OUTLINES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

A. J. GRANT

Class ____________

Book ____________

Cromelin.
J. S.

Photo: Hanfstaengl.

THE BATTLE OF SANT' EGIDIO, JULY 7, 1416.

This picture is in the National Gallery, London. The artist is Paolo Uccello (1397–1475), and it represents a battle fought in 1416 near Sant' Egidio. It is an important picture in the history of art, but is here given as an illustration of the weapons and military methods employed in Italy in the early fifteenth century.

OUTLINES

OF

EUROPEAN HISTORY

BY

A. J. GRANT, M.A.

OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN LEEDS UNIVERSITY

"Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpcse runs"
Tennyson

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

FOURTH EDITION

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
NEW YORK, BOMBAY, AND CALCUTTA
1912

All rights reserved

D209
.G7
1912

MATRI

AMANTISSIMUS

By Transfer
Maritime Comm.

SEP 3 1940

PREFACE

The study of European History as a whole has long been known in the schools of the Continent and the United States of America; but it has only lately been introduced into England. It must be still considered as in the experimental stage so far as methods are concerned, though few will doubt that the subject in some form or other must ultimately be recognized as forming an important part in any scheme of education. It is true of history, though not perhaps of all studies, that the whole is greater and better than its parts. The greatest prize that awaits the student of history is not a knowledge of antiquarian detail, but the wide outlook over all the ages, and an understanding of the chief phases through which civilization has passed and of the chief influences that have moulded it.

This Pisgah vision comes to most, if it comes at all, after long study. Is it possible to attain to it by any more summary process? Can these general views be usefully put before a young student? Is it possible to teach General European History as a school or college subject? The fact that I have ventured to write this little book shows that I answer these questions in the affirmative. The ordinary text-book of English History requires generalizations which are as difficult to make as those which are implied in a sketch of European History. The charge of superficiality is not necessarily just in either case, for, as Archbishop Whately has told us: "It is a fallacy to mistake general truths for superficial truths, or a knowledge of the leading propositions of a subject for a

superficial knowledge." And a more general survey of history has this advantage over merely national history, that it implies a far truer notion of the nature of European progress by eliminating national egotism and showing the interaction of state on state, and the mutual obligations of all the national groups into which the human family is divided.

It appears then certain that ever-increasing attention will be given not merely to European History, but also to the vaster subject of World History, of which European History is only a part. It must come to be recognized as a necessary part of the equipment of every thinking man that he should know the chief features of the human record, and should realize that history is "one and indivisible." Lord Acton, in his report to the Syndics of the University Press concerning the projcct of the Cambridge Modern History, wrote: "By Universal History I understand that which is distinct from the combined history of all countries, which is not a rope of sand, but a continuous development, and is not a burden on the memory, but an illumination of the soul." This high ideal, thus eloquently expressed, is one that all who teach the subject may well have before their eyes as one to be aimed at, if never attained. It will be approximated to the more closely as the teacher more clearly feels that there is a meaning in history, that the story of the centuries is not merely "full of sound and fury signifying nothing," but shows civilization making for a goal that grows clearer as the ages pass.

This sketch is confined to European History, and from the end of the classical period deals chiefly with the history of Western Europe. British history finds no place in it except by way of illustration and allusion. It was thought that those into whose hands this book was likely to come would be certain to possess an English History, and would probably have devoted special study to it. I have tried to burden my pages with as few dates and facts as possible, and am inclined to regret that I have not excluded more. The scale of the book makes the introduction of picturesque and symbolic incident

impossible, and it seemed best to concentrate attention on the main features and movements, which would be obscured by details. I have added occasional short bibliographical notes with a view to giving the teacher or the student reference to easily obtainable books.

My thanks are due to Professor Ramsay Muir, of Liverpool University, and to Mr. H. W. V. Temperley, of Peterhouse, Cambridge, for looking at the proofs for me; and I am sorry that the printing of the book was too far advanced to allow me to incorporate all their suggestions in my pages. The index has been compiled for me by Miss Byron, of York, and to her, too, I am indebted for the detection of certain errors. I should like, also, to express my indebtedness to Mr. J. W. Allen, of the firm of Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Co., for the great help he has given in the production of the maps, and the selection of the illustrations.

A. J. G.

Leeds.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

The third edition is with few exceptions a reprint of the second, and in no case has the pagination been altered. A few new illustrations have been substituted where the old ones seemed unauthentic or unilluminating, two maps have been redrawn, and a few misprints and mistakes have been corrected. I have been indebted to my colleague, Miss Cooke, and to Professor Hearnshaw of Southampton for certain suggestions which I have embodied as far as possible.

Some friendly critics have urged that I should have included at least a short survey of Oriental civilization and its relation to the beginnings of European culture. To these I can only say that Oriental history does not seem to me to have reached as yet a sufficiently definite form to allow of such summary generalization. Certainly I dare not attempt it. Others have urged that it is a mistake to regard the beginning of the fourteenth century as the end of the middle ages. I have given on p. 209 my reasons for the course I have adopted, and I may say further that the Reformation and the Renaissance are both seen under a clearer and a truer light when they are regarded as the culmination of a slow development, not as revolutionary changes. But I quite admit that the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have an intermediate character, and that the dissolution of the medieval world may as clearly be observed in them as the emergence of the features of modern society.

Leeds, 1909.

CONTENTS

PART I

THE CLASSICAL WORLD

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Introduction	1
II.	Early Greece	3
III.	The Zenith of the Greatness of Greece	10
IV.	The Disintegration of Greece	23
V.	Macedon and Greece	29
VI.	The Rise of Rome	40
VII.	Patricians and Plebeians at Rome	44
VIII.	The Roman Conquest of Italy	47
IX.	Rome and Carthage	51
X.	The Roman Conquest of the Mediterranean Lands	57
XI.	The Roman Revolution	63
XII.	The Expansion of the Empire by Marius, Sulla, and Julius Caesar	66
XIII.	The Completion of the Roman Revolution	71
XIV.	The Establishment of the Roman Empire	78
XV.	The Early Roman Emperors	85
XVI.	The Age of the Antonines	91
XVII.	The Great Decline in the Empire	98
XVIII.	Barbarian Invasion and the Reconstruction of the Empire	105

PART II

THE MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The Triumph of Christianity in the Roman Empire	115
II.	Alaric and the Gothic Victories	119
III.	Progress of Barbarian Conquest in the West . .	124
IV.	The Great Forces of the Early Middle Ages .	134
V.	The Rise of the Medieval Empire	141
VI.	The Disruption of the Carolingian Empire . . .	153
VII.	The Foundation of the Holy Roman Empire . .	159
VIII.	The Empire and the Papacy to the Eve of the Great Struggle between them	163
IX.	The First Phase in the Struggle between the Empire and the Papacy	167
X.	The Second Phase in the Struggle between the Empire and the Papacy	172
XI.	The Third Phase in the Struggle between the Empire and the Papacy	180
XII.	The Rise of the French Monarchy	186
XIII.	The Crusades	194
XIV.	The Development of the Church during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries	201
XV.	The Catastrophe of the Medieval Church . . .	204

PART III

THE MODERN WORLD

I.	France and the Hundred Years' War	211
II.	The History of the Church during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries	222

CHAPTER		PAGE
III.	The Political Condition of Germany, Spain, and Italy in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries	227
IV.	The Renaissance in Italy	234
V.	France and the Italian Wars	239
VI.	The Reformation in Germany	248
VII.	Religious Movements in Europe in the Latter Half of the Sixteenth Century	254
VIII.	The Rise of the United Netherlands	261
IX.	France during the Era of the Reformation	267
X.	The Thirty Years' War in Germany	275
XI.	The Growth of the French Monarchy	283
XII.	The Ascendency of France under Louis XIV.	291
XIII.	Russia and Prussia.—The Rise of New Powers in the Eighteenth Century	300
XIV.	The coming of the French Revolution	309
XV.	The French Revolution	316
XVI.	The Napoleonic Era	325
XVII.	Reaction and Revolution	338
XVIII.	The Unification of Italy and Germany	348
XIX.	The Last Generation of European History	355
	Index	363

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

The Battle of Sant' Egidio, July 7, 1416 . . . . *Frontispiece*

Homer 3

Bust of Olympian Zeus 6

Poseidon, Apollo, and Demeter 7

Restoration of the Temple and Precinct of Delphi 9

A Greek Soldier 11

A Persian "Immortal" 11

A Persian King 12

The Acropolis of Athens 17

Pericles 19

Ruins of the Parthenon 20

Procession of Chariots 21

Head of the Hermes by Praxiteles 21

Train of Musicians and Youths 22

Socrates 22

The Temple of Theseus at Athens 24

A Coin of Philip of Macedon 30

Demosthenes 31

The Lion of Chaeroneia 32

The Battle of Issus between Darius and Alexander 36

Roman Legionary Soldiers with Pilum, Short Sword, and Shield 49

Reconstruction of a Roman Boarding-bridge in the First Punic War 53

Bust of Scipio Africanus Major (the conqueror of Hannibal) . . 62

PAGE
Julius Caesar 70
A Coin of Mithridates 73
Bust of Gaius Octavius, afterwards Augustus 79
The Forum, Rome 80
Statue of Augustus in the Vatican 81
Tiberius 87
Nero 88
Vespasian 89
The Arch of Titus, Rome 92
Antoninus Pius 94
Trajan 95
Hadrian 96
Marcus Aurelius 97
Septimius Severus 101
Caracalla 102
Mithras Group 104
The Arch of Constantine, Rome 111
The Tomb of Theodoric at Ravenna 130
The Kaaba at Mecca 137
Charles the Great 147
The Minster at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) 152
Remains of a Viking Ship, from a Cairn at Gokstad 155
The Penitence of Canossa 169
Frederick Barbarossa's Castle at Kaiserworth on the Rhine . . 173
The Ground Plan of the Abbey de Citeaux 176
Part of the Front of St. Mark's, Venice 179
A View of Paris in the Thirteenth Century 190
The Parlement at Paris—showing the Holding of a Bed of Justice 192
The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem 196

	PAGE
A Crusader	197
Charles the Bold of Burgundy	221
Warship of the Hanseatic League in the Fourteenth Century	229
A Scene in Venice	232
Dante	236
Charles V.	244
The Capture of Francis I. at the Battle of Pavia	245
Martin Luther	249
John Calvin	255
Erasmus	257
William the Silent	264
Queen Elizabeth	266
Gustavus Adolphus	280
Cardinal Richelieu	287
Louis XIV.	288
The Palace of Versailles	292
The Duke of Marlborough	299
Peter the Great	302
Head of Voltaire (by Houdon) in the Louvre, Paris	313
The Bastille	319
Robespierre	323
Napoleon Bonaparte	326
Lord Nelson	332
H.M.S. Victory	333
The Kremlin, Moscow	336
Prince Metternich	341
Napoleon III.	347

LIST OF MAPS AND PLANS

PAGE

Greece in the Fifth Century B.C. 15
Greece and Macedonia 30
The Empire of Alexander 34
The East after the Death of Alexander the Great 38
Italy before the Rise of the Roman Power 42
The Roman Empire 84
North-Western Europe about 450 A.D. 125
The Empire of Charles the Great 149
Europe in the Twelfth Century 174
France in the Tenth Century 187
The Advance of Mahomedanism 195
France during the Hundred Years' War, showing the English and Burgundian Territories about 1420 213
Europe in the Seventeenth Century 285
The Rise of Prussia 305
The Zenith of Napoleon's Power 329
The Settlement of 1814–1815 339

OUTLINES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

PART I

THE CLASSICAL WORLD

CHAPTER I

Introduction

We have no means of determining how long a life that may be called civilized has been in existence on the continent of Europe. But authentic history, resting on contemporary record of some sort, whether on stone or parchment, takes us back for close upon three thousand years. The purpose of this book is to trace in briefest outline the chief changes which the life of man in Europe has undergone during that period.

Divisions of history.

It is clearly impossible (and if possible it would be useless) to give any catalogue of the statesmen, soldiers, poets, artists, and men of science who have existed during so great a space of time. We must fix our attention upon society rather than on individuals, and ask ourselves what have been the great changes which, as thirty centuries have come and gone, have passed over the government and the social life, over the thoughts and beliefs of men. For this threefold division of history will, if firmly grasped, make the subject clearer and easier. We must try in each of the epochs through which we pass to realize: *firstly*, in what way men have managed their *political* affairs, how they have been

governed, how their rulers have been appointed, how their laws have been made ; *secondly*, what their *social* condition has been, what the ordinary life of men has been, how and by whom labour has been performed, what has been the position and influence of women ; and *thirdly*, what their *religious* condition has been, what ideas men have formed to themselves of the origin and constitution of the universe, what their faiths have been, what have been their forms of worship. This triple thread will guide us through all the intricacies of the long story, and serve to make us feel that European history is one and continuous.

The continuity of history.

What do we mean by the *unity* and *continuity* of history? We mean that all the generations of men, and all the centuries that succeed one another, are closely linked together ; that there is no gap anywhere ; and that the history of no one period can be properly understood unless we know something of all that have preceded it. The roots of the present are deeply embedded in the past, even in the remote past. Our language, our institutions, our social life, our science, our religion are the result of a long process of development, not only during these known three thousand years, but also during earlier years uncounted and unknown. The real gain of the study of general history is that it allows us to realize our relation to the past, and to feel our indebtedness to the unnumbered generations of men to whose efforts we owe the civilization that we enjoy.

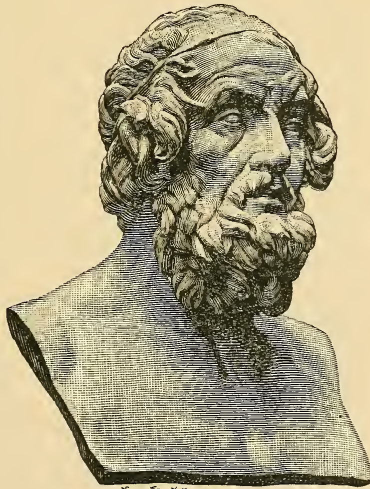
CHAPTER II

Early Greece

Homer	950 B.C. (?)
Olympian Festival	776 B.C.
Solon	594 B.C.
Pisistratus	560-510 B.C.

Greece—the beginning of European history.

Our knowledge of European history begins with one small part of the continent, and it is from that land that many of the chief features of European civilization are derived. That land is Greece—a land of "the mountains and the seas"; where the mountains, rising in several places to a height of over eight thousand feet, and in innumerable instances over four thousand feet, divide the country into valleys, which, before roads were built, communicated with one another with difficulty; while the sea penetrating into the land in many gulfs or fiords, and dotted with countless islands, offered to the inhabitants an easier and a safer mode of travel than the paths across the mountain ranges.



Homer.

(From the Bust in the Capitol Museum, Rome.)

An imaginary representation of the great blind poet, of whose life nothing is really known. Even his blindness is an improbable conjecture.

Homer.

Our first knowledge of this land is derived from the immortal poems of Homer. It is not possible to fix his date, but we may take it that the conditions of society which he depicts existed in their main features from 1000 to 800 B.C. The purpose of his poems

is to tell us of the long war which was waged between the Greeks and Trojans for Helen, the wife of the Greek prince, Menelaus, who had been stolen from her home by Paris, Prince of Troy, and of the wanderings of the hero Ulysses on his return from the war. The incidents described in these poems are doubtless imaginary; but we can gather from them what manner of people the Greeks were in that early time, and how they lived. We find them governed by kings, who are assisted in council by an assembly of their nobles, and who have to submit their decisions on the most important topics to an assembly of the whole people: and all the governments that later on existed in Greece were developed from this primitive constitution of king, aristocratic council, and popular assembly. We find the women honoured by the men, but possessed of no independence, and in a legal sense slaves. We find that there are large numbers of slaves, to whose lot falls the hardest work. We see the Greeks worshipping gods, who are personifications of the forces of nature, with passions and desires like those of men, but with beauty, knowledge, and power more than mortal. The Homeric world is one that already knows freedom, thought, and beauty. This, the earliest vision that we get of European life, is eminently attractive; but it is often difficult to distinguish the colours of reality from those of romance. And after the Homeric period there came a period of almost complete darkness.

We do not see Greece again with any clear vision much before 600 B.C., and when we do the features are very much altered. Towns that were powerful in the Homeric period are now sunk almost to villages. New races have invaded the country, and the colours of romance have nearly faded away.

Let us try to seize the chief features of Greek life as they are revealed to us by authentic history. We note first that there is no political unity in the country. Greece was not one state, but was a collection of many states, and the name of Greece (or Hellas) was given not only to the land which we call Greece, but also to large parts of Italy, and Sicily, and of Asia Minor; for everywhere where Greeks settled became in their minds a

Chief features of early Greek life.

part of Greece. And wherever the Greeks settled each city, of whatever size, was a separate state, with a government of its own, an army of its own, usually with a coinage of its own. This is the feature in Greek life which it is hardest for us in the twentieth century after Christ to realize. Certain large cities, such as Athens, Sparta, Corinth, Thebes, stand out from the others; but every city either was or wished to be independent, and the Greeks thought that the wish was natural and right.

Constitutions of early Greece.

There was no uniformity of government among this vast number of city-states. The original "Homeric" constitution had everywhere disappeared. Sparta was almost alone in maintaining a monarchy, and there two kings always ruled; in nearly all other states the monarchy had disappeared. In some the real power was in the hands of a few, and such governments were called oligarchies or aristocracies; in some the people themselves were all-powerful, and these were called democracies; in nearly all the general assembly of the people was called together at intervals, where the citizens (in person, not through their representatives) voted upon great questions of policy, and elected officials. The absence of any idea of representation must always be borne in mind if we would understand the early Greek states.

Greek slavery.

The social character of Greece was still much what it was in the Homeric period. The position of women was still a dependent one; perhaps even more dependent than in the days of Homer. Society rested as before on a basis of slavery, and in the most advanced commercial city-states, such as Athens and Corinth, the slaves outnumbered the free inhabitants. But of all slaveries that the world has known, that of Greece is the least repulsive. There were places and occasions where the slaves were treated with cruelty, but as a rule they lived in domestic relations with their masters, and their position was felt to be one of degradation, rather than of actual physical hardship.

The gods of Greece.

Homer's gods were also the gods of historic Greece. Zeus, the god of the height of heaven; Apollo, the sun-god; Poseidon, the god of the sea; Hera and Athené, the wife and the daughter of Zeus; these are the chief deities to whom temples were erected. But during the

progress of Greek civilization we see a change in the character of the gods, though not in their names. What was ugly, coarse, or cruel, in the stories about them, was purged away or dropped out of sight. Men came to think of Zeus as being so supreme over all the others, that the greatest thinkers of Greece seem to believe, not in many gods, but in one. But for the average Greek to the end, the land was full of deities and supernatural beings, great and small; deities whose existence appealed to his imagination and clothed the earth in wonder, while their human character and limited power did not crush his mind, or forbid his intellect to work freely.

Bust of Olympian Zeus.

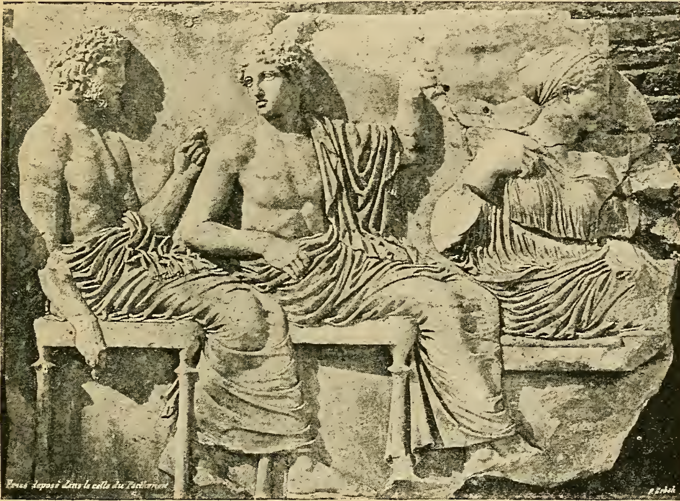
This bust reproduces the general character of the famous statue of Zeus, by Phidias, which was placed at Olympia.

The religious institutions of Greece.

The religion of Greece never produced an organized priesthood, nor a definite faith. It was, as a rule, local and spontaneous in its character. But it possessed certain features which belonged equally to all the widely scattered and often warring states. Chief among these were the Olympian games, and the Delphic oracle. The Greeks generally loved athletic games, and thought it a part of religion to develop the body as well as the mind and soul of man. There were many athletic festivals, but the greatest of all was held every fourth year at Olympia, by the banks of the Alpheus in the Peloponnese. There athletes from all the states of Greece contended eagerly in running and leaping, in boxing and wrestling, in throwing the quoits, and in chariot racing. Apart from the physical effects of such a festival, it served as a valuable sign of the unity of Greece, which existed in spite of all its political divisions. All Greeks could contend at Olympia, and none but Greeks could do so. The festival was

called Pan-Hellenic, as being common to all the Greeks (or Hellenes).

Oracles, where the gods might be consulted as to the present or the future, were to be found in many parts of Greece ; but Apollo's oracle at Delphi outrivalled all others. There, raised high above the plain on the spurs of Mount Parnassus, was the great temple of Apollo, the most important of all Greece. And to it all Greeks had resort to procure the god's sanction for their actions, or to ask him to reveal the future. It is easy to laugh at many of the answers that were



Poseidon, Apollo, and Demeter.

(From the Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon, Athens.)

given ; but it cannot be doubted that the influence of the oracle was for good, that it upheld a high standard of conduct, and acted as a connecting bond to the scattered units of Greek people.

The chief states of Greece were Sparta and Argos, in the Peloponnese ; Corinth, upon the isthmus ; and Athens and Thebes, in the central portion of Greece. Of the states in the Peloponnese, Sparta was the most important. It was

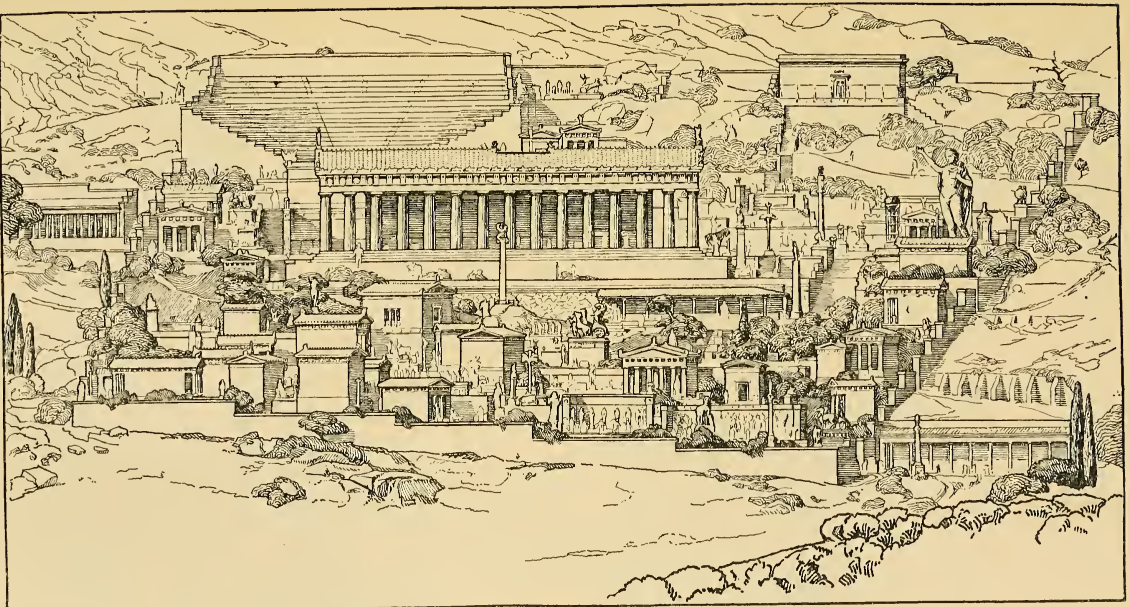
essentially a military state, where the citizens (the Spartans proper) were surrounded by so great a number of the subject population, both free and servile, that only constant and rigid military training allowed them to retain their mastery. So, from birth to death, the life of the Spartans was regulated with a view to the exigencies of war. Family life only existed in strict subordination to war. And Sparta was successful. She was by far the greatest military power in Greece. Spartan soldiers (and they alone among the Greeks) possessed discipline and steadiness; and for at least two centuries their military supremacy was almost unchallenged. But she paid a heavy price for her success. Art and literature and thought never found a home in Sparta. She contributed little to civilization, to which Greece, on the whole, contributed so much.

Sparta.

The opposite tendencies in Greek life are represented by Athens. The city stood four and a half miles from the sea; the houses were placed at first on the great rock fortress of the Acropolis, and when the population grew larger they clustered round its base. Here Greek civilization bore its fairest flower; here, chiefly, was developed that store of truth and beauty which has ever since been one of the priceless possessions of humanity.

Athens.

Athens had at first been governed by a king; but in Athens, as elsewhere, the monarchy had given place, first to an aristocracy, and then the aristocracy was in its turn threatened by the rising power of the people. At the beginning of the sixth century, Solon had rearranged the constitution; without wholly destroying the power of the nobles, he had given a large share of authority to the people, and he hoped that this compromise would satisfy the demands of both parties. But his wise and noble scheme, which laid, as it turned out, the foundation of the Athenian state, was soon overthrown for a time. There was a section of the people that was not satisfied. The poorest found a champion in the Athenian noble, Pisistratus; and this man, supported by the popular forces, overthrew the constitution of Solon, and made himself master of the state. He became what the Greeks called a "tyrant;" that is, an unconstitutional ruler. The rule of Pisistratus was, on the whole,



Restoration of the Temple and Precinct of Delphi.

(By MM. Homolle and Tournaire. From Oman's "History of Greece.")

The great oracular temple stands in the centre. Behind it, on the left, is a theatre. The foreground is occupied by the treasure houses of the various Greek states. Mount Parnassus rises sharply behind it.

good. He beautified Athens, he brought artists to the city, he gained foreign possessions ; but he took away their liberty, and the Athenians rose against his son and successor, Hippias, and drove him from Athens.

For Greek history generally consult the great works of *Grote, Curtius, Thirlwall. Holm's History of Greece* (translated) summarizes recent discussions and discoveries. Smaller books are *Mahaffy's Social Life in Greece ; Oman's History of Greece ; Grant's Greece in the Age of Pericles ; Dickinson's Greek View of Life.*

For illustration of Greek history it is best to turn to the great Greek authors in translation: *Rawlinson's Herodotus, Jowett's Thucydides, Dakyns' Xenophon. Plutarch's Parallel Lives of the Greeks and Romans* is invaluable to the teacher throughout the whole of the classical period. Valuable illustrations can also be got from the poets—*Homer, Aeschylus, Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides.* Note especially *Aeschylus' Persians* for the great Persian war.

Schreiber's Atlas of Classical Antiquities is excellent. *Murray's Handy Classical Maps* are specially valuable because they mark clearly the contours of the land, without which neither Greek nor Roman history can be properly understood.

CHAPTER III

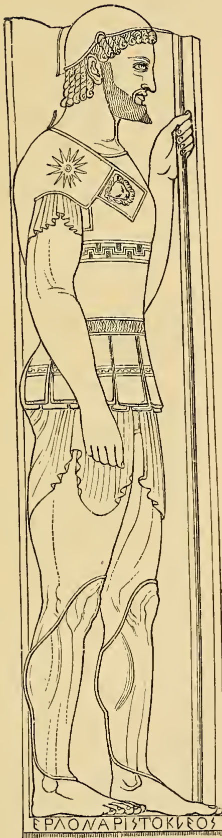
The Zenith of the Greatness of Greece.

Battle of Marathon	490 B.C.
Battle of Salamis	480 B.C.
End of Persian Wars	445 B.C.
Death of Pericles	429 B.C.

The Persian wars.

HERE came the greatest crisis in Greek history—some have called it the greatest crisis in European civilization ; for at the end of the sixth century B.C. Greece found her very existence threatened by the Oriental and despotic power of Persia.

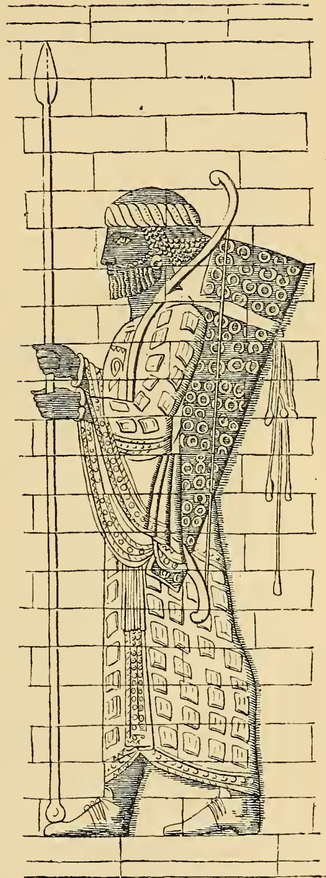
The Persians were not a wholly barbarous or contemptible people. The Greeks themselves admitted their courage and their truthfulness. But in the struggle which now began, European civilization was threatened with extirpation. For



A Greek Soldier.

(From Perry's "Greek and Roman Sculpture.")

This shows the spear on which the Greek soldier mainly relied, and the body armour; but does not show the shield which every Greek soldier carried.

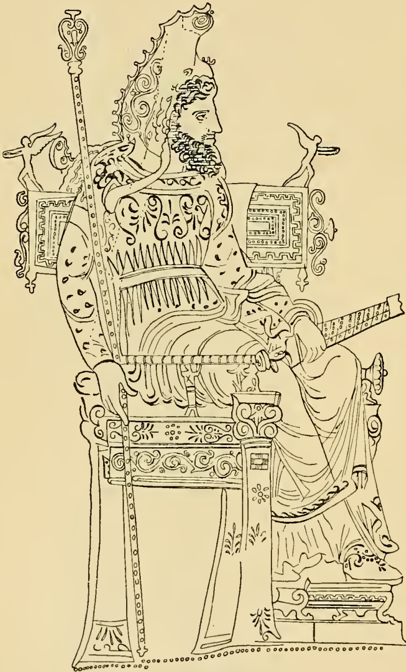


A Persian "Immortal."

(From Zimmern's "History of Greece.")

The Persian army carried every variety of weapon. The Immortals were the picked troops, and had the best weapons.

European civilization was then to be found in Greece—and Greece only. On the one side was political freedom, and on the other despotism; on the one side monogamy, and on the other polygamy. In Greece the seeds of art, literature, science, and philosophy were sown, and were already giving promise of a great harvest, while Persia was, in all the things of the intellect, unprogressive and lifeless. Had Persia triumphed, European civilization would have been destroyed in its cradle.



A Persian King.

(From the "Darius Vase" at Naples. From Younghusband's "Retreat of the Ten Thousand.")

The defeat of Persia.

But Persia did not triumph. The Greek cities of Asia Minor were overrun by Cyrus and Darius, and the victorious march of the Persian arms advanced over Thrace and Macedonia to the very confines of Greece. But when, in 490, Darius sent a Persian force to land on the shores of Attica, it was driven off in the battle of Marathon by an Athenian army of greatly inferior numbers. And when, ten years later (in 480), Xerxes, the successor of Darius, led the Persian hordes against Greece, he found the greater number of the Greek states banded together to resist him. Some, indeed (such as Thebes and Argos), allowed their jealousies and selfish aims to withdraw them from the national cause; but most ranged themselves

under the leadership of Sparta, Athens being foremost in this patriotic subordination. From Athens, too, came the most capable of the leaders of the Greeks, Themistocles. It was largely due to his counsels and energy that Greece survived the ordeal. At first, all went well with Xerxes. He forced his way through the pass of Thermopylae, the main gate to Greece. But then his navy was defeated by the Greek navy (to which Athens contributed the majority of the ships) in the battle of Salamis (480). Xerxes thereupon, in fear for his person, retired from the contest ; but the next year his general, Mardonius, was crushed by a combined army of Greeks, under the command of Pausanias, in the battle of Plataea. Salamis and Plataea together were decisive. Greek civilization was saved ; and with it European civilization.

It was an amazing victory, for the contending forces were very unequal, even if Greece had been united, and, as we have seen, Greece was divided against herself. Yet the causes of the victory are easily discoverable. It was a victory of a higher over a lower stage of intellectual development. In weapons, in tactics, in ships, the Greeks were far superior to their foes. It was also a victory of liberty over despotism. The Persian soldiers had no interest in the struggle to which their master was driving them, while to the Greeks generally, and to the Athenians and Spartans especially, it was a war in defence of all that they most prized. The physical features of the country too had helped the cause of freedom. The mountains, the straits, and the island-studded sea made Greece easily defensible. But the Greeks themselves admitted that it would have gone hard with them if the Persians had been led by an abler or a more resolute commander. Good fortune, patriotism, and intelligence had all played their part in bringing the Greeks safely through this, the one great heroic period in their military annals.

Greece after the Persian wars.

Freed from this great danger, Greece was able to develop herself in every direction. One result of the great war which the country had passed through was to produce a desire to weld the many separate states into which Greece was divided into some stable union. At first, after the battle of Plataea, it was proposed to form a

general league of all patriotic Greek states, for the further prosecution of the war against Persia. The league was formed under the presidency of Sparta, and heavy blows were struck against the Persian power in Asia Minor and upon the northern coast of the Aegean Sea. But internal dissensions soon broke the league in two. The Spartans were not fitted for the task of directing the forces of united Greece ; they were powerful only on land, and the chief operations were henceforth across the waters of the Aegean Sea. They were conservative in temper, and fearful of responsibility, and the conduct of the new league required energy and initiative. Moreover, their chief, Pausanias, the victor of Plataea, was suspected of treasonous relations with Persia. In three years, therefore, the general Pan-Hellenic League broke up, and Greece was divided into two confederacies. The states of the mainland followed the lead of Sparta, while the island and maritime states invited Athens to be their leader, and she readily consented. She was in every way fitted for the task. Her power was chiefly on the sea ; her commanders were energetic, eager for adventure, and ready for responsibility. Her treatment, too, of the allies was, at first, conciliatory and popular.

We see then, in the year 476, Greece divided into two leagues—the Spartan League, of states situated on the mainland of Greece ; and the Delian League, presided over by Athens, consisting of maritime states. The two leagues were not at first unfriendly to one another, and the Delian League vigorously prosecuted the war against Persia. All Greek lands were torn from her grasp ; Egypt and Cyprus were attacked by the Greeks, and with considerable success. At last, in 445 B.C., Persia recognized the impossibility of recovering her supremacy in Greek waters, and consented to a peace, which left the Delian or Athenian League in complete mastery of the Aegean Sea and most of the adjoining lands.

Formation of the Athenian Empire.

But meanwhile that league had been undergoing great internal changes. It had been at first a league of equals, voluntarily supported, to which all members made contributions in ships or men or money ; and the advantages gained were as great for the allies as for Athens herself. But that early condition did not last.

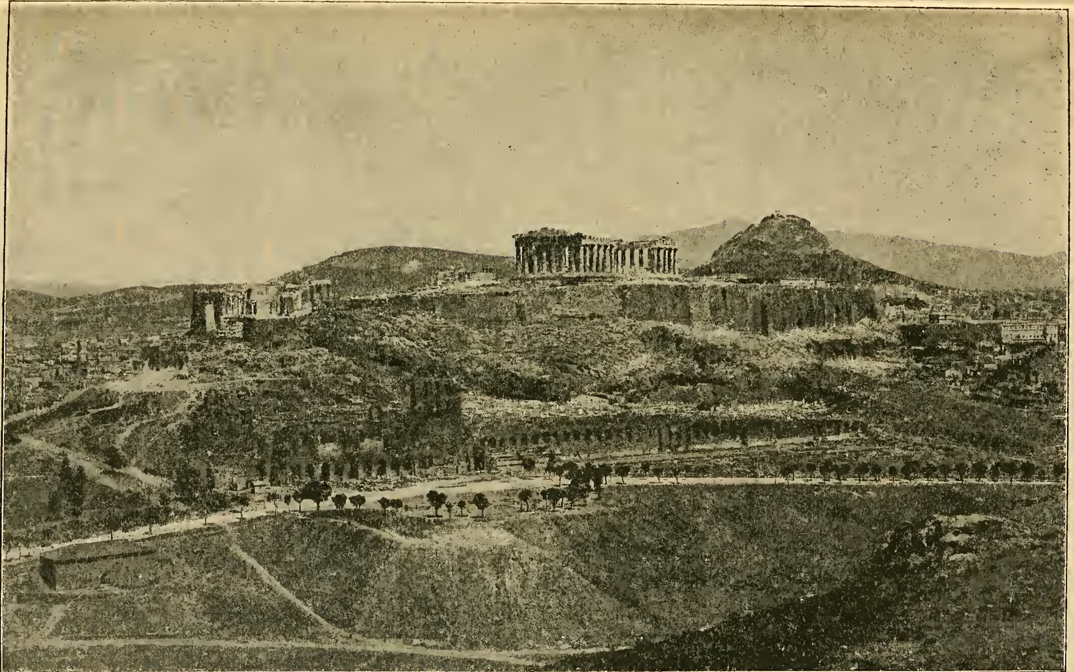
THRACE
Propontis
Hellespont
Aegospotami
MACEDONIA
Pydna
Mt. Olympus
THESSALIA
Cynoscephalae
Pharsalia
Thermopylae
Mt. Parnassus
Delphi
AETOLIA
Leuctra
Thebes
Platea
Marathon
ATTICA
Athens
Salamis
G. of Corinth
Corinth
Argos
Olympia
PELOPONNESE
Sparta
R. Alpheus
IONIAN SEA
EUBOEA
AEGEAN SEA
Lesbos
Chios
Samos
Delos
Naxos
MYSIA
LYDIA
Sardis
Ephesus
CARIA
Miletus
ASIA MINOR
Statute Miles
0 10 20 60 100
40
38
28
26
24
22
20
GEORGE PHILIP & SON LTD.

When the danger from Persia was no longer urgent, many of the allies tried to secede. Athens coerced them into obedience, and thus the whole character of the league altered. What had been at first a free association under the presidency of Athens for the good of all, became in the course of thirty years the Athenian Empire, in which the maritime states of Greece, though still called allies, were really subjects paying tribute to an imperial mistress, who used the money for what ends seemed best to herself.

The city-states of the mainland had seen with jealousy the growth of the Athenian Empire, for a dislike for the supremacy of any one state was one of the strongest motives in the politics of Greece. Sparta saw with alarm Athens so far outstripping her in influence and in the number of her subjects. And thus the unity of Greece, which had been established for a moment by the Persian War, soon gave place to a feeling of bitter rivalry between the two leagues, which was certain to issue in war. And, even more than Sparta, the commercial state of Corinth hated Athens, for she was outstripped in the race for wealth, in spite of her excellent geographical position, and found herself hemmed in upon both the east and the west by the possessions or allies of Athens. There broke out in consequence a series of wars in Greece between Athens and her rivals. The supremacy of Athens on sea was unchallenged ; but on land, after some early triumphs, which allowed her to annex some adjacent lands, she was defeated and had to acquiesce, in 445, in a truce of thirty years, which left her without any territory or any important allies on the mainland. The rivalry with Sparta still remained, and resulted soon in a great war, which sounded the knell of the political life of Greece.

During this time, also, great changes had been passing over the internal life of Athens. And, though Athens is only one out of the many states of Greece, her importance is so great that our attention may be almost concentrated upon her. While her relations with her so-called "allies" were growing into empire, at home she was developing her constitution into the most complete type of democracy that Greece ever knew. The Athenian democracy was in many

The Athenian democracy.



The Acropolis of Athens.

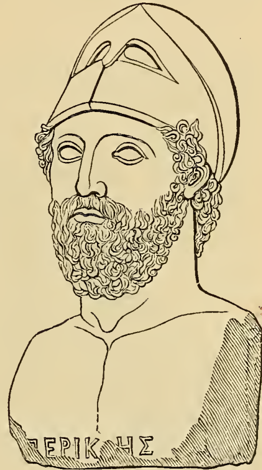
(*Photo: S. C. Atchley, Athens.*)

Most of the ruins in the foreground are from buildings built during the Roman Empire. The site of the great theatre is on the right, and can just be detected in the photograph. The great temple on the top of the hill is the Parthenon. Just to the left is the Erechtheum. The Propylæa [or Porch] is to the extreme left of the hill. The modern palace of the King of Greece can be made out to the right of the picture.

respects different from the form of government which we mean by the same word. We must always remember that the state contained large numbers of slaves, and that the idea of representation was quite unknown. The citizens, who alone had the right of voting, were not more than fifteen thousand in number, and they formed a minority of the male inhabitants of the state. The outstanding feature of the Athenian democracy was the great power wielded by the General Assembly of the people. They met together in a great open-air theatre, called the Pnyx ; the political assembly was called the *ecclesia;* the people themselves in their political capacity was known as the *Demos.* The Demos meeting in the ecclesia was the supreme and unchallenged ruler of the Athenian state. It decided on questions of policy ; it directed the operations of war ; it maintained a jealous supremacy over all the other organs of the Government. The great size of modern states and the idea of representative government have made it impossible for the mass meetings of the people to assume now the importance which they possessed in Athens and in many states of the ancient world ; but when first the English came to our island the *moots*, or public meetings, must have been something like the Athenian *ecclesia.* There were two other political assemblies, the Areopagus and the Council of Five Hundred ; but the Areopagus was little more than a court of justice for cases of murder ; and the Council of Five Hundred, though an important body, was the quite dependent instrument of the General Assembly. There were a great number of officials or magistrates in the state, but none of them could act in an independent way. They existed to obey the commands, and to carry out the policy of the General Assembly. The subordination of the council and of the officials was secured by the fact that most of the officials and all the members of the council were elected, not by the deliberate choice of their fellow citizens, but by the casting of lots. They were thus deprived of all the prestige that elected representatives could claim ; they were not distinguished above their fellows by popularity or ability. They could not hope to rule ; it was their business to serve. He who would understand the working of the Athenian democracy must understand the use of the lot.

The desire for equality thus seems to pervade every part of the Athenian state. And yet during the time of which we are speaking the state was dominated by a great personality—the statesman Pericles. He belonged to the progressive or democratic party, and had co-operated in the movement whereby the last remnants of aristocratic exclusiveness in the state were destroyed. For about fifteen years he really controlled the destinies of Athens. But this was not by virtue of any office that he held. For many years in succession he was chosen by his fellow citizens to be one of the ten Generals who directed the general policy of the state—this was one of the few offices that were filled up by election, not by the casting of lots. But, though the office was an important one, it was always dependent on the approval of the popular assembly. The power of Pericles rested on quite other foundations; on his popularity with the people and on the persuasiveness of his speeches in the General Assembly. He controlled Athens not because he held an office of command, but because the people trusted him and followed his advice.

Pericles.



Pericles.
(*From the Bust in the British Museum.*)
The helmet which he is wearing typifies the office of General which he held for so many years.

The democracy of Athens during the "Age of Pericles" is an interesting experiment in politics; but it is not to that that the glory of that age is due. For this was the period at which the art and thought of Greece (using both words in their widest signification) reached their most glorious development. And it is in art and thought that the real importance, the real supremacy of the Greeks is to be found. Many other nations have produced greater soldiers; many have solved the problems of government more thoroughly; but no nation has given so much as Greece to the knowledge and the beauty of the world. Pericles

The Age of Pericles.

was himself deeply interested in art and philosophy, and under his protection Athens became the great glory of Greece.

First, the city was arrayed in a splendour of architecture unknown in Europe until then. Temples of gleaming marble were built upon the acropolis and other buildings were planted at its base. In delicate grace and exquisite proportions these buildings are among the greatest of all time; but they (and especially the chief of all — the

Athenian architecture.

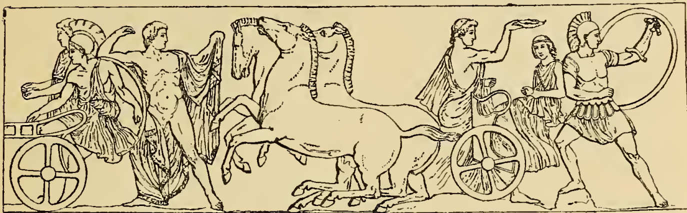
Ruins of the Parthenon.

The Parthenon was built about 440 B.C. In the fourth century it became a Christian church and subsequently a Mahomedan mosque. It remained uninjured until 1687, when it was wrecked by the explosion of the Turkish powder-magazine, while the Venetians were besieging it.

Parthenon, a temple of Athene) were also decorated by sculptural work produced by the hand or under the direction of Phidias, the greatest of all sculptors. The mutilated fragments of his work are now the chief glory of our British Museum. The chief of his works in Athens was a statue of Athene, wrought in ivory and gold, but all the appropriate spaces in the Parthenon were filled with groups or single figures, wrought in marble with unsurpassed grace and majesty.

At the south-east of the acropolis was the great theatre of Dionysus, in which plays were performed at certain fixed periods of the year. The greatest dramatists of Athens (and the world has never known a greater group), all lived in the "Age of Pericles." Sophocles lived and wrote

The Athenian theatre.

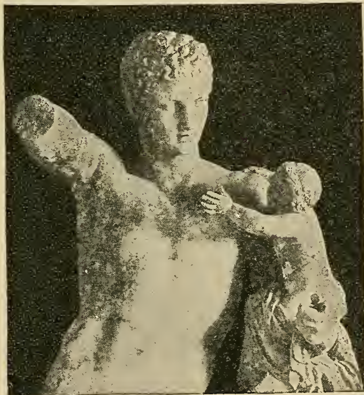


Procession of Chariots.

This represents a part of the great procession in honour of Athena. The figures are partly restored.

(*From the Parthenon Frieze.*)

during the whole of the age; Aeschylus belongs to an earlier generation, but survived into it; Euripides did his best work later, but was a younger contemporary of the others; Aristophanes, the greatest of ancient comic dramatists, began to make a great name for himself just after the death of Pericles. The Athenian theatre was very different from that of our own day. There were never more than three or four actors upon the stage at the same time. The scenery was formal, conventional, and perhaps clumsy in appearance. But no stage plays, not even Shakespeare's, have ever occupied themselves more seriously with the great problems of life; few or none have reached a higher level of poetry and



Head of the Hermes by Praxiteles.

This statue, which was found at Olympia, belongs to a period nearly a century later than Phidias and Pericles

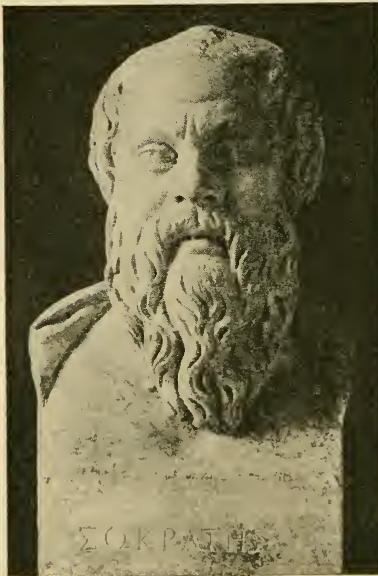
eloquence. Certainly no theatre was ever so important to the

Train of Musicians and Youths.

Another portion, slightly restored, of the frieze representing the great procession in honour of Athena.

(From the Sculptures of the Parthenon.)

life of the nation as that of Athens. It played somewhat the same part for Athenian life that the pulpit and the theatre and the Press combined play for modern English life.



Socrates.

Philosophy and literature in Athens.

But architecture, sculpture, poetry, and the drama, by no means complete the sum of the intellectual activities of Greece at this time. There is hardly any department of human thought in which the first effort was not made by the Greeks about this time. What they did in art has never been excelled, while what they did in science and philosophy laid the foundation upon which later thought has reared

its vast fabric. The writing of history began with the great works of Herodotus and Thucydides, and later ages have not surpassed the charm of the first, or the accuracy, fairness, and deep insight of the second. Before the death of Pericles, Socrates had begun in the market-place of Athens to discuss, with any one who would talk with him, on questions of conduct which led into the deep problems of moral and metaphysical philosophy. "What is justice, courage, holiness?" he asked of the complacent Athenians of his day; and, as they failed to give him any satisfactory answer, he led them on to consider the very foundations on which religion and morals rest. He formulated no philosophy of his own, but the impulse which he gave is the greatest that speculative thought has ever received. Plato was his pupil, and from Socrates all the philosophies of the ancient world are derived. Socrates protested against the importance attached to physical science, from which he thought no good results could be derived; but the Greeks were active and productive in science, though in this field Athens was not so prominent as in art and philosophy. Mathematics, geometry, mechanics, and medicine all received a powerful impulse from Greek speculation.

CHAPTER IV

The Disintegration of Greece

Peloponnesian War	431–404 B.C.
Athenian defeat at Syracuse	413 B.C.
Battle of Leuctra	371 B.C.
Death of Epaminondas	362 B.C.

It is impossible to overestimate the debt of civilization to the Greeks in art and thought; but before the Age of Pericles was at an end dangers, both political and military, began to gather, and neither Athens nor Greece was able to solve the problems which they presented. For Greece failed to create any strong or stable state; the relation of her various city-states to one another was one of constant war; and in less than a century

The Temple of Theseus at Athens.

(*From Zimmern's "Greek History."*)

This temple stands in the plain on the northern side of the Acropolis. It is always called the temple of Theseus, but was probably dedicated to Hephaestus.

from the death of Pericles (429) she had become the prey of a people of far inferior intellectual development, but more united and more warlike.

The first stage in the disintegration of Greece was the long war between Athens and Sparta (usually called the Peloponnesian War), which broke out in 432, and ended in 404 in the utter destruction of the Athenian Empire. Pericles had seen the war coming, had believed it to be inevitable, and had hoped that the Athenians would be victorious. The struggle was primarily one of rivalry for mastery in Greece; but other motives concealed the naked struggle for power. The Greeks were divided into two chief races, the Dorians and the Ionians; and Sparta represented the Dorians, while Athens was followed by most of the Ionian states. The Spartan state was an oligarchy and her victory was desired by all oligarchical states and parties; while Athens was a democracy and the defender of the democratic principle. The long indecisiveness of the struggle was due to the fact that, while the fleet of Athens and her allies was at the commencement of the war without a rival, the armies of the Spartans and their allies had an equally unquestioned ascendency on land. The war proceeded, therefore, for many years before either side could deal the other a fatal or even a serious blow. It must be noted, too, that in all wars until quite recent centuries the expenses of the struggle had to be met year by year; the invention of a "national debt" had not yet enabled the combatants to place the burden of the cost upon the shoulders of succeeding generations; and the slow movement of ancient wars is due to financial exhaustion, more than to any other cause.

The Peloponnesian War.

In 421 a peace was made between the combatants, on condition that all conquests should be restored. But the peace was a hollow one; the opposition and the rivalry which caused the war still continued, and in 415 led to a renewal of the struggle upon an arena where at last really decisive results were reached. For the great and rich island of Sicily was occupied by Greek city-states, who reproduced the features of the mother states of the mainland, alike in their forms of government, their devotion to

The Sicilian expedition.

art and thought, and their rivalries. The city of Syracuse was the greatest of all, and her very greatness raised the antagonism of the other city-states of the island. In 415, Athens, persuaded largely by Alcibiades, determined to undertake the conquest of this island. At first all went well. The siege of Syracuse was undertaken and seemed to be approaching a successful issue, when there came a sudden and tragic change. Alcibiades, accused by his enemies of sacrilege, had fled to Sparta and urged the Spartans to send help and encouragement to Syracuse, pointing out at the same time with fatal skill how best Sparta might injure his own native state of Athens. The Spartans acted on his advice with terrible effect. The Athenians failed in their attack on Syracuse, and were attacked in their turn. Their once invincible fleet was caught and crushed in the harbour of Syracuse. Their army struggling in vain to escape, was at last forced to surrender *en masse* (413). But even now the war did not end. Sparta did not take full advantage of her opportunity, and Athens showed wonderful resource and courage. The war went on for nearly nine years more. The finances of the combatants were so exhausted that they appealed to the Persian king, the common enemy of Greece, for money; and it was an alliance between Persia and Sparta which at last allowed Lysander, the Spartan admiral, to deal Athens a blow from which she could not recover. The Athenian fleet was crushed at Aegospotami (405), and in the next year Athens was blockaded and forced by the pressure of famine to surrender. Her empire was lost; her walls were destroyed; and the proud city was reduced to a level with the rest of the city-states of Greece.

