history of Russia is a subject as difficult as it is important. For more than half a century there has been a condition of great fermentation in thought, religion, politics, and social organization. Russian thought and example have begun to exercise great influence on Western Europe and are likely to exercise more.

Emancipation of the serfs.

We have not looked at Russian history since the time of the Crimean War. The reign of Alexander II., who came to the throne during the course of the war, is characterized by two important social events—the emancipation of the serf and the rise of nihilism. The idea of freeing the serfs was no new one. Serfdom had been attacked for a long time past both on humanitarian and economic grounds. There were nearly fifty million serfs in Russia, and their condition varied widely. But all were bound to the soil, and formed a part of the estate, though they were not individually the property of the owner. They could not be bought and sold, and they were secure in the possession of their dwelling and a piece of land; but they paid to the lord forced service; he was the sole judge over them in all civil matters; he could administer corporal punishment, and his traditional powers were even more extensive than his legal powers. The actual condition of the serf varied of course widely, according to local circumstances and the character of his master. The emancipation was carried through by the Czar, beginning in 1858 with the serfs on the royal domain. The serf became a free man, and had at once access to the national law courts instead of being submitted to the judicial power of his master. By different methods, but usually by a system of land purchase, he became proprietor of a portion of the land. There can be no question but that the reform was a great and beneficent one; but it caused much disappointment at first. Too much had been expected; the price charged for the land was too high; many of the peasants

certainly had enjoyed more physical comfort under the old servile conditions.

This disappointment contributed to the rise of nihilism, and the latter part of the reign of Alexander II. was not marked by the same liberal tendencies as the earlier part. Nihilism was a movement supported by many different groups. There were those who demanded fuller constitutional liberties for Russia, and who in a western State would have been liberals or radicals. There were many nobles who were irritated with the emancipation of the serfs because it had taken from them power and wealth; and there were some peasants who were irritated with the same movement because it had not given them more. There were many young men and women of good education, who threw themselves into the movement out of disappointment with life and despair of any but desperate remedies. All were agreed on the overthrow of the present system, but there was no agreement as to what should take its place, though they generally agreed in demanding the summoning of a representative assembly or Duma. The movement was marked by violence, terrorism, and assassination. Alexander II. was on the point of calling a Duma when he was assassinated in 1881. His successor, Alexander III., refused to contemplate any concessions, and fought nihilism by measures of stern repression. Not only nihilist but religious dissidents—Protestants, Jews, and Catholics—were harshly treated. The country suffered, but there was no serious rebellion before his death in 1894.

Nihilism.

The reign of Nicholas II. began as a continuation of that of Alexander III.; but from the first he did his utmost to promote industry and commerce. The coercive policy against all opponents was, however, maintained to the full. The war with Japan and the humiliations that Russia suffered during its course, together with the belief that Russian officials had exhibited great incompetence and corruption, made the maintenance of the old system impossible. There were serious mutinies in army and navy. Petrograd and other Russian cities were the scenes of violent revolutionary risings. In October, 1905, the Czar promised the summons of

Nicholas II.

a Duma, based on a wide franchise, with control over taxation and a vote on legislation. The Assembly came together in 1906, and some prophesied that constitutionalism would be introduced without difficulty into Russia. There were violent differences of opinion among the members themselves, but the extremists were supported by the majority, and the Czar in alarm dissolved the first Duma. Nor was this all. As the next Duma exhibited much the same temper, methods of the utmost violence were adopted for the suppression of revolutionary ideas; and Western Europe was shocked by the stories of execution and exile to Siberia. A fairly loyal and obedient Duma was at last obtained by very questionable means; but little advance had been made towards a settled constitutional life or the conciliation of the subject nationalities, especially the Finns and the Poles, when the Great War came. Russia at once assumed a new importance in Europe. She was no longer the enemy but the friend of liberty and the bulwark of Europe against German militarism. Her armies and her generals at first exceeded all that was hoped of them.

The Duma.

Russia and the Great War.

III

In a previous chapter we carried the history of Great Britain as far as the death of Queen Victoria. The thirteen years that passed between that event and the outbreak of the Great War were full of important events, which had no reference at all to the unguessed tragedy which was awaiting the country.

Great Britain.

The Boer War came to an end in April, 1902. It had been in the later stages "a war of attrition," and the Boers had only surrendered when the fighting force of the nation had been practically annihilated. The conservative government was in power, with Lord Salisbury at first, and, after his resignation, with Balfour as Premier. In 1903 the relations of the two parties were profoundly altered by Joseph Chamberlain's advocacy of Protection. Since the adoption by Sir Robert Peel of the ideas of Cobden free trade had been the

End of the Boer War.

policy of the country and it was only opposed by a despairing group. Mr. Chamberlain took up the idea of Protective tariffs both on economic and on political grounds, and probably with him the political motive was the stronger. He had become, during his tenure of the office of Colonial Secretary, a passionate Imperialist, and he hoped that protective tariffs might do for the British Empire what the Zollverein had done for Germany. He hoped that the colonies and dominions would first get used to acting together for commercial reasons and might afterwards develop a common political organization. Chamberlain, by his opposition to Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, had split the liberal party and given the conservatives a long lease of power. His new policy was almost as fatal to the conservatives. There were numerous defections from the party, and this forced Balfour to resign office in November, 1905. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman succeeded and soon dissolved Parliament. The general election gave the liberals the most complete victory at the polls that had been won by any party since the reign of Queen Anne.

Chamberlain and Protection.

Influence on the political parties.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was forced by ill-health to resign early in 1908, but his short tenure of office was noteworthy for the grant of complete self-government to the recently conquered Boer republics. Soon the Cape and Natal joined with them to form a single State; and General Botha, so recently in arms against Great Britain, became the first Prime Minister of United South Africa and remained so until his death. History hardly knows of any such transformation. The conduct of South Africa since that time bears emphatic testimony to the healing effect of liberty and justice.

Campbell-Bannerman.

Asquith succeeded Campbell-Bannerman, and henceforth two issues dominated all the rest. There were in the first place a series of measures aiming at the amelioration of the condition of the poor which emanated chiefly from the fertile brain of Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer; an Old Age Pensions Act giving a pension of five shillings per week to all over the age of seventy, and an Insurance Act, whereby the State added

Asquith and Lloyd George.

to the contributions of the employer and the employed to insure to wage-earners a certain sum per week in case of incapacity through illness. These proposals provoked violent controversies, which are not yet quite at an end. But never in modern England had the State applied itself so earnestly to improve the condition of the poor.

House of Lords and the Liberal Government.

The other great question of the period was the position and power of the House of Lords. It was no new question. Gladstone's last speech in Parliament had been devoted to a denunciation of the power of the Peers. The liberal party found itself directly opposed by them on the questions which it had most at heart. The Peers had rejected Home Rule Bills, and in 1909 they rejected the Budget which was required for the new social legislation. A dissolution of Parliament followed at once that the feeling of the country might be tested on the issue between the Commons and the Lords. The liberal majority fell considerably; but the liberals with the labour party and the Irish nationalists had a majority of 122.

The Budget of 1909.

The Lords now accepted the Budget that they had previously rejected; but Asquith followed on with a measure limiting the veto of the House of Lords on legislation to two years. After that, if the veto was again exercised, it was to be neglected and the statute would pass automatically into force after it had received the King's signature. This measure had itself to pass the House of Lords, but did so at last after King George V., who had just succeeded Edward VII., had promised to create sufficient peers to pass the measure if it was resisted further.

Curtailment of the powers of the House of Lords.

The liberals had now the weapon in their hands which alone would make possible the passing of a Home Rule Bill and they proceeded at once to apply it to the purpose. A Home Rule Bill was passed rapidly through the House of Commons. The Lords did not withdraw their opposition, but the recently created machinery was put into force and the Bill was passed.

Irish Home Rule passed.

Even after it had passed the way was far from smooth. There were preparations of vigorous resistance to the Bill in

Ireland, especially in Ulster—preparations that came very near to civil war. All efforts at compromise were in vain, and the outlook in Ireland was undoubtedly very grave. Then suddenly all other issues, even the very gravest, were swallowed up in the question of War or Peace. When war came the Home Rule Bill, by agreement, received the signature of the king, but its application was suspended until the end of the war.

Threatened resistance in Ireland.

IV

It will perhaps be difficult for the student of history in a future age to realize that these domestic events almost monopolized the attention of the English people. Diplomatists watched the gathering of the storm with anxiety: but to the ordinary citizen the war of 1914 came as a bolt from the blue. We will follow the international relations of the European States sufficiently to understand how the two great alliances were formed that clashed together in this unparalleled war.

The preponderance of Germany in Europe after 1871 was unquestioned, and Bismarck used the prestige of the country to draw to his side the Emperors of Russia and of Austria. This is what is called the League of the Three Emperors: but the phrase is incorrect because there seems to have been no formal alliance. Western Europe remained at peace, if not peaceful, and it seemed as though in the West the State system had reached a permanent form. But the Balkan peninsula was continually agitated by movements and alarms; and every great diplomatic change in Europe down to the war of 1914 has been closely related to some development in the Balkans.

The League of the Three Emperors.