Results of the Peloponnesian War.

If Athens had won in the war, she might perhaps have created a state sufficiently large and strong to resist a foreign invader. The victory of Sparta meant the ruin of Greece; for Sparta could conquer, but could neither organize nor govern. There was no state strong enough to weld the whole nation into a single power; the disintegration of Greece went on at a rapid rate, and at the end of a little more than sixty years Greece came into subjection to the kingdom of Macedon.

Sparta was at first supreme, and the Athenian Empire was

utterly broken up. The Spartan king, Agesilaus, desired to use the new Spartan power in a way which conflicted with the conservative traditions of the state. He even led an army over to Asia Minor, and contemplated an expedition against the vast but incoherent empire of Persia ; but while he was in Asia Minor there came news that in Greece a coalition had been formed against Sparta, and Agesilaus was summoned home to deal with it. In actual battle, Sparta could still win ; but new forces were rising which in the end overthrew her supremacy. Athens profited by the embroilment of Sparta with Persia to rebuild the walls that connected her with the sea ; she regained some part of her former empire, though on a new and more liberal basis. But more important than the revival of Athens was the rise of Thebes. Thebes had played a rather dishonourable part in Greek history up to the present. She had contributed little to the stream of Greek culture ; she had taken the part of the Persians in the great war of independence, and at the close of that war some voices were raised for her destruction ; her citizens were considered to be unintelligent and slow, famous for their heavy, muscular bodies, and for nothing else. But now a new spirit was stirring in Thebes. Her soldiers had always been stubborn fighters, and now they were led by generals (of whom Epaminondas was the chief) who gave them a new formation, and instructed them to adopt new tactics in their battles. Greek battles were usually a conflict of two lines of men of equal length, and the struggle took place simultaneously along the whole length of the line. But it was the practice of Epaminondas to strengthen one part of his line by increasing the number of ranks there, and to bring that part into action first. When it had overthrown the thin line over against it, it could take the rest of the enemy's line in the rear, while the rest of the Theban army attacked it in front.

The rise of Thebes.

Sparta and Thebes were now the two great antagonists in Greece, around whom the other states of Greece arranged themselves in constantly shifting combinations ; for no kind of stability could ever be established in the inter-state relations of Greece. At first, Sparta, with the assistance of the prestige and gold of Persia, to which state she

Battle of Leuctra.

condescended to appeal, more than held her own; but there came a great change in 371. Spartan policy had managed to isolate the Thebans from their allies, and in that year a Spartan army, confident of victory, attacked the Thebans at Leuctra. But Epaminondas employed the new formation with deadly effect. The Spartans showed all the courage for which their name was renowned, but they were out-manœuvred and out-fought, and by this single blow military supremacy in Greece passed from Sparta for ever.

The Theban supremacy.

Would Thebes succeed where Sparta had failed? Would Thebes be able to form a strong and permanent state, or confederacy of states, and make Greece able to hold her own against the power in the north that threatened her? While Epaminondas lived, it seemed as if such a result were possible. He was a statesman of broader views than any that Greece had known, with the possible exception of Pericles. Some have called him the greatest statesman that Greece ever produced; and he was certainly one of her greatest soldiers. His military exploits were not only successful, but showed a clearness of conception, and a quickness of execution unusual in Greek warfare. Thrice he invaded the Peloponnese. Twice he threatened the hitherto unapproached city of Sparta. He called new states into being, and arranged the old ones in new alliances. But in 362, in the hour of victory, he was killed at the battle of Mantinea, and Thebes at once sank from her high position. The last hope of Greek unity disappeared.

Greece had twenty-four years of freedom yet before her; but, even to many contemporaries, her doom seemed certain. Greece was great still. Her work for civilization and humanity was not over, and in some respects, had not yet reached its highest point. The poets of Greece were not as great as in the great days of Pericles, and the theatre was no longer occupied by plays that are among the masterpieces of all literature. But in philosophy and science her thinkers were proceeding with more assured step to greater victories than ever. Plato (427–347) and Aristotle (384–322) both belong to this period; and both, in their different ways, were laying the foundations of European thought and knowledge. The mind of man will never lose the

marks of the impulse that these two great thinkers gave in metaphysics and ethics, and in all the sciences which are concerned with the organization of human life.

But the political life of Greece was changing rapidly, and for the worse. The country was without any principle of unity. Mutual jealousies made alliances short-lived; the only principle of inter-state action was to unite against the strongest power. Nor was it only state that was pitted against state; within each city the rivalry of the parties was so intense that it often endangered its very existence. The charge of financial corruption was so constantly brought that there must have been frequent cause for it. Lastly, though the Greeks could still occasionally show military courage, in the richer states the citizens were no longer willing to bear the burden of military service themselves, but preferred to hire mercenary soldiers, whose loyalty and obedience depended upon prompt payment.

The confusion of Greece.

CHAPTER V

Macedon and Greece

Philip, King of Macedon	359 B.C.
Battle of Chaeroneia	338 B.C.
Battle of Issus	333 B.C.
Death of Alexander	323 B.C.

Greece thus disintegrating, corrupt, and unwarlike was becoming aware of another state, of a very different kind, which threatened her from the north. Macedonia was a somewhat vague name for all the district lying round the valleys of the Axius and the Haliacmon. It lay outside of the limits of true Greece, which terminated in the north of Thessaly with the pass of Tempe and the Cambunian range; but the population of Macedonia was akin to the Greeks in race and language, and the royal house of Macedon had always been recognized as of true Greek stock. But the population, as a whole, had lagged far behind the development of southern Greece; and

Character of Macedonia.

the Macedonians resembled rather the Greeks of the Homeric Age than the contemporaries of Pericles. The government was in the hands of a monarchy, resting roughly upon the principle of

heredity. The people, most of them mountaineers and engaged in pastoral pursuits, were hardy and warlike—an ideal material in the hands of a great commander. The Greeks were not really deficient in courage, and they far excelled the Macedonians in intellectual powers. But Macedonia had on her side a population whose ideal was war, and she had political unity in the hands of a royal family that produced rulers of the highest excellence.

A Coin of Philip of Macedon.

(*From Zimmern's "Greek History."*)

Philip (sometimes called Philip the Great) had come to the Macedonian throne in 359. He had lived as a political hostage in Thebes from 368 to 365, when Thebes, under Epaminondas,

was at the very height of her short-lived power. What he had learned from that point of vantage of the divisions of Greece, the corruption of her politicians, and the development of tactics by Epaminondas, sank deep into his mind, and taught him the way to all his later victories. The last defenders of Greek liberty denounced him as a barbarian, and explained his career as actuated by an unbridled lust of conquest; they thought of him as a more successful inheritor of the ideas and methods of Darius and Xerxes. But Philip was really a man of great ability, with a real appreciation for Greek culture. His methods were little more barbarous than those of the Greeks themselves, and his ambition was not more unscrupulous that that of Lysander or Agesilaus, but only more successful.

Philip of Macedon.

Demosthenes.

(From the Statue in the Vatican.)

The divisions of Greece soon gave him an excuse for interference. War broke out between Thebes and Phocis, in which the Phocians seized on the temple treasures of Delphi, wherewith to pay their soldiers and to hire mercenaries. Philip interfered in the struggle, and by intrigue and force made himself master of the pass of Thermopylae, the key of Central Greece (346). From that hour Greece was doomed. Only in unity could she have found safety, and no principle of cohesion existed amongst the different states. But before free

Demosthenes.

Greece fell she found at least a worthy champion in Demosthenes, the great orator of Athens. He was no soldier, hardly even a statesman; but all that eloquence could do in the service of the most glowing patriotism was done by Demosthenes. And he did much. He inspired the pleasure-loving Athenians with an energy long unknown; he induced Thebes and Corinth, Megara and Achaia to join with Athens in a last struggle for liberty. But all was in vain. The great might of Macedonia, directed by a single

The Lion of Chaeroneia.

(*From Zimmern's "Greek History."*)

This lion was placed at the edge of an enclosure where the bones of those slain in the battle were buried.

hand, and acting now by force and now by fraud, gained year by year a greater ascendency in Greece. At last it came to open war, and, in 338, free Greece fought at Chaeroneia her last battle. She fought well, but unsuccessfully; and when the day was over Macedonia controlled Greece. Philip passed on into the Peloponnese, receiving submission everywhere except from Sparta. He did not trouble to attack Sparta, for he was occupied with a great design for the invasion of Persia. He had made arrangements for the supply of contingents from

most of the Greek states when he was assassinated in the year 336.

Philip's death did not retard the march of Macedonia towards empire, for he was succeeded by his son Alexander—perhaps the greatest military genius of the ancient world. Under him the armies of the Macedonians and of their Greek allies passed victoriously through all Western Asia until the Himalayas were crossed and India entered, and a great new chapter of human history was opened.

Alexander the Great.

Demosthenes regarded Alexander, equally with his father Philip, as a barbarian. But Alexander had been taught by the great philosopher Aristotle ; he was an enthusiastic admirer of Homer ; and in his Asiatic campaigns he spoke of himself as a missionary of Greek culture. The Greek states bowed unwillingly to his control, but he regarded himself rather as the representative than the conqueror of Greece, and sometimes spoke of his expedition as though it were an act of revenge upon Persia for the evils that she had inflicted upon Greece one hundred and fifty years before, in the expeditions of Darius and Xerxes.

What were the causes of the unsurpassed victories of this young prince ? For one thing, we can see that Persia, though great and wealthy, was as a military power utterly rotten. Her vast hordes, driven to battle, undrilled, badly equipped, and badly commanded, would have gone down before any resolute attack. And on the Macedonian side there was the best military science of the age in the hands of a consummate military genius. In Greece, as a rule, no special training for war was given, and there was little distinction in social standing or knowledge between the soldier in the ranks and his commander. But in Macedonia the officers were a class apart, and the army thus was of a distinctly professional type. Siege apparatus, too, had been immensely developed by the Macedonians ; in the Peloponnesian war the Spartans had never even tried to break through the long walls of Athens, but no town was so strongly fortified or so bravely defended as to be able to resist the siege-engines of Alexander. The ordinary

The military methods of Alexander the Great.

Statute Miles
0 100 300 500
Alexander's Empire
" Route
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
PARTHIA
PERSIA
Persepolis
Susa
Persian Gulf
ARABIA
INDIAN OCEAN
RED SEA
EGYPT
Nile
Memphis
Ammonium
Alexandria
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tyre
SYRIA
Issus
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates
Tigris
Babylon
Arbela
ASIA MINOR
PHRYGIA
MYSIA
PISIDIA
Mt. Taurus
Cilician Gates
Granicus
Indus
Punjab
Hyphasis
INDIA
GEORGE PHILIP & SON LTD.

foot soldiers of the Macedonian army were arranged many ranks deep, and carried as their chief weapon the long spear or *sarissa*. In this formation they were known as a "phalanx." The spears were so long, and the lines stood so close together, that many spear points projected before the first line of the phalanx. No force, then or at any later date, could stand up and resist its direct attack; Greeks, Persians, and even Romans were swept away whenever they dared to abide its onset. But quite as important as the phalanx was the heavily armed Macedonian cavalry. It was this arm that Alexander usually commanded himself, and it was with them that he usually gave the decisive blow in his battles.

The invasion of Persia.

Alexander took up the plan of his father for an invasion of Persia. In 334 he passed over into Asia Minor, with a force consisting of thirty-five thousand foot and four thousand five hundred horse—a small force for so great an enterprise and so great a triumph as that which lay before him.

His first encounter with the enemy was at the river Granicus, where a large Persian force opposed the passage of the river. He forced his way across after a fierce tussle, and then passed along by the west coast of Asia Minor, and nearly all the Greek cities of those regions surrendered to him, and those that resisted were taken. Then from the sea-coast he struck into Phrygia, the centre of Asia Minor, "cut the Gordian knot," and nowhere found any Persian force to resist him. From Phrygia he marched in a south-easterly direction through the passes in Mount Taurus and the Cilician Gates towards Syria. There was no sign of resistance until he approached the Mediterranean, and there at Issus, in the year 333, he encountered a Persian army under King Darius, whose trust, here and always, was in mere undisciplined numbers. For the first time the Persians experienced the tactics of Alexander in a pitched battle. They were scattered at the first onset, and Darius fled.

After the battle of Issus, Alexander might have followed Darius with a certainty of success; but he contemptuously left him to organize further resistance while he passed south through Syria into Egypt. He met with fierce resistance in

The Battle of Issus between Darius and Alexander.

(From a Mosaic in the Naples Museum.)

Alexander on horseback on the left attacks, with his spear, Darius in his chariot. Notice the great length of the spears.

the city of Tyre, and the capture of that city was perhaps Alexander's greatest feat of arms, but all difficulties were overcome. There was no need to conquer Egypt, for the Macedonians were not more foreign than the Persians, and the inhabitants welcomed the change of masters. Alexander founded the city of Alexandria, and marched across the desert to the temple of the god whom the Greeks called Zeus Ammon. He was greeted by the priests there as being himself the son of Zeus, and henceforth he gradually assumed almost divine honours.

Alexander in Syria and Egypt.

But now the Persian king had to be opposed again. Alexander marched back through Syria, crossed into Mesopotamia, and overwhelmed the vast horde of the Persian army in the battle of Arbela (331). All the Persian cities fell into his hands; first Babylon, then Susa, then Persepolis, the ancient capital of Persia. Then Alexander led his armies into the outlying parts of the Persian Empire—north towards the Caspian; east into what is now Afghanistan; and then south into the Indian peninsula. He had hard fighting to face, and these campaigns show that his victories over the Persians were not merely due to the weakness of his opponents. He attempted no task which he did not accomplish; until at last by the banks of the Hyphasis, in the Punjab, his soldiers mutinied, and Alexander, perhaps himself feeling that his march had extended far enough, turned back by new and unknown routes to Babylon.

The extent of Alexander's conquests.

His unparalleled conquests had effected a change in Alexander himself. In conquering the Orientals he had become something of an Oriental himself. He had lost the simple freedom of Macedonian manners, wrapped himself round with the mystery of an Eastern court, and in some instances behaved to his old companions with injustice and cruelty. But there seemed no reason to think that his career of victory was at an end. He was planning a campaign in the west which would have brought him into collision with the commercial power of Carthage, and the rising power of Rome. Such a campaign would have been attended, whatever its success, with great consequences for European civilization. But he was not

The East after the Death of Alexander the Great.

destined to enter upon it. A fever seized him and he died at Babylon in 323.

Alexander's campaigns were not transitory in their effects. Few soldiers indeed have so clearly influenced the course of history. He was no mere military conqueror; he was an organizer and a statesman. He came to the East bearing the seeds of Greek culture, and the result of his conquests was that Greek civilization was no longer confined within narrow limits, but spread up to the Black Sea, over Asia Minor and Syria, and Mesopotamia, and Egypt. The Greek language and Greek ideas became dominant between the Adriatic and the Euphrates, and this is an all-important fact both for the religious and political history of those lands until Mahomedanism, in the seventh century A.D., brought an influence of a very different kind.

The results of Alexander's career.

Thus Greek history does not end with the death of Alexander. His vast empire was too loosely compacted to be held together by any genius weaker than his own; and his death was the signal for a long struggle among his generals. Before many years were past the general result of the struggle became clear. The unity of the empire was broken up, and several powerful states were built out of its ruins. What these were may best be seen on the accompanying map. The chief are the Kingdom of Macedonia, still powerful, though it was never again to dominate the world as it had done under Alexander; the Kingdom of Egypt, where the family of the Ptolemies ruled for nearly three more centuries; and the Kingdom of Syria, where the Seleucidæ maintained a great show of power until their conflict with the Romans revealed its rottenness. But besides these three great states, Asia Minor, Thrace, Greece, and the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean were divided into a great number of free cities, kingdoms, leagues and tribes of great variety of culture and constitution, but all bearing marks of the impulse which the East had received from the life-work of Alexander.

The future of Alexander's empire.

CHAPTER VI

The Rise of Rome

Foundation of Rome	753 B.C.
Expulsion of the Kings	510 B.C.

The life of the Greek East went on then uninterruptedly after the death of Alexander; but already another power had arisen which was destined to overshadow and to conquer the divided fragments of his empire. We turn to the story of Rome.

The Romans were akin to the Greeks in race and language: their culture, religion, and government sprang from the same roots. But, though the resemblance between the two peoples is striking, it is still more important to mark the wide divergence in their character and destiny. We have seen how the great successes of the Greeks were achieved in the regions of the intellect and the imagination; the successes of Rome belong to the domain of practical energy. The Romans produced indeed great artists, poets, and philosophers; but their work is mostly an adaptation of what had been done by Greece. It is valuable, but rarely, if ever, original. But the importance of the work of Rome in war, in government, and in law, cannot be exaggerated. They laid in this respect the unshaken foundation of the social and political life of Europe; just as the Greeks laid the foundations of its intellectual development.

The Roman character and greatness.

The work that they did corresponds to the well-marked character of the people. The Greeks were in practice individualists, but to the Romans the social bond, whether of the family or the whole state, was the most sacred of considerations. The virtues that they praised most highly were those which tended to hold the state and society together, and to induce each individual to surrender himself to the service of the whole. The Romans have given to all Western nations their own word "religion," and it is significant that this word meant to them a "bond of union," the "tie" that holds men together. Thus while the political and social life of Greece shows disunion and dispersion,

an incapacity for public action tending permanently to a definite goal, and thus complete failure in the end; we see in the history of Rome unity, perseverance, and discipline, loyalty and subordination in every part of the state, a strong insistence upon the family tie, and great reverence paid to the mother, and thus in the end the greatest political and military success of history.

The geography of Italy.

The peninsula of Italy is more fertile and less mountainous than Greece, but it is occupied along its whole length by the range of the Apennines, which run much nearer to the east than to the west coast. Thus the chief rivers, with the exception of the Po, the greatest of all, run into the western sea, and it is on that side that the chief plains, harbours, and cities are to be found. The chief of the really Italian streams (for the Po lay outside of what the Romans called Italy) was the Tiber; and some twelve miles from the mouth of this violent and yellow river was the City of Rome. There were several hills near to the banks of the river which served as fortresses in the early days. Ships could work their way up as far as Rome, and thus the city became the harbour of the adjoining Latian plain, and, from our first knowledge of it, had a vigorous commerce. Rome too, it should be noticed, is in the very centre of the Italian peninsula; and that peninsula is in the very centre of the Mediterranean. She was thus excellently situated for the building up of the empire whose growth it is our business now to trace.

The races of Italy.

When first we gain a clear view of Roman history we find the peninsula occupied by four main races with many sub-divisions. In the valley of the Po there were the Gauls, akin in race to French, Welsh, and Irish. Then to the west of the Apennines there lay Etruria, inhabited by a race of unknown origin, more advanced at first than the Romans themselves, skilled beyond them in architecture, and possessed of a more mysterious religion. We may regard the people that lived on either side of the Apennines during its middle course as forming essentially one race: the Sabines to the north and the Samnites to the south are the chief names, and of their stock the Romans and Latins were the most advanced portion; then

Statute Miles
0
50
100
Gallia
Alps
R. Po
Appennines
Etruria
R. Tiber
Sabines
Veii
Rome
Latium
Samnites
Capua
R. Metaurus
Adriatic Sea
R. Aufidus
Cannae
Tarentum
Magna Graecia
Corsica
Sardinia
Tyrrhenian Sea
Ionian Sea
Sicily
Syracuse
Mediterranean Sea
Africa
George Philip & Son Ltd

the southern shores of Italy and Sicily were inhabited by Greeks, who thus brought to the Roman frontiers the higher culture of Greece.

By what steps did Rome make herself mistress of these races, and of all the peninsula? Her first constitution was not unlike that which we have seen in all the earliest states of Greece. There was a monarchy, with a council of nobles (*senate*), and a general assembly of the people (*comitia*). This time is covered for us with the mists of legend. The Romans told the story of seven kings who reigned in Rome before the last was driven out and a republic established in 510 B.C. It seems that during this time the city was subordinate to the Etruscan race. After 510 we can follow the story of Rome with confidence as to the accuracy of the main features of the narrative.

Mommsen's History of Rome is the greatest of modern books on the period; but it only goes down to the time of Julius Caesar. *How and Leigh's History of Rome* covers the same period in one volume. *Pelham's Outlines of Roman History* tells the whole of Roman history down to 476 A.D. in one volume, and is very clear and valuable both for its statements and its references. *Duruy's History of Rome* gives an admirably lucid and interesting narrative of the whole of Roman history, and is enriched with a vast number of illustrations. *Horton's History of the Romans* and the abridged edition of *Mommsen* are both valuable.

Roman history is much more difficult to illustrate from the ancient historians than Greek history; but a translation of *Livy* (Church and Brodribb) or of *Polybius* (Shuckburgh) would prove valuable, especially the latter. *Plutarch's Lives* are even more valuable for Roman than for Greek History. For the late republican period, *Cicero's Letters* (translated by Jeans, and also by Shuckburgh) are invaluable for illustrations.

Schreiber's Atlas and Murray's maps as before.

CHAPTER VII

Patricians and Plebeians at Rome

Secession of Plebs to the Sacred Mount 494 B.C.
Consulship thrown open to Plebeians . 367 B.C.

The story of Rome falls into two main divisions. There is the story of how Rome gradually asserted her superiority over her neighbours until all Italy was Roman; and there is the story of how she ordered her own government, harmonizing all conflicting elements until the state was welded into a solid whole. These two stories are intimately connected at every moment, but for the sake of clearness they may be given separately.

The twofold division of Roman history.

And firstly for the internal life of Rome. Upon the fall of the old monarchy the power of the king was transferred to two officers called consuls (colleagues). They were elected, and held office only for a year; but during that year they were the commanders of the Roman armies, and the chief judges of Rome. The old council of nobles, the senate or assembly of elders still existed. Its business was to give advice to the consuls, but we shall see how in process of time it won for itself an independent position, and became the real government of Rome. The assembly of the people could take place in several forms, of which the chief were called the meeting of the centuries (the *comitia centuriata*), and the meeting of the tribes (the *comitia tributa*). It is essential to the understanding of Roman history that the difference between these two assemblies should be clearly grasped. Both came to contain all the citizens of Rome, but in the meeting of the centuries, which was at first the meeting of the army of Rome, the voting was so arranged that wealth had the preponderating power. In the meeting of the tribes (a tribe was a local division of Roman territory) all citizens were on the same footing, and the decision of the tribes represented the feelings of the majority of Roman citizens without distinction of birth or wealth.

The early constitution of Rome.

Immediately after the expulsion of the kings, Rome had difficult constitutional problems to face. The population was divided into two classes—the patricians, the old aristocratic families of Rome, who at first alone possessed power in the state; and the plebeians, who, whether rich or poor, were outside of the privileged circle, and who, though they fought in the armies of Rome, and had a vote in the *comitia*, were excluded from all office and power, and were, in fact, at the mercy of the patricians.

Patricians and Plebeians.

The domestic history of Rome for two centuries is filled with the contentions of these two classes; with the struggle of the privileged and the unprivileged citizens, which took sometimes, but not always, the shape of a struggle between the rich and the poor. The struggle is, in its details, obscure; but nowhere else in Roman history do we see so clearly the genius of the Romans for citizenship, their patience and reasonableness, their energy, persistence, and practical good sense. For this struggle—a struggle of a kind which would have led up to a civil war in Greece, and in most modern states—was settled by a long and slow process of protests, concessions, and conciliation, during the course of which the Romans could boast that the sword had never been drawn or blood shed. And, therefore, when the struggle was over, and the plebeians had won on every point, no bitterness was left behind, the unity of the state was complete, and the common enemy could found no hopes on the war of factions.

Nature of the struggle between the orders.

We must now mark the chief steps in the long contest. In 494 the plebeians, indignant with the vigorous enforcement of the law of debt, decided to withdraw from the state. They marched out from Rome, and settled a few miles away, on what was called the Sacred Mount. It was a "strike" for political objects, the first "strike" recorded in history. The numbers of the plebeians and the services they rendered to the Roman armies made resistance impossible, and the patricians yielded. The plebeians were to have officers of their own, called tribunes of the people, who should have the power of interfering between a plebeian and a patrician judge, the power of settling cases where plebeians alone

Stages in victory of the plebeians.

were concerned, and the power of calling the plebeians together in their tribes for the discussion of questions and the passing of laws. But these laws would be only binding on themselves, not on the state as a whole. The result of the "Secession to the Sacred Mount" was the formation of a separate government—a kind of trade union—for the plebeians. Thus, the creation of tribunes of the people (first two, then ten, in number), though it ultimately led to the union of the state, at first emphasized its division. Rome consisted not of one state, but of two.

The next serious struggle was over the question of jurisdiction. The consuls were the judges of the whole state, and the consuls were in all cases patricians. The laws of Rome, as of all early states, were traditional, and had never been reduced to writing. It rested therefore with the patrician judges to decide not only as to fact but also as to law. The plebeian could not be sure when he was overstepping the bounds of legality ; he was completely at the mercy of judges drawn from the ranks of his rivals and opponents. The plebeians, therefore, demanded that the laws should be written down ; and at the same time, they claimed an extension of their political rights. A commission of ten men (decemvirs) was therefore appointed, who drew up, in the following year, the ten tables of the law, to which, a year later, two more tables were added. This was followed by an obscure struggle, whereby, in 449, the plebeians gained great additional powers. For it was granted (1) that the decision of the people in their tribes should be binding on the whole state ; (2) that there should be an appeal to the people from the decision of all magistrates ; and (3) that the persons of the tribune should be defended by special safeguards. This was the very *magna carta* of the plebeians. The "two states" were now blended into one; but still the patricians alone were eligible to the consulship and the higher offices of the state, and they refused to admit the plebeians to intermarriage with their own caste.

The decemvirs and the Twelve Tables of the Law.

But the chief barriers were soon swept down, though the patricians fought to resist or delay each point with wonderful tenacity. In 445, plebeians were allowed to perform the duties of the consulship, though with another title (that of "military tribunes with consular power"). Thus the patricians abandoned

the reality, and still fought for the shadow. The final step did not come for nearly seventy years; but then it was decided (by the Licinian Law, 367), that the consulship was to be restored, and that of the two consuls one must be, and both might be, plebeians. Still, the patricians tried to keep some scrap of office and ceremony which might mark the class difference. But the tide of political equality soon swept away the last real obstacles, though to the end of the republic trivialities remained, which served to remind the Romans that there had once been an unbridged gulf between the two orders. But after 339, Roman citizenship was a privilege that effaced all minor distinctions. The struggle of the privileged and the unprivileged was over, and the struggle of rich and poor had not yet begun in its intenser form.

Final victory of the plebeians.

CHAPTER VIII

The Roman Conquest of Italy

Capture of Veii	395 B.C.
Battle of Allia	390 B.C.
Samnite wars	343–290 B.C.
Defeat of Pyrrhus	275 B.C.

While Rome was gaining this most important of victories over herself, she was also, with slow but irresistible march, subduing her neighbours. The chief stages are these—

First, she made herself the head of the Latin League—that is, head and director of the tribes and towns that occupied the "wide plains" of Latium.

First conquests of Rome.

Then she came into conflict with the Etrurian power that lay beyond the Tiber. The Etruscans suffered from dissension and some inner cause of decay. The great Roman victory came in 395, when the capture of the great city of Veii announced that Etruria must fade before Rome.

But hardly had Veii fallen when a terrible danger from the North threatened all Italy. The Gauls of the North were in motion. An army of fierce Celtic warriors, with two-handed swords, swept down on Etruria, and refused to stay at the bidding of Rome. In 390 they approached Rome itself, and at the river Allia their fierce onslaught scattered the Roman army, and the city itself fell into their hands. It might seem that the power of Rome was overwhelmed; but the unstable Gallic horde soon passed on. The stubborn and well-compacted Roman power rose again; and the Gallic deluge, perhaps, rather helped Rome by weakening her neighbours.

The Gallic conquest of Rome.

Fifty years later, Rome began a long conflict with the Samnites, the fiercest of all the Italian races. The Samnite wars are reckoned as lasting (with considerable intervals) from 343 to 290. But they really were prolonged until 275; and even in 275 there were parts of Samnium not really subdued. The last sign of Samnite hatred for the Roman name does not disappear until 83 B.C.

The Samnite wars.

But to label the period from 343 to 275, "the Samnite wars," is misleading. What are called the Samnite wars were really the struggle of all the Italian races against the advancing power of Rome. The dauntless Samnites were the heart of the resistance, and the chief fighting was in their mountain-valleys. But before the struggle was over, all the races of Italy had taken a part in the effort to throw off the Roman supremacy. The Greeks of Campania, the Latins of the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, the Etruscans, the Greeks of Southern Italy, and the Gauls themselves, had all, at different times and with ill-planned action, tried to strike down the City of the Seven Hills. Nay, the Italians, conscious of their own inferiority, had appealed to lands beyond sea, and in 280 Pyrrhus of Epirus had brought his Macedonian phalanx and Macedonian tactics to assist the armies that fought against Rome. Pyrrhus was the most scientific soldier of his day, and he defeated the Romans in two great battles; but the Romans learnt from defeat, and in 275 the battle of Beneventum wrecked his hopes, and made Italy outside of the Po valley completely Roman.

These were great conquests; but Alexander had made greater. The really wonderful thing about Rome is not that she conquered (other nations and states could do that), but that she maintained her conquests. For the territories thus won did not fall from her like those of the Athenian Empire; they did not split up into petty states, like the empire of Alexander; but they were joined to her in a permanent union which laid the foundations of the political structure of Europe.

The secret of the Roman victories.

What is the secret of the permanence of Rome's military successes? The Romans were not conspicuous among the nations for their delight in war. The Homeric "joy of battle" or the northern Berserker's martial fury is rarely found among them. Their military success was due to deliberate thought, and above all, to discipline. Their most characteristic weapon—the short sword—did not seem likely to defeat the great sword of the Gauls, or the long spear of the Macedonian phalanx. But experience showed that, backed by Roman discipline and tactical skill, it could triumph over all rival weapons; and it remained for some eight hundred years the most trusted weapon of the conquering Romans. But they knew, more clearly than any ancient people, that it is not only on the battlefield that wars are decided. The Roman soldier carried not only his sword and defensive armour, but also a spade; and the practice, possible only to perfectly disciplined troops, of throwing up a defensive camp at the end of each day's march, goes far in accounting for the absence of surprises and unforeseen disasters in the history of Roman warfare. Wherever, also, the Roman soldier went, the Roman state

Roman Legionary Soldiers with Pilum, Short Sword, and Shield.

(Copied from the Military Figures on the Basis of the Column of Antoninus Pius.)

built roads—which were at first entirely military in their objects—and the rapidity with which by their means the Romans could march their troops into an enemy's country, was often decisive for the suppression of a rebellion or the succouring of a hard-pressed garrison. Lastly, we may note their habit of planting permanent garrisons (*coloniae*) in all conquered territory. The soldiers in these "colonies" were Roman citizens, the adjacent lands were divided among them, and they formed an all-important support of the Roman dominions in all parts of Italy. Discipline, Roads, Colonies—these three words go far towards reading the riddle of Roman military successes.

But the causes of the permanence of the Roman successes are to be found even more in political than in military considerations. She treated the races and states that she conquered with a skill and a considerateness which made rebellion difficult, and at the same time took away much of the sting of defeat and consequently much of the desire to rebel. All union among the defeated states was broken up: "Divide in order to govern" was a central motto of Roman statesmanship; and the Romans were careful to maintain distinctions of privilege and rank among those defeated states whom they henceforth called not "subjects" but "allies." But the chief mark of their policy to those whom they conquered was not cunning, but generosity. The European world had known nothing like the generous and conciliatory treatment which Rome showed to those whom she conquered during her greatest period; and as we shall see, the policy of confidence and generosity was amply repaid to Rome in the hour of her greatest trial.

CHAPTER IX

Rome and Carthage

First Punic war	264–241 B.C.
Hannibal in Italy	218 B.C.
Battle of Cannae	216 B.C.
Battle of Zama	202 B.C.

The withdrawal of Pyrrhus left Rome the unchallenged mistress of the Italian peninsula. But before ten years were passed she was struggling with Carthage for a stake greater than either state knew at the time; for the overthrow of Carthage gave to Rome the mastery of all Mediterranean lands.

Carthage.

Carthage was a colony from Phœnicia, which, originally planted as a commercial outpost of Tyre, had grown into a great independent power. Her commercial activity outstripped that of Rome. The Carthaginians had often tried to master the whole island of Sicily, and though they had failed they held the western part, and had in Lilybaeum a fortress of immense strength, which Pyrrhus had already attacked in vain.

Carthage was in many ways a great contrast to Rome. The religion of Carthage was Oriental in type, and often cruel in practice. In social and political matters, the great contrast is that Carthage altogether lacked the firmly welded unity of the Roman state. Rome was a conquering state; but she had so treated the subject states that they felt little resentment against the conqueror. Her soldiers were citizens; her citizens were united in devotion to the state; patriotism was the real religion of Rome. If we turn from this picture to Carthage, we find fierce factions among the people themselves, and the conquered territory so ready for revolt that no town except Carthage was allowed to keep her fortifications. We find the armies of Carthage collected by the offer of wage from all the nations with whom she was in contact, and though this mercenary force usually fought excellently, it could clearly not be relied upon in extremity, like the armed citizens of Rome. It is this lack of cohesion in the Carthaginian state

which accounts for her failure in the long contest with Rome, despite the men of genius she produced and the wonderful victories she won.

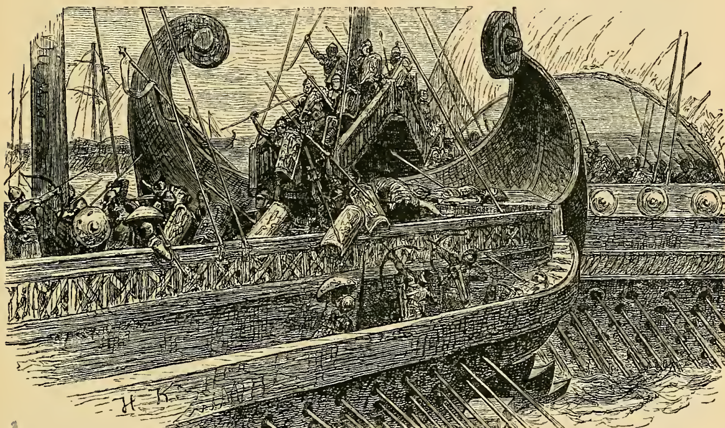
The struggle between Rome and Carthage is the chief interest of Roman history from 264 to 201; and the second division of these Carthaginian (or Punic) wars forms the really heroic part of Roman military history. In the end Rome overthrew her great enemy, but so terrible was the impression she had received from the dangers that she had passed through with such difficulty, that she did not rest until, in 146, her defeated rival was utterly destroyed.

First Punic War.

The first Punic War (264–241) was fought for the possession of Sicily, and in it the Romans had the support of the great Greek city of Syracuse. As the Carthaginians had a strong fleet, and the Romans had none, the course of the war was at first very uncertain. But Rome soon became aware of the necessity of having a fleet, and in 260 built one very rapidly and with great ingenuity and energy; in the following year this extemporized fleet won by novel tactics a great victory over the superior ships of Carthage; and though the naval supremacy thus won was often afterwards in danger, it was by means of it in the end that the Romans gained the victory and excluded the Carthaginians from Sicily. Two incidents of the war alone claim our notice in this survey. In 256, elated with their victories in Sicily, the Romans attempted the invasion of Africa, and at first with great success. Carthage itself was in danger; but then the tide turned, and the Roman force on African soil was annihilated. A gleam, if not of success, at any rate of glory, came also at the end of the war to the Carthaginians in Sicily. There was great exhaustion on both sides, both of men and money, and the war dragged slowly along, as ancient wars often did. The command of the Carthaginian forces was taken by Hamilcar Barca, the great father of a greater son, and he, with small forces, held at bay the armies of Rome, and harassed them with guerilla warfare. He postponed, but could not prevent, the end. In 242 Lilybaeum fell; the Carthaginian forces left Sicily, and Rome had won her first transmarine possession.

It was twenty-four years before war broke out again, and in those years important events had happened. The Carthaginian state had been torn by a terrible war with her own revolted mercenary troops. The Romans had extended their dominion right over the valley of the Po and up to the Alps, thus adding Cis-Alpine Gaul (that is, Gaul south of the Alps) to their possession. But the country was restless still, ready for rebellion against the new yoke, and eager to join any enemy of Rome. Carthage, mean-

The interval between the wars.



Reconstruction of a Roman Boarding-bridge in the First Punic War.

This picture illustrates the novel tactics used by the Romans to counteract the superior naval skill of the Carthaginians. The boarding-bridge fastened the two ships together and made manœuvring impossible.

while, had gained territories which seemed to more than counterbalance the loss of Sicily. Hamilcar Barca had been entrusted with the attack on Spain, and his efforts, and those of his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, and his son, Hannibal, had succeeded in adding the whole of the Spanish peninsula, in name at least, to the possessions of Carthage. But in the course of the conquest Hannibal attacked Saguntum, a town which had placed itself under the protection of Rome; and war was the inevitable result.

The Romans imagined that the war would be fought in

Spain, as the last war had been fought in Sicily, and they prepared to despatch armies to Spain. But they had left the genius of Hannibal out of their reckoning. Europe has known no soldier of more commanding genius or of greater energy and enterprise. Hatred of Rome was with him a family tradition, a passion, and a religious duty. He anticipated the maxim of modern soldiers that attack is the best form of defence; and while Rome was preparing to send her armies to Spain, this thunderbolt of war fell upon the plains of Italy.

The second Punic War.

His march over the Pyrenees, through Southern Gaul, and over the Alps was unexampled at the time, and still remains unsurpassed. He descended on to the fertile plain of the Po in 218, and the recently conquered Gauls came in great numbers to his standards. And then the great Carthaginian passed through Italy "like a conflagration in the pine-forests, or like the east wind over the waters." He twice defeated the Roman armies in the Po valley and then he crossed the Apennines and marched towards Rome. The Romans in vain tried to check his march. He found a way past them, and fell unexpectedly on a Roman army by the shores of Lake Trasimene (217). The Romans lost the consul in command and thirty thousand men, whether killed, wounded, or prisoners. Rome seemed at Hannibal's mercy, but he was little skilled in sieges, and he judged it best to break still further the power of Rome in the country districts before striking at the city itself. In the next year he met the largest army that Rome could collect, said to consist of eighty thousand men, at Cannae, by the banks of the river Aufidus (216). But the Roman army was out-manœuvred and out-fought; and the whole army was in effect destroyed. Rome never received so overwhelming, so apparently fatal a blow. If Rome's power had been based merely upon military strength and prestige, this day would have seen the end of her dominion.

The march of Hannibal.

But the battle of Cannae marks, in fact, not the beginning of the end of Rome's power, but the highest point reached by that of Hannibal. It is more important to understand the cause of Rome's escape and triumph, than to follow the fighting of the following years. And first, Rome

The survival of Rome.

was saved by the fidelity of her allies, of the Italian states of the centre whom she had conquered, but whose support and goodwill she had secured by good treatment and a conciliatory policy. Hannibal had showed his supremacy over the Romans in the art of war ; it was Roman supremacy in the art of government which gave Rome the victory in the end. Even after Trasimene, even after Cannae, the Central Italians felt that their interest lay with Rome and not with Carthage. And so, though the Greek cities of South Italy joined Hannibal, though Syracuse revolted from the Roman alliance, though the King of Macedonia promised assistance to Hannibal, Rome still had the population of Central Italy with her, and from this nucleus built up her power greater than before.

Other causes contributed to Hannibal's gradual failure. The Romans no longer exposed themselves to the risk of a pitched battle in Italy, but followed Hannibal without accepting battle, harassed his stragglers, cut off his provisions, and thus gradually wore him down. Carthage, too, gave Hannibal insufficient support; and this not only because the control of the seas lay on the whole with Rome, but because the Government was jealous of the great conqueror. Moreover, as the war went on, Rome produced a soldier capable of opposing Hannibal on more equal terms. Scipio the Great, soon to be called the conqueror of Africa, made his first important essays in war in Spain. He gradually destroyed the Carthaginian power there, and prepared an army for the death-wrestle with his great antagonist.

Hannibal in Italy.

Hannibal meanwhile, ever unchallenged in the field, was gradually losing his grip on Italy, and with him prestige was everything. The Romans were successful in a series of sieges. Syracuse was retaken in 212, Capua in 211, Tarentum in 209. Hannibal roamed about the south of Italy still unbeaten, still dangerous : in 208 he ambushed the consul Marcellus and defeated and slew him. But the Italian population saw that his star was setting, and reinforcements and provisions became more and more difficult to obtain. In 207 there came the really decisive battle of the war. His brother Hasdrubal was in command of the

Carthaginian forces in Spain. He outwitted Scipio, and brought his army over the Alps into Italy to the relief of his brother. If only the two armies could join, Hannibal might yet force his stubborn foe to surrender. But the consul Nero, by a dexterous march, joined his colleague at the Metaurus River, and before Hannibal knew that his brother was in Italy he had been defeated and slain, after a very stubborn struggle. Without reinforcements, and with a dwindling prestige, Hannibal could no longer hope for victory over Rome. But he remained in Italy for four years yet; and the fact that the Romans still dare not attack him is eloquent testimony to the effect produced by his past triumphs.

Scipio meanwhile, elated by his successes in Spain, proposed to the Senate to attack Carthage herself. The Senate hesitated, but Scipio was in the end allowed to go. He crossed to Africa in 204; the Carthaginians found it necessary to summon Hannibal home. He returned, and fought his last great battle at Zama in 202. Scipio triumphed, and Carthage surrendered.

The Roman invasion of Africa.

This wonderful war, in which unity, discipline, and statesmanship had triumphed over transcendent military genius, left Rome the one great state in the Mediterranean lands. She was in no hurry to establish an empire. She did not annex the territory of Carthage, in Africa; but Spain came under the "provincial" rule of Rome, as Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica had already done. We will postpone an explanation of the Roman rule of the provinces until her empire has advanced somewhat further.

CHAPTER X

The Roman Conquest of the Mediterranean Lands

Battle of Cynoscephalae	197 B.C.
Battle of Magnesia	190 B.C.
Macedonia a Roman Province	148 B.C.
Destruction of Carthage	146 B.C.

If we cast a glance forward on the future of Rome, we may see what were the chief lines of her development. After the fall of Carthage she had no really dangerous rival, and she was drawn, almost against her will, to assert her mastery over all the Mediterranean lands. Some she absorbed into her empire; over all she asserted her suzerainty. And then, when the City of the Seven Hills had grown into a world-wide empire, the effects of these conquests on her domestic life began to show themselves. Her old republican constitution proved unequal to the strain of conquest, and an era of political change set in from which at last the empire emerged.

Rome and the East.

Hardly had the Carthaginian danger passed when Rome found herself involved in troubles with the East. Since the days of Alexander, Greece and the East had undergone great changes. His empire had broken up into many fragments, of which the chief were Macedon, under King Philip; Asia, or Syria, under King Antiochus, who called himself the King of Kings; and Egypt, under the family of the Ptolemies. But besides these three great states there were many small ones. Asia Minor was a strange collection of small kingships, free cities, and half-barbarous tribes. Greece proper, too, had changed much in its political character since the days of Demosthenes. Athens, Corinth, Thebes, and Sparta, though these cities still existed, were no longer the chief political influences in the country. The individual city-state was clearly unequal to a struggle with the new great powers that had risen up. The feature of the time was the rise of leagues. North of the Gulf of Corinth there was the Aetolian League, a confederacy of rude and warlike tribes and

cities, which held in awe the more civilized cities further east. But in the Peloponnese the Achaean League was a really noble development in Greek political life. Most of the states of the Peloponnese, and some outside of it, were by this league joined together in a union which gave them strength to resist foreign aggression, and secured them self-government in their domestic concerns. But, in spite of the league, Macedonia was the really dominant military force in Greece, and controlled the country by means of its garrisons in carefully chosen sites and fortresses.

War with Macedonia.

The war with Macedonia grew out of the Carthaginian war. Philip, King of Macedonia, had made an alliance with Hannibal after the battle of Cannae, and Macedonian soldiers had fought against Rome at the battle of Zama. Moreover, the position that Rome had won made her a natural umpire in all disputes among the Mediterranean nations. The King of Egypt complained that King Philip and King Antiochus had agreed together for the partition of his dominions. So Rome determined to intervene, in the interests of peace and order in the East, not yet for selfish conquest. She formed an alliance with the Achaean League and various smaller states in the East, and in 198 sent over an army under Flamininus.

Greece and Rome.

For the first time, Roman troops appeared east of the Adriatic. But Rome had already learnt something of Greek literature, art, and culture, and there is no more potent influence in Rome's history than the art and thought of Greece which henceforward mastered the mind of Rome as completely as Rome mastered the soldiers and statesmen of Greece. A later Roman poet said, "Captive Greece took captive her barbarian captor;" and there is no instance in European history of the culture of one nation so profoundly dominating the mind and imagination of another. Henceforward, whatever was native in Roman religion, art, or thought died down or fell into the background; and Rome embraced all that was Greek in these domains, and transferred it to her own soil and language. The Roman enthusiasm for all things Greek had reached its zenith when Flamininus led his army across the Adriatic.

This event is memorable, not only in the history of culture, but also in the history of war; for the phalanx and the Roman legion were brought into clear and decisive comparison. Now, in a series of great battles, the close packed phalanx, with its bristling hedgerow of long spears, came into conflict with the loose formation of the Roman legionaries, armed with their short swords. The advantage, at first sight, lay wholly with the phalanx. The thin, loose line of the Romans could not possibly withstand the charge of the phalanx on ground that suited it; and we have the word of a contemporary that the phalanx never charged without conquering. But the Romans were too skilful tacticians to accept battle on conditions that suited their opponents. They knew that battles were lost and won elsewhere than in the mere encounter of the lines. They lured the phalanx on to rough ground, they wearied it with long marches, they attacked its serried ranks with missile weapons, and in the end the legionary formation and the short sword justified themselves, and secured victory to Rome for four centuries more.

The legion and the phalanx.

Flamininus beat King Philip at Cynoscephalae in Thessaly in 197. But the Romans were satisfied with this assertion of their superiority, and the chief result of the victory was that Flamininus, amidst great enthusiasm, declared that henceforward Greece was free. It seemed to some men as though the Age of Pericles might return.

The freedom of Greece.

But it was not so easy to settle the many problems of the East. The jealousies of Greece made her liberty unstable. The chief trouble came from the Aetolian League; and that body, in fear of Roman vengeance, invited Antiochus of Syria to come to their help, and soon an Asiatic army landed in Greece. This was a direct attack on the system that Rome had established, and she felt obliged to interfere. An army was despatched, under the command of Scipio, the conqueror of Africa, and his brother. The Asiatic troops were beaten out of Greece, and at Magnesia, in Asia Minor, the Syrian king's army was defeated with huge slaughter (190 B.C.). But still Rome refused to undertake the responsibility of governing any territory in the

East. She annexed no province; but she rearranged the frontiers and the relations of the states in Greece and in Asia Minor, and then again withdrew.

It was nearly twenty years before she interfered again. It was the discontent of Greece and the ambition of Macedon which made a further interference necessary. The Greeks, and especially the Achaean League, desired a more real liberty than the supremacy of Rome allowed them. They joined themselves with Perseus, King of Macedon. In 171 the Romans had to recognize that war must come, but it was not until 168 that the decisive blow was struck. Then at Pydna the Macedonian phalanx and the Roman legion tried conclusions again. The Roman victory was complete; and the phalanx disappears henceforth from military history.

The last war with Macedonia.

But now the Romans were determined to make a settlement of the East which should have some chance of permanence; and it seemed that they could no longer avoid actual annexation. The enthusiastic and sentimental views with which the Romans had at first regarded the East had quite disappeared now, and they had purely practical considerations in view in the arrangements which they made. Macedonia was at first divided into four separate republics, but the traditions of Macedonia were too great to allow her to accept so humble a position, and the Romans found that there was no halfway house between freedom and complete submission. In 148 Macedonia became a Roman province, and was thus put under the direct rule of Roman officials. And the allies of Rome in the East, as well as her enemies, were roughly treated. She did not intend them to over-estimate the services they had rendered to Rome. The Achaean League, Pergamus and Rhodes, had, as a rule, been allies of Rome during her conquest of the East. But they had seen the supremacy of Rome with jealous dislike; and each found its power and territory diminished in the hour of Rome's victory. The Achaean League was treated with especial rigour. It had been a very noble and promising experiment in federal government; but Rome's chief political maxim was the sub-division of all possible rivals. The Achaean League was cut down in extent. Hostages for its good behaviour were taken to Italy; and at last,

The Roman settlement of the East.

in 146, war came against the league. Corinth was taken, plundered, and destroyed. Greece did not yet become a Roman province, but all real independence was taken away from her. Rome was clearly the paramount power in the East, and the kings of Syria and Egypt were liable to be dictated to by any overbearing pro-consul of the victorious republic.

While Rome was conquering for herself the first place among the powers of the Eastern Mediterranean, she was also securing her hold upon the West. Spain had been organized into two provinces in 197; but the fierce population of that mountainous country had rebelled against the Roman yoke, and was only broken into subjection in a long series of wars. The tragic end of Carthage deserves a more definite notice. After the battle of Zama, Carthage was left without any serious army or navy, with diminished territory, and jealous neighbours supported by Rome. But her excellent situation and the energy of her citizens made her again a state of some importance for commerce, if not for war. And it was commercial jealousy which inspired the Romans in their last attack upon her. It was Cato, a Roman of the old rigid type, who insisted on the danger that Carthage might yet be to Rome; and when the Romans had, by their unjust demands, driven the Carthaginians to a war of self-preservation, it was to another Scipio that the task of extermination was entrusted. Carthage could not avoid her doom; but she delayed it by heroic resistance. Something of the spirit of Hannibal seemed to have revived in Hasdrubal, who conducted the defence, and for three years the defenders resisted both hunger and the assaults of the enemy. At last, in 146, the great city fell. The vengeance of Rome was complete. The city was burnt to the ground, and the territory of Carthage became a province with the title of Africa. The conqueror, a descendant by adoption only of the victor of Zama, received the title of Scipio Africanus Minor.

Roman conquest of the West.

The Roman Empire now contained seven provinces, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, Spain (two provinces), Illyricum, Macedonia, and Africa. Their conquest had doubtless flattered the ambition of the Romans, but it had been forced on Rome by the situation, and not desired by

Roman provinces.

the Senate. Rome soon went on rapidly in her career of annexation, until all the lands adjoining the Mediterranean had been converted into Roman territory. In theory, Roman provincial rule was not harsh. Rome stepped into the position of the former government of the land annexed. The province was disarmed, for Rome undertook the responsibility of defence. A Roman official, who was soon called pro-consul, or pro-praetor, assessed the tribute, commanded the armed force, and acted as a supreme court of justice. The local organization of the province, its customs, and its religion, were not in theory interfered with. But this fair appearance was far from corresponding in most cases to reality. The Roman governor was absolute, and, in effect, irresponsible, for though the provincials could prosecute him in Rome for oppression, the procedure was so costly, and the issue so uncertain, that it was rarely worth while to do so. The governor, moreover, was unpaid; for it was the noble tradition of the Roman State that public service must be rendered gratuitously. But the result was that he used his absolute irresponsible power to pay himself, and the complaints of extortion were frequent, and the Romans themselves admitted that in many cases they were justified.

Bust of Scipio Africanus Major (the conqueror of Hannibal). (See p. 56.)

CHAPTER XI

The Roman Revolution

Tiberius Gracchus, Tribune . . . . . 133 B.C.
Caius Gracchus, Tribune . . . . . . 123 B.C.

Rome was, in the middle of the second century, B.C., left without a rival in the Mediterranean lands: her further march from conquest to conquest seemed pre-destined, and was not attended with great military difficulty. But just about this time she entered on a series of internal difficulties, which in the end changed her constitution from a republic into an empire. It is necessary first to understand the causes of this great change.

The Constitution of Rome in the second century, B.C.

The constitution of Rome was the highest product of political wisdom that the world had seen. It was essentially conservative in its character. It was the result of a long series of compromises and adaptations to meet circumstances as they arose. Through all changes Rome was still in idea a city-state, and her constitution was a municipal constitution. The popular comitia, the consuls, and the praetors, the senate itself were originally intended for a small population, living within narrow limits, all regarding the same city as their home. But Rome was now an imperial state; her citizens were to be found in all lands as traders, and her soldiers were constantly called on for distant expeditions. The constitutional machinery that served for a city-state, broke down when applied to an empire. To take a single instance: the consuls during their year of office were municipal magistrates, and also commanders of the armies of Rome. In the second capacity they might be called on to go to Spain or Asia or Africa; and either their municipal or their military duties were bound to suffer. And if the municipal republican machinery of Rome failed to govern an empire, what could take its place? Modern feeling would perhaps suggest some representative system; but the idea of representation was unknown to the Romans, and it would probably not have supplied a sufficiently strong government.

After many experiments the only alternative appeared to be the rule of one man, or in other words an imperial monarchy.

Social questions of a grave kind were at the same time pressing for solution. The Italians had at first been a people of small farmers; and it was this yeoman population that had won Italy for Rome, and fought down Hannibal. But now the agricultural character of Italy was changing, the small farmers were disappearing: great estates were taking their place. Two forces were chiefly answerable for this sad effect. As a result of Roman conquests corn was now brought cheaply to Rome from Sardinia and Corsica, from Africa and Egypt; and the Italian farmer was ruined by the competition of this cheaper foreign corn. And, secondly, slavery of a new type was beginning to spread in Italy. There had always been slavery among the Romans as among the Greeks; but early Roman slavery was domestic in character. The new type of slavery, which was largely borrowed from Carthage, was far more brutal and cruel. The slaves were treated as machines; they worked chained in gangs; they were housed at night in slave prisons (*ergastula*). In the presence of this new slavery, free labour tended to disappear. Where once there had been small farms, cornfields, and peasant farmers, there were soon to be found large estates devoted to pasture and cattle rearing, and tended by the labour of slaves. The dispossessed freemen found their way to Rome, where they formed a dangerous pauper and unemployed population.

The social question at Rome.

Nor was change confined to the sphere of politics and society. Rome was also passing through an important change in thought and feeling, and in religion. This change, which was doubtless in part a natural development, was very largely influenced by the contact with Greek ideas that her recent expansion had brought about. The effect which Greece exercised on the Romans was at first one of repulsion. To the Romans, with their narrow range of ideas, their rigid code of morals, their dislike of emotional display, their ceremonial and practical religion, Greece seemed at first the embodiment of all that they disliked—looseness in thought and conduct, untrustworthiness, and indiscipline. But that feeling soon passed: and the art and

The new thought in Rome.

thought, the literature and philosophy of Greece soon produced on Roman minds the effect that they have always produced on those who really learn to know them. The first mood of repulsion soon changed into one of unreasoning enthusiasm for everything Greek, and though that in its turn soon passed the influence of Greek ideas remained. There was much in all this new thought that was admirable and progressive, but it sapped the very foundations of the old Roman life. The great changes of the world begin in the minds of men, and this is as true of the Roman revolution as of any others.

Tiberius Gracchus.

It was the social question that brought on the first movement in this long course of change. The spectacle of the pauper populace of Rome, the depopulation of Italy, and the danger that was thus threatened to the military strength of Rome induced, in 133, Tiberius Gracchus to propose a remedial measure. He belonged to one of the oldest of Roman families, and his object was conservative rather than revolutionary. He was elected tribune of the people, and proposed and carried a land law by which the public lands of Rome were to be divided in small holdings among the poorest citizens. The bill, and the method in which it was brought forward, roused the fear and anger of the senatorial government, and he was murdered in a riot by the hands of the senators themselves. The Romans believed that this was the first occasion on which blood had been shed in the civil disputes of the city: before those disputes were at an end, Roman blood would flow in a broad torrent.

Caius Gracchus.

The work of Tiberius Gracchus was taken up by his brother Caius ten years later; but, while Tiberius proposed one remedial measure, Caius proposed a whole series which amounted to a revolution. There was a new land law; cheap corn was to be given to the people; foreign colonies were to be planted to relieve the overcrowding of Rome. And the method of introducing these changes was even more serious than the measures themselves. The position of authority which the aristocratic Senate had assumed was completely disregarded. Caius Gracchus called upon the people in their great assembly to exercise the functions of legislation and government which were certainly theirs by constitutional

right. He thus inaugurated a great democratic movement, which did not die with his death. Two methods of government were for the next eighty years placed before Rome, government by the Senate, and government by the people. Rome oscillated between the two. Neither was found in the end practicable; and the rule of one man proved to be the only solution of the dilemma.

The new Roman army.

The question was not settled at last by votes or arguments. Another force, the force of the army, came with slowly increasing pressure to influence the result. For Rome was a military state, and was bound to remain so. Her dominions had been won by the sword, and must for a long time be held by the sword. And beyond her dominions were the barbarians (as the Romans called all peoples who were neither Roman nor Greek), who, whether Gauls or Germans, Parthians or Persians, would force their way across the frontier as soon as Roman vigilance and discipline failed. Against these dangers, internal and external, the Romans would require a large army, and would find it necessary to give to individuals large and almost independent commands. The relation of the political authorities at Rome to the army during this period when the state was tossed on the stormy waters of revolution, was a point of increasing and decisive importance.

CHAPTER XII

The Expansion of the Empire by Marius, Sulla, and Julius Caesar

The Numidian War	112–106 B.C.
Battle of Aquae Sextiae	102 B.C.
The Social War	91–90 B.C.
Mithridates fights against Rome . .	89–66 B.C.
Julius Caesar goes to Gaul	58 B.C.
Capture of Alesia	52 B.C.

Great wars were not slow in coming. First in Numidia, a state over which Rome exercised a vague protectorate, there broke out a civil war into which Rome was drawn. The Romans

received many humiliations. Their aristocratic generals were beaten and bribed. At last, in 106, it was brought to an end by a general of humble birth, Marius, who had been appointed to the command in defiance of the Senate's wishes by a direct vote of the people. He had been assisted by an aristocratic lieutenant, Sulla, who was destined to be his great, and at last his successful rival.

Marius.

A far greater danger immediately afterwards claimed the energies of both men. The barbarians of the north, races called the Cimbrians and Teutons, of which some, and perhaps all, were of German rather than Celtic origin, had fallen upon the Roman frontiers with the most terrible results. In 105 a Roman army that was defending the line of the Rhone had been swept away with a reputed loss of one hundred and thirty thousand men. Nor were other Roman armies and generals more successful. Had the barbarians marched at once upon Italy the danger would have been extreme. Fortunately for Rome they turned westward, and it was not until their hordes had visited Spain and the north of Gaul that they presented themselves again at the gates of the Alps.

The Cimbrians and Teutons.

In the interval a popular vote had called upon Marius, the victor in the Numidian war, to deliver Rome from this new peril. He used the interval before the return of the Cimbrians and Teutons in drilling his men, accustoming them to toil, and restoring their discipline to the high Roman standard. And as yet no barbarian force could hope to prevail against a Roman army, when well disciplined and well commanded. The enemy divided their forces. The Teutons tried to enter Italy from the west, while the Cimbrians passed round by the north of the Alps in order to strike at Italy through the eastern Alpine passes. Utter ruin fell upon them at both points; Marius destroyed the Teutons at Aquae Sextiae (Aix) in 102, and then passing back into Italy, overwhelmed the Cimbri in the valleys of Piedmont in 101. In both battles the barbarians are reported to have lost hundreds of thousands. Nearly five hundred years were to pass before Italy was again dangerously threatened by a barbarian invasion.

Marius defeats the invaders.

But Marius deserves a place in Roman history not only because he saved the State in battle, but also because he had an important influence on its political fortunes. His appointment by the popular vote to the Numidian war had been a serious blow to the authority of the Senate, and it was six times repeated. In the year 100 he was consul for the sixth time. Roman history could show no such instance of the prolonged tenure of the highest office. For six years Marius had ruled the Roman state. It seemed at the time the result of the capacity or the ambition of one man; but as we look back at it, it is seen to be, in fact though not in name, the inauguration of the empire. The political machinery of the republic had been for six years set aside in favour of the personal rule of a great and popular soldier. From this time onwards this was the usual, though irregular, government of Rome, until at last it became regularized and systematized as the empire.

Marius as a politician.

We must note, too, that the character of the Roman army was changing. Entrance into it had formerly been the privilege of Roman citizens of some property. This barrier was thrown down by Marius. The prospect of pay and plunder attracted the needy to his ranks; and the mercenary and professional army thus created was the instrument whereby in the end the Roman republic was overthrown and the empire established. For the army came to be more and more divorced from citizenship; its devotion was not to the constantly changing officials of the Roman state, but to its own general, to whom it looked for pay and plunder.

A survey of the next fifty years will show us that there was plenty of fighting for this new army. There was a breathing space for some ten years, and then there came a war of an ominous kind. The allies of Rome in Italy, that is the Italian communities which had in the past been conquered by Rome, broke out into rebellion. We have seen that the devotion of these very allies had saved Rome from destruction in the time of Hannibal. Rome's political genius was shown nowhere more clearly than in her conciliatory treatment of them. Generosity had proved the best policy, and they were ready to merge their existence in that of Rome. But

The Social War (91–90 B.C.).

Rome's attitude to them had changed of late. She was not indeed a cruel mistress; the grievances of the allies did not amount to oppression. But the road to equality that formerly seemed opening was now closed; the officials of Rome offended the Italians by their contemptuous pride. And at the same time the Italians were conscious of their strength when they saw that they contributed the majority of the soldiers in the Roman armies. They had hoped for long that their grievances would find peaceful redress, and when that hope failed them they broke into rebellion. The Roman armies were defeated; to persist in the war would have brought utter ruin, and Rome had the good sense to yield. Citizenship was thrown open to the Italians, and soon all the free inhabitants of Italy were upon terms of political equality. But note that this vast increase of Roman citizens made the maintenance of the old republican forms still more difficult. How could more than a million Roman citizens gather together in a single public assembly? This vast extension of the franchise made Roman "liberty" a farce, and paved the way for the empire.

Mithridates.

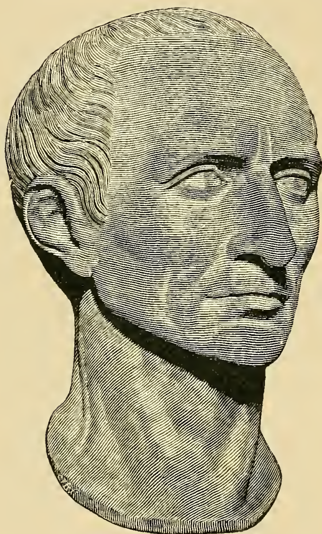
While this civil war was blazing in Italy, the East was agitated by the designs of Mithridates, King of Pontus, a district in the north-east of Asia Minor. Rome had met no such dangerous opponent since Hannibal; but he does not deserve to be coupled with the great Carthaginian, for it was Roman corruption and the confusion of government which alone allowed Mithridates to appear strong. His armies overwhelmed Asia Minor and invaded Greece. The Roman hold upon the East seemed fatally loosened. But when the first danger from the social war was over, Sulla came out to Greece, and his military genius broke the Pontic armies in a brilliant campaign, and Mithridates was forced to sue for peace. But shortly after Sulla had returned to Rome the intrigues of Mithridates recommenced, and soon issued in war. All Asia Minor fell back into his hands, and again the confusions and revolutions of Roman government were his chief source of strength. Pompeius (Pompey the Great) was at length sent against him, backed by the whole might of Rome; and it was at once plain that Asia could not yet produce any power which could

The triumph of Pompey.

cope with that of Rome. Mithridates fled to the Crimea and died there. The armies of Pompey passed victoriously into Armenia and into Syria. Asia, as far as the Euphrates, was organized afresh under the Roman power. Syria was declared a Roman province. The turn of Egypt would clearly come soon. Pompey returned in triumph in 62 B.C.

It was upon the northern frontier that the arms of Rome were next required. In the year 59 Julius Caesar received the command of the province of Gaul, which then did not extend far from the Mediterranean shore. He found the Roman province threatened by an incursion of the Helvetii (or Swiss) and the Suevi (or Germans). It was a danger comparable to that with which the Cimbri and Teutons had threatened Rome in the years 105 to 100 B.C. Caesar defeated both Swiss and Germans, and then undertook the conquest of all Gaul up to the Rhine frontier. No Roman general had ever a more important task. The Gauls were a brave and warlike people, but without any national cohesion. The rivalry between the different tribes was so great that it was always possible for Caesar to find allies in every district which he attacked. His armies passed victoriously, though not without fierce fighting, to the mouth of the Rhine and the Pyrenees. They even crossed the Rhine and showed their strength to the German tribes beyond. In 55, and again in 54, Caesar crossed over to Britain, impelled by a love of adventure and a desire to prevent the Britons from giving help to their kindred beyond the narrow seas. Upon his return he found

Julius Caesar in Gaul.



Julius Caesar.

(*From a Bust in the British Museum.*)

that the Gauls had gained from their disasters a stronger national feeling than they had before possessed, and, under their great leader Vercingetorix, had broken out into a determined revolt. Caesar had to fight now as he had never had to fight before; but his genius, acting through Roman military science and discipline, carried the day at last. The heroic Vercingetorix was driven to surrender at Alesia in 52, and Caesar could then devote himself to the peaceful organization of his conquests. Notice how great were the results of these campaigns. They freed Rome for centuries from the fear of barbarian invasion; they laid the foundation of the French language and the later French civilization; and it was through them that Caesar was able to interfere with decisive effect in the domestic politics of Rome and lay the foundations of the Roman Empire.

Last struggle of Gallic liberty.

CHAPTER XIII

The Completion of the Roman Revolution

Sulla returns from the East	83 B.C.
Death of Sulla	78 B.C.
Conspiracy of Catiline	63 B.C.
First Triumvirate	60 B.C.
Outbreak of Civil War	49 B.C.
Battle of Pharsalia	48 B.C.

It is to the internal history of Rome that we must now turn, and we must survey in a few sentences fifty years of political unrest issuing in occasional spasms of revolution. There was a fierce conflict of rival ambitions. Great names appear in the struggle: Marius and Sulla, Caesar, Crassus and Pompey. But the struggle did not depend upon the rivalries of individuals; nor even upon the tenacity of the Senate, or the desire of the people for power. The old Roman Constitution no longer availed for the vastly increased citizen body and the world-wide empire. How was it to be adapted to the new task? If the aristocracy of the

The nature of the conflict.

Senate were overthrown, could a democratic form of government be substituted? We have seen how impossible that solution was. But it was not until half a century of conflicts and experiments that Rome acquiesced at last in the military monarchy which is called the empire.

Marius as a Revolutionist.

We must return to the year 100, when, victorious over the Northern barbarians, Marius returned to Rome. He was consul for the sixth time, and he aspired now to a political career. But he seems to have possessed no talent for politics. He joined with two associates in bringing forward a democratic programme; but when riots and street-fighting broke out as a result of his proposals, he was induced to desert his associates and assist the Senate in restoring order. His late colleagues were defeated, and perished; the power of the Senate was re-established; and Marius had completely ruined his political prospects.

The Social War, and its political results.

The State after this suffered from no great convulsion until the question of the demands of the allies brought Rome face to face with a most serious problem. We have already seen that Roman statesmanship was unequal to its solution; and the Italians in the end gained their object by the sword. But during the struggle, the rivalry of Marius and Sulla blazed out into fierce civil war. Marius, as a politician, was trusted by no one, but he belonged to the democratic party, if to any; Sulla was by origin and conviction a defender of the Senatorial and conservative cause. When the flames of the Italian war were dying down, there arose the question of the command in the great war against Mithridates. It was a command eagerly desired; it was certain to bring, both to the commanders and the armies, glory, victory, and immense plunder. The possession of the prize was the occasion of a short but fierce civil war. Rome was captured by Sulla; Marius fled for his life; and the victor, though he left Rome in frightful confusion behind him, sailed at once for the East. We have already seen his victorious career there.

Sulla's withdrawal left Rome in the hands of the democratic party. Marius returned, and he found a colleague

politically much abler than himself, in Cinna. But Marius soon died. No permanent changes were introduced into the State. The return of Sulla's ever-victorious army was the thought uppermost in every one's mind, and when Cinna tried to lead an army to fight against Sulla, his troops mutinied and murdered him. When Sulla returned in 83, he found only disorganized forces to resist him. He crushed them easily, and punished his opponents with merciless cruelty. Marius had presided over one "reign of terror;" and now, under the rule of Sulla, there was another and a worse one. The ferocity of Roman politics during this period is a striking contrast to the self-discipline and gravity that the Romans of an earlier period had been so proud to possess.

Sulla's absence and return.

A coin of Mithridates, but the head is that of Alexander the Great, whose fame in the East was so great that it was adopted as the symbol of Royalty.

When Sulla was the master of the Roman State, he took to himself the title of "Dictator for the making of laws and the reformation of the Commonwealth," and he proceeded with great skill and energy so to alter the machinery of the State, that, as he hoped, the rule of the Senate might be re-established on foundations from which neither democratic violence nor the power of a great soldier should be able to dislodge it. With this end in view he almost destroyed the power of the Tribune of the People, he increased the number of officials in the State, he gave to the Senate a power over legislation which they had hitherto possessed in fact but not in theory. It was the work of a man of genius—one of the ablest men, whether for politics or war, that the Roman state ever produced: but the aim of these changes was party triumph, and personal vengeance; they were little more than a measure of reaction which ran counter to all the tendencies of the times. The power of the people and of the army was too great to be checked by a mere paper constitution, and a few years after the death of Sulla (78), hardly a trace was left of his elaborate scheme of government.

Of the forces that thrust Rome forward to empire the military situation was the most important. After the death of Sulla, the State exhibited all the symptoms of decadence—disorder at home, disasters abroad. Most ominous of all, the slaves of Southern Italy broke out into a fierce and successful revolt, and the pirates of the Eastern Mediterranean formed themselves into something like an organized power, that made traffic on the seas almost impossible.

Piracy and revolted slaves.

But Rome possessed a reserve of force more than equal to the combating of these dangers. Crassus defeated the slaves. Pompey crushed the pirates and carried the Roman armies in triumph into the Far East. And meanwhile the constitution which Sulla had so carefully elaborated went utterly to pieces. Rome needed a strong centralized government to meet these pressing dangers, not a system of checks and balances in the interest of the Senate. The demand of the People for the restoration of its powers was backed by the ambitious army-chiefs, who found their career blocked by Sulla's conditions. No real resistance was made to their demand. This restored tribunate of the people was again a strong power in the State. It was upon the proposal of a tribune, and by a vote of the people, that Pompey was sent with almost monarchical power against the pirates, and against Mithridates. Those who could read the signs of the times might have seen that the rule of the Senatorial aristocracy was gone beyond all possibility of recall. Some regarded the great powers given to Pompey as being in themselves the establishment of monarchy.

Overthrow of Sulla's constitution.

As the time approached when Pompey would return from the East, Rome was thrown into great excitement and confusion. He clearly had the power to play the part of Sulla, to make himself dictator, or king, if he chose. Would he so choose? The Senate and the popular party, though both had contributed to the rise of Pompey, regarded his return with equal alarm. These political fears, joined to economical troubles of the time and the ambitions of certain individuals, caused the outbreak of a strange movement, which is known as the conspiracy of Catiline. Its aim,

The conspiracy of Catiline (63 B.C.).

perhaps, was to establish a power in Rome, of a popular revolutionary nature, which should be able to hold Pompey in check on his return. But the movement was defeated, through the energy of Cicero, who dreamed still of a senatorial republic rendered stable by the support of all the moneyed classes. So when Pompey came home there was neither military nor political organization to resist him.

Pompey's character and aims.

The monarchy (by whatever name) was in his grasp if he wished to have it. But he would not have it by revolutionary means. He was ambitious, but loyal to the State. Power had been offered him, almost thrust upon him in the past; he would not grasp at it with personal violence now. So he dismissed his dreaded army, became a citizen among citizens, and relied on their gratitude for his further advance. He was soon undeceived. All parties were relieved when he dropped the sword from his hand. The Senate especially began to treat him as a subordinate, refused his requests, and soon drove him into the ranks of its enemies. It was clear that if he were to rise to power again, he must find allies; and in the year 60, he entered into an alliance with Crassus, the wealthiest man in Rome, and Julius Caesar, a prominent man on the democratic side; they agreed to unite their forces for common action. This arrangement is known as the First Triumvirate. It was a personal and secret arrangement, suspected by contemporaries but not openly declared. Pompey brought his immense military reputation and the enthusiasm of his disbanded soldiers; Crassus brought his enormous wealth and considerable military and political experience: Julius Caesar had apparently less to give and more to get from the triumvirate. But he was the leader of the popular party; his military and political genius, which was shortly to make him the leading figure in all Roman history, could hardly be conjectured as yet; but he was a tried soldier already, a skilful intriguer, an admirable speaker, and none could so certainly secure the support of the Roman populace as he.

The First Triumvirate.

The union of these three men was enough to control the State. Caesar was elected consul for the year 59. He introduced measures that secured for Pompey the recognition that

he desired ; and it was decided by a law (introduced by a tribune, Vatinius) that Caesar should receive the provincial command in Gaul on both sides of the Alps and Illyria, and that Pompey meanwhile should remain in Rome, and secure its subordination to the triumvirate. Some satisfaction for Crassus was to be found later. As a pledge of unity between the two chief members of the triumvirate, Pompey was to marry Caesar's daughter, Julia.

Rivalry between Caesar and Pompey.

We have already seen something of the military history of the period of the triumvirate. Caesar's command in Gaul was extended from five to ten years, and before its end he had invaded Britain and Germany, and conquered Gaul. But during the course of those ten years the bonds of the triumvirate were strained, and finally snapped. Pompey's wife, Julia, died. In 53, Crassus was defeated and slain by the Parthians in a campaign which he had claimed as his share in the triumvirate. And while Caesar went from triumph to triumph, Pompey displayed little skill and scored no great success in his management of Rome. His star paled, as Caesar's brightened into a fiery splendour. He looked round him for support against his former colleague, whom he now felt to be his rival, and he found support in the Senate. When the ninth year of Caesar's command arrived, Pompey had drawn closely to the side of the Senate, and as their representative was ready to resist the great military power of Caesar. There was much diplomatic fencing before the outbreak of war, and when in January, 49, Caesar crossed the Rubicon and began the war, he was able to assume the *rôle* of a defender of the liberties of the people, and even of the constitution against the action of Pompey and the Senate.

The civil war of Caesar against Pompey.

It was believed at Rome that Caesar stood little chance against the Senatorial armies commanded by Pompey. But nine years of victorious warfare had made Caesar's legions a fighting force of wonderful discipline, rapidity, and efficiency. Caesar's orders were obeyed without question by the whole army ; while on the other side, there was perpetual friction between Pompey and the Senatorial nobles. Caesar's personality

also counted for very much. His unsurpassed genius for politics and war, his power of inspiring confidence in his officers and his men, the reputation he had won in his Gallic campaigns, made him a unique figure. It was feared at first that he would use victory in the spirit of Sulla, and that the lives and property of all his opponents would be in danger. But Caesar was as conspicuous among all his rivals for generosity and clemency as he was for military skill. His troops were restrained from plunder, he set his enemies free when they fell into his hands. In consequence there followed a great revulsion of feeling in Italy. The constant changes of eighty years had left little real devotion to republican ideals. The inhabitants of Italy were chiefly anxious for the security of their property; and, once assured on this point, they soon transferred their favour from the Senate to Caesar.

The victory of Caesar.

The campaign that followed was, almost without an exception, favourable to Caesar. Pompey, in spite of his early boasting, was unequal to making any resistance in Italy; and he fled to Epirus and the East, hoping that the memory of his former victories would suffice to rally a great army to his side. As soon as Caesar had made himself master of Italy, he turned west to secure Spain, and then passed over to Epirus in pursuit of Pompey. After the issue of the campaign had been for some little time doubtful, he utterly defeated Pompey in the great battle of Pharsalia in Thessaly (48 B.C.). Pompey fled from the battle, but was subsequently killed in Egypt, by those who thought to do Caesar a service. After Pompey's death the Senatorial party still held out in Africa, and was able to raise its head again in Spain. But in both places they were defeated, and after 45 there was no open resistance made to Caesar in any part of the Roman world.

CHAPTER XIV

The Establishment of the Roman Empire

Assassination of Julius Caesar . . . . 44 B.C.
Battle of Actium . . . . 31 B.C.
Death of Augustus . . . . 14 A.D.

The plans of Julius Caesar for the constitution of the empire.

JULIUS CAESAR is rightly regarded as the founder of the Roman Empire, though its actual constitution was in many ways different from what he desired. His career was cut short in 44 by assassination; but even in the short time that his power lasted, his marvellous activity and energy accomplished enough to allow us to understand what kind of machine of government he intended to replace the rule of the senatorial republic. The new personal monarchical power was to be openly proclaimed, though the actual title of the new power was not determined. The title of dictator was unpopular because of its association with Sulla, and Caesar thought it necessary to refuse the title of King. But it was clear that the government of Rome was henceforth to be centralized in the hands of a single person, and that the old balanced constitution of Rome was at an end. Many features of the old constitution were to remain, and were to be adapted to the new circumstances. The Senate, which had been for centuries the real Government of Rome, was to be enlarged to nine hundred members. It was to contain members drawn from all parts of the Roman Empire, and was to become a representative and consultative council of the new ruler. He showed himself liberal to the provinces, ready to grant Roman citizenship to the provincials, and anxious to protect them from misgovernment. The popular assemblies of the people of Rome were destined to lose their importance, but the city was to be well cared for, and to find in material prosperity a compensation for the loss of political power.

The real importance of Julius Caesar's career is to be found, not in these transitory political measures, but in the fact that

with him the imperial system was inaugurated, which was destined to be, under all its many transformations, the most long-lived of all political institutions. For the present the Roman republican traditions were too strong for it. Much of what was best and worst in Roman political life joined to oppose the new *régime*. Caesar was assassinated (44 B.C.), and the Roman world was plunged again into a period of civil war.

Assassination of Julius Caesar, and renewed civil war.

Bust of Gaius Octavius, afterwards Augustus.

(*From How and Leigh's "History of Rome."*)

But the forces driving Rome towards monarchy were too strong to be resisted. First, the so-called "liberators" were defeated by a second triumvirate, consisting of Octavianus Caesar, Antony, and Lepidus, men who upheld the tradition of Caesarism. And then the history of the first triumvirate was to some extent

paralleled in the second. The weak Lepidus was thrust on one side. The real rivals were Mark Antony, an old soldier and supporter of Julius Caesar, and Octavianus Caesar, afterwards to be known as the Emperor Augustus, the grand-nephew of Julius. It was thought at first that all the strength of the latter lay in his relationship to the murdered dictator, and that he could be used as a tool by abler

The young Augustus.

The Forum, Rome.

(*Photo: Frith & Son.*)

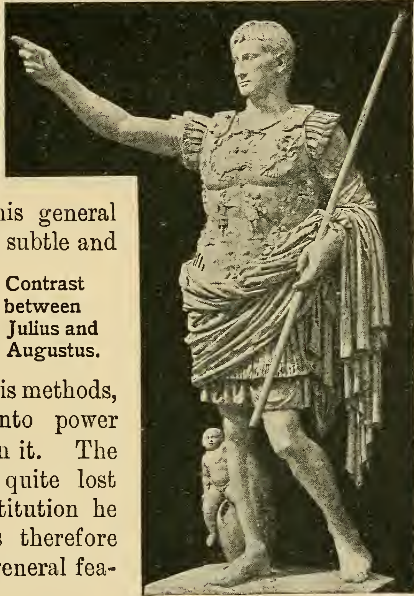
This is a view of the Forum as it was about 1880, taken from the slope of the Capitoline hill. The columns on the left of the picture belong to the Temple of Vespasian; then comes the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus. The columns on the right belong to the temple of Saturn, which was used as the Treasury of Rome.

men. But he soon proved more than a match for all rivals. He was no soldier, but he was a most dexterous intriguer, cautious and resolute, capable of eliciting the confidence of others while concealing his own designs. Boyish though he was in years and appearance, he defeated in the end his military and experienced rival. First, they agreed to portion the Roman world between them; Mark Antony ruled the East from Egypt,

while the young Caesar resided in Rome, and not only governed the West, but soon became identified with the best traditions of Rome, while Antony seemed a corrupt Oriental despot, of a kind that Romans had always abhorred. When the open struggle came, in 31 B.C., Mark Antony was defeated by his subtle rival at Actium, and fled to his death at Alexandria.

The young Caesar, whom we will henceforth call Augustus, ruled now without question. There was a great contrast between him and his greater namesake and relative. Julius is direct in his action and his thought; ready for change; open in the declaration of his general aims. But Augustus is subtle and politic, a master of dissimulation, anxious to retain as much as possible of the forms of the past, indirect in his methods, insinuating himself into power rather than seizing upon it. The Roman Empire never quite lost the traces of the constitution he gave to it, and it is therefore necessary to mark its general features.

Contrast between Julius and Augustus.



Statue of Augustus in the Vatican.

Its chief feature was that the new imperial *régime* was presented as the continuation of the republic. Augustus took to himself no absolutely new title. He was neither "dictator" nor "king;" he was only "princeps," the chief man in the state. His name of Augustus was a title of veneration drawn from the language of religion, not a title of office. The whole machinery of the old constitution subsisted still in name. The state was still in name a republic; its government was still in name vested in

The "Augustan" settlement of the empire.

the Senate and people of Rome. Augustus loved to appear only as the chief magistrate of the State; as one into whose unwilling hands the Senate and people had thrust great powers, which he was anxious in due time to lay down again. In his home on the Palatine Hill, in the streets of Rome, in the meetings of the Senate, he assumed the pose of a citizen whom his fellow citizens had delighted to honour. He avoided with great care all the trappings and ceremony of despotism. The position and power of the Senate seemed rather increased than diminished; it had in its hands the direct government of half the provinces, while the emperor controlled the rest. But none the less, Augustus was really master of the Roman world, and his power rested on a military basis. None was allowed to share with him the control of the army. During the next three centuries we may see the pretence of republican forms gradually abandoned, until in the end the empire appears as a military despotism of the Oriental type—the very type of government which Augustus had so carefully avoided.

The place of the Roman Empire in European history.

Thus the empire was founded. Let us consider for a moment its place in general European history. It stands at the very centre of European development: all earlier history leads up to it; all later history is developed from it. Certain great consequences may be traced to its establishment. First, it gave immense relief to the Roman provinces, which had of late been terribly misgoverned. The individual members of the Senate had an interest in perpetuating that misgovernment. The new permanent ruler of the whole empire had no such interest. Misgovernment was still heard of, but, on the whole, a much better era for the provinces now dawned. Secondly, the empire brought peace to the Roman world. It is unquestioned that the countries covered by the Roman Empire have never enjoyed so profound a period of peace as they did between 31 B.C. and 180 A.D. The rare wars of that period were, most of them, fought beyond the frontiers of the empire. The great central provinces of the empire enjoyed almost unbroken peace. Thirdly, the stability and peace which the Roman Empire gave allowed the language and the law, the culture and the ideas of Rome, to sink into the conquered

provinces. Both in the East and West, but especially in the West, they assimilated Roman civilization with marvellous rapidity. They ceased to feel that they were conquered by Rome; they were rather incorporated in her; and when at last the empire broke up, the provinces viewed the separation with regret. Fourthly, and lastly, the establishment of the Roman Empire stands in close relation to the growth and victory of the Christian Church. The universal State had come, and seemed to require a universal religion. The two centuries of peace allowed men's minds to turn away from military ideals, and to realize the strength of the bonds which unite the whole human family. The security of the roads, the ease of transit, the common language, all facilitated the spread of a common religion, to which pagan thought approximated in some important points. When the Church began to organize its government, it followed very closely the political organization of the empire. The Christian Church could not have developed as it did without the protecting envelope of the imperial government.

For the Roman Empire Mommsen's History is no longer available as it ends with Julius Caesar; but his *History of the Roman Provinces under the Empire* is useful. *Merivale's History of the Romans under the Empire* carries the story down to the death of Marcus Aurelius. *Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* then becomes the great work on the subject. (The best edition is that annotated by Professor Bury, published by Methuen.) *Dr. Hodgkin's Italy and her Invaders* takes up the story of Italy in the third century, and carries it on to the ninth. The *Ecclesiastical Histories* of *Milman* and *Robertson* begin to be of great value. Smaller histories are *The Student's Roman Empire by Professor Bury* and *The Student's Gibbon. Professor Dill's Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, and *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire* are invaluable for the social and religious history of the time.

Valuable illustrations can be drawn from classical literature, especially from *Pliny's Letters*, *Marcus Aurelius' Meditations*, the writings of *Lucian*. *Robinson's Readings in European History* are of use from the second century onwards.

Some historical atlas is necessary. One of the completest is *Droysen's Historischer Hand-Atlas*. The *Album Historique*, by *Lavisse and Parmentier* (4 vols.) gives thousands of illustrations of costume, armour, architecture, etc.

The Roman Empire.

CHAPTER XV

The Early Roman Emperors

Varus defeated in Germany . . . . . 9 A.D.
Overthrow of Nero . . . . 68 A.D.
Vespasian Emperor . . . . 69 A.D.

The conquests of Augustus.

THE Roman Empire was, as a rule, a pacific and non-aggressive state, but during the rule of Augustus certain additions were made to Roman territory, chiefly for strategical purposes, in order to gain a scientific and defensible frontier. Upon the north the frontier was to consist of the Rhine and the Danube, and it was necessary, in order to bring the Roman dominions up to these rivers, to conquer the Alpine lands. This task, which so many invaders in a later age have found an impossible one, was accomplished without much effort, for the people had no strong national sentiment, and their armies were easily beaten down. There was at one time an idea of pushing the Roman frontier still further north and east, and making the Elbe and the Danube the frontier of the empire. Had such a policy been successful, Rome would have had a more easily defensible frontier, and Germany would have been brought under the influence of Rome. But, after great early successes, the Roman efforts ended in a great disaster. A Roman general, Varus, with a considerable army was defeated in 9 A.D., and though the conquest of Germany was again attempted, it was in the end abandoned, and the Rhine and the Danube remained as before the frontier line of Rome on the north.

The frontiers of the Roman Empire.

If we follow the frontier line on the map, we see it taking in all Asia Minor and extending as far as the Euphrates, so as to embrace all Syria. Thence it cuts along the north coast of Africa, embracing all Egypt and the fertile district along the north of Africa. Westward the Roman Empire was, in the days of Augustus, bounded by the Atlantic and the Bay of Biscay. The Roman dominions thus possessed excellent frontiers, and the "barbarian" races beyond were in no case organized or efficient

states. It was possible, therefore, to defend these vast dominions with, comparatively, a very small army. It is reckoned that there were not more than four hundred thousand soldiers in all in the empire, and those for the most part were stationed at or near the frontier.

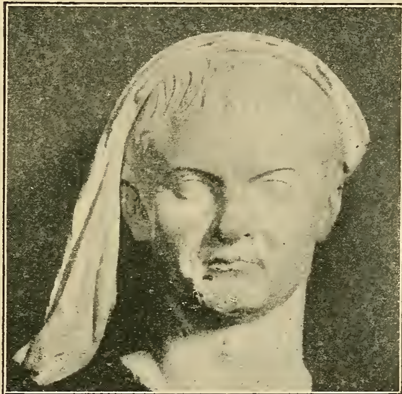
The relation of Augustus to literature and religion.

The empire rested on a military basis, and Augustus knew it. But he knew, too, the strength of public opinion and the importance of religion, and he was anxious to bring both forces to the support of his system. He acted upon public opinion through the medium of Latin literature, which now reached its zenith. Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Livy all belong to his reign, and all adopted a tone favourable to the house of Augustus and the *régime* that he had established. Religion, too, came to his support. Under Augustus there was a real, if superficial, revival of religion. New temples were built, and old ones were restored. Religion became fashionable. Virgil's poem, the "Aeneid," is throughout religious in tone, and bears testimony to the watchful care with which the gods had planned the foundation of Rome. Even Horace and Ovid were induced to lend support to the new movement, and there can be no doubt that this union between the empire and religious sentiment was of service to both. But the chief religious innovation of the time was the gradual growth of the practice of the worship of the emperors, living or deceased—Caesar-worship as it is usually called. This movement was spontaneous in its origin, and spread rapidly over the face of the empire. It does not correspond to much that our age calls religion or worship; it was little more than an expression of reverence and gratitude to the empire, and it doubtless had a great effect in securing the loyalty of the population.

The drawbacks to the Roman Empire.

The Roman Empire was, we have insisted, an inevitable change in the constitution, bringing peace and adding to the prosperity of the dominions of Rome. But it suffered from the first from serious drawbacks. The fiction that the republican constitution was still maintained proved a source of irritation in the long run, for the Senate desired to regain something of its

old power, and was not content with the position of subordination which belonged to it under the empire. No regulation, moreover, could be made as to the succession while the pretence was kept up that the princeps or emperor was only an officer of the republic. When therefore the tact and discretion of Augustus were no longer found in the emperors, the old republican aspirations revived, and caused constant irritation and trouble. The position, too, which the emperor held was one very dangerous to the moral character. Never has a man been placed on so high a pinnacle of power as these Roman emperors. They were absolute masters of the civilized world. They had no rival powers to hold them in check; they were surrounded by flattery of the basest kind; a thousand altars were erected in their honour. At the same time they had no traditions to fall back upon. The traditional morality of Rome was against such a position as theirs. No wonder then that what has been called "the dizziness of supreme power" fell upon them, and that they exhibited often an egotism that bordered on madness, and that the palace history of the early Roman Emperors is full of scandals and tragedies. Yet it is easy to pay too much attention to the domestic history of the emperors. The stories of their lives often come to us from poisoned sources, and are perhaps the work of malevolent gossip. Even during the reigns of the worst of them the imperial machine worked on, and for a long time the peace and order of the empire were unbroken.



Tiberius.

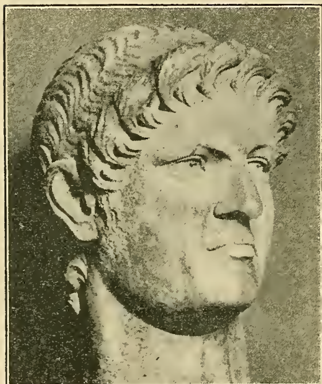
(*From a Bust in the British Museum*; but it is doubtful whether this is really a portrait of the Emperor.)

Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus, was a vigorous soldier

and ruler, but his latter years were passed in retirement at Capreae, and clouded by rumours of suspicion and cruelty.

The first early emperors.

Caligula, who came next, after a short period of good rule, seems to have been afflicted with madness. He claimed divine honours, and took a pleasure in degrading the Senate and officials of Rome. Claudius was a scholar and a ruler of good and liberal ideas; but in his own house he was the tool of women and men of servile origin. Upon his death Nero was raised to the imperial power by the intrigues of his mother. At first he ruled well and liberally; but on attaining to full manhood his vices and crimes disgraced the imperial position as even Caligula had not disgraced it. He indulged in vast building schemes, and he heavily taxed Rome to provide the expense. He claimed to be a great singer, athlete, and artist, and the flattery of Rome allowed his claims. Rome could be mocked and plundered with impunity; but Nero went so far as to offend the armies, and then he was overthrown by a military revolution.



Nero.

(*From the Bust in the British Museum.*)

The empire was military in its origin, and rested upon the support of the army. In addition to the legions that guarded the frontiers, there was a considerable body of troops (the Praetorian Guards) quartered at the gates of Rome for the defence of the emperor himself, and to keep guard over the order of Rome. These guards were selected with special care and received higher pay than the ordinary troops, and hitherto had seemed to be a trustworthy support. But Nero's extravagance, the reports of his corrupt and cruel life, the disgust of the soldiers at their army chief's artistic ambition, and some failure in the machinery of provincial government due to a succession of

The military revolution of 69 A.D.

weak emperors, now caused a series of military risings in various parts of the empire. For nearly two years the peace of the provinces was rudely shaken. One army after another declared its commander emperor and marched, or attempted to march, on Italy. First the legions of Spain, Gaul, and Germany began to move, but before that movement came to a head the Praetorian Guard at Rome declared against Nero.

Vespasian.

(From the Marble Bust in the Capitoline Museum.)

Energy and courage might very likely have saved him, but he had neither. He fled from Rome, and, on the report of the approach of the enemy, committed suicide. The Praetorians declared for Galba, an old man of severe and simple life, who had formerly been Governor of Spain, and with their help he became master of Rome. But they soon wearied of his economy and his virtues ; and when Otho, a Roman noble of luxurious habits and great wealth, made overtures to them,

they readily transferred their allegiance to him. Galba was murdered, and Otho reigned in his stead.

Vespasian seizes the empire.

The spectacle of these revolutions had now aroused all the legions of the empire. Each section of the army saw a chance of winning the purple for their commander and plunder for themselves. First, the legions of the German frontier declared for Vitellius, a pleasure-loving and voluptuous man, and prepared to march on Rome. The Praetorians by themselves were unequal to meeting the German army, and they summoned the Danubian legions to their help. The decisive battle was fought at Bedriacum, and the German legions won. Vitellius occupied Rome, and Italy, which had enjoyed a profound peace for nearly one hundred years, was again plundered and harried. But the end was not yet. In Judaea, Vespasian commanded the Syrian Army, which was occupied in the siege of Jerusalem, and his soldiers, jealous of the German legions, called upon him to assume the purple and march on Rome. He marched and conquered, but not until a fierce battle had been fought at Cremona. Each successive wave had conquered the preceding one. Vespasian's was the last, and with him a new era in Roman history began.

Character of the Revolution.

The risings of these two years were military and not national in character. Their motive was usually envy, rivalry, or greed. There is no trace in them of provincial aspirations towards freedom. It is noticeable, too, that to the Italians the armies seemed to be composed of foreigners. The soldiers were no longer Italians or even Romanized provincials. Rome was drawing her armies from the rougher provincial populations, and even from the barbarians beyond the frontier. We shall recur to this fact when we are considering the fall of the empire.

CHAPTER XVI

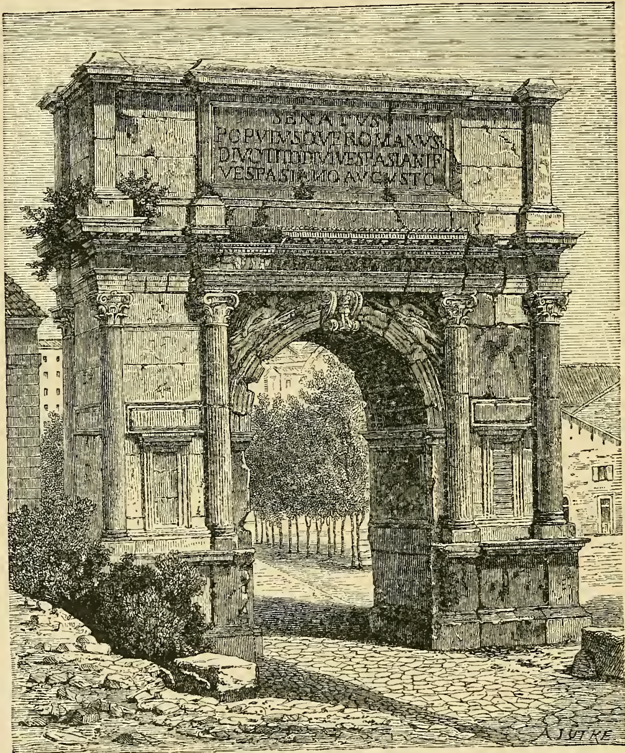
The Age of the Antonines (96–180 A.D.)

Trajan, Emperor . . . . 98–117 A.D.
Marcus Aurelius, Emperor . . . 161–180 A.D.

We have said that with the accession of Vespasian a new era for the empire begins. The early emperors had all of them been of noble Roman birth, and looked at things from the standpoint of an aristocrat of the city of Rome. But Vespasian was of Italian, not of Roman, origin. There was nothing of the aristocrat about his appearance or his character, and the traditions of the city of Rome carried no weight with him. From this time onwards the imperial power never rests with the old Roman families. The Roman Empire ceases to be in any sense governed by the city of Rome. First Italians succeed to the purple, and then soon afterwards men of provincial origin. Spaniards, Africans, Syrians, Pannonians, hold in turn the imperial power; but Rome, which had conquered the world, finds herself, by her very conquest, excluded from power. The new men brought to the task of government a wider and more liberal outlook. With Vespasian the best age of the empire begins. His reign saw one fierce war—the reduction of Judaea, which was only completed when his son Titus captured the city of Jerusalem and destroyed, so far as it was destructible, the Jewish nationality, and laid waste the Holy City. The destruction of Jerusalem has a vast importance in the history of religion; but the war was never of doubtful issue, and did not shake in any way the stability of the imperial system. The rest of Vespasian's reign was occupied with the restoration of the finances and prosperity of the empire, which had been seriously damaged by the late spasm of revolution, and before he died his task was accomplished. He was succeeded by his son Titus, and he, after a very short reign, by his brother Domitian. The reign of Domitian, however, recalls the worst excesses of the early empire, and goes far to show

Character of the empire after Vespasian.

that the cruelty and vice which are ascribed to them were not the result of madness or of a radically vicious temperament, but were largely due to the influence of the imperial position itself. Domitian's reign followed what may be called the



The Arch of Titus, Rome.

(*From Guhl und Koner's "Leben der Griechen und Römer."*)

This arch was erected to commemorate the capture of Jerusalem by Titus. On the sculptured slabs under the archway a procession is represented, carrying in triumph the seven-branched candlestick and other sacred vessels of the Jews.

normal course: early promise of good rule, great expenses, oppressive measures in order to meet them, conspiracies answered by repressive cruelties, and at last a conspiracy that succeeded.

But at his death the better tendencies of the time reasserted themselves, and the next ninety years may be regarded as the Golden Age of the empire. The reigns of five emperors fill up this period: Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius. Only the last two are, strictly speaking, "Antonines," but so great was the honour in which they were held that the name has been adopted for the whole group, and the period is usually spoken of as the "Age of the Antonines." It is of great importance that the main features of this period should be understood.

The Golden Age of the empire.

Many of the constitutional difficulties of the earlier empire seemed overcome. We have already seen how serious had been the difficulties arising out of the question of the succession. There was not, and there could hardly be, any definite law of succession. The matter had, as a rule, been decided partly by connection of birth with the last emperor, partly by the support of the Senate, and often by intrigue, and often by violence. During the Age of the Antonines there was no rule laid down, but in practice each emperor chose as his successor some public servant who seemed capable of bearing the burden of rule; he adopted him as his son, and bestowed upon him such honours as clearly announced his right to succeed. The system worked admirably and gave to the empire an unparalleled series of devoted and efficient rulers.

Characteristics of the rule of the Antonines.

The relations between the empire and the Senate had been another source of difficulty in the early empire. It would be untrue to say that all difficulties were over; but as a rule the Senate was treated with tact and consideration by the emperors, and accepted its position as the emperor's consultative council and a subordinate agency of government.

Another feature of the empire about this time (though by no means confined to the Age of the Antonines) is the vast development of municipal government within the Roman Empire. The civilization of the classical world was a city civilization; and never was there such a number of flourishing and self-governed cities as during the second century of

the Christian era. The Roman Empire encouraged them everywhere; their government followed the lines of the former government of the city of Rome; the chief magistrates were called *duumviri*, the town council was in the hands of the *decurions*. Inscriptions and remains show us how vigorous and prosperous this municipal life was throughout the empire. The walls of Pompeii were covered with election placards at the time of its destruction. Both the splendour and the fall of the empire are closely connected with its municipal history.

Municipal government in the Roman Empire.

Peace had all along been a characteristic of the empire, but it was most profound during the Age of the Antonines. Trajan was a great soldier, but his fighting was almost entirely beyond the frontiers. The reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius are devoid of important military history. And yet the armies of Rome were all along kept in a high condition of efficiency.

Peace.

Antoninus Pius.

(*From the Bust in the British Museum.*)

Born, 86 A.D.; emperor, 138–161 A.D.

The age, too, was becoming far more humane. The old harsh, unsympathetic Roman spirit was cast aside, and we have from these Antonine emperors a series of enactments in favour of slaves, in favour of orphans, and the poor. This humanitarian legislation was partly a spontaneous growth in an era of peace, but it is especially associated with the Stoic philosophy which was becoming a great power with the most cultured classes at Rome.

Humane legislation.

Thus the Age of the Antonines is a period of wonderful attractiveness. The great historian Gibbon has declared it to be "the period during which the condition of the human

race was most happy and prosperous." But it was a transitory phase, an "autumn summer" before one of the most wintry periods that the history of Europe has known. The causes of the great decline of the third century will be considered later. Meanwhile we may notice that the peace which characterized the age did not extend to thought and religion. In that domain there were fierce disputes—philosophy clashed with philosophy and religion with religion. The Christian Church was slowly working its way to victory from amidst

The war of philosophies and religions.

Trajan.

(*From the Bust in the British Museum.*)

Born, 52 A.D.; emperor, 98–117 A.D.

a confusion of divisions and heresies that bitterly opposed one another.

We must note now the chief events of the Age of the Antonines. Trajan (98–117) is usually counted the greatest of them. He was an excellent ruler, but his name is specially associated with war. He crossed the Danube and conquered the district of Dacia, rich in mineral wealth, and converted it into a province. Later he struck against the Parthian power which lay beyond the Euphrates, and had for long been the most dangerous neighbour of Rome. The Roman legions

triumphed at every point, and the lands beyond the Euphrates were brought under Roman provincial sway. Hadrian (117–138), who succeeded, is really the most typical of the Antonines. He abandoned Trajan's conquests beyond the Danube, but

Hadrian.
(From the Statue in the British Museum.)
Born, 76 A.D.; emperor, 117–138 A.D.

retained Dacia. His reign was largely occupied in travel through the provinces, during which he paid careful attention to their condition and finances. His whole reign was devoted to the welfare of the empire. He and Trajan were both of

Spanish origin, and during their reigns the provinces were placed almost completely on an equality with Italy. But the most important event of Hadrian's reign was the creation of a regular civil service for the administration of the empire. The pretence that the old republic was maintained had hitherto prevented this being done, and the government of the empire had been entrusted to the personal servants of the emperor, men usually of a slave origin, and often possessing the vices of slaves. But Hadrian organized a civil service in which men of good birth could find honourable employment. Soon it covered the empire with a vast network of officials. It ended by being an intolerable burden to the State; but that was only the corruption of a good institution. In the earlier period it was an agency at once efficient and beneficial. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the last of the "Antonines," the long calm of the empire broke up. The barbarians forced their way across the northern frontier, and though they were defeated and driven back, the old feeling of security was not quite restored. One great interest of the reign of Marcus lies in the philosophic character of the emperor. He was a Stoic. Stoicism, like all the philosophical systems of the Romans, was of Greek origin, but it had been eagerly accepted by the Romans, and, somewhat modified from its early form, had become the real religion of the cultured classes of Rome. The Stoics held that there was a beneficent will which guided the affairs of the world, and that it was the highest duty of man to co-operate with this Divine will; they preached a sense of human brotherhood; they held that the will of man was, or could be made, independent of circumstances; and that an unruffled calm was the highest

Creation of a regular civil service.

Marcus Aurelius (161–180).

Marcus Aurelius.

(*From the Bust in the British Museum.*)

Born, 121 A.D.; emperor, 161–180 A.D. This bust represents Marcus Aurelius in priestly costume.

good that man could attain to. There was much that was harsh and crude in their doctrines at first; but in the hands of Marcus it became a very noble and elevating creed. His so-called "meditations"—stray thoughts jotted down and collected after his death—form the most attractive manual of the Stoic faith. He was still nominally a supporter of the Pagan gods, but a consideration of his career will show us how great a change was coming over the thought and spirit of the Roman world.

CHAPTER XVII

The Great Decline in the Empire

Septimius Severus, Emperor . . . . 193 A.D.
Death of Alexander Severus . . . . 235 A.D.

The death of Marcus Aurelius marks a great crisis in the history of the empire. The long and splendid calm was over, and the empire now drifted into a period of confusion, civil and foreign war, and revolution, out of which it emerged still bearing the same name, but governed in a widely different spirit, inspired by different religious ideas, and struggling on less than equal terms with the surrounding barbarian races. It is important to examine the causes of this disastrous alteration. It may be that some escape our analysis, but certain outstanding features are plain.

The crisis in the empire and its causes.