The decadence and disintegration of Turkey have gone on continuously; and nearly all round her circumference there has been a narrowing of her frontiers and the formation of new States. The two forces that have constantly undermined the power of Turkey are religion and nationality in close alliance. The majority of the population of the Turkish dominions in Europe are Christians of the Eastern or "orthodox" Church, and the Mohamedan yoke

The disintegration of Turkey.

has pressed on them with irritating and oppressive force. They have all felt moreover that the Turks are aliens, and they have been accustomed to look to Russia for protection and sympathy. Greece had established itself in the south in complete independence as early as 1829. The mountain State of Montenegro in the west, after heroic combats, had won for itself practical independence, though the Turkish government had never recognized its independence. To the north of the Danube Roumania possessed self-government but remained nominally within the limits of the Turkish Empire. South of the Danube Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and above all Bulgaria, were in continual unrest. The Turks were conscious of the weakness of their hold upon these peoples and looked to methods of terror to keep them in subordination. There were many promises of reform, but they came to little or nothing. In 1875 the mutterings of rebellion developed into open defiance of the Turkish power in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The insurgents won some early successes, but then they were overwhelmed by the Turkish armies. At the same time the Bulgarians, who were on the eve of a similar movement for independence, were crushed by the Turks with terrible cruelty. The Bulgarian massacres sent a thrill of horror through all Europe.

Greece.

Roumania.

Bulgaria.

It was recognized by diplomatists that the Balkan peninsula was the storm-centre of Europe. Russia and Austria were interested as neighbours; Great Britain because of her commercial interests in the Mediterranean. There were conferences, proposals and counter proposals in plenty. At last, in 1877, Russia sent an ultimatum, and as her demands were not accepted, war came at once. The other great powers stood aloof and looked on at the duel.

The Russo-Turkish War.

In the war both the Turkish troops and their commanders showed unexpected powers, and it seemed for a time as though the Russians might be driven back behind the Danube, but in the end the numbers, wealth and organization of Russia and the corruption of the Turkish government produced their inevitable results. The Russians, helped only by the Roumanians, penetrated into the neighbourhood of Constantinople and

Turkey lay at their mercy. The Treaty of San Stefano was forced upon the Turks, and, if it had been put into effect, Turkey would have ceased to be an important power in Europe. But here the European powers again intervened, Great Britain under Disraeli taking a leading part. The power of Germany and the influence of Bismarck were displayed by the choice of Berlin as the scene of a European congress, which led up, after much discussion, to the Treaty of Berlin. The deep humiliation of Turkey, implied in the Treaty of San Stefano, was avoided in the Berlin treaty, but her loss in territory and prestige was very great. Roumania, Montenegro, and Serbia were declared sovereign and independent States. Bosnia and Herzegovina, while remaining nominally within the Turkish dominions, were placed under the administration of Austria. Instead of the great State of Bulgaria, which had been planned by the Treaty of San Stefano, a comparatively small State with that name was established, stretching only as far south as the Balkan mountains, but enjoying practical independence. To the south of the mountains a State was created under the name of Roumelia, with large powers of self-government, but still under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Great Britain claimed and obtained Cyprus as the reward of her services in defence of the Sultan; but there too the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan was still maintained.

Treaty of San Stefano.

Treaty of Berlin.

The alliance of the three Emperors hardly survived the results of this war. The Czar of Russia and his minister Gortschakoff felt that they had been foiled in their schemes in the Balkans largely by Bismarck and Germany; and without any overt rupture, the relations between Germany and Russia became cold and strained. On the other hand Austria felt herself drawn to Germany for the very reason that Germany was alienated from Russia; for Russia and Austria began to feel themselves inevitable rivals for power and influence in the Balkans. Italy soon after joined the Austro-German alliance. Things were not going smoothly with the Italian kingdom; and the monarchy, confronted by enemies at home and abroad, felt the need of the support of the strong military monarchies of Central Europe. The colonial

The Triple Alliance.

ambitions of France, moreover, contributed to the same result. France had recently acquired Tunis, and Italy saw with alarm the presence of the French power so near to her southern coasts. So in 1883 the Triple Alliance was concluded. Germany, Austria, and Italy declared that their one aim was to maintain the peace of Europe. From the first there was a strong party in Italy, which regarded with dislike this union with Austria, her hereditary enemy, and with "the barbarians of the north."

Italy, Germany and France.

France felt herself more than ever isolated in Europe; opposed by the Triple Alliance in whose pacific intentions she did not believe, irritated with England, and conscious that her military strength was unequal to so many possible dangers. Help came to her from Russia—a State whose history, constitution and aim were almost the antithesis of her own. But they were drawn together by a common hostility to Germany. Since Germany by the Treaty of Frankfort had torn away Alsace and Lorraine from France in defiance of the wishes of the people, hostility between the two States was a permanent feature of European politics. The jealousy and hostility between Germany and Russia was of a less declared and dramatic kind, but it was almost equally strong. It was an inexpressible relief to France when she again possessed an ally in Europe, and an ally of such huge resources and such indefinite powers. The defeat of Russia in her war with Japan (1905) broke her prestige for a time, but led up to a reorganization of her forces, which prepared the way for the great feats she accomplished at the beginning of the Great War.

The Franco-Russian Alliance.

In 1903, the movement began whereby Great Britain entered into an *entente cordiale* with France, and created in all but name another Triple Alliance to confront that whose formation we have already seen. The movement was not a sudden one. In spite of much friction, arising for the most part out of African and Colonial questions, there had been a steady *rapprochement* between France and Great Britain for some time past. There was general admiration for the heroic tenacity of France under her great disasters, and for her

The *entente cordiale* between France and Great Britain.

great achievements in art, science, and thought. But the immediate cause of the step was probably the hostile attitude of Germany towards Britain during the Boer War, and the creation of a strong German fleet, which began almost immediately afterwards. We do not know what exactly were the agreements into which Great Britain entered with France, but they developed continuously and ripened into something that was practically an alliance.

Alliance then confronted alliance, and for some time the grouping of Europe seemed favourable to peace. The forty-three years that elapsed between the two great wars are the longest period during which the States of Western Europe have been at peace since the second century of our era. Men began to hope that if we reached half a century of peace, the futility of the vast preparations would become apparent, and some organization of Europe on a basis of mutual trust might be accepted. It seemed too that the heart of Europe was turning to peace. France seemed to be forgetting her dreams of revenge, and in Britain any statesman who dared to speak of war as anything but a great evil, would have had to disappear from public life. The dangerous and warlike temper of much German thought was known, though not so well as it is now, but from individual Germans and important groups came manifestations of peaceful aims which were certainly sincere. Posterity will find it difficult to realise the golden hopes of European concord which were entertained by many in the midsummer of 1914.

The armed peace of Europe.

The causes of the Great War will occupy the pens of countless investigators perhaps for centuries to come. We may note that Europe, so full of organizations for war, had no satisfactory organization for peace. The Czar had, in 1898, made a noble and partially successful contribution to that end, when he invited the Great Powers of Europe to meet in conference at the Hague and discuss means for the disarmament of Europe. So far as disarmament is concerned, the Conference was an entire failure, for none of the great military powers took the proposal seriously, but it resulted in the establishment of an international tribunal at the

No sufficient organization for peace.

The Hague Conference.

Hague, which contributed to the settlement of many international disputes by arbitration. The conference met again in 1907, but made no important addition to the earlier proposal. Clearly the machinery of the Hague was insufficient; and the temper of the States of Europe did not allow any more complete system to be adopted.

The Great War came chiefly through two channels: colonial competition and the rivalry of the Great Powers in the Balkans. Germany, proud of her rapid advance in wealth, organization and power, claimed a corresponding share in the control of the non-European world; rather as a satisfaction to her ambition than as a necessity for her people, whose prosperity was unquestioned. But the world was almost completely occupied, and colonial acquisitions could, for the most part, only be made by the dispossession of other nations. Yet Germany won a colonial power full of promise. By arrangement with the other powers she had gained large and promising possessions in Africa; she had occupied Tsing Tao in China, and made of it the base of a highly organized and successful attempt to establish a great commercial power in China; she had cast eyes, too, on North Africa, where Morocco alone remained outside of European control; but her efforts there had no success. They provoked the hostility of France, who was supported by Great Britain. Germany had to submit to a somewhat humiliating rebuff, and it was France who established her protectorate in Morocco.

Colonial ambition of Germany.

Morocco.

The Moroccan question lies near to the cause of the war, but the match that kindled the conflagration was struck in the Balkans. Germany, in close league with Austria, had seen in the Balkans and in Asiatic Turkey a promising opening for her influence and her commerce. The emperor had paraded his friendship with the Sultan; later, Germany gained a predominant share in the construction of the Bagdad railway. But to understand the situation in the Balkans, we must glance at the chief events, which have happened there since the Treaty of Berlin.

Germany in the Near East.

It was assumed by diplomacy that this was the last dismemberment of Turkey, and the phrase "the future integrity