We may note that the "constitutional settlement of the Antonines" — its arrangement of the succession and its friendliness with the Senate—rested on no assured basis. It was merely the tradition of five reigns, and, on the death of Marcus Aurelius, it was rudely interrupted. Marcus did not adopt the fittest of the servants of the empire to succeed him, but allowed his unworthy son Commodus to do so. He was an idle, passionate, self-indulgent man of the type of Caligula or Domitian. The crimes and cruelties that had disgraced the earlier period were

No constitutional settlement.

renewed, and led in the end to his assassination. The fine tradition of the Antonines was never re-established.

Some stress, too, may be laid on a terrible plague that afflicted the empire during the reign of Marcus. The legions were more than decimated by it, and it seriously weakened the defences of the empire; but its effects must have been transitory, and the decline in the empire was permanent. The plague cannot have been the real cause of that decline.

Plague.

More important and more deep-reaching causes of the change can, without difficulty, be discovered. The empire was an absolute and non-free form of government, and shows the instability which usually belongs to despotic rule. The central government of the empire had always been absolute; but full municipal liberty had been found in the countless cities of the empire. From the best intentions the Antonines had begun to interfere with the self-government of the cities, to prevent what seemed to be financial mismanagement or oppression; and before the end of the third century A.D. the cities, which had once been the refuge of liberty, had become centres of despotism which reproduced the features of the central government. This loss of municipal liberty took away from the provinces all elasticity and initiative, and at last handed them over as a helpless prey to an invading enemy as soon as the legions failed to protect them.

Effects of absolutism.

Note, too, that the military situation was becoming more difficult. The so-called "barbarians" were a far more dangerous enemy than they had once been. Their sons had served by tens of thousands in the Roman armies, and they carried back to their own countrymen a knowledge of Roman discipline and Roman military methods. It was for the present the German tribes upon the upper course of the Rhine and Danube which gave most trouble; but soon, on the lower Danube, the different tribes of the Goths attacked with deadly effect; while beyond the Euphrates, the Parthians, whom Trajan had so easily defeated, were reorganized by the new Sassanid monarchy, and, inspired by a revived religious zeal, showed themselves extremely dangerous to the empire. But we must be careful

The change in the barbarian forces.

not to exaggerate the strength of the barbarians and the weakness of the Romans. It was two centuries after the death of Marcus Aurelius before the barbarian armies showed a decisive superiority over the Romans.

The most important cause of change in the fortunes of the Roman Empire has yet to be mentioned. It is to be found in the growth of the Christian Church. The Church had been for a century and a half in the Roman world, and between the Church and the Roman Empire there was an inevitable antagonism. They were rival powers; both claimed the whole obedience of a man. The Church was an independent organization of an excellent and efficient kind: it formed "a state within a state," and, to the earnest Christian, the authority of the Church counted for more than the commands of the State. The Church did not, as a rule, denounce the empire as a wicked and hateful institution; and the empire had, for the most part (despite occasional persecutions), treated the Church with contemptuous toleration. But this toleration was impossible as the Church grew strong, as it attained a power that was a serious rival to that of the empire; and during the course of the third century, the friction between the two powers developed into a contest, in which the empire was, in the end, defeated. A new religion has always been the greatest of revolutionary forces: and the steady growth of Christianity seems to be everywhere the condition, and often the direct cause of the troubles of the third century. Christianity inspired its votaries with a new enthusiasm, turned their efforts towards a new goal, and, though by no means always in conflict with the empire, broke up its unity and necessarily weakened it.

The influence of Christianity.

The situation at the death of Commodus was very much like what it had been at the death of Nero. The Senate at once appointed an elderly member of their own body, Pertinax; but it was soon clear that the choice was not to be left in their hands, and, as in 69, the imperial authority was soon a prize for which all the armies of the empire struggled. The praetorian guards, the legions of Britain, Syria, Pannonia, all put forward candidates. It was with the last that victory in the end

Revolution at the death of Commodus.

rested, and in 193 their leader, Septimius Severus, became emperor of the Roman world.

Septimius Severus was of African descent. No province was more thoroughly Romanized than Africa; but Septimius Severus had no sympathy for the point of view of the City of Rome. He was wholly a soldier, and the problems of politics and citizenship only interested him in

Septimius Severus.

Septimius Severus.
(*From the Marble Bust in the Capitoline Museum.*)
Born, 146 A.D.; emperor, 193–211 A.D.

a secondary degree. The chief interest of his reign lies in his military policy. He broke up the praetorian guards and entrusted the capital of the empire to an ordinary detachment of the army. He increased the pay of the soldiers, and allowed the legionaries the privilege of wearing a golden ring. More important, he allowed them to marry, to possess property, and to live in permanent quarters. Such a step was doubtless popular, and its consequences could not at the time be foreseen.

But the legions, henceforth, came to have a special interest in one particular part of the empire, and were no longer ready to move at a moment's notice to any point of the defences where danger called them. The soldiers, too, came to a full consciousness of their own power, and the empire took a long step in the direction of a purely military despotism—the character which it plainly bears before the end of the century.

Septimius Severus died in York in 211. He was succeeded

Caracalla.

(*From the Marble Bust in the Vatican Museum.*)

Born, 188 A.D.; emperor, 211–217 A.D.

This bust of Caracalla is the last finely executed portrait of an emperor. After his reign the sculptor's art declined, and the later portrait-busts are of inferior execution.

Caracalla.

by his son, Caracalla, who carried on the general lines of his policy; but the event of his reign that is most memorable is his grant of full Roman citizenship to all free provincials. In this he was but completing the liberal tendencies of the empire; there had been all through a tendency to efface the difference between Roman and non-Roman among the free inhabitants of the empire. But it seems to have been rather a contempt for Rome than a sympathy with the provincials that inspired the grant of Caracalla. Financial considerations also played an important

part. Caracalla was in most respects a violent tyrant, and met his death by assassination in 217.

There came, on his death, another spasm of military revolution, and then the Syrian armies raised to the throne a young man who goes in history by the assumed name of Elagabalus. Septimius Severus and Caracalla were Africans. Now for two reigns the empire was in the hands of men of Syrian origin. Elagabalus was no war chief. He was a young man of effeminate appearance and habit, who had hitherto been destined to be the high priest of the god Elagabalus at Emesa in Syria. The legions raised him to the throne perhaps *because* of his weakness, which assured them that he would be unable to resist their demands. When four years later, after a career of vice and crime, his reign was ended by assassination, it was again a young man of no military experience whom the soldiers elevated to the throne. Alexander Severus was cousin of Elagabalus; but he was simple and virtuous in his life, and devoted himself to the public welfare. His reign is an attractive interval in the lurid annals of the third century; but his good intentions availed nothing in those iron times, and his life was taken by the soldiers of the Rhine army during a mutiny in 235.

The Syrian emperors: Elagabalus.

Alexander Severus.

The chief interest of these two short reigns is that they show us the growing importance of the religious movements of the time. Religion and war are the two forces that determine all the century. The intellectual and religious life of the Roman Empire was in a condition of wild fermentation. The Christian Church was slowly consolidating its organization and gathering strength in its struggle with the various heresies of the time. It claimed many adherents even among the upper classes of society. But the strongest religious movement on the surface of society was what is known as Mithraism. In this strange movement all pagan beliefs were grouped round the worship of the Sun-god, and the Sun-god was represented in his Eastern and Persian form as Mithras. His worship was surrounded with symbol and mystery which it is not now possible to understand. But of all the pagan worships,

Growing influence of religion.

Mithraism.

it was the strongest and the most dangerous rival to Christianity. Had Christianity not displaced the old pagan cults, they would have been probably reorganized under the influence of Mithraism. The Emperor Elagabalus represented this new sun worship in its basest and most repellent form. During the reign of his mild and virtuous successor the new cult was

Mithras Group.

(*In the British Museum.*)

The chief features of this group always appear in Mithraic monuments—the youth in Phrygian cap, grasping the nostrils of a bull, into whose side he drives a sword—the dog and the serpent licking the blood, the scorpion fastening on the belly of the animal.

discredited, but the old faiths could not be restored to power in their old form. Many men, conscious of the need for a new faith, were for embracing all that was new with little discrimination. Alexander Severus, we are told, was accustomed to pray every morning in a private shrine, and this shrine was decorated with the figures of "Apollonius, Orpheus, Abraham,

and Christ." Each of these is representative of a strong religious movement of the time. The exclusive victory of the last name could not then be foreseen.

CHAPTER XVIII

Barbarian Invasion and the Reconstruction of the Empire

Decius defeated and slain by the Goths	251 A.D.
Valerian defeated by Persians . . .	260 A.D.
Death of Aurelian	275 A.D.
Diocletian, Emperor	284 A.D.
Abdication of Diocletian	305 A.D.
Constantine's Edict of Religious Toleration	313 A.D.
Death of Constantine	337 A.D.

The amiable virtues of Alexander Severus did not suffice to restore the prosperity of the empire. Upon his death a period of still wilder confusion began. The central government for a time almost disappeared, and, abandoned by Rome, each group of provinces tried to set up some sort of government of its own. It seemed as if the empire were going to fall into three main sections: (1) Italy, the large islands, and usually Africa, held together; (2) Gaul, Britain, and Spain were, for a time, joined together under one of the most efficient governments of the time; (3) and in the east, Syria and Egypt, with most of Asia Minor, were governed from the great trading centre of Palmyra. But there was nothing definite or permanent about these divisions. Every one in theory believed in the unity of the empire, and in Rome the old machinery of government still worked, though feebly.

Disruption of the empire.

While the unity of the empire thus temporarily disappeared, the invasions of the barbarians began to be far more serious than they had ever been before. One strong reason for these invasions is doubtless to be found in the fact that the empire was less able to resist them than formerly; but the barbarians were themselves much stronger than they had been—more definite in their organization,

The new barbarian invasions.

more skilful in their military methods. Upon the Rhine frontier the Alamanni and the Franks wrought great havoc, and the Alamanni even penetrated into Italy. But the chief danger to Rome at this time came from the Goths and the reconstituted Persian state. Of all races that invaded the Roman Empire, the Goths were the most humane and the most susceptible of Roman culture. The word "barbarian," indeed, does them some injustice. They were heathens, worshipping Thor and Woden; they were undisciplined and loose in their forms of government; but their treatment of the countries which they invaded was not particularly cruel or destructive. The chief seat of their power was in the Crimean peninsula and the south of Russia. In a series of incursions they harried the Balkan peninsula and the coasts of the Black and Aegean seas. In 251 they fought, in the north-east corner of the Balkan peninsula, a battle against the Romans, in which the Emperor Decius was defeated and slain. But they were not yet ready for permanent settlement within the Roman Empire, and the flood soon retired behind the Danube. In Parthia a revolution had taken place which brought the new Sassanid dynasty to power and revived the old national religion of Persia. The new dynasty showed itself military and efficient. Armenia and Syria were overrun. In 260 a Roman Emperor, Valerian, was defeated and taken prisoner in fighting against their King Sapor near Edessa.

The Goths.

The dissolution of the empire seemed approaching; but the empire had still great recuperative forces. Claudius was raised to the throne in 268, and had at once to face another great Gothic invasion. The Goths were at present quite unequal to a contest with a Roman army well disciplined and well led, and they were defeated and driven back beyond the Danube. In 270 Claudius died of the plague, and was succeeded by a still better soldier, Aurelian. The soldiers called him "Sword-in-hand," and he deserved their confidence by defeating the Goths and the new kingdom of Palmyra, and reuniting the whole empire again under his rule. He calls himself on his coins "Restorer of the World," and he deserves the title. But even he fell by assassination (274).

The recovery of the empire.

With his death, something of the old confusion returned,

though the empire did not reach again such a depth of humiliation as between 250 and 260. In 284 the soldiers raised Diocletian, whose father had been a slave, to the throne. There seemed no reason why he should be more than another military upstart; but, in fact, his accession marks the beginning of a new life for the Roman Empire.

Condition of the empire at the end of the third century, A.D.

Let us note before going further the situation in the empire upon the accession of Diocletian. The system of government had grown much more absolute since the death of Marcus Aurelius. All pretence of the maintenance of the old republican constitution had been dropped. The emperor was all in all. The senate and officials bearing the old republican titles still existed at Rome, but they had sunk to the lowest depth of servility. The will of the emperor was law; and absolutism had made its way into the self-governing municipalities in a most dangerous fashion. There, too, the machinery of freedom existed, but it was employed to enforce the will of the central government, and to exact taxes that were becoming a burden too heavy to be borne. For the financial distress had become extreme. The confusion of the century had caused the ruin of trade; the wars, both civil and foreign, had made the exaction of heavy taxes a necessity; and they were so assessed and so collected as to make their weight unnecessarily heavy. War and financial distress had left little time for the cultivation of literature or the fine arts. The literary annals of Rome are almost blank. The monuments of the art and sculpture of this time all indicate an alarming decadence. It was only in the domain of law that the intellect of pagan Rome still worked with fruitful effect. They were iron times, indeed; but one all-important feature is still to be mentioned. The age turned with increasing devotion to questions of religion. The old paganism was dead, the old scepticism was dead; Greek philosophy was no longer the powerful influence it had once been. But supernatural religion claimed more adherents than ever. The rivalry of Mithraism and Christianity was intense, and they were but two out of many systems that claimed to reveal to man his destiny, and to teach him the way of salvation.

Growing influence of religion.

No Roman emperor since Augustus left so clear a mark on the fabric of the empire as Diocletian. He has been called "a second Augustus," but there is little resemblance in character or ideas between the Roman aristocrat with his subtlety and make-believe, and this slave's son whose policy was in everything clearly based on the support of the army, and who cut the empire for ever adrift from the republican ideas to which it had clung for so long.

Diocletian.

Two principles guided the reorganization of the State. First he surrounded the person of the emperor with a mass of ceremony and etiquette, such as the Romans of the old time had always ridiculed and despised, as being the special characteristic of the servile Eastern monarchies. Diocletian adopted many of these Oriental forms: he wore the golden diadem; he surrounded his chamber with guards, and exacted an elaborate ceremonial which made access to his person difficult. Those who reached his presence touched the ground with their foreheads, and addressed him on their knees. There was more than vanity in all this. He had noted the constant assassinations to which the emperors in the past had fallen victims, and he desired to surround the emperor with something of "the divinity that doth hedge a throne," thinking that, with the decrease of familiarity, the risk of assassination would also decrease. The nobles and the servants of the State were also ranged around him in a vast hierarchy of rank.

The new imperial system.

Next he decreased the unit of administration, and vastly increased the number of officials that were to administer the empire. The empire was to be divided into two sections by a line drawn north and south through the Adriatic Sea, and each of these divisions was to be entrusted to an emperor with the title of Augustus, though one was to have titular precedence over the other; and under each Augustus there was to be a sub-emperor with the title of Caesar; and thus, in effect, for one emperor there were to be substituted four. The same principle was to be pursued everywhere. The empire was divided into twelve great divisions, called dioceses, and into one hundred smaller ones, called provinces; and civil and military duties were to be entrusted to an entirely different set of officials. The new

Administrative subdivision of the empire.

machinery seems to have worked well, for the imperial fabric was held together, and the population was kept in obedience; but it implied an immense financial burden to the State. Four courts existed instead of one; the number of officials was greatly increased; and at the same time the army was enormously strengthened. Somewhat later it was said that those who paid the taxes were less numerous than those who lived on them.

Diocletian was an excellent soldier. He fought north and south and east and west, and always with success, and in 303 triumphed gloriously in Rome. "It was the last triumph that Rome ever beheld," says Gibbon; "for soon after this period the emperors ceased to vanquish, and Rome ceased to be the capital of the empire." But the greatest contest was not with the barbarians, but with the Christians, and in that he was less successful.

The Christians.

Ever since Christianity had become a real force the emperors had regarded it with hostility, but they had not persecuted it systematically, nor had they issued at first any special edicts against it. The ordinary laws of Rome applied, or could be made to apply, to it, and in the reigns of Nero, Domitian, Marcus Aurelius, and Decius, Christians had suffered, but not in all parts of the empire, or in great numbers. In spite of all persecution, the Christian Church had grown. It was impossible for the State to ignore it any longer. According to the ideas which both entertained at this time, the Roman world could not contain both empire and Church. One must triumph over the other, or both must make concessions.

At first Diocletian had treated the Christians with consideration, but in the last years of his reign he was induced to change his policy, and to plan against them an attack, the most dangerous and the most general that they had as yet suffered from. Their churches were to be destroyed; their sacred books were to be hunted out and burnt; their bishops were to be imprisoned, and the whole organization of their Church broken up. The persecution was pressed vigorously; and many suffered death, and more degradation and imprisonment. But the persecution failed. Many Christians were induced to renounce their faith, and many fled into hiding, but the organization of the Church

Diocletian's persecution of the Christians.

was not destroyed, and the devotion of its sincere adherents was but increased by their trials. In 305 Diocletian recognized the failure of his attempt, and resolved to abdicate and retire into private life. In spite of many solicitations he persisted in his decision until his death in 313.

The empire had failed to crush the Church. It remained for Diocletian's successor either to carry on the struggle and to add a religious war to the other wars from which the empire suffered, or to make some arrangement with the invincible Church. It was this latter policy which was carried out by Constantine the Great. But before that consummation was arrived at, there was another period of confusion and civil war.

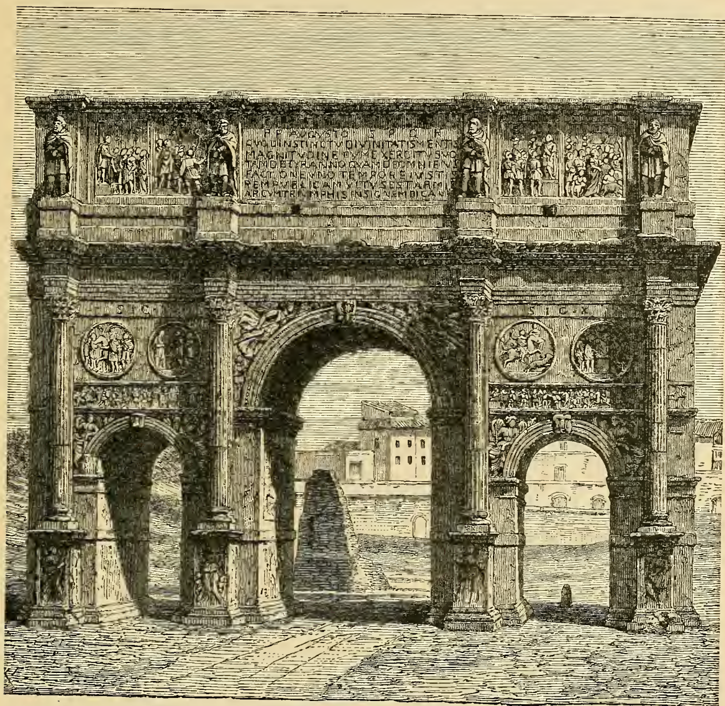
Renewed confusion on Diocletian's death.

The administrative system of Diocletian proved to be permanent in its main lines; but his arrangement whereby two Augusti and two Caesars were to hold imperial power at the same time proved soon to be unworkable, as the jealousies and ambitions of the different rulers soon broke through that system of balance and subordination, and again the rule over the whole empire became the prize of civil war. Constantius had been Emperor and "Augustus" of the West, and upon his death in 306 his son Constantine was acclaimed emperor by the legions stationed at York, and it was in York that he first wore the imperial purple robe. He hesitated to accept the dangerous honour; and he found that his claims were disputed by Maxentius, who ruled in Rome, and Galerius, who ruled in the East. Events developed slowly and cannot be followed in detail. But in 312 the battle of the Milvian Bridge across the Tiber made Constantine master of the western half of the empire, and ten years later (323), when war broke out with the eastern half of the empire, Constantine proved too strong for Licinius, the successor of Galerius, and the submission of his rival made him master of the whole of the Roman world.

The work of Constantine.

Among the Roman emperors no one, unless it be Julius Caesar, has left so indelible a mark on European history as Constantine. He was, clearly, a man of great energy and force of character, and had he not inaugurated the great religious change which is chiefly connected with his name, he would nevertheless have stood high among the Roman

statesmen of this time for his energy and success in war, and for his skilful and vigorous administration. His armies showed themselves as successful in their struggles with the barbarians as they had been in fighting against his rivals for the empire.



The Arch of Constantine, Rome.

(*From Guhl und Koner's "Leben der Griechen und Römer."*)

This arch stands near the Coliseum, and is evidence of the decadence of art in Constantine's time. Some of the reliefs are finely executed, but those are taken from an earlier arch of Hadrian's. The work of Constantine's own period is poor and mean.

The frontiers were safe under his rule, and in the interior something of the old peace and order returned. But Constantine's name stands in history for two great changes, and we may confine our attention to these.

First, he transferred the capital of the empire from Rome to

Constantinople. So great was the reverence of the Romans for the city of Rome itself, that this inevitably caused a great shock to public feeling.' But it was only the completion of a tendency that had been marked for more than a century. Rome had lost her exclusive position in the empire ; the realms she had conquered no longer in any real sense *belonged to her*, and as the peace of the empire broke up and the frontiers needed more and more careful attention, Rome had become an unsuitable residence for the head of the empire. The emperors of the third century had not, as a rule, lived there. Under Diocletian's plan, neither the Caesars nor the Augusti were to make Rome their centre. They were to choose some city that was nearer the menaced frontiers and more capable of defence. And if a new capital were to be chosen, none was so suitable as the city on the Bosphorus which had hitherto been called Byzantium, but was henceforward to be known as Constantinople. The strength and the importance of the site had been long known. The city stood at the end of a peninsula, washed on three sides by the tideless sea, and on the land side easily defensible by fortified walls. The next thousand years were to show how admirable, from a military point of view, was the choice that Constantine made. Moreover, it lay between the two frontiers which, at the beginning of the fourth century, gave most anxiety to the master of the legions. The Goths were posted on the Danube; the Persians threatened on the Euphrates. The city, too, was not less admirably situated for commerce than for war. It commanded the narrow straits through which all the commerce of the Black Sea must pass ; it was within easy reach of the islands of the Aegean and the coasts of Asia Minor ; it was nearer to the corn-harvests of Egypt than Rome had been.

Foundation of Constantinople.

So the eagles left the banks of the Tiber and settled on the shore of the Bosphorus. It was a momentous change. It did not, indeed, imply in any way that the Roman Empire had come to an end. The empire was still Roman, though its seat was in Constantinople; but in fact, though not in name, a great change came over the empire from this time. In the Eastern Empire the Greek language was as dominant as Latin was in the West, and it became in time the official language of the

empire in consequence. The transference of power to the East doubtless secured the East from barbarian conquest for many centuries; but it proportionately weakened the defences of the West. At last, the city of Rome, deserted by the emperor, found her great representative in her bishop, and the action of Constantine stands thus in close relation with the growth of the Papacy.

The religious policy of Constantine was even more momentous. The precise form of his own religious opinions it is difficult to determine; but if he had reservations with regard to Christianity, if he still thought of the older faiths as containing possibly some truth and some value, he recognized as a statesman the strength of the Christian Church, and the history of the past showed him how ill the efforts of those had succeeded who fought against it. He determined to enter into partnership with it, to extend the imperial protection over it; and he hoped that in return the empire would draw strength and stability from its support.

Constantine and Christianity.

Christianity did not during Constantine's reign become the officially established or exclusively dominant faith. But it gained the patronage and support of the emperor; it was relieved from all disabilities and was granted certain privileges, such as the exemption of its clergy from certain taxes and burdens that ordinary citizens had to bear. But the real significance of Constantine's acts is to be found, not in any special edicts of his reign, but in his whole attitude towards the Church. The empire became a protecting instead of a persecuting power. The Church after two centuries and a half of oppression and obscurity now came into the light of day and enjoyed a sense of security. Other faiths were tolerated, but Christianity was favoured. Constantine presided at a Church council, introduced the Christian symbols into the official insignia, and was himself baptized into the Christian Church shortly before his death.

Effect of Constantine's policy.

The domestic life of Constantine was no credit to the faith he had embraced. The reigns of Nero and Commodus had not seen worse palace scandals. His son by his first marriage and his second wife were both put to death. Moreover, his relation to the religious controversies within the Christian Church was questionable;

The private life of Constantine.

and when at last he received baptism, it was at the hands of a heretical Arian bishop. But none the less the Church was elated at the victory it had won through his patronage. Security and freedom had come, and it pressed forward with confidence to dominion and triumph. Christian writers anticipated the arrival of a Golden Age, not only for the Church, but for the world. The establishment of Christianity, said one writer, was to restore the innocence and the happiness of the primitive age ; dissensions would cease and all angry and selfish passions were to be restrained ; mankind was to be universally actuated by the sentiments of truth and piety, of equity and moderation, and harmony and universal love.

The beginning of the Middle Ages.

The career of Constantine may be taken as marking the end of the classical period and inaugurating the Middle Ages. Such divisions are necessarily arbitrary. No date and moment really separates one age from another. The course of European civilization is continuous, and the centuries are indissolubly linked together. But when Constantine died in 337, the chief characteristics of the Graeco-Roman world had passed away. The city-state was gone with its intense but narrow patriotism. Government by free assemblies and by freely elected officials had given place to a scheme of government drawing its force at every point, not from below but from above, not from the people but from the emperor. The old pagan religion, with its beauty and its weakness, its frank acceptance of pleasure and its slight insistence on morality, was gone : the pagan philosophers were ceasing to command men's attention and to control their lives. And as the old powers waned, a new power had risen, the power of the ideas and organization of the Christian Church : a power new in kind, resting primarily on persuasion, not on force, appealing to men's feelings rather than to their intellects, opposing to the attractions of Jupiter or Apollo or Mithras, the vision of the Divine Christ and His Mother. For the next thousand years of European history the Christian Church is the point of most interest and importance. It is the policy and the influence, the victories and the contests of the Church which give to the Middle Ages their most prominent characteristics.

PART II

THE MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER I

The Triumph of Christianity in the Roman Empire

Julian, Emperor 361
Theodosius, Emperor 379
Extinction of Paganism 394

The chief features of the Middle Ages.

It is more difficult to tell briefly and clearly the story of the Middle Ages than of the classical world. In the latter case the story is clearly a unity. The dispersed political life of Greece leads us up to the concentration of Rome, which sheltered and preserved the unsurpassable products of the Greek mind in art, literature, philosophy, science. But soon after the beginning of the fourth century concentration again gives way to dispersion. We are to see how the unity of the empire was broken up by the successful attacks of the barbarians; how for a long time the efforts of the barbarians to found states of their own were unsuccessful; how at last the Franks built up a great state with its centre on the Rhine, and how this state was dignified in the end by the title of empire. We shall see, meantime, how, amidst all the confusions of the time, the Church was irresistibly advancing in strength; how it entered into an alliance with the Frankish Empire, which was of immense advantage to both; how the alliance was later changed into enmity, and the last two centuries of the Middle Ages were occupied by a fierce struggle between Empire and Papacy, in the course of which both powers suffered irreparable loss, and fell from the central position in Europe that they had held for so long.

At the death of Constantine the fabric of the empire was in appearance stronger than it had been for a century and a half. The Church, which had been its most dangerous enemy, was now a strong support; while a vast army and a network of officials secured the peace of its dominions. But there were great dangers threatening. The Goths and the Persians were always at the gates; the fierce dissensions of the Church brought a new source of trouble; the vast machinery of the State was expensive and oppressive; and never was the difficulty as to the succession more troublesome than in the reigns that followed the death of Constantine. The future was to show that the empire was extraordinarily tenacious of life. In changed forms, it outlived the Middle Ages; but gradually the outlying parts of the empire fell away or were torn away, and in less than one hundred years the system of Constantine prevailed only over half the territories which Constantine himself had ruled.

The dangers threatening the empire.

The Church and the barbarians: these are the chief forces of the immediate future. And first, let us follow the history of the Church to its final victory over paganism. On the death of Constantine in 337, there ensued so fierce a domestic struggle that even the annals of the Roman Empire can hardly parallel it. Brothers, uncles, and cousins were swept away by execution or assassination, until at last, in 350, Constantius reigned alone. Seven cousins, it is reckoned, had perished, but one, Julian, remained, and was entrusted with the command of the legions on the Rhine frontier, where he fought and governed with conspicuous ability and success. There must have been the deepest jealousy between the cousins from the first; but the actual raising of Julian to the imperial power came from the soldiers rather than from his own ambition. When war broke out, Julian carried it out with the same eager energy which he had displayed against the Germans; but he did not actually come to blows with his cousin. Constantius died as he was marching from the East to the defence of Constantinople, and in 361 Julian was sole master of the Roman world.

The final victory of Christianity.

Julian's reign saw the last effort of paganism to save itself from complete effacement at the hands of the victorious

Christian Church. The circumstances of the time were favourable to a pagan revival. For the hopes of universal peace and brotherly love which some had entertained as the consequence of the Christian victory were far from having been fulfilled. Christians were now opposing Christians with as much bitterness as they had formerly displayed against their pagan enemies. Among a considerable section of society theological controversy had become a passion. The great dispute of the day concerned the definition that should be given of the person and nature of Christ. There were several variations of opinion on the point ; but the great rival doctrines were orthodoxy and Arianism. While the Church under the leadership of its great chief, Athanasius, proclaimed that Christ was of "the same substance with the Father," the Arians, on the other hand, though as mystic in their expressions as their opponents, declared that Christ was not "of the same," but "of similar substance" with the Father. The struggle was no trivial or verbal one, though it may seem so upon the surface. It struck down to the very roots both of theology and of the ceremonies and government of the Church. The conflict between the Arians and the Athanasians was bitter and persistent. For nearly three centuries it was a profound influence on the political and social, as well as on the religious life of Europe. In the province of Africa a more obscure controversy provoked even fiercer passions. Its origin is to be found in a disputed episcopal election, and the personal difference prolonged itself from generation to generation, until the factions could give no intelligible reason for the bitter hatred with which each pursued the other.

The disputes of Christians.

These theological wars weakened the Christian cause, and many fell away disillusioned from a movement that failed so signally to realize the hopes which had been entertained of it. Paganism, too, had still a strong hold upon the affections, if not upon the intellect of many. The victory of Christianity seemed to threaten the very existence of the art and philosophy and literature which formed the most precious treasure of the pagan world. And paganism, as we have seen, was something very different from the faith that had been so lightly held in the days of Caesar. It was now

The strength of paganism.

mystic and emotional: it claimed to reveal man's destiny, like Christianity, and to perform miracles, like Christianity. The danger from Christianity had given a new life to paganism. The mysteries were more frequented than they had been, the oracles were constantly appealed to; the pages of Homer and Plato were declared to contain revelations as obscure and as important as those of the Scriptures. The struggle between Christianity and paganism had at first been between intense faith and indifference; but now faith confronted faith.

The Emperor Julian.

Julian had drunk deeply of the new paganism during his residence at the University of Athens. For him paganism was summed up in Mithraism. He declared that he regarded the gods of Greece and Rome with awe and love and reverence; that he took them for his masters and teachers, his parents and his friends. The chief object of his reign was to re-establish their worship in a world that was rapidly turning away from it. He declared that he would grant religious toleration to all; but his favour was obviously given to the pagans. The Christian symbols disappeared from the imperial insignia; the Christians were forbidden to teach; pagans were preferred to them for office. Julian saw, however, the weakness of paganism in the lack of any organization or government which it could oppose to the compact and excellent organization of the Church; and he desired to remedy this defect. There was to be a pagan priesthood like the Christian, with a hierarchy of rank and a careful training, and all religions, except Christianity, were to be recognized and encouraged by the State. Had Julian lived a little longer it seems probable that Christianity must have fallen again under the lash of imperial persecution. But a war broke out with Persia. Julian led the legions to the Tigris and Euphrates, and at first with conspicuous success; but in 363 there came a change of fortune, and on the retreat Julian was killed. "Galilean, Thou hast conquered," are said to have been his last words; and certainly the supremacy of Christianity was never again seriously threatened. The pagan enthusiasts were a small band; the mass of the population had accepted Julian's pagan revival without sharing in his devotion to the cause.

And yet thirty years elapsed before paganism received its

death-blow. But in 379 Theodosius gained the empire, and he was a sincere Christian of the orthodox type. In his reign Catholicism triumphed over Arianism; and less than a hundred years after Diocletian's attempt to extinguish Christianity, paganism was deprived of all open and official existence. In 394 Christianity was established as the only religion of Rome herself; all sacrifices were forbidden on pain of death, the worship of the old gods was declared illegal. Pagan temples, with all their priceless treasures of art and architecture, were destroyed; and those that were saved were, as a rule, converted into Christian churches. The Olympic games were declared at an end; the glorious group of halls and temples was closed; later the river Alpheus changed its bed and flowed directly over the place where one of the most characteristic glories of Hellenic life had stood.

The extinction of paganism.

For the whole of Part II. *Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* is the best and most accessible book for reference. *Milman's* or *Robertson's Ecclesiastical History* will also be of constant service. *Robinson's Readings in European History* gives a series of extracts, chiefly from contemporary writers, to illustrate European history from the decline of the Roman Empire. *Church's Beginning of the Middle Ages* (Epochs of Modern History) is an excellent summary of the period down to Charlemagne. Other books that would be of service to the teacher are *Oman's Dark Ages*, and *Byzantine Empire* and *Art of War in the Middle Ages*, *Henderson's Documents of the Middle Ages*. *Droysen's Historical Atlas*, and the *Album Historique of Lavisse and Parmentier* furnish valuable helps and illustrations. *Ramsay Muir's New School Atlas of Modern History* gives an excellent series of maps illustrating European history from the beginning of the Middle Ages down to the present time.

CHAPTER II

Alaric and the Gothic Victories

Ulfilas	311–381
Battle of Hadrianople	378
Alaric takes Rome	410

Fifteen years after paganism had been abolished in Rome, Rome, now Christian, was captured by Alaric the Goth. It is to the events that led up to that world-shaking event that

we must now direct our attention. We have seen how in 274 Aurelian had triumphed over the various enemies of the empire, and for a century after that event the empire had remained fairly secure from external assaults.

The conversion of the Goths.

The Goths had retired behind the Danube, and there they had built up a great and powerful, though loosely compacted state. Their dominions stretched from the Black Sea to the Baltic, and covered much of what is now Eastern Germany and Western Russia. During the century that had elapsed since their withdrawal from the empire, their character had changed in many important respects. They had become a more settled state; their government had assumed a more settled form; above all, they had embraced Christianity. The great missionary of the Goths was Ulfilas (311-381). He had resided some time in Constantinople, and it was there that he himself had become a Christian. It is of the utmost importance to notice that during his residence in Constantinople the religion of the emperors was *Arian* Christianity, and it was in this form that Ulfilas carried back the new faith to his fellow-countrymen. The teaching of Ulfilas fell on very fruitful soil. The Goths soon laid aside the worship of Thor and of Woden, and threw themselves into their new faith with enthusiasm and sincerity. At first the fact that their Christianity varied in certain phrases and forms from those of the Catholic Church cannot have seemed important. But the whole future history of the Goths is profoundly influenced by this fact, and their political failure is largely accounted for by it. It kept them from amalgamating with the peoples that they conquered; it made the compact organization of the Catholic Church their rival and their enemy.

The appearance of the Huns.

It might seem that the Goths were likely to settle down into friendly relations with the Romans. But suddenly the whole situation was changed by the appearance of a new and terrible enemy from the East. The Huns came, and for a century terrified all Europe. These dreaded invaders were indeed barbarians and almost savages, of Tartar blood. They were a nomad race, without fixed abodes, and without a desire for them; moving with their waggons

and their families from place to place in a devastating horde. They fell upon the Gothic army at the river Dniester, and defeated it with terrible loss. After that the Gothic kingdom was broken up; the Goths despaired of making headway against this new enemy, and saw no road to safety except by making their way south of the Danube into the Roman dominions. The land that lay immediately beyond the river had often been devastated by war, and was thinly inhabited. Barbarians had often been admitted within the limits of the Roman Empire, and when, in 376, the Goths made their request, there was not at first any disposition to refuse it.

The Goths in Europe. The battle of Hadrianople.

In 376 there were two emperors—Gratian ruled in the West, Valens in the East. It was by Valens that the Goths were admitted. But their enormous numbers alarmed the emperor; they seemed, says a contemporary, as innumerable as the sands of the sea, and the imperial agents adopted towards them a policy of harassing suspicion, which soon changed their relations to the empire into open hostility. Valens marched with his armies against them, and Gratian led the armies of the Western Empire to his relief. But before Gratian could come up, Valens had fought and lost the epoch-making battle of Hadrianople (378). The Romans were the attacking party, and at first they seemed likely to be victorious. But then the Gothic cavalry fell upon them. The Romans were completely overwhelmed, and Valens himself was slain. The battle was epoch-making in more ways than one. For, first, the Roman Empire never really recovered from the effects of this blow. and the balance of victory rests henceforward with the Goths. And, secondly, the part played by the Gothic cavalry in the battle is significant. The Romans had gained all their victories with foot soldiers, and had used cavalry only as a subsidiary arm; but from this time forward, for a thousand years, cavalry forms the most important part of European armies, until, in the fourteenth century, the battles of Crecy and Poictiers marked the decadence of the armed knight and the rise of foot soldiers to a second period of importance.

The catastrophe of Hadrianople and the death of Valens seemed to threaten the eastern part of the empire with utter

destruction, for no Roman army was left that could resist them. But the Goths were not enemies of the empire. Of all the barbarians, they had most reverence for Roman civilization, and were readiest to enter into some sort of compact with the imperial power. Moreover, soon after the battle of Hadrianople, the Goths were weakened by dissensions in their own ranks and by a visitation of plague. Theodosius, whose importance in religious history we have already seen, was raised to the throne on the death of Valens, and by energy and policy he succeeded in making a memorable compact with the victorious Goths. By its terms the Goths were guaranteed lands within the Roman Empire, the greater number of them settled south of the Danube in Thrace, and they were recognized as subjects of the empire, though exempt from tribute for a number of years in consideration of their necessitous condition. In return, forty thousand Goths were to serve in the Roman army.

Theodosius and the Goths.

Henceforward these barbarian troops play a preponderant part in the history of the empire. They were called the *federati*, men serving, that is to say, according to the treaty. The policy was clearly a dangerous one. Empires have often been excellently served by conquered races, but here the Roman Empire was enlisting her conquerors. Tact and firmness might have achieved success; but all chance of success died with the death of Theodosius. These federate troops felt themselves superior to the masters whom they served. And the only way in which the emperors could defend themselves against their "federate" allies was by taking leading barbarians into their personal service. Henceforth the armies that attack, and the armies that defend, the Roman Empire seem almost equally barbarian.

The Goths as auxiliaries of the empire.

Theodosius died in 395. In the same year Alaric was raised to the kingship of the Visigoths, or Western Goths. The word "barbarian," though custom compels us to apply it to him, is singularly inapplicable. He was a Christian, and one might almost say a gentleman, convinced of the value of the empire which he attacked, and by no means desiring to destroy it, but rather to force his way into some post of honour and power under it. Note, too, that the

Alaric the Visigoth.

death of Theodosius, in 395, led to the final division of the empire into two. There had frequently been two emperors before this, and no one knew that this was a final division; but so it proved. Arcadius reigned at Constantinople, and Honorius in Italy, and never again did one emperor reign over all the territories comprised within the dominions of these two men. There was, indeed, by-and-by one sole emperor, but by that time the greater part of the empire in the west had fallen away beyond all hope of recovery.

Alaric and Stilicho.

Alaric's first quarrel was with the Eastern Emperor. A financial dispute was the occasion of the attack; and the armies of Alaric, though they recoiled from the walls of Constantinople, swept on victoriously into the south of Greece. In its struggle with Alaric the empire relied on a soldier of Gothic (Vandal) blood, Stilicho by name. He seems to have been Alaric's equal in soldier's skill, and Alaric in the end accepted the position of general in command of Illyricum. A glance at the map will show how excellently posted the Visigoths were in that country for striking into Italy or into the Balkan peninsula.

Alaric invades Italy.

In 401 Alaric undertook the first of his many invasions of Italy. But the troops of the empire were commanded by Stilicho, who had transferred his services from the Eastern to the Western Empire, and, after a good deal of fighting, Alaric retired back to Illyricum. The Emperor Honorius celebrated a great triumph for the victory, and the gladiatorial games that were given on the occasion are the last of any importance of which there is record.

But, despite the victory of Stilicho, the Emperor Honorius no longer felt himself safe in Rome, and he withdrew with his court to Ravenna. This grew later to be a city of fine palaces and churches, the remains of which still make it one of the most interesting cities in Europe, but at this time it was little more than a fortified harbour, defended on the land side by swamps and marshes, and on the side of the sea by sandbanks and channels of difficult access, which have now silted up and left the old harbour at some distance from the sea. Here, in 408, Honorius committed a crime that swiftly brought its punishment. He put Stilicho to death. Jealousy of the great

barbarian chief was probably the motive. Stilicho's soldiers, indignant at their commander's fate, deserted in great numbers to Alaric, and, thus strengthened, Alaric again struck into Italy.

Rome captured by Alaric.

Honorius had no force to oppose to him, and the great Visigoth marched through Italy at his pleasure. Honorius meanwhile sheltered himself in inglorious security behind the marshes of Ravenna. Alaric undertook the siege of Rome in 408, and in that year, and again in 409, the city was at his mercy; but twice he accepted terms, and it was only when the promises which were made to him were broken that he struck the final blow. His third siege of Rome was undertaken in 410. The "eternal city," which was destined, said the old writers, to last as long as the world lasted, was taken by assault, and its vast wealth lay in Alaric's power.

This was the first sack of Rome, and it is more important than any other, though many others were far more destructive. Alaric kept his soldiers in some order. They plundered, but they did not destroy, nor murder indiscriminately. And soon Alaric passed into the south of Italy, and there he died in the same year, and was buried in the bed of the river Busento.

Bradley's History of the Goths (Stories of the Nations); *Hodgkin's Italy and her Invaders; Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, chs. xxix.–xxxi.

CHAPTER III

Progress of the Barbarian Conquest of the West

The Vandals in Africa	429
Battle of Châlons	450
Rome taken by the Vandals	455
End of Roman Empire in the West	476
Theodoric in Italy	489-526
Battle of Taginae. Expulsion of the Ostrogoths from Italy	553
The Lombards in Italy	568

The Roman Empire did not fall with the fall of the City of Rome, but from that date onwards the control of Western

North-Western Europe about 450 A.D.

Europe passed gradually but decisively out of the hands of the emperors into those of the different races of "barbarians." Still, for nearly two centuries, the fate of Italy will furnish us with the best clue through the chaos that seems to fall on the once orderly territories of the empire. New powers emerged, new, if transitory, states were founded with bewildering rapidity; under all the confusion the Church was developing her organization, and increasing her power, and the confusion and weakness of the temporal powers assisted her growth.

The Visigoths soon passed from Italy. Ataulfus succeeded Alaric as their king; he married Galla Placidia, half-sister to the Emperor Honorius, and was induced to leave Italy and found a Visigothic kingdom in southern Gaul and northern Spain. We shall have, later, to follow the fortunes of the Visigoths there.

The Vandals in Africa.

In 429 a far more terrible enemy fell upon Roman civilization on the north coast of Africa. The Vandals arrived there in that year. They were a branch of the Gothic people, and at one time had been reckoned less warlike than the Visigoths and Ostrogoths. They had passed down at an earlier date (before 410) from Germany, through Gaul, into Spain, and had settled there. They were formidable because of the great skill of their leader, Genseric, and their fierceness; but their numbers were not great. In 429 they were invited into Africa by Boniface, the governor, who had a quarrel with the Imperial Government; and Genseric eagerly accepted the invitation.

In no part of the Roman Empire had Roman civilization penetrated more deeply than in Africa. No province had done more for the development of Christianity. Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine were all Africans, and these are among the greatest of the early Churchmen. Roman science had extended culture and built cities far beyond the limits of what is now desert. The Vandal invasion was the first of many which in time effaced all Roman culture from the land. The province as a whole made little resistance, but the City of Carthage did not fall into Genseric's hands until 439. The Vandals, like all the Goths, were Arians and bitterly hostile to the orthodox. Their short-lived state was piratical and oppressive, and Africa

never recovered from the blow which it received at their hands.

The Empire had made no effort to avert the Vandal doom from Africa. Every sign of political decadence was to be seen in Italy. The retirement of the court into Ravenna was a confession of weakness, and an abandonment of the old Roman traditions. Commerce was declining; the wealth of the country was decaying. Only within the shelter of the Church was anything of value to be found in art or literature. We need not follow the names of the emperors. They had none of them any real power over the destinies of the State. The sceptre had passed from them into the hands of the powerful soldiers, usually of barbarian origin, who commanded the troops of many races that formed the Roman armies. The greatest of these soldiers, Aetius, was, however, an Italian by origin, and while he lived the empire was by no means a helpless prey.

Condition of Italy.

A danger even more terrible than the Vandal invasion of Africa fell upon the north of the empire. We have seen that it was an attack by the Huns upon the Goths which had driven them over the Danube into the empire. The Hunnish danger now appeared in a worse form. Attila became king of the Huns in 445. His vast empire stretched within vague frontiers from the Baltic to the Danube, and from the Rhine to the Volga. His relations with the empire were sometimes friendly. At times he consented to be regarded as an ally and even as a dependent of Rome. But the fierce Tartar horde was really a terrible danger to the empire. In 446, he fell upon the Eastern Empire and ravaged it right up to the gates of Constantinople, and was then bought off with considerable cessions of territory. In 450 he crossed the Rhine and invaded Gaul; but Romans and Visigoths joined against the invader. Aetius, the Roman, and Theodoric, the Visigothic king, fought against him in the great battle of Châlons. Attila was decisively repulsed, but was soon strong enough to invade Italy from the north-east. Aquileia, Verona, and Milan fell before him; but when it was thought that he would repeat Alaric's march on Rome, he turned back to his camp beyond the Danube. The intercession of Pope

The Huns in the north of the empire.

Leo was said to have prevailed upon him to spare Italy. Shortly afterwards he died (453). Later writers, looking back on his character and the devastation caused by his troops, called him "the Scourge of God." Indirectly his influence was very great; but his inroads on the empire are not to be compared for extent with those of the great Gothic leaders.

Sack of Rome by the Vandals.

Two years later Rome fell again into the hands of a Gothic race (455). And this catastrophe was prepared by an incident very much like the murder of Stilicho, which had preceded the last invasion of Alaric. We have seen how Aetius had been instrumental in defeating Attila in the battle of Châlons. The Emperor Valentinian was jealous of him, probably not unreasonably, and in 454 assassinated him. Again, as in 408, Rome and Italy were helpless. Genseric, King of the Vandals, availed himself of the opportunity, and his piratical fleet appeared at the mouth of the Tiber. Rome could not resist. Pope Leo's appeals availed only to induce Genseric to be satisfied with booty and spare the inhabitants of Rome. For fourteen days Rome was plundered ruthlessly and methodically, and then the pirates returned to Carthage with their rich prey.

The end of the Roman Empire in the West.

The shadow of the empire persisted in spite of all, but the end was near. Valentinian was the last emperor of the line of Theodosius, and henceforth those who bore the imperial title were the merest puppets of the great soldiers. In 476 the soldier Orestes made his son Romulus Augustulus emperor; but immediately afterwards Orestes quarrelled with another soldier, Odoacer, who represented the demands of the most anti-Roman of the troops. Orestes was defeated and killed, and his fall was followed by the deposition of his son Romulus Augustulus from the imperial title. It seemed then that the farce of empire should cease. The imperial insignia were sent to Constantinople with a request that Odoacer should be invested with the title of Patrician and the government of Italy.

The event raised no great interest at the time. Romulus Augustulus was not such an important person that his disappearance could raise much comment. But looking back at it, we see that it marks the end of the Roman Empire in the West. In

form, indeed, it was the reunion of the West to the Eastern Empire, for Odoacer recognized in vague terms the supremacy of Constantinople; but, in fact, the imperial authority had departed from Italy. The empire was, indeed, by no means at an end; it existed still in Constantinople, and less than a century later Italy was reconquered and temporarily reannexed to the imperial dominions. And in the year 800 we shall see how, in the west of Europe, there rose again a great ruler with the title of Roman Emperor. But in 476 the line of rulers that had been inaugurated by Julius Caesar and Augustus came, so far as Italy is concerned, to a most unheroic end. "It is not a storm or an earthquake or a fire, this end of Roman rule over Italy: it is more like the gentle fluttering down to earth of the last leaf of a withered tree."

Character of the event.

After 476, the most important events for the political history of Western Europe were taking place beyond the Alps; but for convenience we will follow the destinies of Italy for nearly another century before we examine the great new factors that were coming into European history.

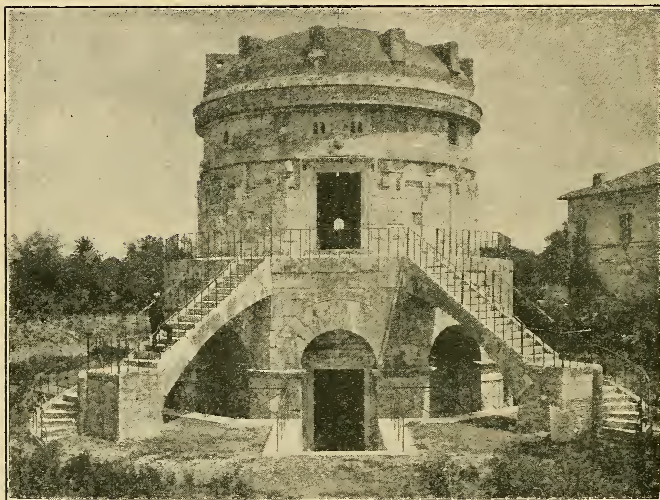
Italy after 476. The Ostrogothic invasion.

Odoacer only ruled as Patrician in Italy for thirteen years. Then in 489 there came a new Gothic invasion. When Alaric had marched into Italy one portion of the Gothic race, the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths) had not accompanied him. They had led since that time an unsettled and wandering life, and had for some time been in alliance with, or subordination to, the Huns. Their racial character is not easily distinguishable from that of the Visigoths. They were Arian Christians, good soldiers, and quickly susceptible of civilizing influences. As a race they had a career as brilliant and as transitory as that of their relatives, the Visigoths. Their king, Theodoric, showed the highest qualities of statesmanship that were ever exhibited by any Gothic king. Odoacer was beaten by them in the north of Italy. He fled to Ravenna, and was put to death after his surrender. Theodoric ruled in Italy without any serious rival from 489 to 526.

The chief interest of his reign is, that of all the Goths he came nearest to founding a successful and stable state. He felt the greatness of Roman civilization, and desired to blend it with

the untrained fierceness and strength of his Gothic warriors. He established his court at Ravenna, and adopted the outward forms of imperial government. He employed Italians, such as Boethius and Cassiodorus, as his ministers. One third of the land was seized by the Ostrogoths, but in the rest of Italy the old Roman life went on in much the old way. Theodoric showed a great solicitude for Roman literature and thought, and though an Arian him-

Theodoric the Ostrogoth.



The Tomb of Theodoric at Ravenna.

This tomb was erected by Theodoric's daughter about 530 A.D. The dome consists of a huge block and is said to weigh four hundred and seventy tons. The remains of Theodoric were afterwards thrown out because of his heresy, and the tomb was turned into a church.

self, gave the most notable example of religious toleration that was seen during the whole Middle Ages. His influence and power spread far beyond the limits of Italy. He was connected by marriage with the Franks, the Burgundians, the Visigoths, and the Vandals. His daughter was married to the Visigothic king, and on his death Theodoric ruled his kingdom for fourteen years. In Western Europe there was no power like his. He was the strongest and the most humane ruler of his time.

But his last years were disturbed and troubled. The Catholic Church was not reconciled to him, despite his toleration; the Latin population of Italy would not accept loyally the rule of men whom they called barbarians; the emperors at Constantinople regarded Theodoric as a usurper. Thus the end of his reign does not show the splendid success of the earlier years. Shortly before his death in 526 he quarrelled with the pope and threw him into prison.

After his death the Ostrogothic power was soon threatened by the Eastern Empire. Justinian had succeeded to the imperial title in 527, and for nearly the last time the situation in Constantinople claims our close attention. Justinian left a great and permanent mark on the history of Europe. Under his rule Roman law reached its final shape. Many efforts had been made since the days of the Antonines to codify Roman law, that is, to summarize it in a logical and complete form; and these efforts culminated at last in the great *Codex Justinianus*. Roman law thus presented was destined to have an immense influence on the development of European politics and thought during the later Middle Ages.

Justinian.

But it is the great military exploits of Justinian's reign that here claim chief mention. The empire was rich, well ordered, and had at this moment in Belisarius one of the greatest of the world's generals, and an army of wonderful efficiency. The imperial army was now a great contrast in character to what it had been before the battle of Hadrianople. There the foot soldier had been all important; now the foot soldiers play a quite secondary part, and it is the horse archer or mounted bowman upon whom Belisarius placed his chief reliance. He trusted for victory (and his trust was rarely misplaced) to rapidity of movement and to skilful strategy, rather than to mere fighting power in the day of battle.

The imperial army under Belisarius.

The empire had, of course, never acquiesced in the Gothic conquest of Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Italy; and, when his army and his general had proved their efficiency in fighting against the Persians, Justinian despatched them to the recovery of the West. The first blow fell upon Africa. The Vandal kingdom there was in evil case. It exhibited in an extreme form all the signs of decadence that set

Imperial reconquest of the West.

in sooner or later in all the kingdoms that the Goths founded. Genseric was dead, and no capable successor was to be found; the native population was bitterly hostile to their conquerors, both as Arians and as oppressors; the Vandals themselves, in these almost tropical lands, had lost their old fierceness, courage, and endurance. When Belisarius landed in Africa in 533, they could hardly attempt any resistance. Before the end of the year Africa, after being in the possession of the Vandals just over a hundred years, was reannexed to the empire.

Belisarius in Italy.

The turn of Italy came three years later. First Sicily was occupied without difficulty. Then, in 536, Belisarius undertook the reduction of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy. The Ostrogoths were weak for the same reasons as those which have been noted in the case of the Vandals, but they had not fallen so low, and showed that they yet possessed the capacity for a great national effort. At first all went well with the imperialists. Belisarius took Rome in 536, and Ravenna in 540. It seemed that Italy lay again securely in the hands of the empire. But the Ostrogothic power was not so easily annihilated. Disaster renewed something of their old energy. They found a splendid leader in Totila, who is, with Alaric and Theodoric, the glory of the Gothic race. He found the population of Italy disillusioned with imperial rule by reason of the weight of imperial taxes. He took Rome in 549. All Italy fell into his hands except Ravenna. Against this new power even Belisarius was no longer invincible. The empire had to rally all its forces to meet the new Ostrogothic leader. A new and strange general was sent out from Constantinople, the eunuch Narses. The end came in 553. Totila was defeated and killed in the great battle of Taginae; and in the next year the Ostrogothic host asked leave to march out of Italy. Their name disappeared for ever from the annals of Europe.

Instability of the imperial success.

Thus Justinian and the Roman Empire were in possession of Africa, Sicily, and Italy, and Justinian had also achieved a certain amount of success in Spain, where the south and east of the peninsula fell into the power of the empire. But this great revival of the imperial power in the West was no real gain either for the countries re-annexed or for the empire. The forces of the empire did not

suffice permanently to hold these countries. Their conquest was due to the genius of Belisarius and a vast spasmodic effort. On the death of Justinian, in 565, there was no one to carry on the task to which even his genius would in the long run have been unequal. The chief permanent results of this imperial restoration were that both the empire and Italy were left in a condition of exhaustion and little able to resist their enemies; while in Italy a most promising experiment in government was overthrown, and what had taken its place was neither so strong nor so humane.

The Lombard invasion of Italy.

A new invader soon appeared. The armies of Belisarius and Narses had been a strange collection of different races and languages. Among those who had fought in the imperial ranks at Taginae was a contingent of Lombards. In 568 they attacked on their own account the country which they had assisted to conquer for others. The imperial government was far off and weak; the population of Italy was irritated by the weight of the imperial burdens. The Lombards did not carry all before them as Visigoths, Ostrogoths, and the troops of Belisarius had done; but year by year the imperial power declined and that of the invaders increased. They were fiercer warriors than either Visigoths or Ostrogoths, less open to the influences of civilization, and, if report does not lie, far less truthful and honourable. And yet their hold on Italy was much more permanent than that of either Gothic race, and they have left their name stamped on the northern plains of Italy. Political reasons contributed to this; but the chief cause seems to have been that they gradually became orthodox Catholics. Religion, which had been a force that drove Goths and Italians apart, now tended, though slowly, to bring Lombards and Italians together; and so, though the Lombards quarrelled fiercely with the Papacy, in the end they coalesced with the population and formed a part of the basis of the modern Italian race.

Italy at the end of the sixth century.

If in conclusion we glance at the map of Italy at the end of the sixth century, we see that its territory is divided between the empire and the Lombards. The great islands (Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia) belong to the empire; the "heel and toe" of Italy and a wide strip of territory stretching from Rome to Ravenna along the

Flaminian Way, and beyond Ravenna to Venice belong to the empire. But the greater part of the Po valley and what is now called Tuscany are in the hands of the Lombard kings; and, beyond the broad strip of imperial territory that joined Rome and Ravenna, the south and centre of Italy was in the hands of the Lombard Dukes of Beneventum and Spoleto. Italy had been the great home of political strength, unity, and concentration; and now disunion, weakness, and dispersion had fallen upon it, and were destined to continue to characterize it, until at last, in the nineteenth century, it achieved political unity on a free and national basis.

Hodgkin's Theodoric (Heroes of the Nations); *Bury's Later Roman Empire*. *Gibbon* is at his best for this period.

CHAPTER IV

The Great Forces of the Early Middle Ages

Saint Benedict	480-543
Baptism of Clovis	496
Gregory the Great, Pope	590-604
The Hegira of Mahomet	622
Charles Martel, Mayor of the Palace	715

Western Europe was now in a very unstable condition. In spite of the imperial restoration, the empire no longer counted as a force that made for order and peaceful development. The new "barbarian" states were weakly organized and short-lived. With each decade the features of the old Roman order grew fainter and fainter in the West, and the features of a new order were not yet apparent. We must now notice the three forces which by action and reaction brought medieval Europe into existence. These are (1) the Papacy, (2) Mahomedanism, (3) the Frankish Monarchy.

We have seen the all-importance of the influence of the Church for the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries; but it is now important to notice how the Church assumed a monarchical organization under the Papacy. Much, in the rise of the Papacy, is obscure and disputable, but

The rise of the Papacy.

it is easy to see that there were certain forces favouring its growth. The sceptre of empire had deserted the city of Rome, and, in consequence, all the traditions of greatness associated with the "eternal city" were now attached to its religious head, its bishop. The complete political disorder that had fallen upon Italy left the religious authority of the pope without any serious rival. The State failed to defeat Attila the Hun and Genseric the Vandal; it was the Church that turned back the one and modified the violence of the other. For the present the Bishop of Rome, or pope, had practically no control of physical force; his power rested on reverence and persuasion. But the authority of the Church was on that account the more readily recognized, and its victories roused no resentment. Note, too, that in the sixth century monarchical ideas were everywhere in the ascendant. There was no other ideal of government before Europe. And this tendency leads to the absolute Papacy of the Bishop of Rome, as it led later to the absolutist ideas of the medieval empire.

The rise of monasticism.

The rise and growth of monasticism contributed greatly to the strength of the Papacy. The monastic life in some form was as old as Christianity, and older. But in its early forms it was spasmodic, without discipline, and liable to grave excess. The organizer and lawgiver of monasticism was St. Benedict (480–543). He drew up his famous *rule*, in which he laid down the course of life that was to be pursued both by monks and nuns. Those who entered upon the monastic life were to take vows that should be perpetually binding; they were to live together, the separate cell was unknown in the Benedictine monasteries; they were to be constantly engaged in work whether of the head or the hands ("laborare est orare" was the Benedictine motto). Each monastery was to manage its own affairs, but the monasteries were in close relation with the Roman pope. For the next eight hundred years the monasteries were one of the most powerful intellectual and social influences in Europe. But here it is specially to be noted how great a support they gave to the Papacy. Wherever in Europe there was a monastery, there there was a garrison pledged to the defence and advancement of the Church in its monarchical papal form.

The rise of the Papacy into its medieval form is specially associated with the name of Gregory the Great (590–604).

Gregory the Great.

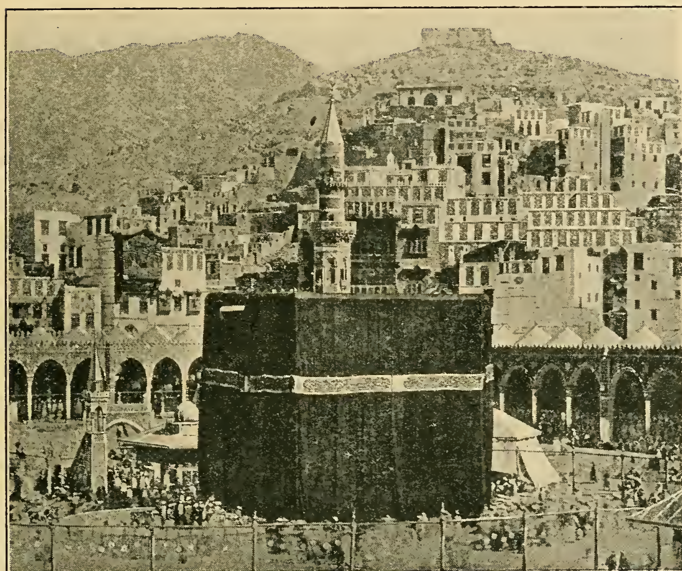
It was due to his exertions that England was converted to Christianity; but his wider importance is due to the fact that he organized the government of the Roman Church, and prepared the way for the recognition of the Papacy as the absolute head of the Church. He did much to develop the ritual, the music, and the services of the Church, and to increase and administer the possessions of the Church in Italy. But, above all, he appears as the umpire and protector of the Italian population between the declining imperial power on one side, and the fierce half-heathen Lombards on the other. Within the nominally imperial territory (what was called the Exarchate of Ravenna) his was the real authority. The temporal power of the Papacy is on the point of coming into existence.

But while the Christian Church was widening its borders and strengthening its organization, there had sprung into existence a power against which it was to struggle for power during the whole of the Middle Ages.

The rise of Mahomedanism.

Mahomet was twenty years younger than the great Gregory. He was born in Mecca, and his family was one of importance there. The religion of the country at his birth was a strange mixture of ancient heathen rites, of Judaism, and of Christianity; and in Mecca, worship was paid to a great stone, the famous Kaaba stone, which still remains there, a strange survival amidst the rites of Mahomedanism. Westward in Egypt and northward in Syria the Christians were bitterly divided by disputes on matters of doctrine. Mahomet preached his doctrines with passionate and contagious enthusiasm. Heathenism and Christianity were alike rejected by him. He preached one God with many prophets; of whom Moses, Christ, and Mahomet were three, but Mahomet was the chief. He preached the doctrine of fate or predestination, and his converts found in that doctrine not a force deadening and repressing all effort, but a source of passionate energy. He preached, too, a higher personal and social morality; theft, intemperance, slavery, polygamy, were all attacked or regulated by his movement. In 622 he was driven from Mecca by his

opponents. This is the Flight, the Hegira, from which all Mahomedans reckon their years. His disciples were at first few, but devoted. The oath that they took ran, "We will worship none but the one God. We will not steal, neither will we commit adultery, nor kill our children; we will not slander in any wise, neither will we disobey the prophet in



The Kaaba at Mecca.

anything that is right." In 630 Mahomet re-entered Mecca in triumph and died in 632.

The movement that he had inaugurated spread with extraordinary rapidity. The soldiers of Islam (the word means "resignation to the will of God") were inspired by unquestioning faith and unquenchable ardour, and on the death of Mahomet, Mahomedanism entered on its most militant phase. Before the rise of the new faith the Eastern Empire had seemed full of warlike vigour under the Emperor Heraclius;

but now province after province was torn away. Syria was lost in 634; Jerusalem was taken by the Caliph Omar in 637, and Persia fell about the same time. Egypt was conquered in 640. Then there came a lull in the struggle; but fifty years later the stream of conquest flowed irresistibly on. In 695 Africa and Carthage fell after a weak resistance: the Arian Vandals welcomed the Mahomedans. At last, in 711, the Mahomedan army, under Tarik, crossed the straits to which his name has given the name of Gibraltar, and in two years all Spain was in Mahomedan hands. In Spain, as in Africa and Italy, the imperial revival had weakened the power of resistance in the country. But the Visigoths seemed incapable of establishing any stable government. So the Mahomedan wave rolled up to the Pyrenees, and the question, all-important for European civilization, had now to be settled, Was there any power beyond the Alps that was capable of checking the inpouring torrent? The condition of Gaul, therefore, now demands our attention.

Gaul in the fifth century.

We have carried on the history of Italy and the East as far as the end of the sixth century; but we must return to the fifth in order to understand how the Frankish monarchy championed the cause of Christianity and turned back the tide of Mahomedan conquest.

If we look at the political geography of the north-west of the Roman Empire about 476, we see the Anglo-Saxons had settled in the south of Britain; the south of Gaul and the north of Spain were occupied by the Visigothic monarchy; the Rhone lands were occupied by the Burgundians. The Roman standard and the imperial name were still maintained (but not for long) by Syagrius on both banks of the Seine. The middle and lower banks of the Rhine were in the hands of the Franks, and the Franks were roughly divided into two divisions—the Salians, who lived near to the ocean, and the Ripuarians, whose centre was near to Cologne.

The Franks.

The Franks were already known as fierce and brave soldiers. More than once they had raided the Roman Empire, and had shown themselves much more cruel and much less receptive of civilization than the Goths. They lay still on the very outskirts of what had once been the Roman

Empire, and there was nothing which indicated the great destiny that was in store for them.

In 481 Clovis (the name is variously written Chlodovech, or Clovis, or Ludwig, or Louis) became their king. He was a Salian Frank, but he forced the Ripuarians to submit to him. He turned against Syagrius and destroyed the last remnant of the Roman Empire north of the Alps (486). He defeated the Visigoths and occupied their land as far as the Garonne. He defeated the Alemanni; and his marriage with a Burgundian princess gave him great influence in the Burgundian land. He was the supreme power in Gaul; and, if Theodoric's rule in Italy was more firmly rooted and better organized, it was Theodoric alone who was his rival in Western Europe.

The conversion of King Clovis.

Thus before his death, in 511, he made the Franks into a great power, and they never ceased to be one; and yet his conversion to Catholic Christianity probably influenced the future of the Franks even more than his conquests. It was in 496 that he accepted baptism; and that he did so was due to the influence of his Burgundian wife, Clotilda. He had declared that he would follow the Christians' God, if that God would give him victory in battle against the Alemanni; and when the victory was won he kept his word. Henceforth the organization and the intelligence of the Church (whose rivalry and opposition had been so fatal to the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, and Vandals) were thrown on the side of the King of the Franks; and the union, sometimes interrupted but always re-established, supplies us with the master-key to the success and the permanence of the Frankish state.

Disintegration of the Kingdom of Clovis.

But the Franks, upon the death of Clovis, fell rapidly from the unity and strength which they had possessed during his reign, and the Frankish kingdom did not regain for two centuries the position which it held under the founder of its greatness. As we have seen in the case of the Gothic states, all depended upon the personal character of the ruler; the constitution was entirely traditional, and there could be no guarantee for its permanence. During these next two centuries the disruptive

forces gained the upper hand in Frankland. The lands were divided among different rulers, and their rivalries and antagonisms seemed to portend the breaking up of the Frankish power. The northern territory of the Franks was divided into Austrasia (the lands of the Moselle and the Rhine) and Neustria (the western lands). In Austrasia Germanic ideas and tendencies prevailed, while Neustria was more civilized and more influenced by ideas drawn from Roman and Latin sources. The conflict between these two divisions fills up a large part of the sixth century.

The Mayors of the Palace.

During the seventh century a strange new force began to emerge. The power of the monarchy was gradually effaced by that of the Mayors of the Palace: much of the future of Europe turns upon this change, which deserves careful examination. The first dynasty of Frankish kings is known as the Merovingian, the name being derived from Meroving, a fabled ancestor of Clovis. The kings of this dynasty continued to occupy the throne down to the year 751. But their real power became constantly smaller, and by their side there rose up the authority of the mayors of the palace. The mayors were nominally servants of the Crown, who at first held quite subordinate duties, but came to be first the chief servants and then the practical masters of their nominal kings. History affords many instances of the nominal servant really holding sway over his so-called master and chief. We have seen how all-important were the great soldiers of the last days of the Western Empire, and how unimportant were the emperors themselves; we may see something of the same sort in the relations between the Kings and Prime Ministers of England. But the relation between the Merovingian kings and their mayors of the palace is the most striking instance of this kind. After the death of Dagobert, in 638, there was no Merovingian king of any importance; and soon after this the office of mayor of the palace became hereditary, and the mayors form a new dynasty alongside of and superior to the Merovingian kings. The great founder of the fortunes of the dynasty of mayors was Pippin of Heristal, mayor of the palace to the Merovingian Kings of Austrasia. In 687 he defeated the Neustrian armies, and united Frankland again

under one chief. He died in 714, and was succeeded in his office by Charles, afterwards famous in history as Charles Martel (Charles the Hammer).

The rule of Saint Benedict is in *Henderson's Documents*. For Mahomet, see *Stanley Lane Poole's Speeches and Table Talk of Mohammad*, and the *Life of Mahomet*, by *Margoliouth*, in the Heroes of the Nations. For the Franks, *Hodgkin's Italy and her Invaders*, and *Kitchin's History of France*.

CHAPTER V

The Rise of the Medieval Empire

Mahomedans defeated at Tours 732
Pippin, King of the Franks. 751
Charlemagne, Emperor. Christmas Day . . 800

Charles Martel.

CHARLES MARTEL is one of the great names in medieval history. It is difficult to remember that, all during his lifetime, there was a king living to whom he owed nominal obedience. In effect he was king of the Franks, and the great Frankish dynasty which was to succeed the Merovingian—the so-called Carolingian—may be said to have begun to reign even during his lifetime.

Within the limits of the kingdom that he inherited he vastly strengthened the power of the Crown, which was, in fact, his own power. The nobles, and especially the almost independent dukes, were beaten down, and, in consequence, Charles ruled with a strong centralized power which had not been known since the death of Clovis.

The Mahomedans defeated at Tours (732).

He deserved his title of Charles "the Hammer" by the blows he struck against the foreign enemies of the Franks. Even when he inherited it the territory of the Franks stretched far east of the Rhine; but Charles drove the limits of Frankish power further east by a series of wars against Saxons and Bavarians. It was, however, not upon Saxons or Bavarians,

but upon the Mahomedans that his heaviest and most famous blow fell—a blow, the effects of which are traceable in every part of Western Europe. We have seen how the Mahomedan power had spread irresistibly along the north of Africa, had crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and had reached the Pyrenees. Now this barrier was overleaped, and in 725 the Moors overran Southern France: Carcassonne, Nîmes, and Autun were taken. In material force the Cross seemed clearly unequal to a struggle with the Crescent. In 732 Abderrahman fell upon Aquitania, which lay between the Garonne and the Loire. Its ruler appealed to Charles, and he, feeling that his own Frankish territories were in danger, led his army to encounter the Mahomedans. The great battle, usually called the battle of Tours, though it was fought nearer to Poitiers, ended, after a long and desperate struggle, in the withdrawal of the Moors. It proved a decisive victory. The tide of Moorish and Mahomedan conquest henceforward ebbed from Western Europe. The Moors were quickly driven out of Southern France, and the balance of strength in all struggles between them and the Franks clearly lay with the Christian power.

Charles Martel and the Papacy.

This victory—the most important won by a Christian power over the Moslem since the beginning of the Mahomedan movement — made Charles Martel at once the greatest of European rulers, and the special champion of the Christian faith. It served to knit still closer the bonds which had from the first connected the Franks with the Papacy; and Charles's services to the Christian Church did not stop there. The eighth century was a period of great missionary enterprises in Europe. A century and a half earlier England had been won to Christianity by the efforts of Gregory and Augustine, and now missionaries from England showed the zeal of their faith by spreading it among the German races north and east of the Rhine. Saint Willibrord had been the successful preacher of Christianity in the low countries on either side of the lower course of the Rhine, and Saint Boniface, an English monk born in Devonshire, first worked under Saint Willibrord at Utrecht, and then, with wonderful zeal and success, preached

Christianity beyond the Rhine, especially to the Saxons. He was supported in his efforts by the authority of Charles Martel, and the great "mayor" and the great missionary together won wonderful victories for the Christian Church and the Papal power. The Papacy and the Frankish power were everywhere allies, to their immense mutual advantage: and soon their connection was to become even closer and clearer.

The new Frankish Monarchy.

We are approaching the time when the Frankish mayors of the palace became first kings of Frankland and then emperors. The causes which led up to this all-important change are plain. The Frankish Mayors were powerful, the popes were powerful, and yet each had need of the other. The royal and imperial titles were the payment which the popes made to the Frankish mayors for the independence and power which the Papacy received at the hands of the Frankish rulers.

Position of the Papacy in Italy.

Consider carefully the position of the Papacy in Italy. The Church had been growing continuously since the days of Gregory the Great: its organization had vastly improved, its borders in the west were wider; the spread of the monastic system had been the chief cause of its strength. But if the Church, as a whole, was strong and triumphant in the eighth century, the Papacy in Italy was surrounded by difficulties and dangers. We have seen that the dominant race in Italy was the Lombards, and since last we saw them their power had considerably extended. The hold of the Eastern Empire upon Italy had been almost shaken off. Ravenna was still held by the Imperialists, and certain territories in the south of Italy; but there could be no question that both in the north and the south of Italy the Lombards were the masters and almost without a rival. Now the Lombards had become Christians of the orthodox Catholic type, but the popes hated them with the utmost bitterness. No words were strong enough to describe them and their crimes. They were "lepers," "children of the devil;" they are habitually called "the unspeakable" Lombards. The struggle was not really a religious or theological one, but political, for the Papacy was, now and always, jealous of any power in Italy that seemed able to override the Church. To

what quarter could the popes look for help against the "unspeakable" Lombards? The strength and the orthodoxy of the Franks, as well as their past services to the Church, marked them out as the champions of the Papacy; and in 739 Charles Martel had been appealed to, but his hands were too full, and he refused to come. The appeal was soon made again, and with results that influenced the whole Middle Ages.

The trouble with the Lombards was not the only one that occupied the attention of the popes. Their relations with the emperors at Constantinople were also difficult. The emperors still claimed supremacy in Italy, and exercised a certain influence over the popes. The distance of the seat of the empire from Rome made it in some ways a desirable ally of the Papacy; but the empire was growing weak, and could not help, and, worse than that, its orthodoxy was at this time worse than doubtful. There was not, as yet, any schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, but the emperor's presence in Constantinople had, from the first, given the imperial authority a preponderating influence over the Church there. And now, in the first half of the eighth century, there broke out in Constantinople, mainly through the influence of the Emperor Leo the Isaurian, a religious movement in direct opposition to the practices and doctrines of the Roman See. This is called the "iconoclastic" or image-breaking movement. It was probably partly due to the influence of Mahomedanism, and in some respects it anticipated certain features of Protestantism. The "iconoclasts" rejected the worship of images, the intercession of the Virgin Mary, the celibacy of priests, and many of the practices of monks. This movement was victorious, often with fanatical excesses, down to 785, when Catholic orthodoxy was again restored by the Empress Irene. But the relations between the empire and the Papacy continued to be strained, and the orthodoxy of the empire was still suspected in Rome.

The Papacy and the Eastern Empire.

We have seen, therefore, that the Frankish sword could render great service to the Papal throne; and if we now return to the history of Frankland, we shall see that the Frankish mayors stood in great need of help which the popes could give them. Charles Martel died in 741.

Pippin, King of the Franks.

and his two sons, Pippin and Carloman, divided his dominions between them for a time. There seemed a real danger that the Frankish dominions would suffer from disruption. But soon Carloman abdicated and retired into a monastery, and Pippin ruled over all Frankland. The shadow of the Merovingian kingship still subsisted, but it must have been clear that it could not subsist much longer. For six years there was no king; but then it seemed best to regularize the position of Pippin, and a king, Childerick III., was appointed. In 751, however, the time was at last fully come for this mockery of kingship to cease. We are surprised that it had lasted so long; but tradition was powerful in early medieval societies, and it might be regarded as an act of impiety, as well as of usurpation, to move from the throne of the Franks the descendant of King Clovis. It was under such circumstances that the indefinite powers and prestige of the Papacy could be of great service to the faithful "mayor" of the Franks. The pope was consulted as to the proposed step, and he answered that it was right that he who had the power should also have the title. So the deed was done and the change made. Childerick III. was deposed and sent into a monastery. Pippin was raised upon the shields of his nobles, and was anointed king by the English monk and missionary, Boniface. This was in 751. Two years later, Pope Stephen himself came to the court of Pippin, and crowned him a second time. Henceforth his dynasty—which is usually called the Carolingian, from the great Charles who was soon to succeed Pippin—reigned by the double title of power and the sanction of the Church.

King Pippin and the Papacy.

The pope had accomplished his part of the bargain. It was now for Pippin to do his, for there had been an implied bargain. In return for the royal title and the oil of anointing, Pippin was to relieve the Papacy from the pressure of the "unspeakable" Lombards, and to grant to the pope an independent power in Italy. So, in 754, Pippin and the army of the Franks invaded Italy. Aistulf, the Lombard king, was defeated. He was compelled to cede to the Papacy, in the person of Pope Stephen, one-third of the Lombard territory in Italy, and to pay a yearly tribute. This was not the end of the controversy between the popes and the

Lombards, by any means; but by this act the Papacy gained a distinct temporal power in Italy. The popes are henceforth not merely the spiritual heads of the Church, they are also political rulers of certain territories; and the history of the Middle Ages is henceforth full of their ambitions and struggles as temporal rulers.

Accession of Charles the Great (Charlemagne).

King Pippin lived yet for fourteen years, and fought and administered successfully in his dominions. Upon his death in 768, his territories were at first shared between his two sons, Charles and Carloman; but Carloman soon died of disease, and henceforward Charles reigned alone. He was one of the world's greatest and most important rulers, and was called by his own and the next generation Charles the Great, though to us he is more usually known as Charlemagne.

Importance of the work of Charlemagne.

"With Charlemagne," it has been said, "the destruction of the ancient world ends; with Charlemagne the building up of the modern world begins." He was of pure German origin, spoke a German tongue, and usually resided in German lands. But there is no country in Western Europe which has not been directly, or indirectly, influenced by his career. He pushed the dominion of the Franks far into Eastern Germany; he extended the boundaries of the Frankish power into Italy and into Spain; he founded the medieval empire; he broke the darkness and ignorance of the early Middle Ages by stimulating literature and education; and at each point his work was not transitory, but permanent. He co-operated with the forces of the time, and the very foundations of our present European life are stamped with his name. He was himself tall, strong, and agile beyond the average of mankind. There was in his character a religious and exalted strain, which lifted him out of the sensuality and grossness of the time and made the man worthy of the work which he accomplished. It will be best, in considering his work, to neglect chronological order, and deal with (1) his conquests, (2) the establishment and government of the empire, (3) his services to culture and education.

He was constantly engaged in wars during the whole of his reign, and, though he does not seem to have shown any great

Charles the Great.

(From the Painting by Albrecht Dürer.)

Dürer lived 1471–1528, and this picture of Charlemagne is purely imaginary; but Charles, during the later Middle Ages, became a hero of legend, and this picture will recall not only the actual king and emperor, but also the fabulous hero who plays so important a part in romance down to the time of Ariosto.

genius in the conduct of his operations, his energy and organization brought them all in the end to success. He did not always conduct his wars in person, and was well served by those whom he chose for command over his troops. Some of his wars were fought to reduce the nominal dependants of the Frankish monarchy to real subjection. Thus the Dukes of Aquitaine and Bavaria were defeated and their territories put under direct Frankish rule. But his more important expeditions were those in which he asserted the supremacy of the Christian Frankish power over the heathen and barbarous lands adjoining his own. All Spain, as we have seen, was in the hands of the Saracens; but they were now weakened by civil wars, and thus weakened were attacked by Charlemagne. His conquests in Spain were of no great extent, but a portion of Spanish territory was torn from the Mahomedans, and for this reason Charlemagne is reckoned the founder of modern Spain.

The wars of Charles the Great.

His campaigns against the Saxons were far more prolonged and more important. By Saxony we must understand a district very different from that which bears that name upon the modern map of Germany. The Saxons of those days lived on the low-lying lands round the mouths of the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, a land of heath and marsh and forest; and the people themselves were fierce and warlike, attached to their own religion, and, in spite of the work of Boniface, bitterly opposed to the Christian missionaries. The war between the Franks and the Saxons was an extremely fierce one. The work had to be done over and over again, for the Saxons again and again repudiated the submission they had made. On both sides there were cruelty and massacre, and when Charles conquered he always imposed Christianity as a sign and test of submission. At last the Saxon champion Widukind was forced to surrender and accept baptism. Monasteries were planted in the conquered country, and the new faith and the new government sank deep into the life of the people. We shall see further on that Charlemagne's imperial work was a century later carried on by the Saxon race.

Wars against the Saxons.

Charles fought, too, against the Avars of modern Hungary, penetrated their huge fortifications, and forced their ruler to

The Empire of Charles the Great.

accept baptism. He struck, too, against the Slavonic peoples that lay to the east of the Elbe—the Abotrites, Slavs, and Serbs—and forced them to recognize the supremacy of the Frankish power.

Lastly, we must turn to the campaigns of Charles against the Lombards, which led to his assumption of the imperial title. We have seen how King Pippin had fought against the Lombards, and how he had reduced them to a condition of loose dependence on the Frankish monarchy, and how the hostility of the Franks to the Lombards was closely connected with the alliance between the Franks and the Papacy. The King of the Lombards during Charles's reign was Desiderius (Didier), and the Pope Hadrian lived on uneasy terms with him. Charles, too, had his grievances against the Lombard king. He had been married to the daughter of Desiderius, but had put her away; and this, with other causes, led to the outbreak of war in 773 The last hour of the old Lombard monarchy had now arrived. King Desiderius was besieged in Pavia and taken prisoner. The separate Lombard monarchy was now abolished; and Charles, in 774, assumed the title of King of the Lombards and Patrician of the Romans. The Pope received from Charlemagne an increase of territory and power.

Charles and the Lombards.

It will be seen that this campaign is mentioned quite out of place. The wars against the Saxons, Avars, and Saracens, all came after the overthrow of the Lombards. But the Lombard conquest led up, nearly twenty-five years later, to a momentous change in Charles's title. Clearly, Charles became during these years the one great power in Europe. Where could be found a power that was in any way a rival to that of the conqueror of Saxons, Saracens, Avars, Slavs, and Lombards? The emperor at Constantinople was nothing in comparison to him. There had been no emperor in Italy for three hundred years; but the memory of the empire still remained. The imperial title was known to be the greatest of all; and no title was too high for this all-conquering King of the Franks.

Charles's assumption of the imperial title.

The royal title had come to Pippin from the pope; from the same source the title of emperor came to Charles; and as

in 751, so now it was in gratitude, and as a reward for services rendered, that the pope gave the higher title.

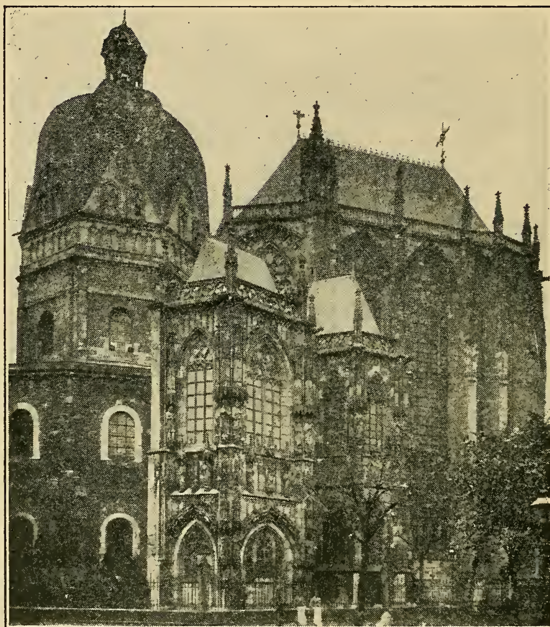
Pope Leo III. was reigning in 799. After his election he had been savagely attacked and cruelly treated by the relatives of the late pope, Hadrian, for the Papacy had come to be a subject of fierce contention among the noble families of Rome. Pope Leo III. had been wounded and imprisoned by his opponents. He escaped with difficulty and fled to Charles, imploring his help. So in 800 Charles came to Italy and Rome, and all resistance collapsed before him. Leo was restored to the Papal throne. The service had been rendered, and the reward soon came. On Christmas Day, 800, Charles attended mass in St. Peter's Church at Rome, and then and there the pope placed the imperial crown on his brows and saluted him with the title of Emperor.

Thus was revived the imperial title in Western Europe, and the title did not disappear for the next thousand years. The change was in truth a change only in name. Charles had been quite as powerful as king as he was as emperor. The new title was merely the recognition of the position that Charles had actually secured by his conquests and his organization. But words are sometimes in themselves a power, and this new word "Emperor" applied to the Frankish kings was destined to exercise a vast influence over all the Middle Ages.

The new empire.

Charles showed himself far in advance of his age in his organization and government of his vast dominions. He tried to give them a really efficient and centralized government, and to avoid the looseness and disorganization which had been the bane of the other states founded on the ruins of the Roman Empire, and which were later to ruin his empire in the hands of his weaker successors. His "Court" was organized as a sort of administrative and judicial council. The power of the great "dukes" was broken up, and in their place were put a number of *comites*, or "counts," who were not, under Charles, the great dignitaries that they became later, but rather the subordinate agents of the crown for purposes of local government. A special feature of Charles's government was the creation of certain officers called *Missi Dominici*—"royal agents"

we may translate the phrase—whose duty it was to travel through his vast territories and see that the counts and other officials were really carrying out the will of their master. The legislation of Charles was also remarkable. A series of laws (*Capitularies*) was enacted dealing with every part of the social and religious life of the state.



The Minster at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) of which the round church at the left was built by Charlemagne as a Palace Chapel.

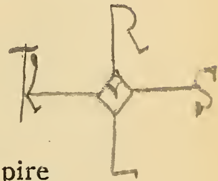
The intellectual revival.

We must note, lastly, how, in the reign of Charles, there arose a real though short-lived revival of literature and education. It seemed as though the confusion of the barbarian invasions was to pass away and something of the old Roman culture was to return. A number of learned men were gathered at the court of Charles, of whom Alcuin of York was the chief. Schools were founded ; literature

was patronized; the services and the music of the Church received careful attention. Edicts were issued enjoining upon the monks care in the keeping of their books. But the interest of Charles went beyond merely ecclesiastical learning. He had a collection made of the traditional songs and sagas of the Frankish people, and himself collected a considerable library in his capital at Aachen, where he built himself a great palace and a cathedral.

Doubtless much of his work was premature, and some of his aims were unattainable. His vast dominions could not really be governed from one centre, and their disruption could not have been prevented, even by a line of capable successors. But, none the less, his ideas and his example were fruitful. With his reign the darkest hour of the Middle Ages was past.

In addition to books already mentioned, *Hodgkin's Charles the Great* (Foreign Statesmen), and *H. W. C. Davis' Charlemagne*. *Early Lives of Charlemagne* (by Eginhard and the Monk of Saint Gall), translated by *A. J. Grant*. *Bryce's Holy Roman Empire* is of great value from this point onwards.



CHAPTER VI

The Disruption of the Carolingian Empire

Death of Charles the Great	814
Partition of the Empire	843
Beginning of Separation between Eastern and Western Churches	866

Lewis the Pious and the future of the empire.

The great Charles died in 814, and his dominions descended undivided to his only surviving son "Lewis the Pious;" but it was soon apparent how much of the greatness of the Frankish monarchy and empire had depended upon the personal qualities of Charles Martel, and King Pippin, and Charles the Great, king and emperor. The greatness of the Franks was quickly at an end. We have now to see how the empire broke up and was re-formed on another basis and by another race; how by its

side there grew up new and independent monarchies—France, England, Spain; how, meanwhile, the Church continuously developed, in spite of crises of weakness and disgrace; how, when the Church had reached its highest point of development, she came into fierce conflict with the restored empire; and how, in this conflict, the Church and the empire both suffered loss and transformations which brought the Middle Ages to an end and ushered in the modern world.

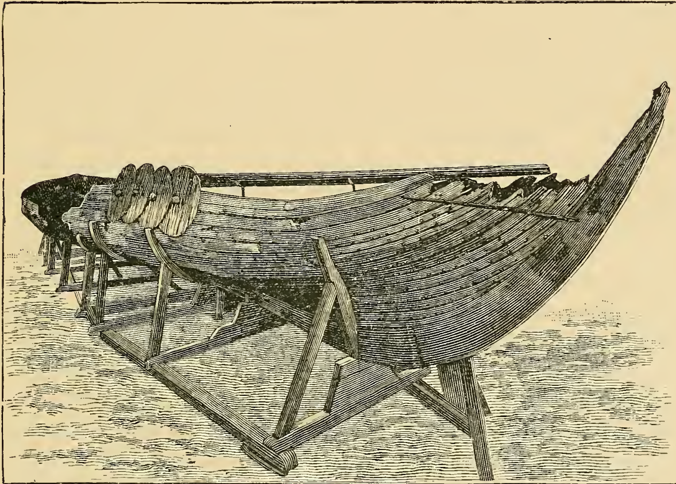
Causes tending to the disruption of the empire.

The empire of Charles did not remain united for thirty years after his death. The disruptive forces were clearly visible, even during the reign of Lewis the Pious. There were civil wars which were only terminated by concessions; but, more important than these civil wars, certain permanent causes of disunion showed themselves. It proved impossible for the government to retain the supervision of all the parts of the empire. The counts and other local rulers established a practical independence. Worst of all, a new and terrible danger appeared. The Northmen began to ravage the coasts and penetrate far into the empire. These sea-robbers had already threatened in the days of the great Charles, and had been beaten off with difficulty. But in the reign of his weak successors they could not be beaten off at all. Their ships were the dread of every sea-coast and river-town along the shores of the German Ocean, and before long these sea-rovers passed the Straits of Gibraltar; and Italy, Southern France, and the great islands of the Mediterranean were open to their attacks. They were recklessly brave, cruel in the hour of victory, uncivilized, and heathen. Wherever they came they stamped out the beginnings of civilization which were showing themselves as the result of the policy of Charles. They retarded by many decades the development of Western Europe; though, when civilized and Christianized themselves, they contributed much to the organization of government and even to the arts of life. Their first heavy blows fell upon the territories of Lewis the Pious in 836, when they took Antwerp and Utrecht. The central government was unable to defend the extremities, and each district had to organize its own defence as best it could. For fifty years and more the attacks of the

Attacks of the Northmen.

Northmen continued. They destroyed the culture of northern England, and during the same period there were few coast-towns in Western Europe which were not destroyed or threatened by them. Their worst ravages were in 881, when they struck into the very heart of what had once been Charles the Great's empire, and burnt Maestricht, Liège, Cologne, Bonn, and even the imperial city, Aachen, itself.

The empire could not defend its subjects against these



Remains of a Viking Ship, from a Cairn at Gokstad. Now in the University at Christiania.

(*From Gardiner's "Student's History of England."*)

blows, and rapidly disintegrated in consequence. There was no open division during the reign of Lewis the Pious; but at his death there were three sons to dispute the inheritance—Lothair, Lewis, and Charles. Lothair was recognized as emperor, but there was constant strife among them, and at last, in 843, it was decided to partition the dominions of the empire. The imperial title could, indeed, belong only to one; but the actual government of the territory of the empire was divided among all three. The accompanying

Partition of the empire.

map (p. 149) will show how this was done. Lothair had, along with the imperial title, the central portion stretching from the mouth of the Rhine southward through Switzerland into Italy; all to the east of that belonged to Lewis, with the title of King; Charles, also as king, ruled over all that lay to the west. In this partition we see the beginnings of France and Germany. The territory that lay between them (with the name of Lotharingia) has been fiercely disputed between these two powers almost ever since the acceptance of the treaty of Verdun.

Dissolution of the empire.

But the division was soon followed by others. The Carolingian Empire (as that of Charlemagne is called) dissolved far more rapidly than the old Roman Empire, and more rapidly than the Merovingian monarchy of the Franks, which it had displaced. No new "mayors of the palace" rose up to overshadow the emperors; but the attacks of the Northmen and the disruptive tendencies within the empire broke it up into even smaller portions, until a condition of complete political chaos seemed likely to ensue. Then a new race—the recently conquered Saxons—came to the front, and became the centre round which was built up such political order as the next three centuries knew. We must not follow the process of decay. The imperial title belonged now to France, now to Germany, and now to Lotharingia. But before the end of the century it was nothing but an empty dignity, and at last it died out completely. The empire of Charles may be said to have come to an end in 888.

The beginnings of feudalism.

It was not only the empire that was breaking up, the kingdoms that had been formed out of it were breaking up also. The age of feudalism began, of which decentralization is one of the chief characteristics. Feudalism was a very complex system of society, based more upon custom than upon written law. But its origin and outstanding features may be easily understood. The central government was hopelessly broken down; little help could be looked for from it, either in repelling the Northmen or in maintaining internal order. Society thereupon organized itself round the strongest force that remained; that force was found in the great landowner, who from his castle was

able to offer defiance to his enemies, and defend those who put their trust in him. So, as royal and imperial government broke up, feudal government formed itself. It was often oppressive, and became generally so ; but its origin is not to be found in oppression, nor in the mere assertion of force. Its origin is to be found in the need of forming some sort of government in an age that was threatened with complete anarchy. The feudal nobleman became the real government of all the adjacent district. His neighbours were bound to give him their support in battle, to pay him certain dues on stated occasions, to accept his decision in cases of law. To them the feudal lord was everything ; and if he had himself a superior, duke or king or emperor, to whom he was bound to yield allegiance, his dependents barely knew it. The feudal lord was everything to them ; the distant duke or king or emperor little more than a name. This form of society had its roots struck far into the past ; but it assumed definite shape in the ninth century in consequence of the dangers that were then threatening European civilization in the West.

Amidst this political chaos the organization of the Church seemed the only stable and progressive force. It had, indeed, of late suffered very material losses of territory. The Mahomedan conquest had cut off from the Church vast districts in Asia, and all Africa and Spain ; and, in spite of the victories of Charles Martel and Charles the Great, there seemed little chance of reconquering those lost lands. Another loss was threatened. The Eastern Empire had for long past been at variance with Rome. There were serious theological differences, and underneath these it is plain that there was political jealousy, which expressed itself in religious antagonism. The territories of the Eastern Empire were sadly shrunk ; but Constantinople still cherished the tradition of her past greatness, and refused to accept the primacy of Rome. In 866 a Synod at Constantinople made certain declarations that were in decided opposition to Papal orthodoxy ; in particular, it declared against the universal celibacy of the clergy and the Roman doctrine of the "procession of the Holy Ghost from Father and Son." In spite of all subsequent attempts to heal the difference,

Division between the Eastern and Western Churches.

Rome and Constantinople were never again in real religious union.

But if the territories over which the Catholic Church held sway were thus decreasing, her power in Western Europe was stronger than ever, her government was better organized, and the claims of the Pope to a monarchical power within the Church were more definitely put forward and more generally recognized. During the ninth century the claim of the Papacy to temporal power was supported by the appearance of documents, which are now recognized as forgeries, but then met with universal acceptance. Chief among these was the Donation of Constantine, a document which purported to be a gift to the pope of all the territories in the west of Europe that belonged to the empire. But such forged documents were rather the result than the cause of the Church's power. The spread of the monastic system vastly strengthened the Church, and for the present all that was best and wisest in Europe supported her claims and ambitions.

Growth of the Catholic Church.

But if the general condition of the Church was thus flourishing, there were serious difficulties in the way of the Papacy in Rome itself. True, the Lombards were no longer a power capable of threatening the Holy See, and the Frankish kings of Italy who had taken their place were friendly. But in the city of Rome itself there was great disorder, which was apt to be specially evident at the time of Papal elections. The city was divided among aristocratic factions, and these regarded the promotion of one of their number to the Papal See as the highest prize. The confusion was increased by the fact that the method of election to the Papacy was not as yet definitely laid down. Thus, while there was no interruption in the growth of the Church in Western Europe, its head was the victim, the prize or the plaything of factions of the fiercest and most unscrupulous kind. As the Papacy had at an earlier date been rescued from the Lombards by the intervention of the Franks, so now another German power interfered to rescue the Papacy from different but quite as serious dangers. And the second intervention, like the first, led up to the re-establishment of the Empire.

Dangers threatening the Papacy.

In addition to books already given, mention must be made of *Zeller's Histoire de France racontée par les contemporains*, in many small volumes. These contain a series of extracts in French from contemporary chronicles illustrating French history from the beginning down to 1610. The *Donation of Constantine* is quoted in *Henderson's Documents* (see note to Ch. I.).

CHAPTER VII

The Foundation of the Holy Roman Empire

Henry the Fowler	918
Otto the Great, Emperor	962

To understand the foundation of the Holy Roman Empire we must return to Germany. A nominal union of the monarchy had been maintained, as we have seen; but the real strength lay with the great feudal powers, the great dukes—stem-dukes, as they are sometimes called—who stood at the head of the great races of which Germany was composed. The names of these duchies were Saxony, Franconia, Lorraine, Swabia, Bavaria. These would in all probability have broken off into complete and open independence had it not been for the danger of barbarian and heathen invasion which threatened from the East. Up to the year 918, the royal title remained in the Carolingian house, but when in that year King Conrad died, there was no descendant of Charles the Great left to take his place. Choice had therefore perforce to be made of a king from some new stock, and the choice fell upon Henry, Duke of Saxony, who is best known to history as Henry the Fowler.

Condition of Germany.

His accession to the throne of Germany marks an epoch in German and European history. With him the greatness of medieval Germany began. A capable ruler, representing and supported by a powerful and united race, now occupied the throne, and under his management its power and splendour far eclipsed that of the effete descendants of the great Charles. At first the other great dukes yielded a merely nominal allegiance, but they were in due time forced into a genuine submission; the

The future of the Germany monarchy.

monarchy became the real government of Germany, and then the greatness of the German kingship received its crowning but dangerous glory when the Pope conferred on Henry's successor and son, Otto I., the imperial title.

Otto I. (Otto the Great) succeeded his father in 936, and he carried out the policy of the Saxon kings of Germany to its most complete development. It is important to mark the chief lines on which it proceeded. First, he vigorously opposed the independent claims of the stem-dukes, and his success, though not complete, was great. His own brother Henry joined himself to the opponents of monarchical power, and the king's efforts to overcome their resistance were long and painful. The dukes were not destroyed, but their power was much reduced. Next, Otto fought vigorously against the great national enemy, the Magyars—a race akin to but distinct from the Huns and the Avars—who had settled in Hungary, and were constantly threatening the German states by pushing up along the Danube. In 955 they were defeated with crushing and decisive effect at Augsburg, and they never again threatened Europe in nearly so dangerous a fashion. Thirdly, he introduced new methods of government, which resemble, to some extent, those of the Great Charles. His object was to find agents of government that should not try to assume independence of the Crown as the great duchies had done. He appointed Counts Palatine to defend the frontiers of Germany upon the west, and upon the east and south he created "marks," or border governments, to hold in check the Slavs, the Magyars, and the Italians. But in his government—and this gives us the key to much of the history of Germany during the next two centuries—he relied chiefly upon ecclesiastics. They were the only educated class, and their close relation with the government of Germany dated back to the days of Charles Martel and King Pippin. But ecclesiastics were specially valuable as agents of King Otto, because their vows of celibacy prevented them from founding families of their own, and made it more possible for them to keep apart from the feudal nobility. Henceforth the connection between Church and monarchy was the closest possible. The bishops were the

Otto the Great: His rule of Germany.

Otto the Great and the Church.

prop and stay of the kingly power. Note, however, that the leading Churchmen were far less independent than they had been in the days of Charlemagne. They were the servants rather of the monarchy than of the pope; the bishops were simply state officials. In the days of Pippin and the Great Charles, Church and State had been equal and mutually helpful allies. But now the Popes were too much occupied in and influenced by the local disputes of the city to exercise vigorous supervision over the Church as a whole, and there was a danger that the Church in Germany would sink under State control. The use which Otto made of ecclesiastics made him take an interest in Italian affairs, and subsequently carried him to the imperial title.

Italy in the tenth century.

All political unity had long disappeared from Italy. The King of Italy ruled in the north; then came the Papal states: the southern part of the peninsula was shared between the Duke of Benevento, the lingering remnant of the Eastern Empire, and the Saracens, who had of late settled on and mastered certain districts in the extreme south. In 951 King Otto was appealed to from Italy. Adelaide, widow of King Lothair, asked for his defence against a marriage with the son of the present king. It was a sufficient pretext. Otto invaded Northern Italy and mastered it without much difficulty. He was crowned King of Italy at Pavia, though King Berengar was still allowed to rule as his vassal. Thus Otto was now a neighbour of the Papacy.

Otto the Great becomes emperor.

In 962 his intervention was asked for in the city of Rome itself. The faction fights of the city had reached an acute crisis. There was fighting within and without the city. If the Papacy was to be rescued from its shameful subservience to the factions of the city, it seemed that it could only be through the help of a foreign power. And, with this object, Pope John XII. appealed to Otto in 962. The king came, and Rome confessed its inability to resist him. Pope John XII. was restored to power, and then gave the reward which, doubtless, had been stipulated for beforehand. On February 2, 962, King Otto was crowned emperor, and with him the real medieval empire began, "the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation."

It is well to consider the causes and character of this famous event. It bears, as we have seen, considerable resemblance to the raising of Charlemagne to the empire. In both cases the imperial title—lapsed, but by no means forgotten—was conferred by the pope on a power that had rendered the Church great service, and was obviously the first in Western Europe. But Otto's position was in many respects different from that of Charlemagne. The Great Charles had been a far more universal sovereign than Otto. He ruled over many races, and an extent of territory that fairly challenged comparison with the Roman Empire; while Otto, though a powerful sovereign, was essentially a German one. Charles and the pope had been allies on an equal footing; but in the case of Otto the Papacy was sunk in deepest humiliation, and the details of Otto's sojourn in Italy show us how completely the emperor was the superior of the pope.

The new phase of the empire.

The history of the next three centuries depends on the Italian policy of Otto. The German kingship was connected, henceforth, with the imperial title and great and valuable possessions south of the Alps, and it had assumed an attitude of protection towards the Roman See. It derived from this new connection great glory, but also great danger and ultimate ruin. Left to itself, the German monarchy might have founded a well-organized and stable state. But in the coming years the efforts and ambitions of the German kings were constantly turned to Italy, and, while Germany was in consequence neglected and allowed at last to fall again into feudal anarchy, the emperors found themselves involved in a desperate struggle with the Papacy, which destroyed the empire in all but name.

Influence of the Italian connection on the empire.

Henderson's Short History of Germany. Gregorovius' Rome in the Middle Ages is a valuable work of reference for most of the medieval period. *Tout's Empire and Papacy* is the best short guide up to the middle of the thirteenth century.

CHAPTER VIII

The Empire and the Papacy to the Eve of the Great Struggle between them

Battle of Civitate 1053
Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), Pope . . 1073
Robert Guiscard in Italy 1046-1085

The chief forces of the tenth century.

THE empire (in which is included the kingdom of Germany) and the Papal power were the two chief forces in the Europe of the tenth century; but other powers were rising up, destined first to rival them, and then to thrust them down from their position of first importance. France, under a new dynasty, was preparing for great destinies; the Eastern Empire was still a power that had to be reckoned with, though its force and its territory were alike diminishing; in England a Danish dynasty had displaced the Saxon kings, and in another century the Norman invasion would come to give a new shape to English history. But for the present we must not look at these great events. The empire and the Papacy—their alliances, rivalries, and combats—furnish us with the central thread of medieval history, and it will be well to follow it until we are through the Middle Ages and in sight of the modern world.

The empire and the Papacy.

At the end of the tenth century empire and Papacy were allies. The empire had saved the Papacy from degradation, and the officials of the Papal Church were in Germany the most efficient and faithful of the servants of the empire. But the protection which the emperors gave to the popes was perilously near to patronage, and implied superiority; and as soon as the Papacy was strong enough, it would try to reverse the relationship.

Otto III.