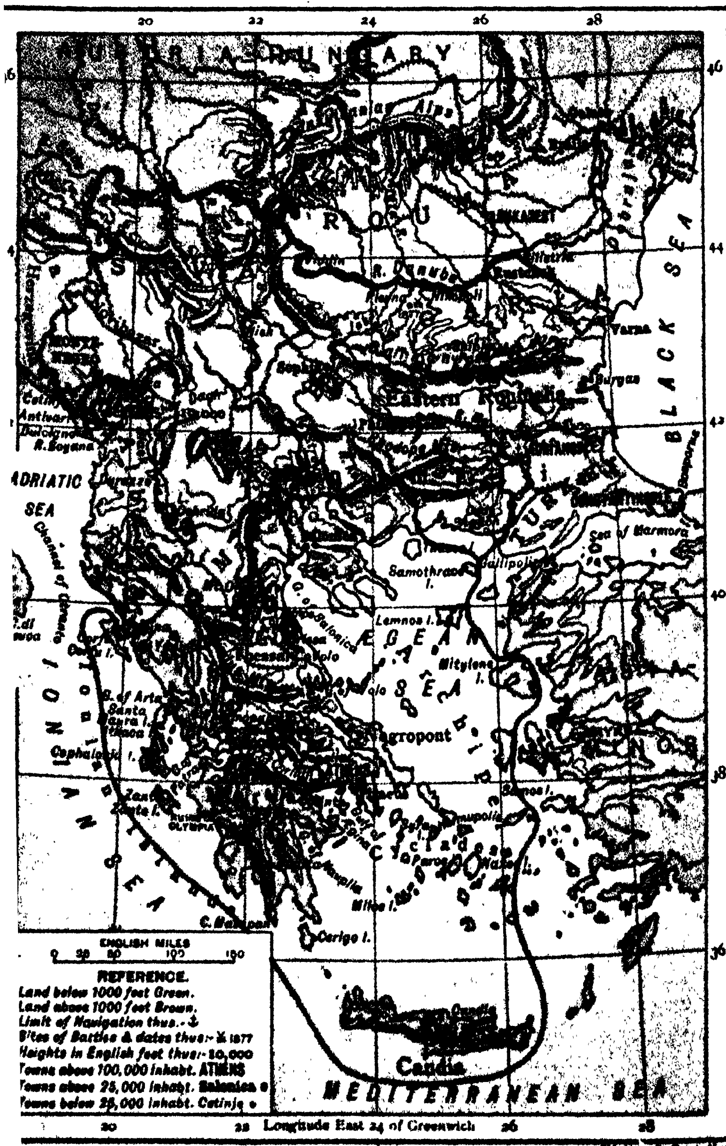
of the dominions of the Sultan" appeared again. But no force seems to avail to buttress up the Turkish power. Roumelia and Bulgaria were united in 1885. Egypt passed under British rule in 1882. Crete was placed under Greek rule in 1898. In 1908, after a revolution had swept the Sultan from the throne and raised a hope of internal reforms, the Austrian Empire took advantage of the internal weakness of Turkey to declare the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and at the same time Bulgaria declared her complete independence. In 1912 the Italians invaded and occupied Tripoli. The adventure proved more serious than they had anticipated, but they held their own against all efforts to dislodge them until Turkey was forced to cede them the country, under the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan, by the great war that broke out in the Balkans.

Dismemberment of Turkey since the Treaty of Berlin.

The Revolution at Constantinople in 1908 and the action of Austria in annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina had produced a general fermentation throughout the peninsula. All hopes of reconciliation between the Turks and the subject populations soon died away, and the Christian States of the Balkans saw in the dissensions of the Turks a chance of expelling them from Europe. A secret "Balkan League" was formed between Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Serbia; they laid aside for the time their own quarrels (which were a little later to lead to so fierce a war) and agreed to concentrate all their efforts on the defeat of the Turks. The war began in October, 1912, and found the Turks unprepared. Greeks, Serbians, Montenegrins and Bulgarians all gained victories against them; but the heaviest fighting fell to the lot of the Bulgarians, who defeated the Turks in two great battles, advanced to the lines of Chataldja, which guard Constantinople, and subsequently took the strong city of Adrianople. The war seemed at an end, and a congress was called in London to settle the terms of peace.

These efforts, though sincerely made and renewed, proved unavailing, and, while in the West diplomatists still talked of peace, a new and more fearful struggle broke out in the Balkans. The jealousies of the powers were bitter in the extreme; Bulgaria and her King Ferdinand thought that

MAP SHOWING THE FRONTIERS OF THE BALKAN POWERS AS ARRANGED BY THE TREATY OF BUCHAREST, 1913.



the efforts they had made gave them the right to the greater part of the spoil; the rivalry between Bulgaria and Greece for the possession of Salonica had led to bloodshed even during the first war, and was one of the chief issues in the second. Bulgaria now found herself at war with all the other Balkan powers.

In the struggle which broke out in June, 1913, the Bulgarians fared even worse than the Turks had done. The Roumanians joined their enemies. The Turks reoccupied Adrianople. The Bulgarians were beaten again and again, and soon begged for terms from their opponents and from Europe. This second struggle produced horrors not surpassed by anything in medieval warfare. "The Balkans," said an eye-witness, "is one vast madhouse where sanity seems ridiculous and folly wisdom." At the end of July an armistice was granted, and peace followed before long.

A new era had opened for the Balkans, though the high hopes of the early days of the struggle—when a confederation of the Balkan States seemed possible—were far from being fulfilled. The Turks still held Constantinople and regained Adrianople; but their days as an important European power were at an end. Bulgaria gained access to the Aegean sea, but fell short of the wide dominions that had at one time seemed within her grasp. Serbia, with enlarged borders, became a considerable power; she seemed to have taken her revenge for the battle of Kossovo, in which the Serbian Empire had been crushed by the Turks in 1398; but she was still without access to the sea, and still saw in Bosnia and Herzegovina millions of the same race as herself subject to Austrian rule. Greece had gained greatly in territory and prestige: Crete was united to her: Salonica was recognized as Greek: it seemed certain that once again, after so many centuries, Athens would count as an important influence in European affairs. There is assured hope for the future of the Balkans; though it was from this quarter that the spark came which lit the conflagration which began to blaze in Europe in 1914.

No effort can be made here to disentangle the different forces which thrust Europe into the abyss in July, 1914. The perspective of the events will alter as the years pass, and

the relative importance of different influences, personal and national, can hardly yet be weighed with a cool mind. There were three main groups of antagonists. France and Germany remained irreconcilable. Germany and Great Britain were driven into hostility by the challenge of the German navy to the security of the island Empire. Russia and Austria were suspicious and bitter rivals for predominance in the Balkan peninsula. It mattered little where the first blow was struck. The alliances and understandings of the great powers made it certain that nearly all Europe would be plunged into the conflict.

The causes of the Great War of 1914.

The actual occasion of the war came from the Balkans. Here, in addition to the rivalry of Austria and Russia, peace was constantly endangered by the racial ambitions of the Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbians. The Serbians especially were dreaming of establishing a great state in the north-west of the peninsula which should include the scattered divisions of the Serbian race. A natural and even a laudable ambition; which nevertheless inevitably made Austria, within whose borders so many of the Serbian race were to be found, regard Serbia as a constant menace to her security. Austria had designed to attack Serbia in 1913, but had been prevented by Italy. In 1914 there came an incident which served as an excuse. The heir to the Austrian throne was murdered at Serajevo on June 28th. The Serbian government was suspected of complicity, and Austria-Hungary demanded redress in an ultimatum of so violent a character that it was in itself an act of war. Russia, always the protector of the Slavonic States of the Balkans, showed herself ready to defend Serbia against the monstrous demands of Austria. Germany declared her determination to support Austria. France could not refuse to abide by her alliance with Russia. Efforts were made by the British foreign minister to settle the quarrel by conciliation and conference. But all was in vain. Italy indeed declared that she was not bound to support her allies of the Triple Alliance in a war which was aggressive on their side ; and in consequence remained for some time neutral. But Great Britain was drawn into the war by her close friendship with France and her promise to protect the neutrality of Belgium which was attacked by Germany,

though Germany had herself guaranteed that neutrality. It cannot be doubted that the vast majority of the population of Europe desired peace; but they found themselves dragged helplessly into the teeth of the terrible machine, which it had been the chief business of the statesmen of Europe for half a century to construct.

Volume xii. of the *Cambridge Modern History* gives a summary and full bibliography. J. H. Rose's *Development of European Nations since* 1870. Gooch's *History of Our Own Time* (1885-1911) is a very useful summary. *The Balkans, A History* by different writers. Hanotaux's *Modern France*. Hohenlohe's *Memoirs*. Headlam's *History of Fourteen Days*. Gilbert Murray's *Foreign Policy of Sir Edward Grey*.

CHAPTER XXII

The Great War

I

It is a very difficult task for one who has lived through the five years during which the world was torn by the struggle which we seem agreed to call the Great War to attempt to tell something about it in the space of not more than thirty pages. Every morning's paper seemed to contain news on which the destinies of the world might hinge; men and events were seen through an atmosphere that distorted and discoloured everything. As the student of history looked on at the stream of authentic and garbled information, of wild rumours and of mere lies which submerged the minds of most men, he reflected sometimes with irony on the materials out of which history is made, on the sources from which Herodotus drew his history of the Persian wars, on the nature of medieval chronicles, on the uncertain foundations of many historical judgments that are never questioned, on Napoleon's saying that history was "a lie agreed upon." But that mood of scepticism is unreasonable. History is not truth, but an approximation to the truth which we believe grows closer and closer. In this chapter we shall try to speak of the war as though it were long past, and no longer left its traces on the hearts and hopes of all of us.

It is little to say that this war surpasses in magnitude and destructiveness all other wars that are recorded in history. Much more than three-quarters of the land surface of the earth was engaged in the struggle. So numerous were the combatant states that it is actually difficult to be sure of the whole list of them. To begin with, Germany and Austria were confronted by Russia, France, Great Britain, Serbia, Montenegro, Belgium, and Japan. But other states were soon drawn into the conflict. Germany had for long past been devoting great attention to Turkey, and had seen in her vast and ill-organized territories an opening for her capital and her organizing capacity. There was probably some understanding between the two countries even before the outbreak of the war. Two German cruisers—the *Goeben* and *Breslau*—escaped from the pursuit of the British war-vessels into Constantinople in August, 1914. The open alliance of Turkey with Germany followed almost immediately. Ferdinand of Bulgaria joined the same side in the summer of 1915. Those four states found no further allies until the end of the war. But on the other side there were adhesions until near the end. The following are the chief.

The combatant States. (a) The Central Powers

Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance with Austria and Germany, but the union was felt to be an unnatural one and, when the war came, Italy declared that her treaty with Germany only contemplated help in a defensive war, and that this was on the side of Germany an aggressive war; and that Italy would therefore remain neutral. Italian opinion was in a great ferment. The desire to regain "unredeemed Italy" and indignation with such outrages as the sinking of the *Lusitania* were in conflict with considerations of safety and pecuniary profit. But in May, 1915, Italy declared war against Austria and threw herself into the cause of the allies.

(b) The Allies, Italy.