But emperor succeeded emperor, and for close on a century, from the refoundation of the empire, there was no sign of the coming struggle. After Otto I. came Otto II., and he was succeeded in 983 by Otto III. In his reign the dangerous consequence of the imperial title became apparent. His two predecessors had given their chief

attention to Germany, and were primarily kings of that country. But Otto III. was not inclined to be Holy Roman Emperor for nothing. He fixed his residence in Rome; he adopted something of the palace ceremonial of Constantinople; he dreamed of universal empire. And his scheme and ideas pleased neither the Germans nor the Italians. Rebellions in Rome drove him back to Germany, and there his absence in Italy had allowed the frontiers of the empire to recede and its prestige to wane.

Henry II., Conrad II., Henry III.

The mistakes of Otto III. were not repeated by his three successors (Henry II., Conrad II., and Henry III.). Their chief attention was given to the reality of the German monarchy, not to the fantastic imperial title, and during their reigns Germany developed on fruitful and promising lines. The central government was strengthened as against the great nobles, the frontiers of Germany were enlarged, and, as of old, the monarchy worked through the agency of the great ecclesiastics, and both Church and State in Germany seemed to profit from the alliance. The great cities of Germany began to grow. No state in Europe seemed better assured of a successful future than Germany in the middle of the eleventh century. But in 1056 Henry IV. (a boy, six years of age) succeeded, and the development of the empire was rudely interrupted.

Condition of the Papacy.

During the greater part of the century which we have thus reviewed, the Papacy seemed little likely to assert itself against the empire. The intervention of Otto I. had not sufficed to bring order into the Papal elections and the government of the Papal state. The Papal throne seemed still the prize of the aristocratic factions of the city of Rome. There are reports of the Papacy being sold during this period. At one time there were three claimants to the Papal title.

The Cluniac revival.

We have seen how great the service of the monasteries to the Papacy had been; and it was from the monasteries that help came again, help which in two centuries carried the Papacy to its extreme of power. The history of the monasteries is a history of decadence and revival, and in the tenth century there had come one of the most important of monastic revival movements. Its centre was

Clugny, near Macon in Burgundy, and the whole movement is known as the Cluniac movement. It was in its main features a revival merely ; that is, it aimed at reviving and reinforcing the half-forgotten ideals of St. Benedict. But the Cluniac monasteries, though they belonged to the Benedictine order, differed in certain important respects from the early Benedictines. The Benedictine monasteries had been each a self-governing community, but the Cluniac houses were closely united, so that the disorder of one house might be checked by the discipline of the others : and over all the Abbot of Cluny exercised an almost despotic authority. Further, the Cluniac houses were free from the control of the bishops, and directly dependent on the pope ; and while they aimed at a restoration of ecclesiastical discipline generally, they were specially concerned to enforce clerical celibacy. The celibacy of the clergy was not merely a religious doctrine ; it was also essential to the independence, solidarity, and strength of the Church. A married clergy was almost certain to be local rather than catholic in its interests, and subservient to the great nobles of the district. Such was the Cluniac movement. It will be seen that it gave powerful support to the idea of a Church universal, united, disciplined, governed by a single head, and independent of the secular powers.

These ideas found a champion in the great Hildebrand, perhaps the greatest ecclesiastic of the Middle Ages. His great powers of mind and will enabled him to advance the cause of reform by influencing the policy of various popes, whom he served as chaplain or secretary, and in a nominally subordinate capacity he became the real director of the policy of the Church. He did not covet the highest place, but his reputation was so great that in 1073 he was raised by popular acclamation to the Papal dignity.

Hildebrand.

His chief aim was to free the Church from all control by secular powers of whatever kind. His principles are clearly and aggressively expressed in a document which is known as the *Dictatus Papae*. We find in it such declarations as the following : "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

The aims of Gregory VII.

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 bishops. The pope is the master of emperors."

A powerful and able pope holding such views as these was certain to come into collision with the empire. Upon what allies could the Pope rely in such a struggle? His chief force lay doubtless in the reverence that was felt for the head of the Church, and the effect produced by the Papal weapons of interdict and excommunication, which use had not yet blunted. But he had temporal allies as well. Tuscany was at this time in the hands of the famous Countess Matilda, and she gave to the Papacy undeviating support throughout her whole life. In the south of Italy the Papacy could usually count on the fidelity of the Normans, and to these strange invaders of Italy we must give careful attention.

The strength of the Papacy.

They were men of the same stock as those Northmen who had harried the coasts of the Continent and overwhelmed the Saxon monarchy in England. Their kinsmen had established a stable power along the lower banks of the Seine, and had given to it their own name (Normandy). We know how, in 1066, the Duke of Normandy became King of England. But before that date a branch of the Normans had made themselves masters of Southern Italy and Sicily. They had seen the land first early in the century, and gradually they made themselves an important power there. Their real importance began in 1046, when Robert Guiscard (next to William the Conqueror the most important Norman in history) came out to Italy. The great powers, which possessed land in Italy, joined hands in an effort to expel these invaders whom they had despised too long. The emperors, both of the East and West, sent forces, and they were joined by Pope Leo IX.; but when this allied army met the Normans at Civitate in 1053, the Normans were easily victorious, and the pope fell into the hands of his enemies.

The Normans in Italy.

But then a strange thing happened. These Normans were Christians, and they felt a profound reverence for the titular head of the Church. They treated their captive with every

honour; they threw themselves at his feet, and their leader became his vassal. The pope's defeat at Civitate was far more useful to the Papacy than a victory could possibly have been. Henceforward for some time, the Normans are the most faithful of the allies of the Papacy.

The Normans and the Papacy.

Their rule already extended over the south of Italy. In 1062 they attacked Sicily, and easily conquered it from the Mahomedans. When Robert Guiscard died he was master of Sicily, Southern Italy, and a portion of the land to the east of the Adriatic.

For this and the following chapters, *Henderson's Documents* are of great use. *Tout*, *Gregorovius*, and *Henderson* as before. *Johnson's Normans in Europe* (Epochs of Modern History); *Marion Crawford's Rulers of the South*; *Freeman's Essays*.

CHAPTER IX

The First Phase in the Struggle between the Empire and the Papacy

Penitence of Canossa 1077
Death of Gregory VII. 1085
Concordat of Worms 1122

The time had now come when the popes would need all their allies, and all the terrors of their name and office for their contest with the empire. The long and most fruitful alliance of the empire and the Papacy was now about to end and give place to constant friction and occasional furious conflict.

The rivalry of Papacy and empire.

The root cause of this great contest is to be found in a rivalry for power. One of the threads that runs through all European history—sometimes unperceived but always there—is the relation between religion and force, between Church and State, between the spiritual and the temporal powers. Hitherto the weakness of

the empire and of the Papacy had prevented the struggle from breaking out. Each had need of the other, or one was so weak that the other could not feel its rivalry. But now the empire was a real force, efficiently organized and capable of energetic action; and the Church, as we have seen, was in the hands of Hildebrand, whose chief aim in life was to establish the independent authority of the Church. The two organizations, therefore, inevitably came into collision. Underlying all technical details there was the question, "Who is master: pope or emperor?" The question was most urgent on German soil; for there, as we have seen, the emperor's chief reliance in affairs of State was upon the bishops, who were in effect appointed by the emperor, and received "investiture" at his hand; that is, were by him formally appointed to their episcopal sees in such a way that it was plain that their first allegiance was to the emperor; and their relation to the pope was only general and secondary.

Henry IV. and the investiture contest.

Henry IV. had succeeded to the imperial throne in 1056, at the age of six. There were friction and difficulty before the great contest came in 1075, but we may omit the prelude, and notice only the actual struggle. In 1075, Gregory VII. issued a Papal Decree against "lay investitures," *i.e.* against the practice of laymen (and the emperor was the greatest of laymen) appointing bishops and giving them the ring and the crozier as symbols of their office. Any one receiving any ecclesiastical office in such a way was deprived of his office, and further, Gregory VII. declared "if an 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 controversy was thus clearly stated. All Churchmen were the servants of the Church, not of the empire. If the emperor would not admit that, he was cut off from the body of the Church. Such was the contention of Gregory.

This contest between Henry IV. and Gregory VII. is the central chapter of the Middle Ages. Gregory was in power and in character, perhaps, the greatest of the popes, and the empire was not unworthily represented by Henry IV. Bulls and letters followed one another, and the antagonists lost

dignity and self-control as the controversy proceeded, and railed at one another with extreme violence. It seemed at first as though success in the conflict must lie with Henry IV. Against the German armies of the emperor what could the pope oppose? But the conflict was not so unequal as it appeared at first. Henry IV. was troubled through a large part of his reign by a revolt of the Saxons, which was fomented by the pope, and in Italy the Countess of Tuscany and the Normans gave the pope invaluable support. But the pope's yet undiminished prestige, the terrors awakened by excommunication and interdict, the alarm caused by a contest with the Vicar of Christ—this seems to be the most powerful influence in the first phase of the great contest.

Contest between Henry IV. and Gregory VII.

The Penitence of Canossa.

(From a Miniature. From Lavisse and Parmentier's "Album Historique.")

Henry IV. is represented kneeling before the Abbot of Cluny and Matilda of Tuscany. Below is written in Latin, "The King prays to the Abbot and makes supplication to Matilda."

The greatest incident of the struggle came in 1077, the year of the famous penitence of Canossa. Henry IV. found in this year his power threatened in its very foundations. His subjects—bishops, dukes, and counts—were falling away from him and siding with the pope; the Saxons were in successful rebellion. Henry found that a reconciliation with the Papacy was the only means by which he could preserve his imperial crown. He crossed the Alps, and humbly approached the Papal Court, which was at the moment in the castle of Canossa. On three occasions he was

The penitence of Canossa.

refused admission, and it was at last only upon the intercession of the Countess Matilda that he received forgiveness at the hands of the pope. In a letter to the princes of Germany, Gregory emphasized the extreme humiliation to which the emperor had descended. "When we had severely taken him to task for his excesses, he came, at length, of his own accord, showing nothing of hostility or boldness, to the town of Canossa, where we were tarrying; and there, having laid aside all the belongings of royalty, wretchedly, with bare feet and clad in wool, he continued for three days to stand before the gate of the castle. . . . Finally, conquered by the persistency of his compunction and by the constant supplication of all those who were present, we loosed the chain of anathema, and at length received him into the favour of communion, and into the lap of the Holy Mother Church."

The "penitence of Canossa" may be taken as marking the very zenith of Papal power and influence. The claims of the Church were stated with still greater emphasis by later popes; but never did they find such general acceptance. The Norman conquest of England, which had taken place ten years before, had been supported by the Papacy and had made the Church in England more Roman in its ritual and in its government. The French king yielded implicit obedience to the pope. The Papal authority, in matters temporal and spiritual, seemed by far the greatest force of the age.

Death of Gregory VII.

The reconciliation at Canossa was only temporary. Henry IV. could not really consent to hold the imperial power on sufferance. A year after the "penitence" hostilities had recommenced. Each antagonist proceeded to extreme measures. Gregory VII. declared Henry IV. deposed, and gave his support to an anti-emperor; and the emperor replied by supporting an anti-pope. In 1080 the Papal ban was again pronounced against Henry; but the repeated use of the weapon was blunting its edge. In the next year Henry invaded Italy, besieged the pope himself in the Castle of St. Angelo, and occupied the remainder of the City of Rome. In his distress Gregory appealed to the Normans, and Robert Guiscard came, occupied Rome, and released the pope. But the pope's champion was a worse enemy to the city than

the emperor had been, and the inhabitants were barbarously plundered and slain by the Normans. Gregory found himself in consequence unpopular. He retired to Salerno, and died there in 1085. "I have loved the law of God, and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile," are said to have been among his last words.

Henry V. and the attempt at compromise.

Henry V. succeeded to the empire in 1106, and still, though both Germany and Italy stood in need of good government, the struggle with the Papacy occupied the emperor's chief attention. But the contest was not prosecuted now with quite the old tenacity and absolute claim. The evils that it brought were at last apparent. Thoughts of compromise and conciliation came to the front, and in 1111 it seemed as though a final arrangement might be reached. Henry V. had invaded Italy and had negotiated with Pope Paschal, who was far from the unyielding temper of Gregory VII. It was arranged that a compromise on the right of investiture should be accepted, and in sign of reconciliation the pope was solemnly to crown Henry V. But the terms seemed to the Romans an abject surrender. The coronation was interrupted by a riot in which many Germans were killed. Another war came, and the decision was postponed for eleven more years.

These years reproduced the constant features of the controversy. There was an anti-pope set up. The Papal excommunication was renewed. A Saxon rebellion broke out afresh, and the victory seemed to lie rather with the pope than the emperor. Pope Paschal died, and his successor died. It was left to Pope Calixtus II.—the first pope who for a long time had come from the secular or non-monastic ranks—to bring the controversy, at any rate to a truce. The Concordat of Worms (1122) brought to a close the first phase of this great controversy. The solution was made possible by looking at the "investiture question" only, and refusing to consider the wider and insoluble question of the rivalry of powers. By the Concordat it was agreed that the election of bishops should be left in the hands of the Church, and that they should receive the ring and the crozier—the insignia of their spiritual office—at the hands of the pope. But the bishops were in most instances

The Concordat of Worms.

not only spiritual chiefs, but territorial lords as well, and it was arranged by the Concordat that they should do homage for their temporal possessions to the empire, and receive from the emperor separate investiture.

General results of the contest.

The investiture contest, then, had ended in a drawn battle, but the authority of the Papacy had much increased during its course, and the power of the empire had diminished. The memory of the penitence of Canossa could not be effaced and was never forgotten. Moreover, during the struggle the feudal nobility, the constant enemy of royal or imperial power, had gained dangerous independence, which threatened the very existence of the German monarchy. It was only a comparatively narrow issue that had been decided. No final settlement of the relations between Church and State had been reached. They were still rivals for power.

CHAPTER X

The Second Phase in the Struggle between the Empire and the Papacy

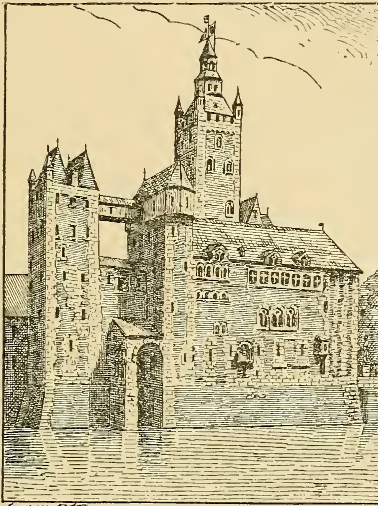
Saint Bernard 1091-1153
Humiliation of Barbarossa 1177

When the struggle reached its next crisis, political and constitutional questions played a greater part than in the days of Gregory VII. and Henry IV., and it is necessary therefore to consider the development of Germany and Italy.

Accession of Frederick Barbarossa.

After the settlement of 1122, Germany had a period of peace, and peace, as usual, meant progress. The Emperor Lothair succeeded Henry V., and reigned from 1125 to 1137. His successor was Conrad III. of Hohenstaufen, and all the important emperors after him until the empire ceased to be a great force in Europe belonged to the Hohenstaufen family. After a reign of fifteen years Conrad was succeeded by Frederick Barbarossa—the greatest of the Hohenstaufen, and perhaps the greatest of all the medieval emperors since Charlemagne (1152). His mind was full of the

memories of the past glories of the empire, and his chief ambition was to re-establish it in its former splendour. Such an ambition for a time turned his thoughts away from Germany to Italy, and ended in a great disaster. But Germany reached almost the zenith of her medieval culture under his rule. The imperial power was successfully asserted against all feudal rivalry (that was the constant task of all medieval monarchs), and when Henry the Lion of Saxony, the last of the great stem-dukes, rebelled, he was defeated, banished, and his territories partitioned. Two other tendencies also helped to exalt the power of the Crown against the nobles. The first was the development of the great cities of Germany, such as Cologne, Treves, Worms, Nürnberg, Augsburg. These cities became the centres of all that was best in German medieval culture; but they were also powerful allies of the central imperial power against the feudal nobility. The second anti-feudal influence was the introduction of Roman law. The study of Roman law was eagerly pursued during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The recently founded universities devoted a large part of their attention to it, and it was eagerly welcomed by all kings and rulers in Europe. For while its justice and its logic appealed to the intellect of all men, it pleased all rulers by its insistence upon the unlimited rights of the ruler. "What the prince determines has the force of law," was one of the great mottoes of Roman law, and in



Frederick Barbarossa's Castle at Kaiserworth on the Rhine.

(*From Lavisse and Parmentier's "Album Historique."*)

The study of Roman law.

Europe in the Twelfth Century.

Germany, France, and England, the rulers were not slow to see how such a motto, logically enforced, would strengthen their authority in Church and State.

The political character of Italy was rapidly changing. The authority of the Papacy was as high as ever, and was for a time increased by the Crusading movement, which was now at its zenith, and which will receive separate treatment shortly. There had been, moreover, a great monastic revival, and that, as always, had made for the strength of the Papacy. This new movement led to the formation of the Cistercian order. Stephen Harding gave it its laws, but it owed its rapid spread and its great influence chiefly to the great St. Bernard (1091–1153), the most perfect type of medieval Catholicism. He did not, like Hildebrand, rise to the Papal throne, but during a large part of his life he was a force in the Church more powerful than the popes themselves. He settled by his authority contests which seemed likely to break its unity; he combated heresy; he preached a crusade; he powerfully influenced the thought and worship of the Church, giving special prominence to the worship of the Virgin Mary. The Church and its head, the pope, derived great strength from his counsels and the honour in which he was held.

The condition of Italy.

The Cistercian monasteries and St. Bernard.

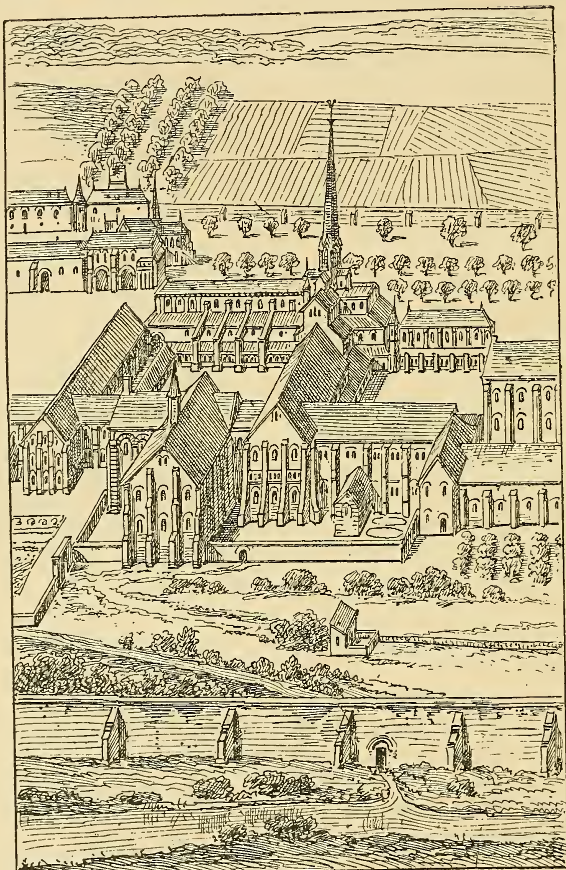
But by the side of the Papacy, and at first in alliance with it, were rising up political forces which were destined to be dangerous rivals.

We have already spoken of the Norman power in the south of Italy. It had consolidated and strengthened since last we saw it. Roger of Sicily, after 1127, ruled with unquestioned right over both Naples and Sicily, and the state is henceforward known as "The Two Sicilies." His dominions contained a strange mixture of races, creeds, and nationalities: there were Normans, Greeks, Latins, Saracens. His rule was tolerant; and philosophy and literature began to flourish, chiefly under Saracen influences. Roger of Sicily died in 1154, and his successors were not, at first, worthy of him, but "The Two Sicilies" remained a rich and powerful state.

The Normans and the Two Sicilies.

Meanwhile, in the north of Italy, a new and very different

force was developing itself. The lands of the great Lombard plain, as well as Tuscany, were part of the possessions of



The Ground Plan of the Abbey de Citeaux.

(From Lavisse and Parmentier's "Album Historique.")

This abbey church stands at the back of the central block of buildings and forms the north side of the cloister. On the southern side are the refectory and kitchen, etc. To the east are the dormitories of the monks; to the west those of the lay brothers.

Frederick Barbarossa, and here, as in Germany, the cities were rising to a vigorous and independent life. Bologna,

Florence, Milan, with the maritime states of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, were the chief. At first the government of most of these cities had centred round the bishop, and with the help of their bishops they had shaken off the power of the neighbouring nobles. But now the city governments were pressing forward to independence alike from feudal and episcopal control. The cities of northern Italy reproduced during the next three centuries many of the features of ancient Greece. The cities claimed and often possessed the independence of the old Greek cities; they had the same eager patriotism, the same turbulence, the same passionate interest in intellectual and artistic matters. Under very different names their government reproduced some of the features of the cities of Greece. The whole body of citizens was known as the *communitas*, and gathered together for political purposes into a *parlamentum;* the council or senate was called the *credentia*, and at the head of the state were magistrates bearing the title of *consuls*, though there is little in common between them and the magistrates of the Roman Republic whose name they bear. Milan took the first place among them by reason of her wealth, her ambitions and the development of her self-government, but her claims were hotly contested. For the mutual jealousies of the cities were frequent and bitter, but when they were threatened by an external enemy they united into efficient and well-knit leagues. In Germany, as in Italy, the splendour and independence of the cities was a marked feature of the age; but in Germany they were allied with and in Italy they opposed the imperial power.

The cities of Lombardy.

This spirit of municipal independence had shown itself even in Rome. There, under Arnold of Brescia, one of the great scholars of the day, there rose a strong and interesting movement, which aimed partly at the reform of Church government and morals, and partly at the creation of a free popular government for the City of Rome. The emperor joined with the pope in opposing a danger that threatened them both, and Arnold was defeated and burnt. The whole movement shows the strong fermentation of public opinion in Italy.

Arnold of Brescia in Rome.

Such was the Italy over the northern part of which the

imperial title gave Frederick Barbarossa claims which he would have been wiser to neglect. His first contest was with the cities of the north of Italy. Milan was the centre of the movement, and if the claims of Milan were allowed, the imperial power in the Lombard plain would soon be reduced to a shadow. There were expeditions into Italy, fighting and sieges of various fortune, and in the end, as it seemed, a complete victory for the empire. After the great siege of 1162, it was determined that Milan should be destroyed utterly, and that the population should be divided among the smaller and less dangerous towns. The right of the emperor to the government of the cities was at the same time asserted, and it seemed impossible to resist it.

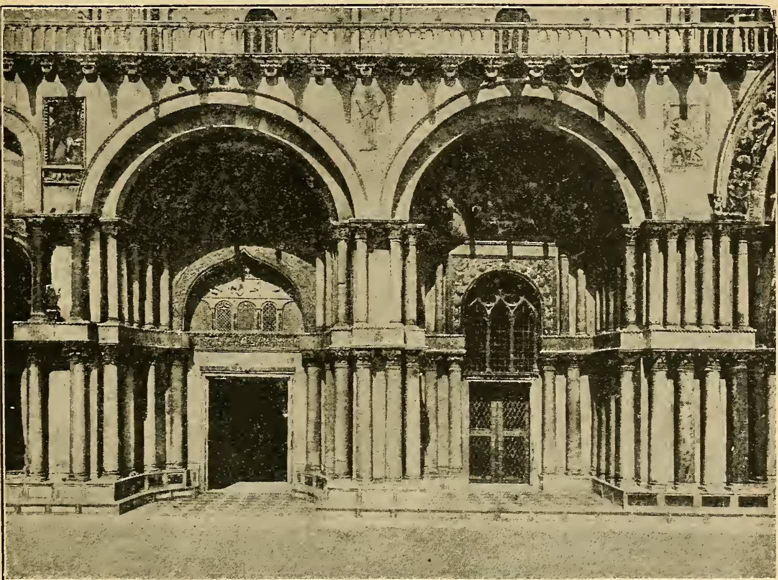
Frederick Barbarossa in Italy.

But the cities found a powerful ally in the Papacy. As early as 1157 there had been serious friction on a question of principle between Frederick Barbarossa and the pope, Adrian IV. For in a public document the pope had spoken of the imperial crown as being conferred by the popes, and of the empire as being a benefice (or feudal dependency) of the Papacy. Against so humiliating a reading of the relations of empire and Papacy the emperor had energetically protested, and the pope had explained away his meaning to some extent. But the pope saw with dislike the appearance of the empire as a real force in the north of Italy, and in 1159 there was a contest between the two rivals of the most direct description. In that year Alexander III. was elected pope; but the cardinals who were in league with the emperor refused to accept the election, and chose instead a certain Victor. This anti-pope received the support of the Emperor Frederick, and thus Alexander III. was at once plunged into a struggle in which his position as pope was involved. A common danger drew the pope and the Lombard cities together, and soon they formed a league, which later developed into the famous Lombard League. The Emperor Frederick, in fierce wrath, marched into Italy, and found little resistance until he laid siege to Rome. The city fell into his hands. Alexander III. fled for refuge to the Normans. The triumph of the emperor seemed complete. But then pestilence fell upon his army and almost destroyed it. He had to retire beyond the Alps with the scanty remnants of

The Lombard League and the Papacy.

his great force, and men saw in his disaster the judgment of God upon the enemy of the Vicar of Christ.

The struggle was soon renewed and the emperor gained some successes; but then at Legnano (seventeen miles from Milan) his army was thoroughly beaten, and in July, 1177, Frederick Barbarossa met Pope Alexander III. in the portico of St. Mark's at Venice. "He was touched by the Spirit of



Part of the Front of St. Mark's, Venice.

(*From Simpson's "History of Architectural Development."*)

Three red slabs in the pavement of the portico commemorate the reconciliation between the emperor and the pope.

God, and, abandoning his imperial dignity, threw himself humbly at the feet of the pope." It was almost exactly a hundred years since the more famous penitence of Canossa, and the victory of the Papacy was, really, even more complete than on that famous day. But it was not only the pope that had won. The cities of Italy had also gained a

The humiliation of Frederick Barbarossa at Venice.

complete victory—a victory fraught with great consequences for the politics and culture of Europe.

The second phase of the great struggle was over, though there was renewed friction and trouble towards the end of the reign of Frederick. But the third phase was prepared for by an epoch-making marriage which Frederick arranged during the last years of his reign. The territory of the Two Sicilies, so often the ally of the Papacy against the empire, had come by descent into the hands of a princess, Constance. How often in history has the possession of the crown by a marriageable princess proved fateful for the people over whom she holds sway! Henry (afterwards the Emperor Henry VI.) the son of Frederick Barbarossa married Constance. It was clear that by this stroke of diplomacy the Norman power was destined to become the ally of the empire. The future was to show that from this union would spring the worst enemy of the Papacy.

Marriage of Constance of Sicily and Henry VI.

CHAPTER XI

The Third Phase in the Struggle between the Empire and the Papacy

Innocent III., Pope	1198
Battle of Bouvines	1214
Death of Frederick II.	1250
Battle of Tagliacozzo	1268

We must still neglect the great movements that were proceeding elsewhere—in England, in France, in Spain, in the East; and follow the story of the empire and the Papacy down to the close of their medieval rivalry.

At the end of the twelfth century both were mighty powers; each strong in the number of its supporters, in its organization, and in the support which theory gave to its claim. In the two previous contests victory had rested on the whole with the Papacy, and yet the empire was not crushed. Its

force was still great, and its ambitions and its claims were in no way abated.

Henry VI., the son of Frederick Barbarossa, was, as we have seen, married to Constance, the heiress of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. He was ambitious to make the "Holy Roman Empire" into a reality—to make the connection between Italy and Germany a real and a close one—and to rule all Europe from Italy. His reign did not see so acute or dramatic a crisis in the struggle with the Papacy as we have already recorded, and shall shortly have to record. But the struggle existed and the pope even raised up a rival claimant to his Sicilian dominions. But Henry VI. was victorious over all his enemies. He cherished one hope, in which he failed, and which, if accomplished, might have profoundly altered the destinies of Europe. He wished to make the empire hereditary, like most of the monarchies of Europe, instead of elective; and his scheme, which would have gone far to strengthen Germany, received considerable support from the leaders of Germany. But in the end it failed, the empire remained elective, though the precise methods of the election were not definitely laid down until a later date. An elective monarchy, though it has gained the support of some theorists, has in practice worked very badly. Wherever it has been adopted it has proved a cause of weakness and disintegration in the State.

The Emperor Henry VI.

Upon the death of Henry VI. in 1197, his son Frederick was a mere child. Upon this child, afterwards the Emperor Frederick II., we must fix our attention. But, first, we must turn to the development of the Papacy. In 1198 Innocent III. became pope. If he may not be called the greatest of the popes—a title which properly belongs to Gregory the Great, or Gregory VII.—he at least brings forward the claims of the Papacy in their most absolute form. If earlier popes had limited their aims to securing the independence of the Church, Innocent III. claimed for it supremacy over all crowned heads. The following are words that are attributed to Innocent III.: "Ye see what manner of servant this is whom the Lord hath set over his people; no other than the vicegerent of Christ;

Pope Innocent III.

the successor of Peter. He stands in the midst between God and man; below God, above man; less than God, more than man. He judges all and is judged by none, for it is written, 'I will judge.'" And again: "The Lord left to Peter not only the government of the Universal Church, but of the whole world." Not only did the pope declare these high ideals, but during the Pontificate of Innocent III. they came near to realization. It is well known how he interfered in England in the contest between King John and his subjects; he forced Philip Augustus, the powerful King of France, to take back the wife that he had repudiated. The kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Sweden, Denmark, Aragon, and Portugal, all recognized the suzerainty of the Papacy. He interfered also in the empire with decisive effect. For upon the death of Henry VI. there was a dispute as to the imperial succession, and it was the influence of Innocent III. which secured the prize for Otto IV. "My kingship would have dissolved in dust and ashes had not your hand weighed the scale in my favour," wrote the grateful conqueror. But soon the relations of pope and emperor grew strained, as they nearly always did: the question was not one of personality, but of rival powers with undefined frontiers. Otto IV. attempted to invade the "Two Sicilies." Neither Innocent III. nor any other pope desired to see the empire strong in Italy, and Otto's claim to the Sicilies was opposed. The Papal ban was pronounced against him; the influence of Innocent III. raised up enemies against him on every side; in 1211 the kingdom of Germany and the imperial title were transferred to Frederick the son of Henry VI. and Constance, whom we shall henceforth call the Emperor Frederick II. The contest that ensued was a bitter one and influenced all Europe, but Otto was decisively defeated at the battle of Bouvines in 1214, and when Innocent III. died the victory of Frederick II. was assured.

Innocent III. and Otto IV.

But Innocent III. had unwittingly raised to the imperial throne one of the most dangerous enemies of the Papacy. The Emperor Frederick II. is one of the most remarkable figures of the Middle Ages, and was in many respects far in advance of his times. In mind and in aims he seems to belong

to the fifteenth rather than the thirteenth century. He took a keen interest in the knowledge of the day, and founded the University of Naples and the school of medicine at Salerno. Both establishments were soon distinguished by eminent teachers. A system of practical toleration allowed different nationalities and creeds to contribute to the progress of knowledge in his dominions. The emperor was believed, too, to hold strange and heretical views on religion, and to believe that the emperor might hold a supreme religious position as well as the pope. He was, moreover, in advance of his century, not only in thought but in action. He governed his kingdom of the Two Sicilies in a spirit wholly opposed to medieval and feudal ideas. A centralized and all-powerful monarchy was his ideal. He broke the power of the nobles and destroyed the privileges of the clergy. Henry VIII. of England and Louis XI. of France would find in his policy a good deal which resembled their own.

Frederick II. and his break with medieval ideas.

Yet we must add that these statements are true only of his territories in the south of Italy. In Germany his government reveals an entirely different character. He had no time to attend in person to the government of his German Kingdom, and he allowed the dominant powers there—the nobles and the clergy—to rule according to their own cherished ideals. If progress towards a modern type was the result of his rule in his southern kingdom, in Germany, on the contrary, we see retrogression towards the worst abuses of feudalism. Municipal liberties were crushed in the interests of the nobles. Heresy was cruelly punished. At no time was the connection of Germany with Italy more fatal to the northern people.

The rule of Frederick II. in Germany.

But it is to his relations with the Papacy that we must specially look. He was the special *protégé* of the Papacy, but it was impossible to harmonize papal and imperial claims, and Frederick II. was soon engaged in the old contest. The first trouble arose chiefly out of Frederick's failure to carry out his promise to conduct a crusade. He was excommunicated for this, and when at last he sailed and achieved a great success in the East, his methods

Frederick II. and the Papacy.

again brought him under the displeasure of the Papacy. Upon his return, he found papal troops in possession of his territories, but expelled them without much difficulty (1230).

Guelfs and Ghibellines.

A fiercer contest began a few years later. The papal alliance with the League of Cities in the north of Italy still continued; and Frederick, in attempting to curb or crush the municipal liberties of North Italy, came into collision with the Papacy. The feudal nobility ranged themselves on the side of Frederick; the Papacy was everywhere supported by the new order of the Franciscans. Throughout Italy and in almost every city there were imperial parties (the Ghibellines), and papal parties (the Guelfs), and their contests lasted on long after the original cause had disappeared. It is a difficult contest to follow. When Frederick II. died, no decisive victory had been won by either side. Frederick gained battles, and the pope used the weapon of excommunication. The pope set up a rival emperor, and Frederick seized the bishops as they were going to a council which had been summoned at Rome. We shall not try to follow the details, but we will notice the furious and implacable spirit in which the controversy was conducted. A papal bull denounced the emperor as "a beast—whose name is all over written blasphemy. . . ."; as one "who had laid his secret ambush against the Church, who had built schools for the perdition of souls, and had lifted himself up against Christ, the Redeemer of man." Frederick, on his side, declared that the pope was "the great anti-Christ who deceived the whole world . . . the prince of the princes of darkness . . . the angel who issued from the abyss having the vials full of wormwood to waste earth and heaven." And he appealed to all crowned heads to join him in a struggle which concerned them all: "If I fall, who will be able to stand up against the pope?"

The end of the Hohenstaufen emperors.

The struggle was undecided at Frederick's death (1250), but then the decision came swiftly. Three descendants of Frederick took up in turn the imperial title and the struggle with the Papacy which it involved, and all were unsuccessful. Conrad IV., the son of Frederick, was driven from Germany. He took Naples, but died soon afterwards. Manfred, the brother of

Conrad, succeeded to the task; and against him the pope, Urban IV., appealed to France. For, be it noted, France, which in forty years' time was to inflict upon the papal power a blow far more serious than any emperor had done, was just now the trusted and loyal ally of the Papacy. The relations of the French king, Louis IX., with Rome recalled the friendship that had existed between the Franks and the Papacy in the days of Charles Martel and King Pippin and Charles the Great. Now Charles of Anjou, brother of the French king, Louis IX., entered Italy and defeated Manfred near Benevento (1267). Conraddino, grandson of Frederick II., was the last of the Hohenstaufen. The frantic misrule of Charles of Anjou gave him his chance. He invaded the peninsula as the "Liberator of Italy." But he was defeated at Tagliacozzo (1268), and was subsequently publicly beheaded in Naples. With this piteous tragedy the line of the Hohenstaufen was extinct, and the victory of the Papacy ended its conflict with the empire.

The victory of the Papacy, and its consequences.

The victory of the Papacy seemed complete. The empire was overthrown and never revived except in name. But the Papacy had also, though few guessed it as yet, been terribly weakened during the contest. Its vindictive policy had shaken its moral authority, and the powers of Europe were alarmed at the claims of temporal superiority which the Papacy had put forward, and at the success which it had achieved. The Papacy seemed always doomed to find its worst enemies in its late allies. We shall see how France achieved the humiliation of the Papacy for which Frederick II. had struggled in vain.

Valuable illustrations for this period will be found in *Miss Selfe's Abridgment of Villani's Chronicle*. There is an essay on Frederick II. in *Freeman's Historical Essays*.

CHAPTER XII

The Rise of the French Monarchy

Hugh Capet elected	987
First Crusade	1095
Philip Augustus	1180-1223
Saint Louis (Louis IX.).	1226-1270

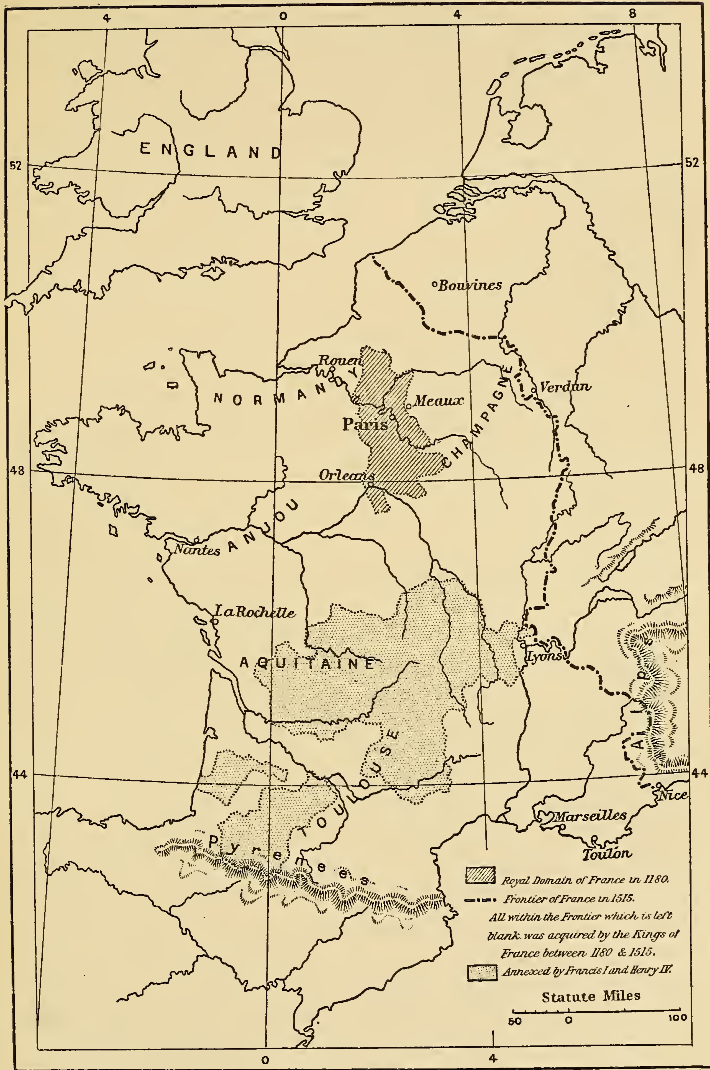
WHILE the struggle between empire and Papacy had been proceeding, a movement had been going on west of the Rhine and north of the Alps which was destined to eclipse in power both empire and Papacy. The French monarchy and the French nationality had come into being. We must retrace our steps from the thirteenth into the ninth century.

The French Monarchy and the Normans.

When the dominions of Charlemagne were partitioned at the treaty of Verdun, the westernmost division was known as the Kingdom of France, but from the first it possessed little unity, and it suffered more than any other part of Charles's dominions from the invasions of the Northmen. This danger culminated when, in 885, the Northmen laid siege to Paris. The kings of France would not have been able to save the city; but a great feudal nobleman succeeded where the monarchy had failed, and Paris owed her survival to Odo, Count of Paris. From this time onwards the Northmen settled definitely upon the lands on either side of the lower course of the Seine, to which later they gave their name (Normandy). At last, in 911, the French kings made a treaty with the Normans and ceded the land to them to be held under the suzerainty of the King of France.

Rise of the Capetian dynasty.

Of the French kings, meanwhile, there is little need be said. They were like the Frankish *rois fainéants* over again; and by their side the Dukes of France were rising up to eclipse them. At last, in 987, when the throne was vacant, it was decided to elect Hugh Capet, Duke of France, to the crown, and from him the Capetian dynasty of France rises; it was not until 1830 that its last representative disappeared from France. The date, 987, though a most notable one, did not mark to contemporaries any great


ENGLAND
NORMANDY
Rouen
Paris
Meaux
Bouvines
Verdun
CHAMPAGNE
Orleans
ANJOU
Nantes
La Rochelle
AQUITAINE
TOULOUSE
Lyons
ALPS
Nice
Marseilles
Toulon
Pyrenees
Royal Domain of France in 1180.
Frontier of France in 1515.
All within the Frontier which is left blank was acquired by the Kings of France between 1180 & 1515.
Annexed by Francis I and Henry IV.
Statute Miles
50 0 100
GEORGE PHILIP & SON LTD

revolution. The new kings were far from being masters of all France. But Hugh Capet and his descendants for many generations were in close alliance with the Church, and, if their royal power was slight and almost ceremonial, as dukes they were possessed of a rich, important, and compact domain.

France in the tenth century.

It is important to grasp the situation in France at the close of the tenth century. Look at the accompanying map (p. 187); it is only in the darkly shaded part that the French king ruled with direct authority. Elsewhere, though he was king, there was always some feudal nobleman who stood between him and the people: and in all these districts the power of the feudal nobleman—duke, count, or baron—was everything, and the power of the king little more than nominal. The future shows us the gradual destruction of feudal authority by the royal power. The same map shows how the royal territory developed, until in the sixteenth century only certain districts to the south of the Loire retained their feudal independence, and these were incorporated before the end of the century. There were nobles—dukes, and counts and barons—still; but all these were subordinate to the crown. The nobles had become the king's subjects; the land had become the king's land. Note, too, that feudalism in France developed as it never was allowed to do in England. Especially private war among the feudal chiefs—a thing which England hardly ever knew—was constant and recognized in France.

The development of the French monarchy.

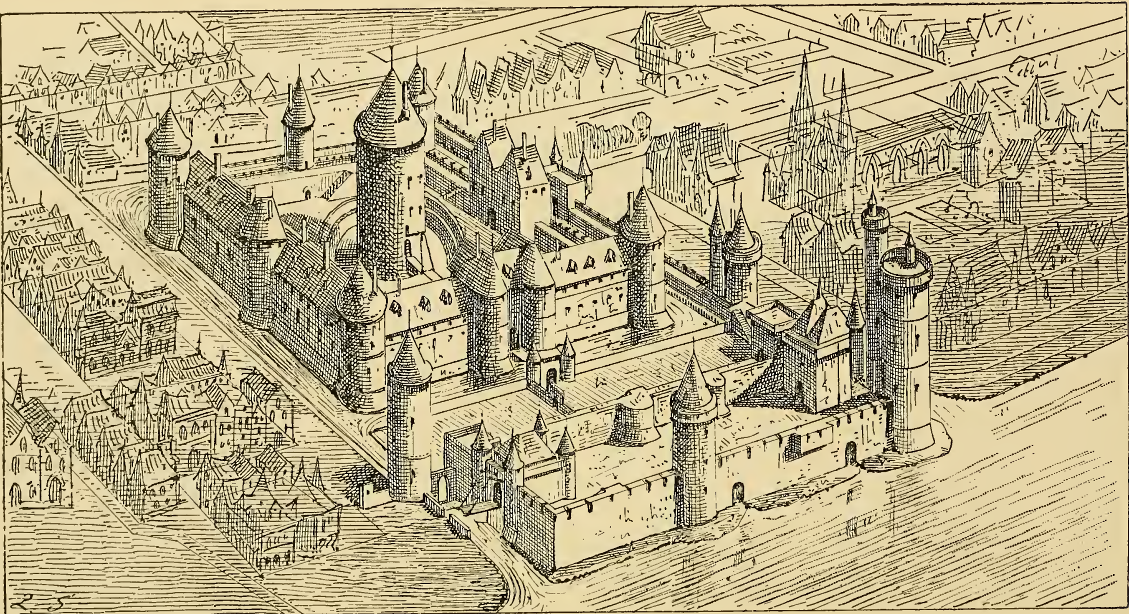
We must pass lightly through the annals of France, content merely to notice the salient point in the development of the monarchy. The first decided upward move came in the reign of Philip I. (1060–1108), and of the two great events which helped him, neither happened on the soil of France. For first, in 1066, William of Normandy became William I., King of England; and thus the strongest and most dangerous of the French king's vassals was given a task which would divert his ambition from France. In 1095, too, came the first preaching of the crusades. The crusading movement was at first largely French; and it took away from France a great number of nobles in whom the crown saw rivals rather than subjects. The two successors of Philip I. carried on the general policy of

the French Crown. The alliance with the Church continued, and the kings strengthened their government in their own domains. But a new force appeared in their reigns. The great towns of France began to acquire freedom of government at the expense of the neighbouring noblemen, and this movement was supported by the patronage of the Crown. The clergy, the townsfolk, and the lower orders came to be regarded as the king's allies against the feudal nobility. In the reign of Louis VII., however, an event occurred which seemed likely to counterbalance all the advantages which the Crown had won. Louis VII. was married to Eleanor of Aquitaine, who brought as her dowry the great territories of the Duchy of Aquitaine. But the king divorced her, and she subsequently married Henry, Duke of Anjou and King of England. Henry was now a far greater power in France than King Louis; the actual domains of the French king were petty in comparison with those over which Henry of England ruled by various titles. The follies of the Kings of England and the skill of Philip Augustus, King of France, saved the French monarchy from what seemed a great danger.

Philip Augustus defeats the English.

The rivalry between Philip Augustus of France and Richard Cœur de Lion and John, Kings of England, forms a well-known chapter of English history, and we need not go over it here. We need only recall how the fierce quarrels of the children of Henry II. compromised their father's work; how Philip Augustus joined with the pope in resisting the Emperor Otto and King John; and how the cause of the English king and the Holy Roman Emperor was ruined in the battle of Bouvines. The Norman inheritance of the English kings was taken from them; the authority of the French Crown had never made so great an advance.

But it was not by arms alone that Philip Augustus strengthened the throne. He began the development of the machinery of government in France, which subsequently reached an elaboration unknown in Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire. The University of Paris grew rapidly, and the study of Roman law — always favourable to monarchical claims—received special attention. The alliance between the monarchy and the cities continued.



A View of Paris in the Thirteenth Century.

(*From Lavisse and Parmentier's "Album Historique."*)

This is a restoration by M. Hoffbauer of the palace of the Louvre, built by Philip Augustus. It was at once a fortress and a palace. Nothing of it but a few fragments is now remaining.

His successor, Louis VIII., had only a short reign, and then came the noblest and the greatest of all French kings—Louis IX., or, as he is now usually called, Saint Louis. He deserves his saintly title, for his life was devoted to religion, and in him the religion of the Middle Ages is shown with little bigotry, fanaticism, or cruelty: piety, charity, and a wonderful sweetness of nature shine through all that he does or says. But his reputation for piety has sometimes done harm to his reputation for statesmanship. Had he not been a saint he would still have been a great French king, and, self-forgetful though he was, he developed with skill and energy the strength of the French crown.

The reign of S. Louis.

He offered a successful resistance to a revolt of the feudal nobles of France. Nearly all the barons joined together to overthrow him, but they were decisively defeated, and never again could any of them treat with the king as an equal power: the days of the old feudalism were rapidly drawing to an end. He took, however, no unfair advantage, and even restored to Henry III. of England (who, as Duke of Aquitaine, was the French king's vassal) lands which he believed to have been unjustly acquired. After the death of the Emperor Frederick II. in 1250, France was decidedly the first power in Europe. We have seen how the Count of Anjou, brother of Louis IX., became King of Sicily. The king himself was called in as umpire in the struggle between Henry III. of England and his barons.

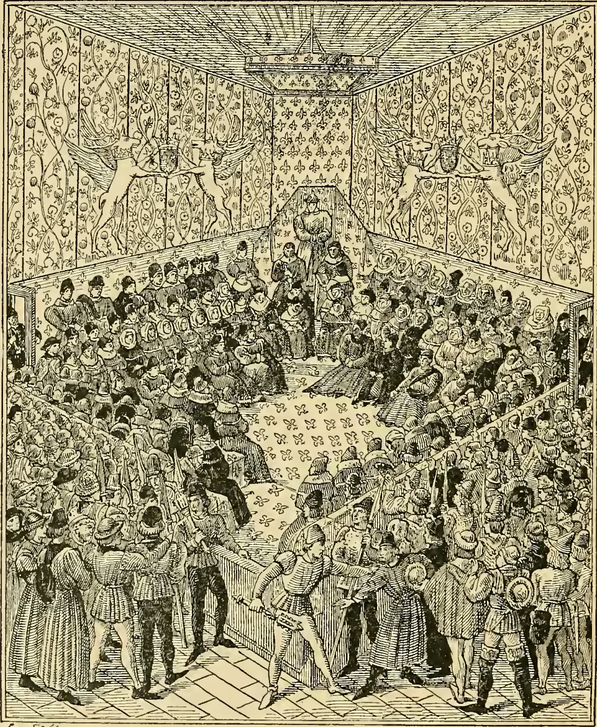
The defeat of feudalism.

Methods of government and the administration of law received great improvement at his hands. The king's great council was organized as an agency of government, not merely of advice. A separate court was appointed to control the finances of the state. Now, too, there comes into clear sight the Parlement of Paris, which did so much during the coming centuries to advance the royal power in France. The Parlement of Paris (very unlike the English Parliament) was a body of lawyers and judges whose chief and almost only business was to act as a court or courts of justice. Note carefully in what way they advanced the royal power. The spirit of Roman law was beginning to prevail in France, and the Parlement

The new government.

The Parlement of Paris.

constantly withdrew cases, which had hitherto been tried by the feudal courts of the great nobles, on the ground that they were royal cases (*cas royaux*). Little by little, then, the nobles found one of their most important powers undermined. The



The Parlement at Paris—showing the Holding of a Bed of Justice.

(*From Lavisse and Parmentier's "Album Historique."*)

King Charles VII. is here presiding at a trial; but the "Bed of Justice" was more commonly used to force the Parlement to register an edict of the king's. The procedure received its name from the old-fashioned throne and daïs where the king sat.

king became the chief fountain of law for all the land. But it was not only the administration of law, but also the law itself, that was reformed. Trial by battle and private war was declared abolished, and the nobles were forced to deal fairly with

their serfs. If ever king deserved to be called Father of his Country and Friend of the People, it was St. Louis.

Let us note, too, that a considerable addition was made to the royal territory in the reign, but not through the agency of St. Louis. There had broken out, in 1209, a furious civil war in the south of France, in the territories of the Count of Toulouse. It was chiefly caused by the religious movement in that region, which is roughly known as the Albigensian heresy, and which had called down upon the unfortunate people the wrath of Pope Innocent III. We must not follow the frightful struggle through its various phases. The monarchy of France, though it had little to do with the affair, was the great gainer. In 1229, by the treaty of Meaux, a large stretch of territory west of the Rhone was ceded to France, and the whole county of Toulouse was to come to the King of France at the death of the present occupant. Thus the domains of the French king touched the Mediterranean, a very important advance.

The Albigensian heresy.

Lastly, it must be mentioned that the saintly king was induced by his religion to embark on the crusading movement. This was the only occasion when he was led by his religion into a step prejudicial to the welfare of his country. Both his crusades were unsuccessful. He died in 1270, while absent on the second one.

The crusades of S. Louis.

His successor, Philip III., demands little notice from us. The royal domains were increased by the acquisition of Champagne and Toulouse. At his death, in 1285, the French government was the strongest and most prosperous on the Continent, and nothing had so much contributed to its prosperity as its alliance with the Church. The next chapter in its history shows it as the fierce and successful enemy of the temporal power of the Church. But other subjects must be touched on before we turn to that subject.

Kitchin's History of France; The Student's History of France; W. H. Hutton's Philip Augustus (Foreign Statesmen); *Joinville's Life of Saint Louis* (the finest of medieval chronicles). For the Albigensian heresy, the Ecclesiastical Histories of *Milman* and *Robertson*.

CHAPTER XIII

The Crusades

First Crusade	1095
Second Crusade	1146
Third Crusade	1189
Constantinople taken by the Crusaders	1204
Crusade of Saint Louis	1270

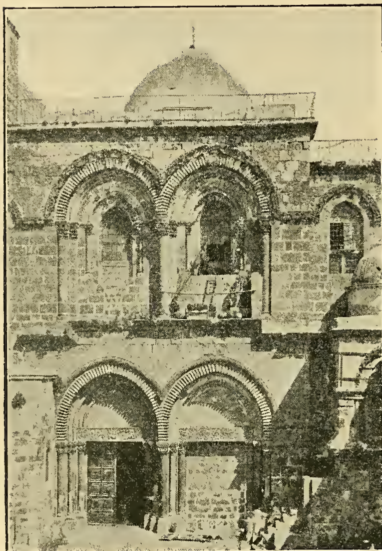
For nearly two centuries (from 1095 to 1270), from the Christian states of Western Europe there went out a series of expeditions against the Mahomedan states of the East, which are known as the Crusades, from the cross which all those who engaged in them wore as a symbol of their task. The most heroic and adventurous chapters in the life of the Middle Ages are derived from these crusades, and they had a considerable effect upon the life of Western Europe.