Roumania was the next most important accession in Europe. She had shown her military strength in the later stages of the Balkan wars; her sympathies were usually with France and the west, to which her Latin origin seemed to attract her. But her royal family was a branch of the Hohenzollerns, and the family bond had often influenced her policy. When, however, King Carol died in 1914 the

Roumania.

situation changed, and two years later (August, 1916) Roumania declared war on Austria. The long Roumanian frontier and her untouched resources aroused the liveliest hopes of a great success. Her speedy collapse was one of the most bitter disappointments of the war

Greece had wavered long. The Greek queen was the sister of the German Kaiser, and the little state was exposed to cruel pressure from both sides. Her best-known statesman, Venizelos, had from the first supported the cause of the allies. In 1917 King Constantine was forced to abdicate. A little later Greece gave active help to the allies.

Greece.

At the end of the war the only European states that remained neutral were: Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, and Spain. The neutrals outside of Europe were hardly more numerous. From the first it was clear that the most distant parts of the world would be involved in the contest. For the enemies of Germany flung themselves upon her colonies in Africa and in the Pacific Ocean, while Japan attacked her possessions in China. Nearly all Africa was therefore involved from the first, as well as all the colonies and possessions of Great Britain, France, and Belgium. But for a time the American continents stood outside of the contest with the exception of Canada, which fought as a part of the British Empire. The last stage of the war saw the United States sucked into the whirlpool, and in the wake of the United States came most of the republics of South America. When the end came the peace with Germany was signed by twenty-seven states. The armies reflected this amazing gathering of nations: the roads and frontiers of France were thick with men of every voice, language, and creed. No prophet had ever foretold so complete a world-war.

The Colonies and Africa.

The United States and South America.

All the European nations from the outset, Great Britain from the end of 1915, the United States from the time of her entry, adopted the principle of compulsory service and called upon the whole manhood of the nation to take arms. The armies were in consequence huge beyond all precedent, and it is hardly possible that the world can be doomed to see greater. The casualties were even

The great numbers of combatants.

larger than seemed to be implied by the numbers, for the fighting was close and desperate beyond all expectation. Some

writers on military topics had said confidently that hand-to-hand fighting was for ever impossible, and that the bayonet might go the way of the Roman short sword and the armoured

knight. But after a few weeks of open warfare the armies on the west established themselves in trench lines extending from Ostend to Switzerland, and there at short distance and with every kind of weapon carried on a murderous struggle, without armistice, truce, or rest, under the soil and in the air as well as on the earth's surface. The statistics of the war have not yet been worked out, and estimates vary widely. But more than fifty millions of men have been engaged in the fighting; the killed reach not less than eight millions; the wounded are perhaps four times as many. A generation of the youth of Europe—who should have been the statesmen, the artists, the men of science, the religious leaders of the world—have been swept away.

Science and the war.

Science from its beginning has been the ally of the soldier; but the alliance has had its sinister culmination in these terrible years. The trenches have not been more decisive arenas of the struggle than the laboratories and the engineering workshops of the different countries. Napoleon's wars were hardly more different from Julius Cæsar's than these wars have been different from Napoleon's, in the weapons used and the methods employed. Science had mastered a great many of the secrets of the universe during the past century, and the result has been an unparalleled destruction of human life. Before the war it was clear that certain inventions would be of the utmost use to the soldier. The submarine had for many years been a regular part of all navies; the airplane and the dirigible balloon (the Zeppelin, as it was called from its German inventor) were too recent inventions to have shown their military efficacy. Both played a part of great influence on the character of the operations and on the result. When hostilities had begun the inventors of all countries worked feverishly to discover new devices of attack or defence. Poison gases and liquid fire were first employed by the Germans, but were then at once adopted by all combatants. In September, 1915, there appeared in the British armies the armoured motor-cars, carrying machine-guns and specially constructed to cross the enemy's trenches, which received the nickname of "tanks." The German generals have admitted that these contributed largely

"Tanks."

to their defeat. Tanks, airplanes, Zeppelins, and submarines all depended on the internal combustion engine, without which the war could hardly have been fought. Science also made during the war wonderful contributions to the sanitation of camps, the prevention of disease and the healing of wounds; but these fell very far short of the assistance she had rendered to slaughter. Here is a phase of the war which will arouse anxious thought and comment for a long time to come. Science stands at the bar of humanity.

The civil populations.

No previous war ever taxed the energies of all the community as this did. There were no non-combatants. It was at first said that so huge a war must be a short one; and that, though the gigantic armies could be transported to the scene of action, they could not long be maintained there, because of the economic exhaustion of all the states concerned. But the modern state proved to have resources far greater than were suspected. The labour of women was called upon to an unprecedented extent, and in Great Britain their services were recognized by the grant of the parliamentary vote. The dress and deportment of women changed. The trams and the postal services, the offices, the munition factories, and even the agriculture of the various lands, fell largely into the hands of women. At the end, when famine attacked or threatened everywhere, still more clearly was every one a willing or an unwilling combatant. To feed sparely become a mark of patriotism. But while Great Britain and her allies suffered some hardship and much inconvenience, famine fell cruelly upon the Central Powers.

Essentially a war for the Balance of Power.

A war in magnitude and in procedure quite unexampled! But in essential aim it was akin to most of the great European wars that preceded it during four centuries. It was essentially a war fought for the Balance of Power. Where there is no idea of right, and no power to enforce it, individuals fall spontaneously into groups in which the weak try to defend themselves against the strong. The balance of power does but imply the same spontaneous tendency in states. When the Roman Empire dominated the world there was no balance of power; nor did it apply during the Middle Ages, when the Catholic

Church and the Holy Roman Empire kept alive the idea of the unity of Europe based on certain standards of right. But with the beginning of the sixteenth century the weak bonds which had held Europe together were snapped; national egotism became the creed of every state, and the last four centuries show us a continuous conflict in which from time to time some one state—Spain or France or Austria or Prussia or the naval power of Great Britain—seems to threaten the independence and even the existence of its fellows. The weaker states have always combined against the stronger one, and they have never failed to drag it down. The Austro-Spanish power struggled against its rivals for more than a century; Louis XIV. was overthrown in forty years; Great Britain had to yield to her opponents at the end of the war of American independence; Napoleon dominated Europe nearly twenty years; Prussia held Europe in awe from 1866 to 1918. It is as useless to denounce the principle of balance of power as the instinct of self-preservation. It is the rise of the state that has removed its analogy from private life; the settled world order, towards which it is hoped that the League of Nations is an important step, will alone prevent the states of the world from seeing in a stronger power a probable enemy and combining for self-defence.

Previous instances.

The remedy.

II

To understand the war it is necessary to climb in imagination on to some height from which we may see all the theatres of the war, at least in Europe and Western Asia. Thus seen the war is, in its simplest expression, a long siege of the Central Powers. They struggle to break through the beleaguering lines of the enemy. For a moment they seem to succeed in the West; then they do succeed, at least partially, in the East. Meantime the besieging enemy increases in strength, and no reinforcements can come to the besieged. There is a last great effort to break out in the West. An apparent success is gained, but at suicidal cost. The enemy strikes again, and the Central Powers have to surrender at discretion.

Strategic characteristics of the war.

To state the same thing more concretely, the Central Powers

were blockaded by the British and allied fleets and by the English and French armies in the west, and by Italy in the south. On the east they were faced by Russia and by the Balkan States. They could never really break the western and southern line; in the east they gained immense victories against Russians, Roumanians, and Serbians, and threatened the British hold on Egypt. It was a great series of victories, but it was not sufficient. The western and southern lines held firm. Then America threw into the scale her sword, her purse, and her enthusiasm. Even before the full weight of the American troops could make itself felt, the allies had broken through and beaten the Austro-Germans to their knees.

Again, if for clearness we try to mark the most important events of the war, they seem to be these. (1) The great rush by which the Germans hoped to finish this war at a blow, as they had finished the Austrian war in 1866 and the French in 1870. That failed by September, 1914. (2) For close on four years the armies in the west struggled without much variation of position, though with scores of great battles and deaths almost beyond counting. Meanwhile Russia was defeated, and after a wild outbreak of revolution forced to capitulate at Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918. (3) The United States declared war in April, 1917. (4) The assault of the German armies on the west in March, 1918, seemed for a time to promise them victory, but (5) all was ended by the counter-offensive of the allies, which began in July and ended with the armistice of November 11, 1918. (6) Underlying and conditioning all these events was the continuous vigilance and pressure of the British and allied navies. The war is one more illustration of the vast importance of naval power even for military operations that seem remote from the sea.

III

The German government and people were confident of victory, but conscious of the magnitude of the task before them. The eastern frontier of France had been elaborately fortified, and a rapid victory was not likely to attend a direct attack there. It was decided, therefore, to attack by way of Belgium, though

German invasion of Belgium.

Belgium had done nothing to forfeit her rights as a neutral, which Germany had herself promised to observe. If Belgium could be induced, by terror or persuasion, to allow the German armies to pass, it was possible that France might be overthrown by an even swifter blow than that which had been so fatal in 1870, and that then Germany might deal separately with her Eastern enemies. So though, as Bethmann-Hollweg admitted, the breach of international right was flagrant it was accepted as a necessity of war, and the German armies marched out to "hew their way" to victory.

The resistance of Belgium.

The Belgian adventure was disappointing from the first, and perhaps in the long run fatal to German hopes. For in the first place the German army encountered a bold defiance and an unexpectedly strong resistance from the small state, whose refusal to yield to threats or promises is among the noblest things in history. Liège held out for some precious days until the great siege guns were brought up. Then the German invaders tried to force Belgium to surrender by acts of cruelty and violence, which were contrary to all international agreements and almost unexampled in warfare between civilized nations. Belgium stood firm in spite of all. She appealed for help to France and Great Britain, who were among the guarantors of her neutrality, and began a struggle in which her troops were driven from one great city after another, but held on to a tiny corner of Belgian territory until four years later triumph came to reward her tenacity and her valour.

Great Britain enters the war.

Not only were the Germans delayed by the resistance of Belgium, but their disregard of the country's neutrality made the interference of Great Britain inevitable. Before 1866 Prussia had been warned by Lord Stanley that if she desired the neutrality of Great Britain she must not touch Belgium, and now every consideration of honour and of safety brought her into the struggle along with France. The Liberal government, in which Asquith was Prime Minister, Lloyd George Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir Edward Grey Foreign Minister, was supported by the Conservative party, and despatched the British expeditionary army to France. It was eagerly welcomed by the French President,

Poincaré, and the French Prime Minister, Viviani. Thus began a partnership in arms, which stood the terrible strain of the four years' war wonderfully well, and has, it is hoped, laid the foundation of a permanent understanding between the two peoples.

The German advance.

At the time, however, nothing could withstand the German deluge. The organization of the invaders was wonderful; it seemed that everything had been thought out and prepared for. Namur fell with disappointing rapidity after Liège. The French were heavily defeated at Charleroi after stubborn fighting, and the English army escaped from an encircling movement by a rapid retreat from Mons. German cavalry reached within twelve miles of Paris. The fall of the city was prophesied, and the seat of government was hastily removed to Bordeaux. It was the darkest hour of the war, which was destined to have many dark hours. Then came a sudden and decisive reversal of fortune, in which the over-confidence of the German leaders, and the unshaken courage, energy, and organizing capacity of the French played the most important parts. Von Kluck moved from the west to the east, hoping to envelop the French army. He thus afforded an opening for a counter-attack, which General Joffre made use of with great effect. Exposed to a flank attack, the German army, in a series of great struggles, which are known as the Battle of the Marne, was forced to retreat all along the line, and to a considerable depth. A great tract of French territory was thus redeemed from the invader and a success gained, which is now seen to be a decisive incident in the war. Germany had missed her spring; if she had gained it she might perhaps have reduced France and Britain to a position in which it would have been impossible for them to continue the struggle effectively. The Germans never again came so near to the possibility of victory.

Battle of the Marne, 6-12 Sept., 1914.

Trench warfare begins.

Yet some disappointment for the allies followed. The retreat of the Germans did not become a rout, they fell back on to prepared fortifications, and defied all efforts to break through. Soon on both sides the armies dug themselves into trenches, which stretched from the sea to the Alps, and in them for the next four years

millions of men endured sufferings that to the imagination seemed beyond the limits of human patience.

The victory of the Marne was badly needed to compensate for a heavy defeat that had been received by the Russians. Great hopes had been placed in the Russian army, which was believed to have been completely reformed since its defeat in the Japanese War. There were even wild reports of Russian troops that were passing through England to the French front. The facts were less encouraging. A Russian army invaded the eastern provinces of Prussia and gained important victories. Then, on August 26, 1914, they were attacked at Tannenberg by a German army under Hindenburg, who, taking the great risks that the situation demanded, inflicted upon them an overwhelming defeat. Thus early the Eastern and Western fronts presented the contrast of characteristics which they maintained to the end: tenacious resistance and victory for the allies in the west; in the east splendid but transitory Russian victories, and then complete ruin.

Russians defeated at Tannenberg.

IV

THE WESTERN FRONT

For three years and a half, from September, 1914, to March, 1918, the struggle deepened in intensity. Both sides indulged in loud prophecies of victory. The Germans declared that a complete victory was certain before each autumn; the allies indulged in hopes of an early "break through" and the disruption of Germany. The Western and Italian fronts employed during this period the larger forces and attracted most attention, but despite the herculean efforts of both sides no definite result came from the continual holocausts of victims. In the east there were alternations of victory and defeat, and great results gained which seemed to flatter the highest German hopes.

But first let us cast a hasty glance on the course of the naval war, where defeat for the allies would have meant the failure of American supplies and munitions, the definite defeat of Great Britain and her Dominions, and probably the starvation of France and of Italy. The

The naval war.

result here may be very quickly told. The Germans gained temporary successes; individual cruisers harried the commerce of the allies; their submarines displayed great daring and skill. But the real supremacy of the allied fleets was hardly challenged and never shaken. In December, 1914, a German naval force which had defeated a small British squadron was destroyed by Admiral Sturdee at the Falkland Islands. The greatest German effort was made in May, 1916, when the German fleet sailed out from the Kiel Canal and encountered Admiral Beatty and the advance guard of the British fleet off Jutland. He inflicted heavy damage on the British, but suffered heavily himself; and when Jellicoe with the main British fleet appeared the Germans escaped with all speed. They made no further serious attempt on the naval power of the allies, and henceforth trusted almost entirely to their submarines. A close blockade was kept on Germany, and by 1916 there was serious scarcity of food and of some munitions of war.

The battle of Jutland.

The struggle in France and Belgium occupied more attention than any other. Scores of battles involving greater numbers and heavier fighting than Waterloo were fought there, yet the general result can be shortly stated. The line sagged and swayed, bulging now this way now that, but usually to the advantage of the allies, until the great German offensive of March, 1918. All methods of slaughter that the ingenuity of mankind could devise were employed there: poison gas and liquid fire; mines and balloons and airplanes; artillery with a range of scores of miles, trench-mortars, hand grenades, trench knives, bayonets—nothing was wanting. And wet and cold added vastly to the miseries which were borne on both sides with wonderful fortitude. Our space renders it impossible to do more than mention the chief of the titanic efforts on this front.

A Belgian force held the line nearest the coast. Then came the British army, first under the command of Sir John French and later of Sir Douglas Haig. The centre of their resistance was Ypres—before the war a lovely medieval city, containing a fine cathedral and many noble buildings, besides the much-praised cloth-hall: now a heap of hardly distinguishable ruins. And its fate is but

Order of the armies.

typical of the fate of scores of towns and of hundreds of villages on the Western front. If the Germans could have broken through there they would perhaps have mastered the Channel ports. In October, 1914, there was a fierce attack which was beaten off with the utmost difficulty. In April, 1915, there came another. The use of poison gas, of which the British had here their first experience, opened for a time a wide gap in the British line. It had to be withdrawn and shortened; but the Ypres front had proved impassable. In the third battle of Ypres the British were the aggressors. From July to November, 1917, there was heavy fighting in front of the heap of ruins that had once been a town. Ground was gained; some thousands of prisoners were taken; the British established themselves on Paschendaele ridge. The confidence of the German command was rudely shaken; but the cost had been terrible, and Sir Douglas Haig afterwards declared that the operation had exhausted rather than strengthened his armies.

The battles of Ypres.

The next great centre was at Arras and on the upper waters of the Somme. Here first the French and later the British were stationed. Here in July, 1916, was fought the great battle of the Somme. After long fighting the German line was pushed back some considerable distance, and though there was disappointment because more was not gained, it was realized later that the fighting had done much to relieve the pressure on the French at Verdun.

The Somme.

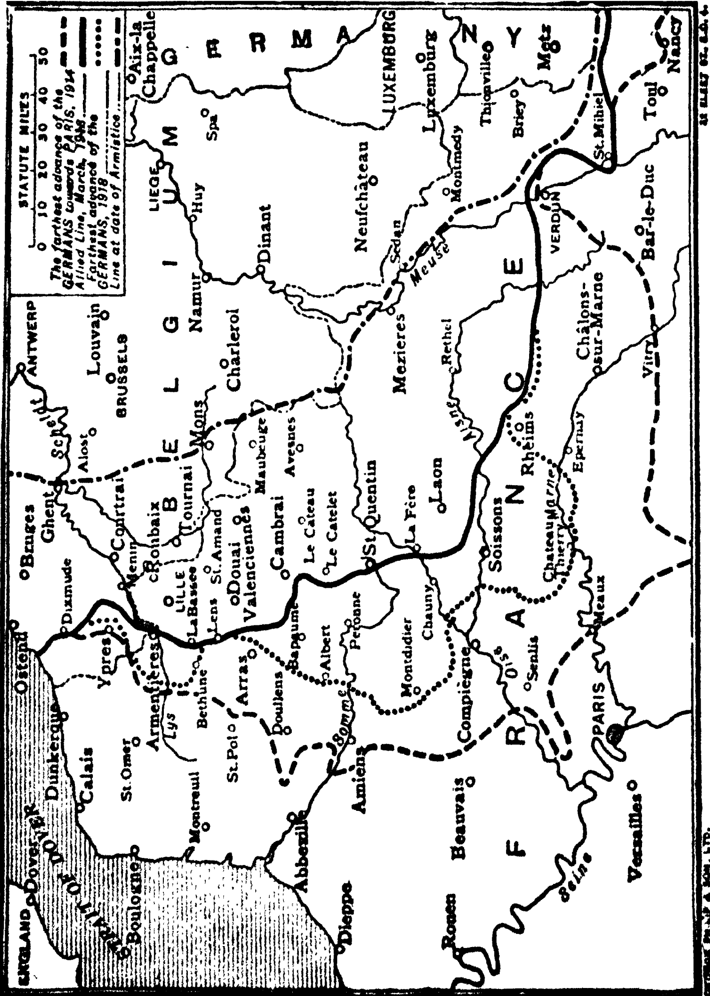
Further south and east the French held Reims with a grip that was never shaken; though the city was cruelly shelled and the great cathedral—one of the priceless treasures of European art—was deplorably damaged. There was much fighting round Reims, but it is the next French stronghold that most deserves our attention.

Reims.