The causes of the Crusades.

The causes of the Crusades are to be found partly in the condition of the West and partly in that of the East. If we look at Western Europe, we must recall, in the first place, the strength of the Papacy in the days of Hildebrand (Gregory VII.). There was in Western Europe then what she so lacks now—a voice to which all men listened, and which most men thought it their duty to obey. It was the Age of Faith: the creed of Catholic Christendom was accepted by the whole of Western Europe, tales of the supernatural found a ready credence, and impulses were then all-powerful which have little power now. Moreover, the practice of pilgrimage had assumed great proportions during the Middle Ages; it had become an important part of the ceremonies of the Catholic Church that the shrines of the saints and sacred places should be visited by worshippers for the saving of their souls and the remission of sins. And of all sacred places in Europe, none was so sacred as the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, to which pilgrims were usually admitted by the Mahomedans without much difficulty. But not only was it the Age of Faith, it was also the Age of War.

The widest expansion of Mahomedanism. The Frontier of Islam in Spain and Asia Minor at the time of the First Crusade is marked by a heavy black line.

The feudal system was founded on the military instinct, and fostered it. All gentlemen were trained in the practice of war, and most of them loved it. As there grew up strong governments in England, France, and Germany, the opportunities for gratifying the fighting instinct diminished in frequency. A new chance for military adventure was eagerly welcomed by many.



The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem.

If we turn from the west of Europe to the east, we find reason enough for interference. A new and fiercer race of Mahomedans was spreading over Asia Minor and Syria. Behind the mild and civilized Arabs there had risen up the fierce and terrible race of the Seljukian Turks. The Arabs were overwhelmed. Jerusalem was taken, and soon all Asia Minor was overrun by them. Whatever was Christian in the East saw the new state of things with alarm. The pilgrims were no longer admitted to Jerusalem, or made their way there through the greatest dangers. The great fair that had been held at Jerusalem came to an end. More important than all, the Christian Empire at Constantinople (for the Roman Empire still existed there, but within shrunk frontiers and with weakened resources) saw in these Turks a power which it was too weak to resist. In its alarm it looked round for allies, and appealed to the Papacy. The Church at Constantinople was, indeed, separated in doctrine and organization from the Church at Rome, but both were threatened by the

Condition of the East.

new power, and the popes answered the summons of the emperors of the East.

Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) had summoned the princes of Europe to go to the assistance of the Eastern emperor. At first no result followed, but the pope's message was reinforced by the preaching of Peter the Hermit, who roused Europe to a frenzy by his account of the sufferings of the pilgrims. Pope Urban II. took up the work, and in 1095 a great council was held at Clermont. Amidst the most intense enthusiasm the crusade was determined on. All present fastened the badge of the cross upon their dress. "It is the will of God!" they cried, and they looked for supernatural help and immediate victory in the task that they undertook at God's bidding.

The beginning of the crusading movement.

A Crusader.
(From Lavisse and Parmentier's "Album Historique.")

The First Crusade was, in every way, the greatest and most successful. No king took part in it, but Provençals and Italians, French, Germans, and Normans went out in a vast, undisciplined army, and their great nobles led them. The departure of these nobles has been noted already as tending to throw more power into the hands of the kings of those lands from which they went. They suffered terribly from indiscipline, from disease, and from the enemy. Their numbers dwindled from, perhaps, half a million to twenty-five thousand. But at last (July 1099) Jerusalem fell into their hands, and the coast of Syria was partitioned among the nobles of the expedition. Jerusalem became a kingdom, and was ruled by Godfrey of Bouillon; Antioch, Odessa, and Tripolis were ruled by others of the leading Crusaders. But the strangest result of this First Crusade was the creation

The First Crusade.

of the military Orders—the Knights of St. John and the Knights of the Temple. The Crusaders were not far-seeing statesmen, but it was clear that these Christian states would need permanent military support if they were to continue their existence in presence of Turkish hostility. The lands had been won by the union of military skill with religious enthusiasm, and it was thought they might be kept by the same means. Thus these Orders of men, half-priests and half-soldiers, were founded, the Knights of St. John in 1100, the Templars in 1123. These Orders have a troubled and a tragic history, but they maintained their military energy well, and it was not their fault that the Christian states of the East soon fell back into Mahomedan hands.

The military Orders.

The progress of the Mahomedan arms soon aroused Europe again. The Second Crusade was preached by St. Bernard in 1146, and conducted by Louis VII., King of France. It ended in utter failure. But in spite of its failure, a Third Crusade was produced by the menacing condition of affairs in the East. The greatest of Mahomedan chieftains, Saladin, had arisen—more than the equal of his Christian rivals in generosity, humanity, and military skill. In 1187 the kingdom of Jerusalem fell into his hands. If something were not done soon, nothing would be left of the conquests of the early Crusaders. The result was the Third Crusade, led by Philip Augustus of France and Richard Cœur de Lion of England. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa set out on the Crusade, but perished in Asia Minor. The famous exploits of Richard cannot disguise from us the fact that this crusade also was a failure. Jerusalem was not taken. The power of Saladin was not shaken. The crusade ended in a violent quarrel between the two kings.

The Second and Third Crusades.

With the failure of Richard and Philip Augustus the great days of the Crusades may be said to be over. The confident faith of the early crusades was for ever past. Yet the Fourth Crusade (1200–1204) produced great, and in a sense permanent results, though they tended rather to the weakening than the strengthening of the Christian power in the East. It was Innocent III. who chiefly urged the crusade, and

The Fourth Crusade and the capture of Constantinople.

his call was responded to by the great nobles of France. They made their way by land to Venice, and there sought ships to sail to the Holy Land. But their funds were exhausted, and without funds they could go no further. They were in consequence bound to bargain with the commercial republic of Venice. The result was that their enterprise was turned aside from the Holy Land, and directed first against Zara, a city on the opposite shores of the Adriatic, and later against Constantinople. It was a strange result of the crusading movement! The Eastern Empire had called upon the Crusaders for help, and now it was to be destroyed by the ally whom it had invoked. Excuses were not entirely wanting, but the commercial ambition of Venice was the real cause of the attack. Constantinople fell into their hands in 1204; the reigning dynasty was deposed; the Greek form of Christianity was declared abolished; Catholicism and a Latin empire were instituted. The first emperor was Baldwin, Count of Flanders. It was a great blow to Christianity in the East; for, though the Greek Empire was weak, it was stronger than the new Latin one, in which every weakness of feudalism was intensified. So the Latin kingdom had an unstable existence for only a little over half a century. Meanwhile, the national and religious feeling of the Greeks was exasperated against it, and in 1261 the end came. Michael Palæologus captured the city, and a Greek dynasty and the old faith were re-established, to endure for close on two centuries.

The last Crusades.

The next crusade was one which we have already glanced at. The Emperor Frederick II.—he whom they called "the world's wonder," and suspected of various heresies—was urged and even ordered by Pope Gregory IX. to go crusading. He refused at first; was excommunicated, and went while he was under excommunication. His method of crusading was novel and effective. He showed no fanatical hatred for the Mahomedans, and felt none. He negotiated, and procured the surrender of Jerusalem. The Holy City was opened to pilgrims, and Frederick crowned himself King of Jerusalem (1229).

But the new kingdom of Jerusalem did not last even so long as the first. Another wave of Turks spread over

the land, and Jerusalem fell into their hands. Here was another call to Christendom, if Christendom had ears to hear. S. Louis answered the appeal, and in 1248 he led an expedition, not directly against the Holy Land, but into Egypt, and there, after gaining great success, was overwhelmed and taken prisoner in the battle of Mansourah (1249). He was ransomed, and felt that he had not yet fulfilled the obligations of the cross which he had taken up. In 1270 he conducted another expedition under the sacred banner, this time against the Sultan of Tunis; but pestilence fell upon his army, and he died.

There are several other movements after this which are called crusades, but none that deserve the name. With the death of S. Louis the crusading movement was at an end.

The results of the Crusades.

And what had been the result of it all? Externally, very little. All the states that the Crusaders had founded were swept away. The Mahomedan wave had receded for a moment, but soon it advanced again. Nevertheless, the whole movement probably had acted as a useful check to Mahomedanism, when it was particularly dangerous and aggressive; but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that the Latin conquest of Constantinople had materially weakened the chief bulwark of European Christianity. The indirect results of the movement were perhaps the most important. The feudal nobles had been taken away from their own countries, and their absence had allowed the monarchies of Europe to grow stronger. Commerce had received a great stimulus, and generally the East had come into contact with the West; Western Europe had become acquainted with the civilization of the Greek Empire and the Mahomedan East; and from the acquaintance new ideas were born and new movements, social and religious—some which we can trace, and more perhaps which conceal themselves from our scrutiny.

Tout, Gibbon, as before; and in addition, *Cox's Crusades* (Epochs of Modern History). *Villehardouins' Conquest of Constantinople* is a very interesting chronicle.

CHAPTER XIV

The Development of the Church during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

The Cistercian Order 1119
The Franciscan Order 1210

How did the Church at the end of the struggle with the empire differ from what it had been at the beginning?

In organization it had much developed. The election of the pope was now in the hands of the cardinals, and was conducted according to well-understood principles. There had grown up in Rome a great machinery of government, as great as that possessed by any kingdom or the empire itself. Great sums of money were constantly flowing into Rome, and at Rome was the Court of Appeal for all ecclesiastical cases from all parts of Europe. A great body of law, the Canon Law, was slowly evolved to guide and control decisions in ecclesiastical cases. But not only the government of the Church had developed, there was change also in the ritual and in the doctrine of the Church. The celibacy of the clergy was more rigorously insisted on, though there were married clergy to be found in the Church down to the Reformation. We have already seen the growing importance of pilgrimages. The adoration of relics was a constant practice. But more important than all was the worship of the Virgin Mary, which ever increased in popularity and influence. The great S. Bernard's name and influence are specially associated with the cult of the Divine Mother, which, to the Mahomedans, seemed the distinguishing feature of Christianity. The worship of the saints, too, had come to assume a larger relative place in the ritual of the Church than it had formerly held. The Papacy of Innocent III. may be taken as the culminating point of the medieval Church.

Changes in the government and ritual of the Church.

The monastic orders, as always since the days of S. Benedict, played an important part in the life of the Church.

We have seen what the Cluniac movement was, and how, in the person of Gregory VII., it became the chief influence in the Church. The next great wave of monastic energy produced the Cistercian order. It was essentially a revivalist movement. It declared no new principles, but re-defined and emphasized the old ones. It owed its celebrity and its numbers to the influence of S. Bernard (1091–1153), who joined the order. At first the order declared against all beauty of architecture; but soon, like the older orders, it began to erect stately and beautiful monasteries, as the remains so widely scattered over England testify. The Carthusian order rose about the same time (1100), but it rested on entirely different ideas from the Cistercian order; for, while the Cistercians like the Cluniacs and the Benedictines lived together and avoided all separation and secrecy, the Carthusian order introduced the separate cell and prolonged silence.

The monastic orders.

The Franciscan and Dominican Friars.

The monastic ideal was unchallenged in the Church during the twelfth century, but in the thirteenth century another and very different ideal arose in the bosom of the Church itself to compete with it—the ideal of the friars. The friars were like the monks in that they were regulars (lived, that is, according to a definite *rule* of life), and were pledged to obedience and to celibacy. But there the resemblance ends. The friars differed from the monks alike in method and in aim. While the monks lived screened from the contamination of the world by the walls of their cloister, the friars lived in the world and mixed purposely with the most degraded elements of it. While the monks aimed at the salvation of their own souls, the friars worked for the improvement and the conversion of the world. The vow which specially distinguished them was the vow of poverty. They were to possess no property, either personally or as an order.

The friars were needed by the circumstances of the time. As the military Orders were wanted for the defence of the Holy Sepulchre against the Mahomedans, so the friars were the soldiers of the Church in its critical warfare with heresy and indifference among the masses of the people. For at the end of the twelfth century a new intellectual life was stirring

in Europe, which threatened hostility to the Church. Earlier in the century the names of Abelard and Arnold of Brescia are associated with an attack on the fundamental conceptions of medieval theology, and on the life and practice of the clergy. Their movements were suppressed, but the same tendencies were soon visible elsewhere. Especially in the south of France, in the district of Languedoc, ideas of the most various kinds on morals and theology found eager acceptance among the people. They are generally known as the Albigensian heresy, from one of the towns where the movement was strongest. They found protection in the court of the Count of Toulouse, and we have already seen how the pope declared a crusade against them, how terrible a ruin came upon the country, and how in the end the devastated land was annexed to the crown of France.

The heresies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The Albigensian movement was crushed down by a cruel soldiery and a relentless inquisition. The friars were much more effective in winning back the population to the Church. The Franciscan order of friars was founded first. It is a wonderful story how the Italian merchant, who later was called S. Francis, turned from the world and its wealth and "took poverty to be his bride;" how he gathered round him men of like temper with himself; how he and his companions went about begging their bread, in charity with all men and all nature, and preaching to those who would listen, not in the Church's Latin, but in the common language of the people themselves. In 1210 S. Francis proposed that his association should be recognized and formed into an order, and at last he prevailed with Innocent III. Women were formed into a similar order; and already before the saint died, in 1226, it was clear that the movement was going to have far-reaching effects.

The friars and their work for the Church. S. Francis.

But the Franciscans (for so we must call them, though S. Francis would have liked better to call them the "poor men of Assisi") were not alone. By their side rose up the Dominicans founded by the Spaniard, S. Dominic (1170–1221). They took the same vows as the Franciscans, but there was in them from the first a more

The Dominican friars.

strongly intellectual and combative bent; so that they were naturally associated later with theological contests and the Inquisition.

The mendicant friars spread rapidly over the whole Catholic world; and rapidly, more rapidly than the monastic orders, they fell from their early simplicity and integrity. But they had done an important work: they had reconciled the masses of the people to the Church, and made the Church seem to many the natural champion of the people. Heresy and indifference were notably diminished by their action.

Decadence of the friars.

Thus at the end of the thirteenth century the Church seemed stronger than ever. It had decisively overthrown the empire; it was carefully and successfully organized; it was served by loyal and devoted bands of men. And when thus it seemed at the height of its power, there came upon it the most crushing blow in its history.

Cotter Morison's Life of Saint Bernard. The Little Flowers of Saint Francis gives vivid pictures of the life and temper of the early Franciscans; the ecclesiastical histories of Milman and Robertson.

CHAPTER XV

The Catastrophe of the Medieval Church

Philip IV., King of France	1285
Boniface VIII., Pope	1294
"Babylonish Captivity" begins	1305

In 1285 Philip IV., often called Philip the Fair, succeeded to the throne of France, and it was in his reign that there fell upon the Papacy the terrible blow to which we have alluded. But Philip IV. is an important king, quite apart from his religious policy, and it is to his development of the power of the French monarchy that we will first look.

Philip IV. of France.

He was soon engaged in an important war with Flanders. The Count of Flanders was one of the most powerful of the feudal nobles of France who still enjoyed practical independence. He was defeated, and surrendered his territories to the French King. The war seemed over. But the cities of Flanders were rich, self-governed, well fortified, and proud of their liberties. The King of France was much in need of money, for as the machinery of government grew it needed more money to support it; and, on the advice of his ministers, he laid taxes on the men of Flanders, whose flourishing commerce and industry made them well able to pay them. But the taxes seemed not only oppressive, but an infringement of their rights, and the country rose in rebellion in 1302. The chivalry of France marched against the burghers and met them near Courtrai; but in the battle which followed, the royal army was misled by its contempt for the plebeian forces opposed to them, and was disastrously beaten. The battle is an important one in the history of war. For nearly a thousand years the horse-soldier had been the all-important arm. His predominance had not been shaken since the battle of Hadrianople (378); but during the fourteenth century a great change came, and the heavily armoured knight became of less importance than the more lightly clad foot-soldier. The battle of Courtrai plays an important part in this change, and its lesson was soon to be reinforced by the battles of Crecy and Poitiers. The king raised another army, and the disaster of Courtrai was somewhat redeemed by a victory won in the next campaign; but no attempt was made now to annex the whole country. A treaty was drawn up whereby the southern districts of Flanders were annexed to the crown of France, and the independence of the northern part was recognized. In spite of numberless efforts, France has never acquired the rich and desirable land that Philip IV. thus abandoned.

War with Flanders.

Next came the great and epoch-making struggle with the Papacy. It is closely comparable with the action of the English king, Henry VIII., two hundred years later. The question had nothing to do with doctrine or with the morals of the clergy; it was a question of power. The King of France took

Struggle of Philip IV. with the Papacy.

up and carried to a successful issue the quarrel in which the emperors had failed.

Pope Boniface VIII.

Boniface VIII. was elected to the Papacy in 1294, and at first he was considered to be a friend of France. He held views as to the supremacy of the Papacy over all temporal powers which went even beyond the utterances of Innocent III. "We declare," he wrote, "that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff." On another occasion he is said to have exclaimed, "I am Caesar, I am the true emperor, and therefore superior over all princes of the earth." It was these principles which brought the Papacy into fatal collision with the French monarchy.

First collision with the Papacy.

The first conflict was on a question of finance. The king was always in money difficulties, and determined to tax the property of the clergy. Against this the pope protested in his bull *Clericis Laicos*, wherein he denied the right of any temporal power to tax the Church, and threatened with excommunication alike those who exacted the tax and those who paid it. But the ground of the quarrel had not been well chosen by the pope. The bull caused great irritation both in England and France, and both Edward I. of England and Philip IV. of France found means whereby they forced the pope to modify his bull. But very soon the struggle was renewed. A French bishop was accused of plotting against the king, and was put upon his trial in France. The pope protested that an ecclesiastic could only be tried in a Church court, and demanded that the case should be transferred to Rome. It was the same quarrel which in England produced the murder of Thomas à Becket and the penitence of Henry II. It was destined to produce far different consequences now.

The States-General summoned.

First there came fierce papal bulls and equally fierce royal replies. Forged papal bulls were even circulated, throwing discredit on the Papacy by exaggerating its claims. In 1302 Philip IV., sensible of the seriousness of the struggle, called in the people to his aid. He summoned the States-General for the first time. It was a body roughly representative of the three estates of the realm—the

clergy, the nobility, and the commons—and was destined to play a very important part in the history of France. The pope, unterrified, answered the king's threats by a bull of excommunication.

The next step was one the like of which had not been seen during the combat of the popes with the emperors. It was determined to attack the person of the pope himself, and to force him by the threat or the reality of physical violence to abdicate. The king's agents, of whom Nogaret was the chief, joined themselves to the pope's personal enemies in Rome, the family of the Colonnas. The pope, who was eighty-six years of age, was in his castle at Anagni. The conspirators forced their way into his presence; they threatened and insulted the pope; it was even said that they struck him. But he refused to yield. Arrayed in his pontifical robes, he resisted the clamour of his opponents; and, though their prisoner, would not abdicate.

The assault on Boniface VIII.

The scene at Anagni produced a profound impression wherever it was told. Christ's earthly representative, so men said, had never been treated with such indignity. Christ in the person of his Vicar, wrote Dante, was mocked again; the vinegar and the gall were again pressed to his lips; he was slain, but this time the robbers lived.

The outrage did not produce the results anticipated, but Philip IV. was determined to go on until the Papacy was humiliated. Boniface died in the same year, 1303, and much might be done by influencing the papal elections. Boniface's immediate successor soon died, but then Clement, Bishop of Bordeaux, became pope, with the title of Clement V., and it was soon known that before his election he had made certain promises to the French king. The chief were that he would free Philip IV. from the bull of excommunication and reconcile him to the Church, and that he would leave Rome and take up his residence beyond the Alps in the papal city of Avignon. He was accordingly installed at Lyons, and soon took up his quarters in the palace at Avignon. "The Babylonish Captivity of the Church" had begun.

Election of Clement V.

The Papacy had owed much of its medieval strength to the memories, sacred and secular, of the city of Rome, and still

more to its independence of any of the great European powers. The spiritual authority of the pope was recognized largely because he was not the tool nor the agent of any crowned head in Europe. Now, so long as he remained in Avignon, this was at an end. True, he was not on French soil, but he was clearly in the power of France, and the rivals and the enemies of France would refuse to accept his word as the independent utterance of the Church. They would regard it as the voice of the King of France speaking through another channel.

The Babylonish captivity.

The destruction of the order of the Templars in France soon followed. The fall of this, the most famous of the military orders which the crusades had produced, is to be traced primarily to the king's financial necessities; for the king needed money, and the Templars were rich. Other charges were brought against them. They had sided with Pope Boniface in his struggle with the king. They no longer were fulfilling any obvious service. The Holy Land was again in the hands of the infidel, and, while the knights of St. John were still holding the island of Rhodes as an outpost against Mahomedanism, the Templars seemed satisfied to enjoy at their ease the vast wealth that their early services had won for them. Further, it was said that their character and even their faith had changed for the worse. Drunkenness was especially charged against them, and there were stories of strange and revolting ceremonies, and wild heresies practised and held by them.

Destruction of Templars.

The time of their usefulness was past, but their suppression was marked by injustice and cruelty. Fifty-four Templars were burnt in Paris, the Grand-Master was executed, and at last, in 1312, the whole order was declared abolished in a council summoned by the pope at Vienne in the south of France.

It will be seen that all these events had added immensely to the strength of the monarchy. The Papacy, instead of being a dangerous rival, was now a servile instrument of the French crown. The situation was not unlike that in England when Henry VIII. became head of the Church. And the fall of the Templars had enriched the coffers of the king. In other ways,

Growth of the power of the French monarchy.

too, the authority of the monarchy was increasing. The wide study and general acceptance of the principles of Roman law told strongly in favour of the royal authority in France, as elsewhere. The chief agents of the king in his struggle with the Papacy were lawyers versed in Roman law.

In the States-General Philip IV. had called into being an instrument which was destined in the future often to resist the monarchy, and finally, nearly five hundred years later, to overthrow it. But for the present it was an instrument of government, not of opposition. The Parlement of Paris, too, was developed and organized, and this, too, ultimately became a jealous opponent of the royal authority. But for the present and for four centuries yet, it was the all-important instrument of the royal power; through its agency the monarchy became the supreme judicial force throughout France.

The States-General in France.

It is with these events that the Middle Ages may be said to come to an end. They begin with the recognition of the Christian Church by Constantine; their distinguishing feature has been the growing power, and later, the predominance of the Catholic Church in its monarchical Papal form. That Church was, of course, by no means at an end. But in 1305 it was fallen suddenly and far from its position in the days of Gregory VII., Innocent III., and Boniface VIII., and it never again rises to that position. But it is not only the Church that changes at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Other distinguishing features of the Middle Ages have also disappeared. The empire undergoes a change as striking and disastrous as that of the Papacy; the Crusades are at an end; the Templars are destroyed; the supremacy of the mounted knight is passing away. Henceforth, our chief concern is with the gradually emerging features of the modern world.

The end of the Middle Ages.

As we pass from the medieval period, let us glance back and recall in a few sentences the chief transformations that Europe has undergone during these thousand years. In place of the Greek city-state, and the centralized administration of the Roman Empire, we have a great variety of monarchies, all resting more or less directly on the

Retrospect.

ideas of feudalism. Underneath the monarchies there exist in many states (and in England in a more advanced form than elsewhere) the elements of popular representative government, in the Parliaments, States-General, Cortes, Diets, of the various states. Nowhere in Europe was there direct self-government by citizens such as some of the Greek states knew; but nowhere was there a state so entirely despotic as the Roman Empire. In social matters the great change had been the almost complete disappearance of slavery and the substitution of serfdom. The labourer was now no longer the property of his master, without personal rights, without domestic life, without a share in the religion of the State. He was bound to the land; he was very largely at the mercy of his feudal superior; it seemed hardly possible that he should either accumulate wealth or improve his legal position. But he had a house of his own; he possessed land, though on a very servile tenure; family life and the consolations of religion were within his power. The time came when the position of the serf, like that of the slave, seemed intolerable, but it cannot be doubted that serfdom marks a great step in the social progress of Europe.

Serfdom substituted for slavery.

The contrast between the religious ideas of the classical world and those of medieval Europe is still greater. The gods and the philosophies of Greece and Rome have all faded away or become transformed beyond recognition. The ideas of Catholic Christianity were found everywhere; even the opponents of the Church imported no new ideas. The mystery of the Trinity and the Incarnation, the worship of the Virgin Mary and of the saints, the adoration of relics, the practice of pilgrimages, the power and organization of the Papacy,—these are more essential to the understanding of the Middle Ages than the constitution of the empire or the Papacy, the supremacy of the mounted knight, or the rise of representative institutions.

Miss Selfe's Chronicle of Villani as before. *Kitchin's History of France; Lodge's Close of the Middle Ages.*

PART III

THE MODERN WORLD

CHAPTER I

France and the Hundred Years' War

Battle of Crecy	1346
Peace of Bretigny	1360
Battle of Agincourt	1415
Death of Joan of Arc	1431
Taxation and a Standing Army given to the King of France	1439
End of the War	1453
Louis XI.	1461–1483

We see in the tragic catastrophe of the medieval Church the end of the Middle Ages. One of the most marked features of the next two centuries is the rise of the nations of Europe to a self-conscious existence. The empire and the Papacy were both international or anti-national. But now in France, in Spain, and in England, the national spirit and the national organization made great advances. In Germany and Italy there were strong stirrings of the same spirit, though it did not for some centuries achieve victory to the same extent.

France in the fourteenth century.

France, as we have seen, had now taken in Europe the position which had been held by the medieval empire before its great collapse; and the development of the French monarchy is the thread which will best carry us, so far as political and military history is concerned, through the next two centuries. We have seen how powerful and well organized the French monarchy was, and how great a victory it had achieved over the Papacy. But

soon after the death of Philip IV. it became involved in a struggle with the kingdom of England, which brought upon both countries untold miseries, and in the end profoundly modified the constitution and history of both countries. Philip IV. died in 1314, leaving behind him a large number of descendants, both children and grandchildren. The succession seemed assured ; and yet soon France was face to face with one of the most serious problems of succession that any European country has had to deal with.

There seemed a blight on the family of Philip IV. His three sons reigned in succession, but each died after a short reign, and each left only female children behind him. The fourth child of Philip IV. was Isabella, who had married Edward II. of England, and their son, Edward III., was now reigning in England. And now Edward III. claimed the throne of France for himself. The details of this claim are well known, and will be found in all Histories of England. The legal points advanced, on the one side and on the other, have little reality. It was on the side of England a claim prompted by greed of conquest, and the resistance of France was actuated by a determination to avoid absorption in a rival and hostile power.

The claim of England to the French throne.

It must be remembered that the English king, Edward III., had great possessions in France. The English kings had lost indeed, what they had once possessed as dukes of Normandy and Anjou, but most of what had come to them through Eleanor of Aquitaine, wife of Henry II., was still in their hands. For this territory they were the feudal dependants of the King of France ; and Edward III. had recognized at first the validity of the claims of Philip VI. to the throne of France by doing homage to him. But when the war broke out he soon took the title of King of France, and repudiated Philip VI.'s right to that name.

English possessions in France.

The phrase, "The Hundred Years' War," is somewhat misleading. The two countries were by no means at war during the whole of a century ; but from 1338 to 1453 the rivalry between the two countries was always ready to break out into open war. During these hundred years

The Hundred Years' War.

France during the Hundred Years' War, showing the English and Burgundian Territories about 1420.

there are many events which reflect the greatest military glory upon the commanders and soldiers of the English army. But it is on that account the more necessary to point out that the general result was decidedly unfavourable to England. Even during the reign of Edward III., the English monarchy was driven from a great part of its possessions in France: and when the war closed, nothing of the once great English empire in France remained, except the one town of Calais and the country adjacent.

The first phase from 1338 to 1360 was full of brilliant successes for the arms of England, and there was hardly anything to put on the other side. England was a state far more united, far less feudal, far more directly governed by its king than France. And the early stages of the war illustrate the weakness of the aristocratic and feudal state when brought into conflict with a centralized monarchy. Feudalism in England had never given such power into the hands of the nobles as in France, and under Henry II. and Edward I. the royal power had made great advances. The army that fought for England was the king's army and was bound to carry out his orders; the French army was very largely the army of the nobles, and they yielded to the king a very grudging obedience. But the English victory was not only due to political causes, it was due also to the superiority of the foot-soldiers whom England employed over the clumsy and over-weighted chivalry of France, and to the superiority of the English long-bow over any missile weapons which the French used.

Comparative strength of England and France.

So blow after blow fell upon France, and it seemed as though the whole state were on the eve of collapse. The French were beaten on the sea at Sluys in 1340; they were utterly crushed at Crecy in 1346, and at Poitiers in 1356. After Crecy, the English obtained possession of Calais, and thus had in their hands a gate through which they could invade France at any time. So hopeless was the condition of France, that in 1360 the government accepted the peace of Bretigny, whereby great territories were ceded to England, and Edward III., like Henry II. before him, ruled over more French soil than the French King himself.

Early victories of England.

The English renewed the war soon after the peace of Bretigny, but not with the former success, and the cause of the change is to be found in the new methods employed by France. In 1364 Charles V., known as Charles "le Sage,"—"the Prudent"—mounted the throne, and under his rule, though France has no days of glory to counterbalance Crecy and Poitiers, the flood of English conquest ebbs rapidly. And the reason is that the rulers of France cast aside feudal and medieval methods and ideas, and the English armies were met by forces not much unlike themselves. The feudal levies were no longer the mainstay of France; her king raised mercenary forces—the great "companies"—and placed them in the hands of a capable leader; and he found in Bertrand du Guesclin a leader of consummate abilities for the sort of war in which France was engaged. The French troops no longer, in a spirit of rash chivalry, accepted battle when the English offered it. They refused to run the risk of another Crecy or Poitiers; but they harassed the enemy, cut off his communications, deprived him of supplies, and offered tenacious resistance to him in fortified places. When Edward III. died, in 1377, his possessions were far smaller than at his accession. He held Calais, Bordeaux, Bayonne, and a strip of territory adjoining, and beyond that nothing. But the memory of the great victories made it certain that the English claims would be taken up again, if any English king felt himself strong enough to enforce them.

The end of English victory.

One incident had occurred in 1362 which seemed a great gain to the French crown, and which in the end proved to be a most serious danger. In that year the territories of the Duke of Burgundy came into the possession of the French king. But instead of annexing them to the royal domain, John had granted them to his fourth son, Philip. It was hoped, doubtless, that the tie of blood would prevent him from using his power in hostility to the French crown; but, in the hands of the successors of Philip, this Burgundian power proved to be an enemy to the crown of France more dangerous and determined than any of the earlier feudal nobles had been.

France and Burgundy.

The crown of France had thus by its own folly raised up a

dangerous rival, and upon the death of Charles V. it fell into weak and incompetent hands. For Charles VI. was at his accession only twelve years of age, and as he grew to manhood his intellect gave way. He was not permanently insane, in which case another ruler might have been appointed, and yet his flickering intelligence was utterly unequal to the real government of France.

Charles VI.

Peace with England was for some time maintained, and Richard II. of England married the king's daughter, Isabella of France. But while peace was maintained with the external enemies of France, a civil war broke out. The king's weakness, and the possible failure of sons to succeed him, offered a great prize to the greed of the princes. For the king could not rule, and if the king's sons died, who was to succeed him? Two families were rivals for the great prize, holding positions very like those of the Yorkists and Lancastrians in English history half a century later. On the one hand was the Orleanist party. The Duke of Orleans was the king's brother, and after the duke's murder in 1407, his place was taken by a relative, the Duke of Armagnac. So that this party is sometimes known as the Orleanist and sometimes as the Armagnac party. It was supported by the feudal aristocracy of France, who saw a chance of the restoration of their old independent authority. On the other side were the Burgundians, led by the Duke of Burgundy, who was, for the most part, in alliance with the citizens of Paris, and who seconded their aspirations to municipal independence. Civil war broke out between these rivals, and was not ended when danger threatened from England. For there Henry IV. died in 1413, and was succeeded by Henry V., who was impelled to a war by his own energy and ability, and the desire to turn men's eyes away from his own doubtful right to the English throne.

Armagnacs and Burgundians.

This new phase of the war plunged France into deeper humiliation than she had sunk to even in the period of Crecy and Poitiers, and for a time transferred the crown of France into English hands. Consider how unfavourable the conditions were to France. Her king was a madman with rare and dangerous intervals of sanity. His weakness had allowed the feudal powers

French disasters during the reign of Charles VI.

to rise into strength again, and a civil war was actually being waged. And one of the parties in this civil war—the Burgundians—was willing to accept the alliance of the English king and to consent to the dismemberment of France, or its absorption in the crown of England, if the dukes of Burgundy might at the same time secure advantages. Henry V. therefore entered on the war with more than the advantages which had been possessed by Edward III.

France occupied by Henry V. of England.

His success was overwhelming and rapid. At Agincourt in 1415 the French were defeated more heavily than at Crecy or Poitiers. Normandy fell into English hands. An endeavour to reconcile the Burgundians and Armagnacs ended in the assassination of the Duke of Burgundy and a closer union between the Burgundians and the English. At last, in 1420, by the Treaty of Troyes, an arrangement was made whereby Henry V. was to marry the Princess Catherine; to rule as regent so long as Charles VI. lived; and to reign as King of France upon his death. The enemy still had an army in existence, but Henry V. was in possession of power and prospects such as had never fallen to the lot of any English king before. Then, in 1422, death carried off both the vigorous warrior Henry V. and the poor imbecile Charles VI.

Revival of the French power.

When his son, Charles VII., came to the throne the outlook for a King of France could not well be blacker. Burgundy and England between them seemed to control France. The royal armies were only safe to the south of the Loire. It seemed that by the combined efforts of England and Burgundy they could be easily destroyed. And yet Charles VII.'s reign, which opened with such dismal auspices, was destined to see the end of the English dominion in France, and the king himself was to gain, if not quite to deserve, the title of Charles "the Victorious."

Conditions favourable to France.

The causes of this great change are clearly written in the history of this time. The positions of the two warring states became almost reversed. It was the English—not the French—king who was imbecile; it was England that was torn by the factions which later produced the Wars of the Roses, while France was united by

the reconciliation of the Burgundian faction with the French monarchy. Military efficiency had at first been on the side of England, and the long-bow had given her soldiers a superiority over the clumsier weapons on the other side. But now energy, discipline, and confidence returned to the side of France; and in the use of gunpowder they found a force which more than counterbalanced the weapons of their opponents. Thus the conditions became favourable to France; and yet they would not have proved so decisive had it not been for the marvellous career of Joan of Arc.

For the first six years of the new reign the English added success to success. Victories in Normandy and in the upper valleys of the Seine showed the continued superiority of the English. In 1428 they laid siege to Orleans, and, if that great city fell, the key to the centre of France would be in the hand of England. Then Joan of Arc arose. Her career defies the analysis of cause and effect more than any other in European history; but its essential result was to give confidence to France and to scare the enemy with superstitious terrors. We must not tell the story of her heroic life or her tragic death. When she was burnt in 1431, the English were still the dominant power in France, but their hold was loosening. It was partly the result of the wonderful maid's work that in 1435 Philip of Burgundy definitely abandoned the English alliance, and made terms with the King of France in the Peace of Arras.

End of the war: its general results.

From this time onwards the victories of France were uninterrupted. In 1450 the English fought their last battle in Normandy, and in 1453 the battle of Castillon in Aquitaine brought the long contest to an end. It had been one of the most terrible wars in history, and the devastation done in some parts of France can hardly be exaggerated. The political results of the war to France—and this should be carefully noted—were to strengthen the power of the monarchy. The feudal nobility had received the most deadly blow at Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, and their military prestige could hardly survive these humiliating days. When victory had come, it had come through the agency of hired soldiers and commanders who were

not of the high nobility, through du Guesclin and Joan of Arc and the use of gunpowder—that worst enemy of the feudal noble. But the monarchy had not only gained by this elimination of its rivals. A constitutional step taken towards the end of the war had strengthened the crown even more than men saw at the time. This was the *ordonnance* of 1439. By this ordonnance, in the first place, the king was allowed to collect a tax on land and property called the *taille*, and the money thus obtained he was to devote to the maintenance of a standing army. A comparison with English history shows clearly the vast importance of this stipulation. The control of Parliament over taxes and the absence of a standing army are the two chief instruments whereby Parliamentary government has been established in England. And the ordonnance of 1439 gave a very elastic tax and a standing army into the hands of the king. Thus the ordonnance of 1439 is a sort of inverted Magna Carta; for as that ensured in the end the establishment of Parliamentary government in England, so the ordonnance laid the foundations upon which the French absolute monarchy rested until its overthrow at the time of the Revolution.

Growth in the power of the monarchy.

Thus the French monarchy, as a result of the Hundred Years' War, which so nearly destroyed it, became stronger and more centralized, and ruled over a wider territory than before. And the work of Charles VII. was carried forward and completed by his greater successor, Louis XI. (1461–1483). This great king has often figured in romance as a cruel, unscrupulous, superstitious tyrant, and during the last years of his reign there was much in his character and actions which justifies this reputation. But his historical importance is due to the fact that he completed the growth of the French monarchy into a strong, well-organized absolutism. There was during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a general tendency towards the weakening of aristocratic power and the substitution of vigorous monarchical rule. Something of this sort happened in England and Spain, but France is the best example; and Louis XI. was the man who finally beat down the power of the nobles and made the monarchy the one supreme influence in the land.

Louis XI.

His great rival and enemy was Charles the Bold, Duke of

Burgundy. We have already seen the origin of his power. The extent of his territories are indicated on an adjoining map (p. 213). They resemble to some extent the old kingdom of Lotharingia, which was created by the Treaty of Verdun in 843; and they stretched from the mouth of the Rhine to the river Rhone, though there was a gap between the northern and southern parts. Note, too, this curious fact about his position. He was nowhere an independent sovereign: he owed feudal homage for part of his territories to the emperor, and for a part to the King of France, and yet he seemed at times stronger than either.

Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.

As a soldier he was bold to rashness, and his fierce, headlong character forms a strange contrast with that of the astute and wary King of France. Charles the Bold, too, allied himself to the leading nobles of France, and his struggle with Louis XI. was a contest between the aristocratic and monarchical principles of government. We must not even glance at the details of this famous rivalry. Louis XI. was at times in very great danger; but his cunning and tenacity, profiting by his adversaries' blunders, carried the day. The Duke of Burgundy was outwitted and defeated, and in 1477 was killed in battle with the Swiss, who had been raised up against him by the diplomacy of Louis XI. The fall of Charles was a very heavy disaster for the nobles of France; they never again had so good a chance of making themselves independent of the French crown.

Charles the Bold defeated.

We need only notice further what became of the territories of Charles the Bold. A large portion of them became French territory (Picardy, Artois, and the duchy of Burgundy). Louis XI. had hoped to acquire the whole by marrying Mary, the daughter and only child of Charles the Bold, to his son. But the suit failed, and Mary married the Emperor Maximilian. It was one of the most fateful marriages in European history; for Philip, the son of Mary and Maximilian, married Joanna, the heiress of the Spanish crown; and their son Charles V. inherited all that belonged to the empire and the House of Austria, all the possessions of the crown of Spain, and most of the territory of Charles the

Partition of the territories of Charles the Bold.

Marriage of Mary of Burgundy.

Bold. The sixteenth century was to show the vast importance of this agglomeration of territory for the history of Europe.

We have thus passed in rapid survey through nearly two

Charles the Bold of Burgundy.

(From the Painting by Roger v. d. Weyden in the Museum at Brussels.)

centuries of French history, and we have seen how France had become at the end of the fifteenth century the strongest and best-compacted power in Europe. We must now return and review the destinies of the Church, and of Germany and Spain during the same period.

Retrospect.

Froissart's Chronicles illustrate the first period of the war. There is a useful abridgment by G. C. Macaulay. *Jeanne d'Arc* by *Mrs. Oliphant* (Heroes of the Nations). *Charles the Bold* by *Ruth Putnam* (Heroes of the Nations). *Zeller's Histoire de France racontée par les contemporains* is useful throughout.

CHAPTER II

The History of the Church during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

End of Babylonish Captivity	1377
The Great Schism	1378
Council of Constance	1414
Council of Basel	1431
Fall of Constantinople	1453

The Babylonish captivity.

We have already seen how, in 1305, as a result of French violence and intrigue, the Papacy had abandoned Rome and taken up its residence at Avignon by the banks of the Rhone. Avignon was a papal city, the property of the popes, and the popes were by no means really prisoners there, though the title, "the Babylonish captivity," is usually given to the period of their residence there. Still, their strength and prestige were bound up with the city of Rome, and the popes in Avignon seemed to be the tools of the kings of France. The Papacy lost its position of independence, and upon that all its influence depended. "The captivity" lasted for more than seventy years, from 1305 to 1377, and the history of the Papacy knows no darker period. The popes of Avignon had a bad name for servility, for vice, and even for heresy. It is during their residence there that attacks began to be made on them by such men as Wickliffe in England, and they never really regained the ground they had lost until the time of the Reformation. There were several proposals for their return to Rome. The city and the states of the Church were rapidly falling into the hands of the feudal aristocracy, and the return of the popes was necessary to restore the authority of the Papacy within

its own possessions. At last, in 1377, Gregory XI. went back to Rome, and the captivity was over.

The Great Schism.

But a new calamity almost immediately fell upon the Papacy; "the great Schism" began in 1378. In that year Gregory XI. died, and the cardinals elected Urban VI. But soon the thirteen cardinals who were in the French interest declared that the election had been improperly conducted, and they proceeded to elect Clement VII. There had been several occasions in earlier ages when two men had claimed at the same time the title of pope; but those "schisms" had soon been terminated, whereas this, "the Great Schism," lasted on in spite of all efforts to stop it until 1417. The political divisions of Europe were largely responsible for the perpetuation of the division. England sided with one pope, France with another: the empire was at the same time torn by factions, and these factions connected themselves with the division in the Church. The schism did not die out with the deaths of Urban VI. and Clement VII. Each faction elected a successor to them, and there is a succession of both Urbanist and Clementist popes. The condition of things was a scandal to the Church and to Christendom. Each pope used all the weapons of the Church against the other; and as a result men's minds in Europe became more and more inclined to criticise the papal claims altogether. Wickliffe in England was soon followed by Huss in Bohemia, and papal claims were never again universally accepted until Luther arose to inaugurate the great Protestant Reformation.

How to end the schism.

Other means were suggested, but it was determined in the end to have recourse to the means whereby disputes had been settled in the early ages of the Church, to summon a general council and to submit to it the question of how to restore unity to the Christian Church of the West. But it proved to be no easy task to restore unity to the Church by means of councils. The first effort indeed only added to the prevailing confusion. A council was called at Pisa in 1409, and both popes were expected to attend. Neither of them in the end was willing to come. The council elected a pope, John XXIII., to supersede the other two, but as neither

of them resigned, the result was that there were three instead of two claimants for the title of pope.

Five years later (1414) another effort was made. A great council was summoned to Constance, and it was attended by an immense concourse of people; eighteen hundred clergy and one hundred thousand laymen are said to have been present during the course of its sessions, which lasted for over four years. The Emperor Sigismund was the chief influence in the council, which proceeded to consider the general condition of the Church, and not only the existing schism. But the restoration of the papal monarchy, the substitution of one head of the Church for three, was the most pressing need of the times. John XXIII. had expected to be nominated sole pope; and, when he found that that was not to be, he fled from Constance, was caught, and detained in captivity. It was not until 1417 that a solution was reached. Then two of the existing three popes were declared deposed, one resigned, a new pope was chosen in the person of Martin V., and none disputed his claims to rule.

The Council of Constance.

The Council of Constance also occupied itself with other reforms. It declared that a general council had the right to decide in all cases of a disputed papal election; it regulated the method of election and limited the number of the cardinals; it proposed to remedy many of those abuses in the administration of the Church which a century later did much to produce the Reformation. The right of the pope to tax, to judge, and to dispense subjects from the obligation of laws was considered and legislated against, but all the efforts of the council on this head were in vain. Either the measures proposed were not passed, or, if passed, they were quickly suspended. The Church proceeded for another century on much the old lines, until the Protestant revolution forced on reform by disaster.

Reforms proposed at the Council of Constance.

The Council of Constance, while it curbed the power of the Papacy, was very anxious to maintain its own orthodoxy; and it proved its hatred of heresy by burning the heretic John Huss. Huss had preached in Bohemia the doctrines which Wickliffe had planted in England, and the Hussite movement had assumed alarming proportions. While

John Huss.

the council was restoring unity to the government of the Church, it desired also to restore uniformity of doctrine. Huss was accordingly summoned to the council, and the Emperor Sigismund gave him a promise of safety. The council determined to violate this promise on the ground that faith need not be kept with heretics, and Huss was burnt outside the walls of Constance. But the Hussite movement was by no means at an end. It assumed for some time an even more menacing form in Bohemia, and was only crushed eventually with great difficulty.

General result of the Council of Constance.

Note carefully the general result of the Council of Constance. It declared the superiority of councils over the Papacy; it showed that the old absolutist Papacy as it had been in the days of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. had come to shipwreck; it substituted for a time a sort of aristocratic republican government inside the Church in place of the former centralized rule by one man.

Council of Basel.

Thirteen years later (1431), another great council was called at Basel. The reform of the abuses of the Church was its declared object, and the unceasing victories of the Hussites in Bohemia seemed to make some sort of reform imperative. The Council of Basel was a much more democratic body than the Council of Constance: it aimed at more, and, as a matter of fact, it did less. It was divided into separate committees dealing with the various departments of the Church in which reform was thought necessary. The pope resisted its claims, for the Papacy naturally would never consent to be superseded by councils; and in consequence of the pope's hostility, a new schism seemed on the point of commencement. For the council declared the reigning pope deposed and elected another in his place. But the newly elected pope resigned, and the schism was avoided. The Basel council accomplished nothing of importance. It was the Hussite war which had called it into being, and in 1434 the religious rebels in Bohemia, after a series of wonderful successes, were at last crushed and their leader killed.

The fifteenth century saw other "councils" of importance even after the ignominious failure of the Council of

Basel, and the next council was called by the pope. For while the Church of the West was being torn by heresy and schism, there seemed at last a chance of reuniting the Eastern and Western Churches. We must cast a last glance upon the history of the Greek empire at Constantinople. For there was still an empire there, which was descended from the old Roman empire, and still called itself Roman. We have seen how seriously it had been weakened by the fourth crusade, and though the Latin empire had fallen and the Greek language and the Greek form of Christianity again prevailed, the empire never recovered its former strength. The Mahomedan power was pressing upon it with ever-increasing weight. The Turkish forces had seized large tracts of territory in Europe, and occupied all Asia Minor. It was the city of Constantinople alone that resisted them ; and the city, in spite of its vast strength, must clearly fall unless help came from outside. The Eastern emperors, in their extremity, appealed to Western Europe, and, in order to revive again the languishing crusading zeal, they held out the hope that they might relinquish whatever in doctrine or Church government kept them apart from Rome. It was to heal the long-standing division of the Eastern and Western Churches, and to receive the submission of Constantinople, that the pope summoned a council at Ferrara. Seven hundred Greeks presented themselves, and they debated upon "the procession of the Holy Ghost," upon the use of unleavened bread, and, above all, on the supremacy of the pope. An agreement was entered into, and a papal bull declared the union of the Churches. But the first proposal was rejected by the pride of Constantinople, and it was not until the Mahomedan was at her gates that the proud city bowed her head to Rome. The Festival of Union was held in December, 1452.

Reunion of Eastern and Western Churches.

But, alas ! the union did not avail to ward off the impending doom from the great city. Constantinople was stormed on May 29, 1453, and the crescent waved where the cross had stood for more than eleven hundred years.

Fall of Constantinople.

If we return to summarize the history of the Church during the fifteenth century, we see that without doubt its power and

prestige were much shaken. The very summoning of the councils showed that the papal authority no longer availed to settle questions, which would formerly have been thought clearly within its province. Power was passing in some instances from the pope to the bishops, and in others national feeling was beginning to refuse submission to a foreign power. Towards the end of the century the popes seemed almost to accept the new condition of things, or at least no longer to struggle against it. They occupied themselves with the temporal interests of the papal state, in some cases to the neglect of the spiritual interests of the Church universal. The Church drifted heedlessly into the great storm which was soon to fall upon it.

Summary of results.

Lodge's Close of the Middle Ages and the Ecclesiastical Histories already mentioned; *Creighton's History of the Papacy.*

CHAPTER III

The Political Condition of Germany, Spain, and Italy in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

The Venetian Government a Close Oligarchy 1297
Battle of Morgarten 1315
The Golden Bull 1356
Lorenzo de' Medici 1469

Since the end of the Hohenstaufen line in 1268, Germany was without any effective central government. The empire had collapsed, and with it the kingdom of Germany. For some time there was an interregnum. No emperor was recognized, and the elements of the German state struggled among one another without umpire or control. In 1273 Rodolph of Hapsburg became emperor, and reigned until 1291. The imperial sceptre soon passed for a while out of his family; but he is regarded as the founder of the great Hapsburg house, and his descendants sat for centuries on the throne of the Holy Roman empire, and still sit

Rise of the House of the Hapsburgs.

upon the throne of the Austrian empire. But though the empire came into shadowy existence again, Germany was not really controlled by it. The centrifugal tendency worked on almost unchecked; the different states and cities shook themselves free of all effective control.

In the course of the fourteenth century the constitution of the empire was at last defined; but it was so defined as to proclaim its impotence. The Golden Bull issued by the Emperor Charles IV. deals largely with ridiculously small matters of etiquette; but it laid down certain principles upon which the future political life of Germany rests. It left no doubt that the empire was elective, and that those who had the right to elect were the Archbishops of Mainz, Trier (Treves), and Köln (Cologne), and the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg. It was further declared that these electors were for all practical purposes supreme within their dominions, and that their territories should descend to their successors as a whole, and not be partitioned among all the sons.

The Golden Bull.

The doom of the empire was written in the Golden Bull. But, as a consequence of the weakness of the empire, the different units of the German state formed themselves into unions and leagues for common purposes. The chief of them was the Hanseatic League, consisting of the commercial towns of the north. The first members were Lübeck, Rostock, and Stralsund; but it came to include the chief trading centres of the Baltic. It existed for mutual protection in commerce, and for a century and a half was a very powerful organization.

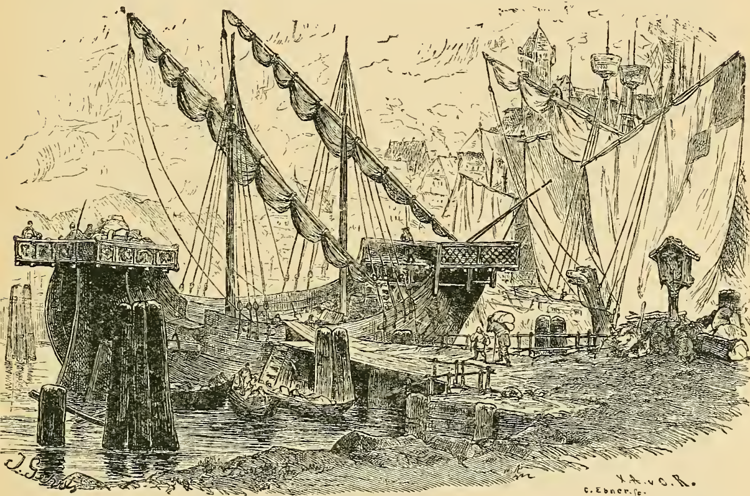
The leagues of Germany.

During the same period there rose up an independent power in the south-west of the empire. Nearly the whole of what is now Switzerland was within the frontiers of the empire, and the central region of it formed part of the Hapsburg dominions. In 1291 Schwytz, Uri, and Unterwalden formed a league for mutual protection; and when in 1315 Leopold of Austria tried to coerce them, he was resisted and defeated in the battle of Morgarten. The league grew by success. Five

The rise of the Swiss Confederation.

other cantons joined; and in 1386 the league again defeated the imperial forces in the battle of Sempach. A splendid and heroic episode in the history of the century is covered by these few statements. Liberty found a home in the mountains of Switzerland, from which she has never been expelled. During the fifteenth century the league grew and prospered; and when later Charles the Bold of Burgundy tried to crush it, he found the mountaineers too strong for him (1476).