Verdun, on the Meuse, commanded one of the chief routes to Paris. There was every motive for both the attack and the defence to put forth all their energies. The Crown Prince of Germany was in command of the attack, and the defence was chiefly in the hands of General Pétain. All the horrors and all the heroisms of war are accumulated in the story of the fighting round Verdun, which is likely to

Verdun.

become the proudest chapter in the French annals of the war. The struggle was renewed again and again; four several



"battles" are counted between February, 1916, and September, 1917. It seemed sometimes that the place must fall; but though the French lines were drawn in it never fell, and

in August, 1917, the French recovered, by a serious of remarkable assaults, nearly all the ground that had been lost. As many German hopes were buried at Verdun as at Ypres.

There is no doubt that the general result of this fighting was unfavourable to the Germans. In March, 1917, they retreated to a line that they had long been carefully preparing—the so-called Hindenburg line. The move was carried out with great skill and with little loss, and it embarrassed the operations of the allies. A great attack was planned by General Nivelle for April, 1917, and decisive results were confidently predicted. Some success was gained, but at an incredible cost, which the sadly depleted population of France could hardly bear. Yet if the war on the west had stood alone there would have been confidence as to the events of the next year. It was the news from the Russian front that created great anxiety; and to the Russian front we must turn.

The German retreat.

V

The Eastern Front

The time has not yet come when the history of Russia during the war can be written. There have been many forces at work to falsify the narrative of events there—hope and fear, disappointment and hatred. Here we can only give the chief events in the strange story.

We have already seen how the victory of Tannenberg balanced in the German mind the check of the Marne. But in spite of that heavy blow the Russian army gained great successes for twelve months after that. They struck deep into Galicia, where they found a ready welcome from many of the inhabitants. The great city of Lemberg fell in September, 1914. It was believed the Russians might soon be before Cracow. But the great fortress of Przemysl lay on the route, and it did not surrender until March, 1915, when over 100,000 Austrians laid down their arms. High hopes were entertained of the passage of the Carpathians and the invasion of Hungary, but to hope from Russia was all through the war to be disappointed. There was nothing on the east that corresponded to the unbreakable

Russian victories.

iron rampart on the west. Nothing in the past history of Russia warranted a belief in her capacity for carrying on with success the huge war where organization, science, and tenacity counted for more than courage or mere endurance. If the Russian front held, the defeat of Germany was certain and at an early date. The Germans prepared for a heavy assault, and great armies were put under the command of Mackensen, who shares with Ludendorff and Hindenburg what military glory was won by the Germans during the war. He drove in a wedge that forced the Russians to abandon Przemysl, Lemberg, and Warsaw. The Russian armies under the Grand Duke Nicholas made an orderly retreat, but great territories had fallen into the hands of the Germans by August, 1915: they had occupied Poland, Lithuania, and Courland.

Brussilof's great offensive.

In spite of this failure the hopes of a great Russian triumph were never higher than in 1916. Arms and munitions had been sent round in great quantities to Archangel, and had made their way from thence to the Russian armies. With ranks refilled and reorganized Brussilof attacked the Austrians in Volhynia and the Bukovina. The results were amazing. Day by day the news came of towns taken, lands occupied, and thousands of prisoners captured. The Bukovina was conquered and the prisoners were said to number 400,000, though many of these were due rather to voluntary surrender than to capture in battle. But this was not realized at the time, and anything seemed possible to Brussilof. The greatest result of his victories was the declaration of Roumania, which had long wavered, that she was prepared to join the allies. Now a great victory seemed assured. A new long front would be opened. The German and Austrian armies, hard pressed to defend their present line, would be unequal to their new task. It was confidently prophesied that the end of the war was at hand.

The failure of Roumania.

Among the disappointments of the war this was the bitterest. Some day we may know how much of the result is to be ascribed to the audacity and organization of Mackensen; and how much to the exhaustion, the political ferment, and perhaps even the treason of Russia. It is enough to state that before the end of the

year Mackensen had driven back the Roumanian forces that had begun to invade Transylvania, and had occupied Bucharest, the capital, and Roumania itself. After this no other small state lying within the sweep of Germany's sword was likely to join in the struggle against her.

The Russian Revolution.

The spring of 1917 brought a sinister comment on the strange fluctuations in Russia's power. The country had indeed seemed to throw itself whole-heartedly into the war, but there had been strange political fermentation of which few hints had been allowed to reach the west of Europe. In June, 1916, Lord Kitchener —the organizer of the British armies—had been drowned whilst on his road to Russia. To the student of history it is plain that Russia was in exactly the condition in which revolutions are most apt to occur. Autocratic government can do things that are impossible to a constitutional state, but it is the most unstable form of government and depends largely on success. The government of the Czar had a record of unsuccessful wars, and was always confronted by the passionate demand of a large section of the people for change. There was no experience of liberty to inspire wisdom or suggest prudence. A great victory in the war would have strengthened the government. Triumphs had come, but also defeats that more than counterbalanced them. The sufferings of the people and their losses in the war had been great even beyond the measure of Western Europe.

Abdication of the Czar.

Revolution came in March, 1917. The Czar abdicated and was carried away to an obscure and terrible fate in Siberia. The task of creating a new government proved immensely difficult. No constitution after the English or French pattern was acceptable. Socialism triumphed, and among the Socialists the extreme section. The teaching of Karl Marx, the German Socialist, and the example of the French Communists of 1871, had fallen on fertile ground in Russia. The men who at last came to the front—Lenin and Trotsky—repudiated the idea of an equal democracy, and declared for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariate (of the poorest class, that is) to the entire exclusion from power of all others. In July

Brussilof made another attack and gained great initial success, but again all collapsed through the action of the political authorities.

For the new government the war had no meaning. Germany was not more disliked, as a state and government, than France, England, or America. In March, 1918, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was arranged. Russia was to pay a great indemnity and cede large territories. We shall not follow Russian history further. A great chapter is perhaps beginning there; certainly a great experiment in social and political organization is being tried. For us it is enough to note that Germany had thrown down the whole barrier that shut her in upon the east.

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

VI

The Balkans

The success of the Central Powers in the Balkans was hardly less. There too there were high hopes which were not realized. Twice the Serbians drove out the invading Austrian armies with great loss. Turkey had been at once attacked, for her adhesion to the Central Powers was of the utmost importance. If only the passage of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus had been forced supplies could have been got to the Russian armies easily and rapidly and the Russian corn would have been of the greatest use to the Western Powers. When an allied force chiefly consisting of British and Colonial troops landed on the Gallipoli peninsula in April, 1915, a rapid and decisive victory was hoped for. There followed instead months of desperate fighting under peculiarly painful conditions and, after many actions of great heroism, the force was withdrawn in December, 1915. Before that time utter ruin had fallen on Serbia. The armies that were allotted to the invasion of the Balkans were entrusted to Mackensen, and he scored another unqualified triumph. The Serbian army and people were driven in flight through the mountains to find what refuge and exile they could in France or Italy or

The Gallipoli campaign.

Serbia crushed.

England. Monastir was taken. An allied force was landed at Salonica, and there clung to a little strip of coast, a motley assemblage of French and Serbians, Greeks and British, with little prospect of triumph. Thus in the south-east, as well as the east, the Germans and their allies had broken through the wall that had been built against them.

VII

Italy

The entry of Italy into the war on the side of the allies had been greeted with great enthusiasm. The winning of Italian liberty had seemed to many the most glorious event of the nineteenth century, and it seemed right that Italy should take her place along with the constitutionally governed states. The help of Italy seemed to make victory secure; and here the hopes were not disappointed, but the struggle was longer and more severe than had been anticipated.

Italian victories.

Italian troops attacked at once in the Eastern Alps. Fighting went on at great height and among the perpetual snows. If the epithet "romantic" can be applied to any part of this grim war, it will suit the feats of the mountaineers who fought in regions hardly accessible to ordinary men. The year 1916 saw fluctuations of victory and defeat, but the advantage lay with the Italians. The Austrians pushed down through the Trentino, but were driven back. On the eastern Italian front the Italians gained a great victory by the capture of Gorizia in August. Thus 1917 opened with high hopes. In August General Cadorna occupied a part of the Bainsizza plateau and took many prisoners. But he had lost heavily, and had advanced so as to expose his flanks. The Austrians saw their chance, and with the help of some of the troops that had won Mackensen his great success, they fell upon General Cadorna at Caporetto. There followed one of the greatest disasters that befel the allies in the west. An Italian army was broken up. The Austrians claimed 250,000 prisoners, and poured down into the plain above Venice. But the Italians showed

The battle of Caporetto.

great resource in presence of the catastrophe. Venice did not fall. Help came from England and France, and, though much Italian territory was abandoned, the line was restored.

VIII

Turkey

We cannot even touch on all the theatres of this unparalleled war. The struggle for the German colonies will not be dealt with, nor the steps by which the German power was expelled from China, and the later phases of the struggle in Russia will be passed over. But the fate of Turkey was of great importance for the issue of the war and for the destinies of mankind. Her government was a military autocracy, and naturally felt sympathy for the kindred powers of Germany and Austria. Since her defeat before Vienna in 1683 there had hardly been a decade in which she had not lost power or territory. She doubtless hoped to regain ground with the help of Germany's all-conquering sword. For Germany the Turkish lands opened a road through which a blow might be aimed at the British power in India and Egypt. The railway that had been planned from Constantinople to the Persian Gulf had already been constructed along a good part of its course.

Townshend's victories and defeats.

A Turkish attack on Egypt was made in 1915, but without success. Earlier in the year Indian troops had landed at the mouth of the Euphrates; and a force under General Townshend marched up the river, and after brilliant victories approached Bagdad. But he had insufficient forces, and he had to retreat before the reinforced armies of the Turks. He was blockaded in Kut, where, in spite of efforts to relieve him, he was forced to surrender in April, 1916. It was a serious check, which in itself indecisive seemed likely to shake British prestige in the East.

The tables were turned in 1917. Without German support Turkey was unequal to a contest with a power organized and armed after the modern fashion; and Germany had so many calls elsewhere that she could spare little help for

the Turks. General Maude, with a larger and more carefully prepared force, marched up the Tigris once more in January, 1917. There was heavy fighting, but victory followed victory. Kut was retaken in February. Bagdad—so long a name of romance and mystery—fell in March. The power of Turkey was clearly broken in that region.

Fall of Bagdad.

An even more complete ruin fell upon her in Palestine. Her armies had been pushed back from the Egyptian frontier, but the effort to penetrate Palestine had been held up for a long time by the resistance of Gaza. In the summer of 1917 the Palestine army was put under the command of General Allenby. At the end of October he struck with instant success. Gaza was left on one side and the route to Beersheba chosen. Beersheba fell and the road to Jerusalem was opened. On December 9, 1917, the Holy City was taken without a struggle. Bagdad, Babylon, Nineveh, Jerusalem, and Egypt—the earliest homes of civilization—were all now under the control of the British.

Capture of Jerusalem.

IX

1918

When the year 1918 opened the outlook for the allies was not a cheerful one. After four years of fierce warfare the Central Powers could still assume the offensive. Russia had collapsed. The Balkans were overrun. A defeat, which some thought decisive, had been inflicted on the Italians. It was only in Mesopotamia and Palestine that the allies had gained anything like a triumph; and, if the Central Powers were victorious in Europe, they would soon restore the balance there. The surface of the sea was indeed closed to the Germans, but they had embarked on a submarine campaign against the vessels, whether naval or commercial, of all states, enemy and neutral alike, and this seemed to promise great results. In one week of April, 1917, fifty-nine large vessels were destroyed. If that were to continue the resources of the allies would inevitably

Unrestricted submarine warfare.

fail. The effort of Germany in its continuity and its magnitude had been prodigious. It was clear that the strain must have brought her near to exhaustion. But her enemies, with the exception of the United States of America, were certainly also suffering from exhaustion. American troops were arriving, and they were a great source of confidence. But the treaty with Russia had released vast German armies for use elsewhere. It was certain that with the coming of the spring a blow would be launched against the allied line in the west.

The German preparations were conducted by Ludendorff, who was now in supreme command, and were carried out with amazing secrecy. The long-prepared blow fell on March 21, 1918, near St. Quentin, where was the point of junction between the French and British armies, and it fell mainly on the British Fifth Army. It achieved an immediate success. There had been none so great since the very first days of the war. The Germans had so many reserves that blow followed blow with stunning rapidity. First the attacks in March carried the Germans to within a few miles of Amiens, and allowed them to interrupt traffic along an important railway. Then in April the ruins of Ypres were again the centre of a long and desperate combat in which the aim of the Germans was to break through to the Channel ports. Ypres still held firm, but to the south the line bent dangerously, and when Bailleul fell it almost seemed that the line was broken. In May the French armies in the neighbourhood of Reims were attacked. The French lost the Chemin des Dames, which had cost them such efforts, and though Reims held on as stoutly as Ypres, the German armies advanced far down towards the Marne. In July German divisions crossed the Marne. After all the efforts and agonies of four years, the enemy once again threatened Paris. It added to the impression of their victory on the common mind that, shortly after the opening of the great offensive in March, they had began to bombard Paris with huge cannon—"the big Berthas"—from a distance of seventy-five miles.

The great German offensive.

Amiens, Ypres, Reims.

Is there in all history a more sudden and complete reversal

of fortune than was seen in the next four months? While Germany was covered with flags of victory, and was resounding with songs of triumph, the counter-stroke was preparing which would fling to ruin her armies, her government, and her emperor. The German effort, despite its vast success, had so exhausted the reserves that it was probably a mistake. On the side of the allies there was no panic, but only a more resolute determination to fight to the end. Troops were hurried over from England and America. Above all, unity of command was secured by giving the supreme command over all troops on the Western front to General Foch, who was known before the war as a teacher of military subjects, and who during the war had distinguished himself by his coolness and skill. His will be the one great military reputation that the war bequeaths to history. Though he had always advocated the counter-offensive, and saw in the confidence of his soldiers the great instrument of victory, he knew also how to wait, when critics were calling for action.

The turn of fortune.

General Foch.

Action came on July 18, in what may be called the second battle of the Marne. There had been some successful counter-strokes already, notably by Australian troops; but now the German line gave way, first gradually and after much resistance, then everywhere and in complete defeat. All parts of the allied armies shared in the work. The first attack was chiefly carried out by French and American troops. The British armies, less exhausted than the French, played the leading part in the rest of the war. They attacked on the Amiens front on August 8, and drove back the Germans with heavy loss. The "tanks" rendered great assistance. Ludendorff, in his memoirs, has called this the "black day" of the German army. There were three months' fighting after this, and for the British it was some of the most costly fighting of the war. For Germany it is a continuous record of defeat. Their fortified lines (the Hindenburg line), which had been prepared with so much care, were captured. The Belgian army took Bruges and Ghent. German military supremacy, which had overshadowed Europe since

The second battle of the Marne.

Germany's "black day."

The Armistice.

1866, lay in the dust. The German Kaiser abdicated and the new government appealed for an armistice, and it came after much negotiation on November 11, 1918.

There was no good fortune for Germany elsewhere to compensate for the catastrophe on the West front. The allies triumphed everywhere. (1) The Italians had fully repaired the disaster of Caporetto. They had sharply defeated the Austrians in June—a month before Foch's counter-offensive. In October General Diaz carried out a great attack, and the Austrians everywhere gave way, leaving prisoners by the hundred thousand in the hands of the Italians. (2) The Bulgarians had surrendered first of all the enemy powers. Without the backing and the control of the Germans they were no match for the enemy. The Serbians were the first to pierce the line. Soon the whole of the allied armies advanced, and Bulgaria had to surrender at discretion (September 29). (3) It was already clear that Turkey's power of resistance was nearing its end. In September General Allenby, by a brilliant series of manœuvres, in which the cavalry played an important part, swept the Turkish power out of Palestine and advanced irresistibly on Damascus. Turkey surrendered at the end of October.

Fall of Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

The naval war had few great days since the battle of Jutland, but all depended on it. And it seemed at one moment as if German submarines had found "the Achilles heel of invulnerable England." They caused great inconvenience and some distress; but the navies of the allies proved equal to the emergency. Shipbuilding was hurried on; inventions were found for detecting and destroying the submarines; by great and successful daring the harbours of Zeebrugge and Ostend were made useless for them. When the armistice came the surrender of a large part of the German fleet was insisted on. This act of unsurpassed triumph and humiliation came on November 21.

Surrender of the German fleet.

X

The German fleet had surrendered. The allied armies advanced to the Rhine. The war was over. A task remained

as important and as difficult as the winning of the war. The Peace had to be established.

Three figures dominate the peace negotiations: the American President, Woodrow Wilson, and the French and English Prime Ministers, Lloyd George and Clémenceau. It was very slowly that the American President had recognized the necessity for America's participation in the war; but the "unrestricted" submarine campaign had hardly left him an alternative, if the United States were to continue to count as a great power. In all that he said about the war he had insisted on the paramount necessity of finding some organization of the civilized world that should make it possible to avoid in the future such a catastrophe as the Great War, and he had made himself the special champion of the idea of the League of Nations. He perhaps did not realize the difficulty of allaying the tempest of passion and jealousy and fear that had been unchained by the war; but if the League of Nations gives to the world the great peace that is hoped from it, the name of President Wilson will shine among the greatest benefactors of mankind. Lloyd George had succeeded to Asquith as Prime Minister at the end of 1916. His hopefulness, eloquence, and energy had contributed much to the success of the allies. No name on the side of the allies is so closely connected with the whole war as his. Among the politicians of Europe only he and the German Emperor played a leading part in the war from the beginning to the end. Clémenceau—an old man, who had lived through the war of 1870 and the Commune, and had been well known ever since as a fiery journalist and politician—became Prime Minister in November, 1917. He gave energy and stability to the French administration, and when the negotiations for peace began at Paris he was chosen to preside over them. His was assuredly the most picturesque figure there. He was shot at, and a bullet which lodged in his shoulder could not be removed, but after a very short interval he took again his place at the conference, energetic and indomitable.

Woodrow Wilson.

The League of Nations.

Lloyd George.

Clémenceau.

President Wilson, in a message to Congress on January 8, 1918, had laid down the conditions on which peace might be

accepted by the allies. These became celebrated as "the fourteen points," and it was on the supposition that these would be incorporated in the peace that Germany accepted the bitter terms of the armistice on November 11. They included the evacuation and full restoration by the Germans and their allies of all territory that they had occupied; an independent Poland; the freedom of the seas; removal of all economic barriers; the return of Alsace and Lorraine to France; freedom for the different nationalities comprised in Austria-Hungary; readjustment of the Italian frontier according to the lines of nationality. Finally as crown of all, the establishment of a League of Nations.

The fourteen points.

It was important to lay down definite principles for the peace; but, when the diplomatists assembled, the task of interpreting these principles into clauses in a treaty and of bringing into harmony the rival passions and ambitions proved insuperable. The assembled diplomatists were in no mood to work out President Wilson's dream of a new world-order. He managed, at any rate, to prefix to the Peace Treaty the Covenant of the League of Nations, of which we must say more in a moment.

No representative of the Central Powers was admitted to the conference. The representatives of the allies debated sometimes in open, sometimes in secret session, and the result of their decisions was communicated first to the German representatives, and subsequently to those of the other enemy powers. Among the great crowd of diplomatists and ambassadors the chief influence lay with the representatives of the United States, of Great Britain, of France, of Italy, and of Japan. And as Japan was mainly concerned with Asiatic problems, the chief decisions were taken by the first four—"the Big Four" as they were called—Wilson, Lloyd George, Clémenceau, and Orlando.

Nature of the Peace Conference.

Never were there so many or so important treaties to be drawn up; and it is still uncertain whether all the stipulations can be carried into effect. But the main lines of the settlement are plain.

Germany was rudely awakened from the dreams of world supremacy, which some of her statesmen and politicians had cherished. A wave of revolution spread over the land. The Kaiser abdicated, and fled to Holland. The other crowned heads of Germany all disappeared. A republic was declared, though the name of Empire was not dropped. A vast indemnity was to be paid to Belgium, France, and the rest of the allies in proportion to the damage received. Alsace and Lorraine were made French again. But there is no sign of any break up of German unity; the work of Frederick the Great and of Bismarck is not undone. Germany remains a great power, and her people are the same industrious, talented race as before. They have a great part to play still, and will contribute as before to the thought and the science of the world.

The fate of Germany.

The Austrian Empire suffered far more. It has almost disappeared from the map. Six independent states hold the territories that were ruled by the head of the Hapsburgs. These are: (1) Austria; (2) Hungary (now independent); (3) Jugo-Slavia, which includes the Slavonic populations of Austria, and what was formerly Serbia and Montenegro; (4) Roumania, which has annexed Transylvania; (5) Poland, which has gathered to itself again the territories that were divided among Russia, Prussia, and Austria; (6) Czecho-Slovakia, under which strange name is included what was once Bohemia and Moravia.

Disruption of the Austrian Empire.

The entirely new creations in Central Europe are Poland and Czecho-Slovakia; for Jugo-Slavia is but Serbia expanded. Both these states have grave difficulties to face, external and internal; both must look to the League of Nations for support and help against powerful neighbours. Both interest the historian as showing the vitality of historical traditions. Even when the world lies in ruins its refashioning follows inevitably the lines suggested by the memories of mankind. *Pulvis veterum renovatur.*

Poland and Czecho-Slovakia.

Bulgaria emerged without much change. She had to abandon her ambition of dominating the Balkans and be

content to share influence there with Serbia, Roumania, and Greece. To Greece fell considerable additions of territory, and she gained large possessions in the west of Asia Minor. This seemed a wonderful return to ancient conditions, for at the dawn of history it was in those lands that the Greeks took their first great steps in science and philosophy, poetry and art.

Bulgaria.

Greece.

Turkey suffered more severely than from any treaty in her history. Constantinople and the Dardanelles were left in her hands; but her power in Europe was gone and her power in Asia much crippled. It was arranged that Syria should come under French influence and Palestine under British. There is good ground for hope that the war along with all its evils may bring, in the end, real relief to the lands that have suffered so long under Turkish misrule.

Turkey

All the treaties are to be preceded by the Covenant of the League of Nations. Its opening sentences express in moderate language the aims of a movement with which the hopes of humanity are bound up: "The High Contracting Parties in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security; by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war; by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations; by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments; and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, agree to this covenant of the League of Nations."

The League of Nations.

This new Solemn League and Covenant, this Charter which it is hoped may be the Great Charter of the world's peace, was signed by the representatives of twenty-seven powers; the representatives of the Central Powers not being for the present admitted. Thirteen other states were "invited to accede." What is it that they have sworn to?

The signatories of the League.

In twenty-six articles they have promised to submit any cause of dispute that may arise to a court of arbitration; or to the Council of the League for inquiry and suggestion, if the quarrel is not suitable for

Its terms.

arbitration. They promise to protect all members of the League against attack. Should any war break out in spite of all precautions they promise to use all means, economic or military, to coerce the aggressive state.

The Assembly and Council.

Such provisions look only towards the maintenance of peace; but the League contemplates also the establishment not of a world state, but of permanent institutions for considering the interests of the civilized world and carrying out such action as is agreed on in the interest of all. There is to be a consultative assembly consisting of representatives of all the members of the League. But the really important body is to be the Council consisting of representatives of the United States, of Great Britain, of France, of Italy, and of Japan; and of four other states to be chosen from the whole body of members by the assembly.

Such are the means by which the founders of the League hoped to achieve human peace and progress. The greatest of the many great questions that face the civilized world is concerned with the future and the success of this new organization.

Hopes and fears.

There was at first a chorus of rather sentimental welcome. The League was greeted as though it were a talisman that would at once assuage all passions and make war for ever impossible. Later, when it was seen that the war had left behind it a terrible ground-swell of passion and greed, and that devotion to the interests of humanity had by no means inspired all the deliberations of the Peace Conference, there was a marked reaction against the earlier enthusiasm. The League was declared to be a sham and a trap; sometimes with exultation by those who desired the old, fierce struggle of international competition; sometimes with bitter regret by those who had hoped to see the immediate establishment of peace and goodwill.

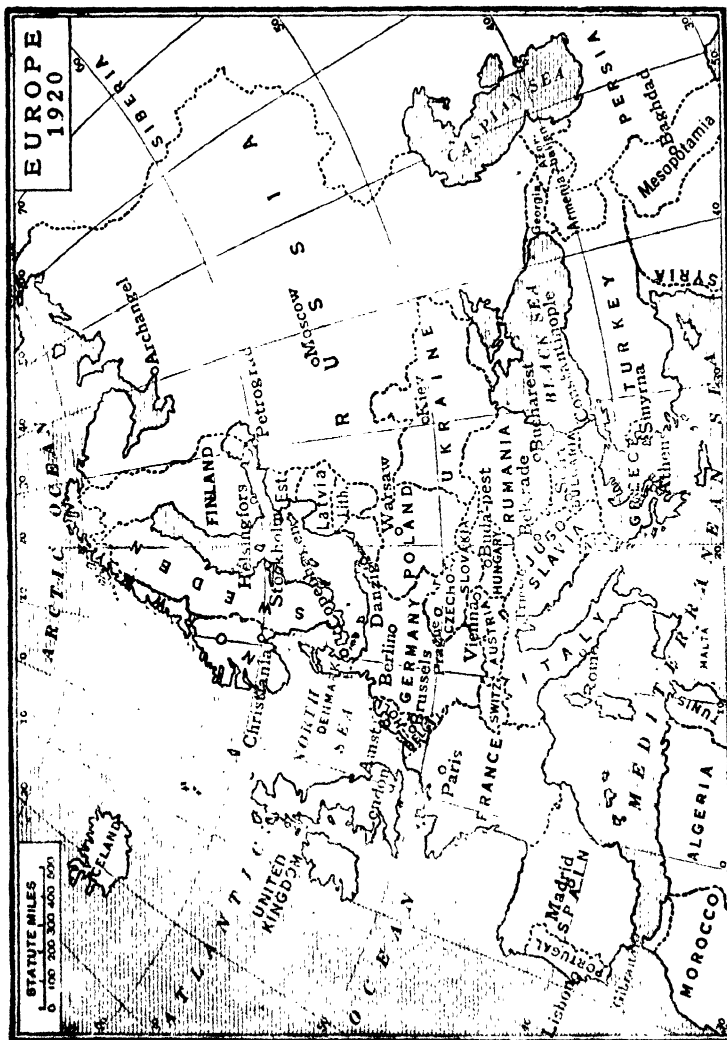
The new Great Charter.

The parallel that has been suggested with the Great Charter of English history may help us to a sober confidence. How dangerous were many of the materials that went to the making of that Charter, how far it fell short of immediately realizing its promise! And yet it became henceforth a standard round which the constitutional

force of the country could rally until victory had been won. When all deductions have been made the League of Nations is clearer in its aims and more unquestionably right than the Great Charter was. Those who love their country as an instrument to the well-being of humanity will have henceforth a sign and a standard to guide them in international controversy. To support and, if necessary, to amend and strengthen the League is henceforth the touchstone of honourable statesmanship.

The past and the future.

We have traced in dim outline in this book the course of less than three thousand years. Behind the beginning of that period there stretches back an unmeasured period of human development, a little part of it slightly known by its remains of weapons, utensils and tools, the greater part of it quite unknown. And before us we cannot doubt that countless centuries stretch, and that eventually even the Great War will be one with the wars of the Greeks and Persians, of the Romans and the Carthaginians, of the struggles between France and Spain. The period of history that we can trace encourages us to believe that the forces which make for human sympathy and unity are as real as those other undoubted forces which make for hostility and war; that during these three thousand years there has been a movement, not steady or uninterrupted, but strong, which has drawn men together and has made them seek perpetually for wider and wider forms of association. The union of mankind in peace and co-operation has been the theme of prophecy, the goal of all religions, and especially of Christianity, and must become now the conscious aim of statesmanship.


EUROPE
1920
STATUTE MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
SIBERIA
PERSIA
CASPIAN SEA
Baghdad
Mesopotamia
Georgia
Armenia
SYRIA
TURKEY
Smyrna
BLACK SEA
Bucharest
RUMANIA
UKRAINE
Kiev
Moscow
Archangel
Petrograd
FINLAND
Helsingfors
Stockholm
Est.
Latvia
Lith.
Warsaw
POLAND
Danzig
Berlin
GERMANY
Prague
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Buda-pest
HUNGARY
Belgrade
JUGO-SLAVIA
ITALY
Rome
MALTA
ALGERIA
MOROCCO
Madrid
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
FRANCE
Paris
SWITZ.
Brussels
London
UNITED KINGDOM
ICELAND
ARCTIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Christiania
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GREECE
Athens

Still glides the Stream, and shall for ever glide;
The Form remains, the Function never dies;
While we, the brave, the mighty, and the wise,
We Men, who in our morn of youth defied
The elements, must vanish; be it so!
Enough, if something from our hands have power
To live, and act, and serve the future hour;
And if, as toward the silent tomb we go,
Through love, through hope, and faith's transcendent dower,
We feel that we are greater than we know.

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