While Germany was thus drifting further and further from



Warship of the Hanseatic League in the Fourteenth Century.

unity and concentration of government an exactly opposite tendency was in progress in Spain, which at the end of the fifteenth century appeared unexpectedly as one of the great military monarchies of Europe. We have seen nothing of Spain since the days of Charlemagne. We saw then how the first blow had been struck against the Moorish and Mahomedan supremacy. The Moorish supremacy had ebbed ever since. For some time the Moors had been in advance of any part of Europe in enlightenment; but their power was wrecked by civil war among the rulers and by the

Spain.

impossibility of conciliating the Christian subjects of the Moorish kings. It was not until the thirteenth century that Christians began to establish their superiority in arms over their hated oppressors, but from that time onwards the Moorish power gradually but continuously receded.

The victory over the Moors was not the result of any common action by the whole Christian population of Spain. It was the work of several independent states which were established on the land won from the Moors, whose aspirations to independence colour and explain a great deal of Spanish history. Of the states of Spain, Aragon and Castile were by far the most important. Castile was in touch with the surviving Moorish kingdom of Granada ; Aragon was ruled by a strong monarchy, and had a fruitful commerce. In 1469, Isabella, the heiress of Castile, married Ferdinand, the heir of Aragon, and the union of Spain was ultimately brought about as a result of the marriage.

The unity of Spain.

Spain sprang with wonderful suddenness into the ranks of the great Powers of Europe. Her people were trained to war by the long struggle against the Moors, and they soon proved themselves the finest infantry in Europe. No population in Europe was so devoutly, so aggressively Catholic, for Catholicism was to them not merely a religion but a racial bond and rallying cry in their war against the infidel Moors. In the next age the Papacy found a stronger support in Spain than elsewhere in Europe. During the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Moorish kingdom of Granada was destroyed ; the power of the monarchy was asserted against the aristocracy and the cities of Spain ; America was discovered ; alike on land and sea Spain made good her claim to be one of the first Powers in Europe. Unfortunately her greatness was tarnished by the atmosphere of religious bigotry, which pervaded the land and in the end did much to ruin it.

The importance of Spain.

Italy in the fifteenth century presents us with an extraordinary spectacle. Intellectually it was far in advance of the rest of Europe. The Renaissance had fully begun. Its characteristics will be summarized in the next chapter, but the brilliant intellectual life of Italy must be borne in mind while we look at the grave political and social dangers which threatened her.

For Italy was developing along lines very different from those pursued by England and France and Spain. There all the forces of the time were working in favour of political unity and centralization. But in Italy there was no principle of political unity to be found. From the Papacy, which was essentially cosmopolitan, no unity could come, and there was no state in Italy powerful enough to force its will on the others. Thus Italy was a geographical expression, and contained a large number of quite independent states. The chief were Genoa, Milan, Venice, Florence, Rome, Naples, and we shall shortly examine some of these more closely; but besides these there was a large number of others, either possessing or claiming complete independence.

Italian disunion.

Amongst these many states no principle of order was to be found. All alliances were as transitory as they had been among the city-states of ancient Greece, and the only constant principle seemed to be that all should join against any state which was for the moment stronger than the others. Between certain states there were constant feuds, as between Florence and Pisa, Milan and her neighbours, Venice and Genoa; but, for the most part, the relations of the states of Italy were singularly unstable. The cities, too, were themselves rent by factions, which usually took the titles of Guelfs and Ghibellines. The Guelfs had originally been the papal faction, and the Ghibellines the imperial; but the names had lost their meaning, and were little more than empty titles for factions which pursued purely selfish aims.

Feuds and factions in Italy.

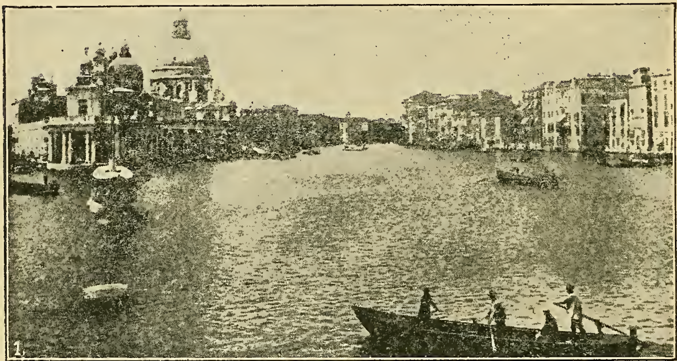
Another feature of Italian life, which completes the analogy with decadent Greece, is that the states had for the most part abandoned the employment of citizen troops, and were using mercenaries in their quarrels. The captains of these bands—the *condottieri*—and the troops they commanded were drawn from almost every country in Europe. They usually served faithfully the states which paid them; but it is clear that their employment exposed Italy to a foreign conquest, as it had brought Greece under the yoke of Macedon many centuries before.

Employment of mercenary soldiers.

Of all the cities of Italy, Venice was the most prosperous

and the best governed. The inhabitants loved to recall a legend that their city had been founded by Romans, who fled from the Eternal City when it was threatened by the barbarians; and certainly Venice alone of all the Italian states reproduced something of the dignity and firmness, the tenacity of purpose and orderliness of life which had distinguished republican Rome. No city in the world has so strange a situation. The islands of Venice hardly rise above the waters, and the soil is so soft and yielding that wooden piles have to be driven into it before any buildings can

Venice.



A Scene in Venice.

The Grand Canal opens between the two rows of houses. St. Mark's Cathedral and the now fallen Campanile are outside of the picture on the right. The church on the left is S. Maria della Salute.

be erected; and yet upon this soft and unstable basis was reared one of the fairest of all medieval cities. Two geographical features go far to explain the situation of the city. First, it was, before the invention of cannon of long range, wonderfully defensible. It was defended on the side of the mainland, not only by a stretch of sea, but also by unhealthy marshes; and on the side of the Adriatic, ships found a difficult passage between the islands that separate the lagoons from the sea. The second important geographical feature is the tide. The Mediterranean is usually spoken of as a tideless sea; but there is a slight tide, and, over the flats and shallows which surround Venice, the

tide moves with sufficient force to keep the city healthy. Where the lagoons are not affected by the tide, they are uninhabitable.

The whole strength of Venice lay in her commerce. She was the point of connection between the East and the West. Until the Cape route was discovered, all the merchandise of the East was brought to Venice, and from thence transported by caravan into Germany, France, and all parts of Europe. The State made vast profits on all goods that passed through her harbour.

The commerce of Venice.

The Government of Venice was by the beginning of the fourteenth century a close oligarchy or aristocracy. The popular or democratic element had at first been strong, and it had been by a vote of the people that the Doge or President was elected. But, in time, the aristocracy had drawn all power into their own hands. The Great Council of Venice was, like the Senate at Rome, an essentially aristocratic assemblage, though nominally elective. But, in 1297, what is known as the "Closing of the Great Council" took place, and henceforth none but those belonging to the high nobility could find an entrance into the Council. The executive government of the state was vested in a small committee, "The Council of Ten." There was no government in Italy to compare with that of Venice for good order, vigour, and efficiency.

The government of Venice.

Florence presents a great contrast to Venice in every way; there is instability instead of order, fierce factions instead of unity; and democracy gives way, not to oligarchy, but to the kind of despotism which the Greeks called tyranny. The factions in Florence were known as the Guelfs and the Ghibellines, and the former represented, on the whole, democratic aspirations, while the latter stood for aristocracy. The rivalry of these two factions and their alternate triumphs filled Florence with unrest, but in 1434 a new power emerged. The commercial family of the Medici had been identified with the popular cause, and its chief, Cosimo de' Medici, had been banished from Florence. But a popular rising overthrew his opponents and recalled him from banishment. He became at first the leader,

Florence.

Cosimo de' Medici.

and then the master of Florence. For many generations after this the history of Florence is the history of the Medicean family. Cosimo died in 1464, and, in 1469, Lorenzo de' Medici became the ruler of Florence. It was under him that Florence reached the zenith of her fame in art and letters, though the greatest name in all Italian literature—that of Dante—belongs to a period nearly two centuries earlier.

Elsewhere in Italy tyrannies of a much more oppressive kind had been established. Everywhere the democratic movement was beaten down, and single rulers or aristocracies held sway. We shall see how Naples and Sicily fell first into the hands of France, and then into the possession of a branch of the royal house of Aragon.

A translation of the Golden Bull is given in *Henderson's Documents of the Middle Ages; H. F. Brown's Venetian Republic; Armstrong's Lorenzo de' Medici* (Heroes of the Nations).

CHAPTER IV

The Renaissance in Italy

Dante's Divine Comedy	1300
Chrysoloras teaches Greek in Italy	1396
First printed Bible	1455
America Discovered	1492

General character of the Renaissance.

MEANWHILE a great change was passing over the thoughts, convictions, and feelings of men; and this movement is usually known as the Renaissance. Renaissance means re-birth, and the word is usually used with reference to the revived knowledge of Latin and Greek, and of classical literature and ideas which is one of the great features of the time. But the Renaissance was, in truth, much more than that. It means that men were no longer satisfied with the ideas and forms of the Middle Ages, which had served well for many centuries, but were now outgrown; and that they were groping round for new light and new guidance.

Many were the forces that were driving Europe away from medieval conceptions. The catastrophe of the Papacy and its degradation during the fifteenth century account for much. Rome no longer possessed her old influence and prestige. And the revival of classical learning, though it does not account for the Renaissance, colours and influences all of it. The Middle Ages were not so dark or devoid of education and culture as they have been sometimes described ; but for long after the death of Charlemagne, learning had languished, and there had been no originality of thought or speculation. But by the middle of the thirteenth century the darkness had passed, and the dawn was showing itself. The thirteenth century is the Age of the Schoolmen, of whom the chief were Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, and S. Thomas Aquinas. One aim common to all of them was the adaptation to the doctrines of the Church of the works of the Greek philosopher Aristotle, which had recently become known in a Latin translation. But the culture of the time is shown at its best and highest in the career and writings of the great poet Dante. Note that his work was all done before the Renaissance, in its narrower sense, had begun ; before Greek was known in Italy, while yet men accepted without much questioning the ideas and organization of the Church. The slightest knowledge of Dante's works will dissipate the idea of the blindness and darkness of Europe on the eve of the Renaissance. The revival of classical learning was not the cause of the intellectual movement in Europe ; the movement had already begun, and had achieved glorious results ; and it was because it had gone so far, because so many men were awake to the problems and the needs of the mind and heart of man, that they turned again to the classical literatures of Greece and Rome, which during the Middle Ages had been neglected indeed, but never quite forgotten.

The classical revival.

Thus the coming of the classical revival was a gradual and spontaneous process. Dante (1265–1321) showed the way. Petrarch (1304–1374) and Boccaccio (1313–1375) both knew and declared the importance of Greek ; but it was not until the very end of the century (1396) that the Greek tongue was taught in Italy by a Greek, Chrysoloras, from Constantinople. From that time onwards the study of the

language and the literature and the philosophy of Greece became the fashion and the enthusiasm of the cultured classes in Italy. Florence was the first home of the new learning, but it soon spread in every direction. Venice took up the work, and Pope Nicholas V. (1447–1455) was one of its most eager patrons. The new learning produced a vast effect upon the thoughts and convictions of men. None have ever become acquainted

Dante.

A copy, somewhat restored, of a fresco by the contemporary artist Giotto.

with the literature of ancient Greece without admiring it; but to the Italians of the fifteenth century it came as a revelation.

The influence of the revival of Greek.

New conceptions of art and philosophy came to them from this source. There is no department of human knowledge which did not receive a fresh impetus from the new learning. The sight of this fair civilization, independent of and preceding Christianity, struck a blow at some of the claims of Catholicism; and later the knowledge

of Greek furnished the Protestant reformers with their most useful weapons. Men turned away from the immediate past, from what was good in it as well as what was evil, and stretched out their hands to the poets and philosophers, and even to the gods of Greece and Rome.

While men's minds, dissatisfied with the present, were turning to the distant past and dreaming of a brighter future, events were occurring which opened up new roads to the thoughts and activities of mankind. The latter half of the fifteenth century saw the invention of printing. The first Latin Bible was printed in 1455, and the first printing press was set up in Italy in 1471. At first the process was slow and costly, and the future influence which was in store for the printing press was guessed by no one. Its most important immediate result was to secure the treasures, in the shape of Greek and Latin books, which had been unearthed from the monastic libraries. Had they been left in manuscript, they might have disappeared again as they had disappeared already; but they were now circulated among the scholars of Europe in numerous and accurate copies.

Invention of printing.

The last years of the fifteenth century saw also the most important geographical discoveries which have ever been made. The desire to reveal the hidden places of the earth was no new thing, and in the fourteenth century the Venetian, Marco Polo, had made wonderful voyages of discovery in the continent of Asia. But these were of little importance compared with what was to come. For suddenly the world seemed to enlarge. New continents, each far vaster than Europe (as Europe was reckoned in the sixteenth century) came within the horizon of men's thoughts and activities. In 1492 the Genoese Columbus, in a Spanish ship, saw land rise beyond the Atlantic; and in 1497 Vasco da Gama sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, and revealed the route by the open sea to the Indies. The motive in these voyages was chiefly commercial. The advancing power of the Turks (who had taken Constantinople in 1453) made the old trade-routes with India and China precarious and expensive. It was in search of another route to the east of Asia that Columbus sailed across the Atlantic; and to the end of his life

Geographical discovery.

he believed that he had arrived, not at a new continent, but on the eastern shores of Asia. The name of the West Indies recall his motive and his mistake. Momentous consequences followed from these great discoveries. The treasures and the territory of the New World were eagerly coveted, and though at first monopolized by Spain and Portugal, were soon a matter of fierce dispute among the seafaring nations of Europe; and to England, which at first took little part in voyages of discovery, the greatest share of the New World was destined to fall. The immediate results of the discovery of the Cape route were even greater. The overland route for the wares of China and India was abandoned in favour of the safer sea passage. That meant a fatal commercial loss to many Mediterranean seaports, but none felt the blow so keenly as Venice. Oriental commerce was diverted from her harbours, and with that her decay began. The discovery of the New World influenced every department of European life. It was trade and the international relations of states which were at first affected. But the thought and the imagination of men were also quickened. The story of the New World is entirely excluded from the scope of this book; but every part of the life of Europe during the next four centuries has been affected by it.

The new astronomy.

Let us also note here another vast discovery which was shortly to be made, though it does not fall within the fifteenth century. In the middle of the sixteenth century Copernicus discovered that the earth was not the centre of the universe; and Kepler and Galileo, following in his steps, revealed the solar system in its main features as we know it to-day. The discovery implied a great shock to the theory of the universe which men had held all through the Middle Ages, and prepared the way for the adoption of new views on life and religion. "The floor of heaven, inlaid with stars, sank back into an infinite abyss of immeasurable space."

From this time onward the *Cambridge Modern History* may be used for constant reference. *Dyer's History of Modern Europe* is also useful throughout. *Lord Acton's Lectures on Modern History* will be found suggestive and stimulating. *J. A. Symonds' Renaissance in Italy* is the great book in English on the subject and should be referred to. *Miss Rossetti's Shadow of Dante* is a useful introduction to the study of the poet.

CHAPTER V

France and the Italian Wars

Charles VIII. invades Italy	1494
League of Cambrai	1508
Battle of Marignano	1515
Battle of Pavia	1525
Sack of Rome	1527
Abdication of Charles V.	1556

THE chief subject that will engage our thoughts now for several chapters, is that religious revolution which is known as the Protestant Reformation. But before we go on to see its rise, we will examine very briefly the military and political history of Europe that was contemporary with this religious change.

We have seen that England, France, and Spain were the strong states of the period. They were vigorous and united under their respective monarchies, while Germany and Italy were divided and, in consequence, weak. Of the two, Italy was certainly far the weaker and the richer. Skill in commerce and industrial methods had made Italy rich, while her literature and her art made her famous above all nations of Europe. She was beautiful, rich, and almost defenceless: her neighbours were covetous and powerful: and the natural results followed.

Wealth and weakness of Italy.

Of the strong nations, France was the nearest and the strongest. Charles VIII. had succeeded, on the death of Louis XI., in 1483. The new king was of an adventurous and romantic temperament, and he desired to perform some great exploit. He had certain claims upon Naples, and he used these as a pretext for the invasion of Italy. He crossed the Alps, and marched through Italy in uninterrupted triumph. Milan, Florence, Rome, Naples all fell into his hands almost without a struggle; the Italians had nothing that they could oppose to his splendidly equipped army. But this, the first of many French

Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII.

expeditions into Italy, was to be typical of nearly all. To conquer was easy; to hold what was conquered was difficult, and proved in the end impossible. The subtle Italians found in diplomacy and intrigue weapons with which they could meet the force of France. The one principle which seems to have guided their constantly shifting policy was, that all should unite against the power that was for the moment the strongest.

So, while Charles VIII. was dreaming that Italy was conquered and at his disposal, an alliance was made against him in the north of Italy, under the guidance of the Venetians. Charles VIII. found a retreat necessary, and, though he fought his way back to France, his conquests passed away from him almost as quickly as they had been made.

Failure of Charles VIII.

It is during the course of these Italian wars thus inaugurated by Charles VIII. of France, that the principle of "the balance of power" begins to emerge. The great Powers of Europe tacitly adopted as a principle that no one of them should gain an increase of territory without the others receiving compensating advantages. It was very far indeed from acting effectually as a basis of peace, but it prevented complete anarchy in the European state system, and was the basis of European diplomacy for many generations.

The principle of balance of power.

In 1498 Louis XII. succeeded Charles VIII., and the temptation of Italy was again too strong for him. It was not against Naples this time, but against Milan that the attack was primarily directed, for Louis XII. could make out some sort of claim upon the Milanese territory. Diplomatic intrigue prepared the way for invasion, and, when the invasion came, again it seemed at first irresistible. Milan was occupied and annexed to France. Then Naples beckoned the invader on. It turned out that both France and Spain had claims on Naples, and if France invaded in disregard of them, she would certainly find Spain as her antagonist. The difficulty was avoided by a treaty with Spain (the Treaty of Granada, 1500), whereby the two crowned heads agreed to share the spoil of Naples. European history does not know any more immoral

Louis XII. attempts the conquest of Italy.

agreement. The King of Naples could make no resistance to the alliance of France and Spain, and the territory of Naples was occupied without resistance. But, when the crowned robbers came to share the spoil, they quickly quarrelled, and soon war broke out between France and Spain. It is a war full of romance, but the result alone can be given. The French were, in the end, driven out of Naples, and soon possessed no territory in Italy except Milan.

The League of Cambrai.

An incident followed, singularly characteristic of the unscrupulous policy of the time. We have seen already how rich, prosperous, and well-governed Venice was. She possessed extensive territories on the mainland, and these were viewed with jealous eyes by her neighbours—the Empire on the north-east, the estates of the Church to the south, and France established in the duchy of Milan. The various Powers had no real grievance against Venice, but her wealth and her weakness were sufficient, and in 1508, France and the Empire, Spain, Florence, and the Papacy joined in the League of Cambrai for the spoliation and partition of Venice.

Defeat and recovery of Venice.

Venice could make no effective resistance against the great forces which were put into the field against her. Her troops were defeated, and her general was taken prisoner: the extinction of the Venetian Republic seemed close at hand. But Venice was saved by her own statesmanship and diplomatic skill, and by the rivalries and quarrels of her opponents. For, first, she made no effort to keep her subjects on the mainland subordinate to her against their will, and they soon contrasted the brutality of their conquerors with the milder rule of Venice. Still more important was the understanding which Venice made with the pope, Julius II. He was one of the strongest and most noteworthy popes of the period, free from the vices which disgraced some of the popes of the century, vigorous in action, far-seeing in his policy. But if we could follow his career closely, we should see that the spiritual interests of the Catholic Church were not the uppermost thought in his mind. He was a patron of art, a great builder, and, above all, an ambitious ruler of the states of the Church. Venice had ceded to him much of the territory which he had

Julius II.

coveted upon the northern frontier of the papal states. His aim in joining the alliance against Venice was achieved, and now he had no desire to see France established as a strong power in the north of Italy. France, the strong, and not Venice, the weak, suddenly became the enemy of all the Italian states, and Julius II. organized the Holy League for the expulsion of the hated foreigners from the soil of Italy. Under the guidance of the pope, Venice, Spain, the Empire, Florence, and even England joined in the Holy League. These sudden kaleidoscopic changes of diplomacy are characteristic of Italy in the sixteenth century.

European league against France.

The French king, Louis XII., did not wait to be attacked. He despatched an army into Italy, and, at first, gained victories; but then the tide of battle turned, and the French troops were driven out of all that they had conquered in Italy. History has often seen this rapid flow and ebb of the French power in the Italian peninsula. The enemies of France were not satisfied with the expulsion of the French from Italy, they determined to invade, and, perhaps, to partition France. Spain, England, and the Empire joined in this enterprise. But the alliance proved as unstable as other alliances of the time, and Louis XII. was able to break it up, and conclude a fairly advantageous peace for France just before his death in 1515.

Francis I. wins the battle of Marignano.

He was succeeded by his cousin, Francis I., young and enthusiastic, with some military talent and great ambition to make for himself a name in war. Undeterred by the failures of Charles VIII. and Louis XII., he took up again the enterprise of the conquest of Italy. Spain, the Empire, and the Papacy, allied to resist him; he could count upon Venice as an ally, but upon no other. Yet his first effort was brilliantly, overwhelmingly successful. He crossed the Alps, and at Marignano, near Milan, with the help of the Venetians, he utterly routed the enemy (1515). It was for many reasons a battle of great and long-enduring consequence. It fired the king's ardour for military enterprise, and all Europe believed that a great soldier had appeared. Moreover, the victory was a day of great glory for the French soldiers. The army of Francis I. had been a

genuinely national army, and ranged against them were the Swiss mercenaries, esteemed the best soldiers in Europe and almost invincible. If France could produce soldiers capable of overthrowing the terrible Swiss, all things seemed possible to her. An important treaty followed the battle. By the "Concordat of Bologna" Francis I. made terms with the Papacy. Certain money payments which France had refused of late were again to flow into the coffers of the Papacy, and in return the appointment of Church dignitaries was (with certain unimportant reservations) given into the hands of the king. The pope gained money, the king gained power. Henceforth the King of France controlled the Church in France almost as completely as Henry VIII. controlled the English Church after the Reformation.

But now there came into the European arena a combatant who was destined to be the lifelong rival of Francis I. Charles, the son of Joanna of Spain and Philip, the son of the Emperor Maximilian, had come to the throne of Spain in 1516; and as King of Spain he was one of the most important powers in Europe; for he had behind him the warlike population of Spain, the commerce and the industry of the Low Countries (the Netherlands), and the vast prestige which flowed from his titular possession of undefined tracts in the New World. He was loyally obeyed and efficiently served, and was second to no Power in Europe, not even to Henry VIII. of England or Francis I. of France. But in 1519 a vaster prize came within his reach. The Emperor Maximilian died. The Empire was in theory elective. In practice it had been for some generations hereditary, and unless something extraordinary occurred, Charles of Spain would become emperor, and would add to his already vast dominions the hereditary possessions of the house of Hapsburg, and the glorious title of Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

The disputed imperial election.

Francis I. determined to dispute the election. His efforts were vain. Charles of Spain became the Emperor Charles V., and ruled over a greater expanse of territory than any European ruler had ever called his. But these vast territories and vague pretensions were no real addition to the power of Charles V. He was stronger as

Charles of Spain than as the Emperor Charles V.; and his election had brought upon him the unquenchable jealousy of Francis I.

We will follow the rivalry of these great potentates to the end: but we must note here that soon after the date we have reached, the Protestant Reformation began in Germany, and henceforward the struggle between Charles and Francis is curiously blended with the bitter strife of Catholicism and Protestantism. The mixture of religious motives with political and dynastic ambition is what gives the middle of the sixteenth century its most marked characteristics. The strands are constantly and closely intertwined; but here for the sake of clearness we must separate them.

Rivalry of Charles V. and Francis I.

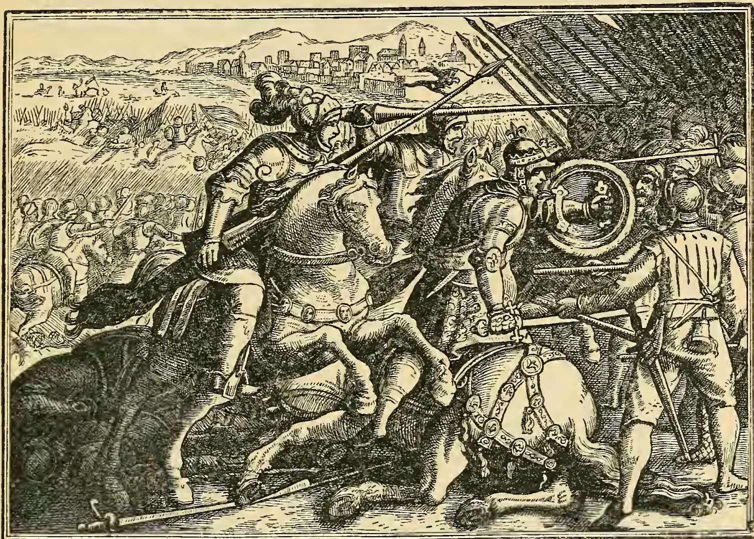
Charles V.

King of Spain, 1516; emperor, 1519; abdicated, 1556; died, 1558.

War between Francis and Charles came soon after the imperial election; and Charles managed to win over Henry VIII. of England to his side. Worse still for Francis, he was betrayed in the crisis of the war by the Duke of Bourbon, the greatest of the French nobles; and his treason threw open the south-eastern approach into the heart of France. But the attack was beaten off, and in 1525, Francis I., still full of martial ambition, led a French army into Italy, hoping to repeat the triumphs which had made his name famous just ten years before. He took Milan, and he laid siege to Pavia; but then the Duke of Bourbon came up with a great army which had been raised in Germany. A furious battle followed, in which Francis I. showed no lack of personal courage, but he was utterly defeated and taken prisoner. Since the battle of Agincourt (one hundred and ten years before), no such disaster had fallen upon France.

The battle of Pavia.

Yet the disaster did not turn out so completely ruinous as had been expected. Francis I. was taken to Madrid and kept a prisoner there until he consented to sign a treaty which, if carried out, would have ruined France ; but he repudiated the treaty as soon as he was free, declaring that it had been extorted by violence, and the war went on. The principle of balance



The Capture of Francis I. at the Battle of Pavia.

(*From Joh. Ludw. Gottfried's " Historische Chronika."*)

King Francis stands over his fallen horse and still continues to fight. He subsequently surrendered to Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples.

of power turned now against Charles. He seemed so completely in the ascendant, that the other powers of Europe joined against him. France, Venice, Florence, England, were ranged against Charles, under the nominal presidency of the pope, in what is sometimes known as the Second Holy League.

The pope, Clement VII., paid quickly and dearly for the part he had played against Spain. The imperial army after the victory of Pavia remained in Italy, but it was unpaid, for

victory had brought little money into Charles's coffers. In a half mutinous condition, it resolved to pay itself by the plunder of some rich city. Florence at first was aimed at, but then it turned upon Rome; and the city, almost without a garrison, fell with hardly a struggle into the hands of the motley army of Charles. Rome never suffered so cruelly from any of the many barbarian occupations which it had suffered during the early Middle Ages. The city was systematically plundered. The pope became a prisoner in the power of Charles, and was thus made a pliant instrument of his policy.

The sack of Rome, 1527.

The sack of Rome caused a great sensation in Europe and had a great influence on the course of affairs. It is the last really important incident in the contest of France and Spain for Italy. The Reformation in Germany soon began to be the great question with which Charles V. had to deal, and his attention was in consequence chiefly directed to Germany rather than Italy. But it will be best to follow the rivalry of the two great Powers until it reaches at last a long truce in 1559.

France was exhausted and the military ambition of Francis I. was sated. While he lived there was never again much energy thrown into the war with the Empire. In 1529 he accepted a peace (the Peace of Cambrai); but new causes of quarrel soon arose, and rival claims in Italy were chiefly accountable for the renewal of the war. The most Christian King of France (for such was the official title which all Kings of France bore) allied himself with the Protestants of Germany and the Sultan of Turkey, the greatest of all "heretics," though France was at the same time persecuting Protestant heretics at home. There was no great incident, however, in the war; and, from weariness, both sides accepted the Truce of Nice in 1538. It was to have lasted at least ten years, but in four years a dispute as to the Duchy of Milan again led to a war. There was fighting of an indecisive kind. We need not follow it. The only point we need seize is that the war lacks altogether the fierce energy and the decisive events of its earlier stages, and that this was due partly to the age of the two chief combatants, but mainly to the fact that Germany

Renewal of the war.

was convulsed by the Reformation movement, and Charles had to give most of his attention there.

Francis I. died in 1547, and was succeeded by his son Henry II. The young king sought to profit by the German entanglements of his older rival and renewed the war. The French occupied Metz (the great frontier fortress in Lorraine) and Charles sent his armies against it. Success seemed certain, but the town was stubbornly defended, and the emperor's forces were beaten off. This defeat contributed to form in Charles's mind a resolve to abdicate his vast powers. Since the Roman Emperor Diocletian there had been no such notable case of any ruler willingly withdrawing himself from the burden and the glory of rule. Failing health, political and military disappointments, and a desire to see and perhaps to supervise his son's first efforts in statesmanship—all had a share in inducing him to take the step. He abdicated his imperial title in 1556, and threw off the rest of his powers piecemeal, retired to a monastery and lived there until his death in 1558. He was succeeded in the Empire by his brother Ferdinand, but his son Philip II. inherited the Spanish crown and all that belonged to it in Spain, in the Netherlands, and in the New World.

Henry II., King of France.

Philip II. inherited his father's contest with France and carried it on for a few years. But as religious questions became more and more important, this contest between the two great Catholic powers was unreasonable. Both France and Spain gained victories; and then in 1559 there came the Peace of Cateau Cambrésis which marks a really important stage in European development. The French failure in Italy stood confessed, for Spain retained in her hands both Milan and Naples. France gained on her north-eastern frontier the great fortresses of Metz, Toul, and Verdun ("The Three Bishoprics" as they were usually called). A close alliance was to take the place of the contest that had lasted for half a century; and the symbol of this alliance was to be the marriage of Philip (who had just been left free by the death of his wife Queen Mary of England) with Elizabeth the French princess.

Accession of Philip II. of Spain.

The long war had important results beyond the changes

in frontier and the transference of territory. The destinies of Italy were decided during its course; but it is most important to notice that it contributed much to the success of the Reformation movement in Germany to which we must now turn.

Machiavelli's Prince might be read here. *The French Monarchy* (1483–1789), by *A. J. Grant; Armstrong's Charles V.; Ranke's History of the Popes.*

CHAPTER VI

The Reformation in Germany

Luther denounces Indulgences	1517
Diet of Worms	1521
Battle of Mühlberg	1547
Peace of Augsburg	1555

During the latter half of the fifteenth century the Papacy had been little troubled by any dangers, whether political or doctrinal. The popes had become Italian princes; they aimed no longer at the high enterprises of Gregory VII. or Innocent III.; it might seem that the time of great religious enthusiasms had passed away. Even the first rumblings of the storm in Germany did not rouse the Papacy from its lethargy and its secular cares.

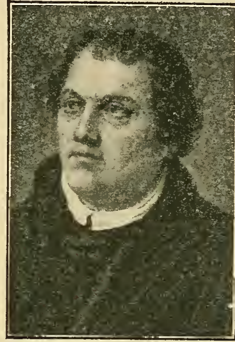
Luther came very slowly to hold those opinions whose declaration was destined to introduce a new epoch in European history. He was at first a devout friar; he studied intensely the Bible in the Vulgate Latin translation and the works of S. Augustine, which have so often led men away from the strict lines of Catholic orthodoxy. He had visited Rome in 1510, and had seen how unworthy was the life of the papal city; but it was not until 1517 that he broke out in an attack upon any part of the Catholic organization. In that year Tetzel visited Wittenberg, at the university of which town Luther was Professor of Theology, and his

Luther.

mission was to sell "indulgences" for the benefit of the building fund of St. Peter's at Rome. The theory of indulgences is an intricate one, but to Luther they seemed a shameful means of making money out of the deluded people, and a declaration that God's forgiveness could be bought for money. His spirit burnt within him, until he denounced Tetzel and his evil traffic. He nailed to the door of Wittenberg Cathedral ninety-five theses or contentions, which he was anxious to maintain against the doctrine of indulgences.

Luther in conflict with Rome.

But Luther had no idea that he was the founder of a religious movement which would introduce the greatest of all schisms into Catholic Christendom. His nature was conservative and loyal. If the Papacy had treated him with tenderness, a reconciliation was by no means out of the question. The Papacy misunderstood the situation, and demanded abject submission. Luther advanced into a more direct conflict with the traditions of the Catholic Church, until in 1520 a bull of excommunication was launched against him. But this weapon no longer produced the effect which it had done three hundred years before. Luther burnt the bull, and was henceforward in direct conflict with Rome and its organization and ideas. He was summoned next year to a Diet at Worms; but he could not be induced to recant. He had thrown down the gauntlet in a struggle far greater than he knew.



Martin Luther.

Born, 1483; denounces Tetzel, 1517; excommunicated, 1520; died, 1546.

Germany and the Reformation.

For Germany was prepared to welcome and support the new movement, not indeed universally, but with sufficient energy to give it force and permanence. If we would understand why Luther triumphed, while Wickliffe and Huss had failed, we must remember the changed conditions of the land and of the time. No general European crusade against the new opinions was possible. The

two great Catholic powers of France and the Empire were engaged in a bitter war, and were quite unable to sink their differences in order to crush Lutheranism. In Germany, too, though there was not much sign of doctrinal protest against the Papacy before Luther's time, there was widespread irritation with the papal exactions, from which Germany suffered more than any other country in Europe. The Protestant movement, then, in Germany, as elsewhere, joined itself to a striving after national independence. Consider, too, what was the political condition of Germany; how, as a result of the long contest between the Empire and the Papacy, she was utterly without real political unity or a really efficient government of any kind. Had Germany been a state in the sense in which France or Spain or England was a state, the central government would, in the end, have crushed a religious movement which it disliked. But, as we have seen, the emperor had little real authority in Germany. The real power was with the subordinate states, and many of them, for different reasons, joined themselves heartily to the Lutheran movement. Two hundred and fifty years earlier the Papacy had succeeded in breaking up the organization of the Empire, and that victory now contributed not a little to the success of the most dangerous movement that had ever threatened the papal power.

The peasants' rising in Germany.

The political disunion of Germany makes it peculiarly difficult to trace the history of the Lutheran movement, and a few years after it had begun it was complicated by a social movement of a very important kind. The peasants of Germany were still in a condition of serfdom, bound to the land, and obliged to render many servile duties to their masters. Their actual condition varied very widely. Many were, so far as their material circumstances were concerned, fairly well off. But revolutions usually come when the condition of the people is improving, and the peasants were, moreover, stirred by the preaching of the Lutheran movement, as the English peasants, in the time of Wat Tyler, were by the preaching of Wickliffe. In 1524 they broke out into a fierce revolt, demanding absolute freedom and anticipating a speedy millennium. They found resistance even fiercer than

their rising. The nobles and the empire regarded them with inevitable dislike; but their leaders had hoped for the sympathy of Luther. He feared, however, that the social movement would prejudice his own religious movement; and in the end, he attacked the peasants with cruel invective. The peasants' rising was crushed with great cruelty, and serfdom was re-established in Germany. Lutheranism could not henceforth count on the support of the peasants, and for that reason partly it drew closer to the princes and rulers of Germany.

For some years the Lutheran movement, favoured by the war of Charles with Francis, gained ground rapidly, but in 1530, Charles V. was at last free to act. He had made a temporary peace with Francis I.; his power seemed without rival in Europe; and he declared that the Lutheran sect must be extirpated. The supporters of Lutheranism had a few years before begun to use the name of Protestants, because they had protested against an earlier order of the emperor's. Now, against this threatening danger, the Protestant states joined themselves into the famous Schmalkaldic League for mutual support against imperial coercion. Had not the war with Francis been renewed, Charles would have struck an earlier blow against the Protestants; but in 1547 peace with France and the death of Francis I. gave him his opportunity. He entered Germany in 1547 with a large army, and at Mühlberg defeated the army of the Schmalkaldic League, under Prince John Frederick of Saxony. Protestant Germany seemed in the emperor's power. Charles V. was a sincere Catholic, but was too well acquainted with politics to be a fanatic, and he desired to make some peaceful religious settlement of Germany. A great Council of the Church had just been summoned, and it was hoped it would heal the new schism, as the Council of Constance had healed an earlier one. Meanwhile an arrangement should be made which all Germany should accept until the council had met and completed its deliberations. This settlement, called "the Interim," affirmed the unity of the Church under the headship of the pope, and the guardianship of the Holy Spirit, but admitted certain doctrines, such as "Justification by Faith," which were characteristic of Protestantism, while other doubtful points,

The Schmalkaldic League.

such as the marriage of the clergy, were to be left to the decisions of the great council.

Charles victorious and again defeated in Germany.

The outlook seemed very favourable to Catholicism. The Protestants seemed beaten down, and the emperor had gained a great victory. But dangerous stuff was fermenting under the surface. Germany had not forgotten the teaching of Luther, nor its national aspirations ; nor did the princes and states of Germany desire to be completely subordinated to the Empire. There were, too, individual grievances against Charles, as well as public and national ones. His own brother, Ferdinand, was quarrelling with him : and a greater and unexpected danger was the jealous ambition of Maurice of Saxony. Maurice was the most important person in Germany. He had contributed very largely to the victory of Mühlberg, and showed ability, both political and military, of a very high order. He was discontented with the results of the victory he had won ; he had hoped for the chief position in Germany, and he had not got it. So he began to intrigue on all sides ; with Henry II. King of France, with Ferdinand, the brother of Charles V., with the Protestant princes of Germany. Charles V. was an astute statesman, but he was taken by surprise by his subtle antagonist. In 1552 Maurice rose against Charles ; he seized Augsburg, and very nearly captured the emperor himself at Innsbruck. With great difficulty the emperor managed to escape into Italy. Maurice of Saxony was now, for a time, one of the greatest figures in Europe. But he died in 1553, before his schemes had clearly defined themselves.

The Peace of Augsburg.

Had Charles V. possessed the energy and elasticity of his youth he might now have made a determined effort to retrieve his position. But he was feeling old, and fortune, as he said, forsook old men. He made a half-hearted attempt to coerce Germany, and then, in 1555, called a Diet at Augsburg, and accepted the Peace of Augsburg. This peace brings to an end the first phase of the Reformation movement in Germany, and it contains the seeds out of which later troubles sprang. Its conditions must therefore be examined.

First, in matters of religion, each state of the Empire was

to decide for itself. "Cujus regio ejus religio" was the maxim adopted; that is, the government of each state should decide the faith of that state. There were thus to be Catholic and Protestant states; but no religious toleration inside each state. Further, Lutheranism was the only form of Protestantism which was recognized. Calvinism had already become a serious competitor for the allegiance of Protestants, but its existence was ignored by the Peace of Augsburg.

Its terms.

Next, there was the question of property. Great ecclesiastical properties had been secularized, that is, seized by secular powers during the late trouble. Were these to be restored to the Church to which they had originally belonged or not? It was decided that a line should be drawn at the year 1552. All Church property secularized before that date should remain in lay hands, but the rest should be restored to the Church.

So Germany had rest for a time. But neither on the religious nor on the political side, could the Peace of Augsburg be regarded as final. There were still religious enthusiasms and passions, political ambitions and antipathies unsatisfied. Thus the troubles that sprung from the Reformation were by no means over for Germany. Germany ceases for a time to be the great arena of the religious struggle; but half a century later it broke out there in the most terrible form that Europe has known.

Köstlin's Luther; Haüsser's Age of the Reformation; Henderson's History of Germany. The Roman Catholic view of the Reformation will be found in *Janssen's History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages.*

CHAPTER VII

Religious Movements in Europe in the Latter Half of the Sixteenth Century

Calvin goes to Geneva	1536
The Jesuit Order founded	1540
End of the Council of Trent	1563

The second half of the sixteenth century was profoundly influenced by the religious parties of the time. The wars and the politics of the age do not indeed spring solely from religious controversies; but they are influenced by them at every turn. We must, therefore, cast a glance at the chief religious groups, at the beliefs they held, the policies they followed, and the methods they employed. We will look first at the Protestant side.

Characteristics of Lutheranism.

We have already seen something of the rise and spread of Lutheranism. Of all the forms of Protestantism which were known on the continent of Europe (omitting that of the reformed English Church as it was organized by Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth), Lutheranism was the most conservative. Luther looked with sympathy upon the traditions of Christendom, and it was only the progress of the struggle that had induced him to take up a position so decidedly antagonistic to all that belonged to Rome. On the crucial question of the nature of the Eucharist, he rejected the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, but held by what he called consubstantiation. He denied that the bread and wine of the communion were in very fact the body and blood of Christ, but he rejected also the view that the communion was a simply commemorative ceremony. Alongside of the bread and wine he believed that the Divine substance existed "as fire enters into the substance of iron"; and this he called consubstantiation. The extremer Protestants soon came to reject this doctrine, almost as decisively as transubstantiation. Another characteristic feature of Lutheranism is its reliance on the power of the State. Luther himself

was full of a sense of subordination to the established powers, and the Lutheran Churches in Germany were put under State protection and State control. Soon after Luther's death, Lutheranism was accused of lifelessness; and energy and initiative had passed over to its rivals in the Protestant camp.

Zwingli.

The first of these rivals in point of time was the system which was established under Zwingli's guidance in the Swiss Confederation. But though the Zwinglian movement is interesting, its direct influence was confined to Switzerland, and thus it hardly claims notice here. Zwinglianism was for the most part a franker, more independent, more democratic form of Lutheranism.

John Calvin.

Born, 1509; settled in Geneva, 1536; died, 1564.

Calvin and his influence.

Far greater is the importance of Calvinism, which after the middle of the century becomes clearly the guiding and aggressive force on the Protestant side. Calvin was a Frenchman, born in Picardy in the north of France, and destined at first by his parents for a lucrative post in the service of the Catholic Church. But he turned from a clerical to a legal career, and while he was pursuing his legal studies at Orleans he embraced Protestant opinions. Then as the government of France was pressing heavily on Protestants, he left the country, and after some time spent among the Protestant communities on the banks of the Rhine, he came and settled at Geneva; and, not without a struggle, became the religious dictator of that city.

The system that he founded became for a century the strongest influence on the Protestantism of Europe. As the

energy of Lutheranism declined, Calvinism took its place as the representative of Protestant belief in its strongest and most definite form. Calvin himself is a great contrast to Luther. Luther was passionate, emotional, and deficient in logical power. With Calvin all was will and logic; the human feelings counted for little in his life and in his religious system. In 1536, before he came to Geneva, he had written the "Institutes of the Christian Religion," and the work, afterwards much expanded, became the foundation of Calvinist doctrine and discipline.

By what characteristics was Calvinism distinguished from Lutheranism? By the logical completeness of its doctrine, in the first place. It started from much the same point as Luther had done; but the system was more thorough-going and there was less desire to conciliate any who still looked at Catholicism with affection. Luther's consubstantiation was rejected equally with Catholic transubtantiation. The communion became a commemorative ceremony by means of which special grace was bestowed. Predestination, or the doctrine of necessity, was the very basis of Calvin's whole system. This was no new doctrine; it was as old as Christianity itself; but it received at Calvin's hands its completest and hardest definition. Next, Calvin's system was distinguished by a special system of Church government. The Church was to be independent of the State, not clinging to it for protection, as was the case with Lutheranism in Germany. The affairs of each Church were to be ruled, not by bishops, but by a body consisting of pastors and laymen, elected by the congregation itself. The democratic element thus entered into Church government; and from the Church passed into the State. Wherever in the sixteenth century Calvinism was strong, it was associated with a movement for political liberty; this was the case in England, Scotland, Holland, and France, as well as in Switzerland. Lastly, Calvinism insisted on the need of a strict moral discipline. Protestantism had sometimes been accused of loosening the sense of moral obligation; but Calvinism erected and enforced a system of rigid morality and manners. The dress, the table, the private habits, as well as

Characteristics of Calvinism.

Calvin's system of Church government.

the morals, of the people of Geneva were placed under strict supervision; and, if a gloomy life and ultimately some hypocrisy was the result of this, it acted at first as a most stimulating discipline, whereby the strongest fighters on the Protestant side were prepared for action.

While we are speaking of the different currents of belief which moved in sixteenth-century Europe, it will be well also to note that there was an intellectual movement, small but important, which cannot properly be classed with either of the religious camps. There were a number of men in Europe, thinkers and writers, who were at variance with the views of Catholicism, and yet were unable to accept Protestantism in any of its forms. These men, who are often called Humanists, are represented by such men as Erasmus, the great Dutch scholar, and Rabelais and Montaigne in France. Their aim was not theological reform so much as learning, enlightenment, and the service of humanity at large. Their following was not large; but they had a great influence on the future.

The Humanists of the sixteenth century.

Erasmus.

Born, 1467; visited England, 1497; published his New Testament, 1516; died, 1536.

If we turn to the Catholic camp we find there also important changes. The Papacy at first had looked on at the Reformation movement with little alarm. But when England, Scotland, Holland, and Germany had fallen away, when Protestantism was gaining ground rapidly in France, and there was danger of Venice even falling away from the Roman allegiance, then the Church was awakened from its torpor, and it began to organize its forces to resist this danger which had grown so surprisingly. This whole movement of reorganization is what is known as the Catholic reaction or the counter-Reformation.

The Counter-Reformation.

The first great instrument of this new movement was the Jesuit order, or the Company of Jesus, as it was officially styled. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, was a Spanish nobleman who had been incapacitated by a wound from further military service (1521). He dreamed then of transferring his military ardour from temporal to spiritual warfare. He meditated long; he studied, at the University of Paris and elsewhere; he turned over various plans in his mind. But the upshot was that he proposed to found a new religious order, to be known as the Company of Jesus; and in 1540 his proposal received the sanction of Pope Paul III.

The Jesuits.

The Church had often before had recourse to the foundation of a new order in moments of crisis and danger. We have seen how great a service the Cluniac and Cistercian orders had rendered to the Church, how effectively the Franciscans and Dominicans had laboured for her. It was natural, therefore, that, in face of the great Protestant danger, a new order should rise up to defend the Church. To combat Protestantism was the especial mission of the "Company of Jesus." The Jesuits had some resemblance to the Dominicans, and yet there was great originality in their organization and their methods. They existed for action, not for contemplation. They wore no special dress; they were to mix with the world in various ways; but always they were to have in view the defence and propagation of the Church. Like the members of other orders, they took the vows of obedience and of separation from earthly ties; but, unlike earlier orders, they discouraged the practice of excessive asceticism. A special feature of their work was their attention to education and learning. The New Learning had hitherto been chiefly used by the opponents of the Church. But the Jesuits saw that it could equally well be used in its defence; and soon the schools and universities of all Catholic countries were mastered by Jesuit influence. But no analysis of their organization and their aims is sufficient to account for their success. They were inspired, at least during the first generations of the order's existence, with a fiery and self-sacrificing zeal, which was

Objects and organization of the Jesuits.

at least the equal of that which Lutherans and Calvinists displayed on the other side. No body of men contributed so much to the recovery of Catholicism as the members of the Society of Jesus.

The work of the Council of Trent was another great force that worked for a revival of Catholicism. The Emperor Charles V. had from the first desired that the questions at issue between Catholicism and Protestantism should be submitted to a Council of the whole Christian world; and at last the Papacy had summoned a Council to meet at Trent (a town within the German Empire, though on the southern slopes of the Alps, and geographically in Italy). The sessions of the Council were chiefly attended by Italian clergy; they were often interrupted by war and plague; but at last, in 1563, they brought their sessions and their work to an end. The modern Roman Catholic Church is largely the result of their deliberations.

The Council of Trent.

What is the general result of the conclusions to which they came? The Papacy gained a great victory. If the Council of Constance had deposed the papal monarchy in favour of an episcopal aristocracy, the Council of Trent restored the monarchical control of the Papacy. The authority of the pope was declared superior to that of councils. Further, Charles V.'s hopes of a reconciliation with Protestantism were utterly disappointed. The exclusive authority of the Scriptures and the doctrine of "justification by faith" were both rejected, to the regret of some prominent Churchmen who took part in the debates. The celibacy of the clergy was insisted on: the Protestant demand that the laity as well as the clergy should partake of both bread and wine in the Eucharist was rejected. Further, a series of measures was adopted for the reform of the morals of the Church, the strengthening of discipline, and the removal of abuses. So the Church came from the Council of Trent purified, strengthened by a better organization, but more rigid and exclusive in doctrine than before, and destined never again to be the Church of more than a section of Western Christendom.

Results of its work.

To this period also belongs a further development in the

tribunal of the Inquisition. The Church of the Middle Ages had had an organization for detecting and punishing heresy, and no theologian had ever questioned the duty of the Church to punish it. Late in the fifteenth century (1483) a special form of inquisition had been adopted by Spain for the persecution of Moors and Jews. Now, in 1542, the supreme tribunal of the Inquisition was organized by the pope for dealing with the Protestant heresy; but it could only be introduced into any state by permission of the rulers of that state, and it was never admitted into some Catholic states, as, for instance, France.

The Inquisition.

Its procedure and its penalties were much like those of some contemporary secular tribunals. It arrested on suspicion; it used torture to force confession; it did not confront the accused with his accusers; it allowed no appeal except to the pope. When the accused was found guilty, he was handed over to the State for punishment.

Procedure and influence of the Inquisition.

The Inquisition worked with terrible severity wherever it was permitted to assume authority. Its victims were numbered by thousands. But it was of no real service to the cause of the Church. Rather it exasperated Protestant hostility; gave its opponents the courage of despair, and did more than anything else to make conciliation between the opposing camps impossible.

Ranke's History of the Popes (see also Macaulay's paradoxical essay on the book); *Johnson's Europe in the Sixteenth Century; Dyer's Life of Calvin; Froude's Lectures on the Council of Trent.*

CHAPTER VIII

The Rise of the United Netherlands

Alva arrives in the Netherlands 1567
The "Water-Beggars" seize Brill . . . 1572
Union of Utrecht 1579
Assassination of William the Silent . . . 1584
Truce between the United Netherlands and Spain } 1609

The era of the Reformation brought a political transformation into most European countries. Germany, France, Spain, England—all passed through a convulsion that left them with changed forces, their alliances altered, their aims and policy profoundly modified. And during this same period a new state emerges, small but strong, and destined for the next two hundred years to be one of the most progressive and influential states of Europe. This new state is properly called "the United Netherlands," though it is sometimes loosely spoken of as the Dutch Republic, and even (though very incorrectly) as Holland.

The Netherlands.

We have seen how the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands had come into the possession of the Spanish crown by the marriage of Mary of Burgundy with the Emperor Maximilian, who was the grandfather of the Emperor Charles V., and thus the great-grandfather of Philip II. of Spain. The seventeen states had each a separate constitution, and they varied considerably in social and political character. The difference between the seven northern and the ten southern states ultimately had a great influence on their history. The northern states were more democratic in character, active in commerce and industry, and had adopted Protestantism in its Calvinist form ; while the southern states were of an aristocratic type, and strongly Catholic.

The Netherlands, as a whole, had been of the utmost service to Spain. Despite occasional friction, they were generally loyal, and their thriving industry and commerce had made

them a more profitable source of income to Spain than the mines of Peru and Mexico. The inhabitants were proud and independent in character, and antipathetic in some respects to Spain; but under Charles V. the connection had been easily maintained, and on the accession of Philip II. they were his most valuable possession.

Philip II. possessed none of the tact of his father. He was a thorough-going Spaniard in all his ways and ideas, and his absolute and uncompromising nature soon brought Spain into a conflict with the Netherlands which lasted longer than his own life. The general aim of Philip—an aim which seemed to him dictated by duty—was to establish absolutism, both political and religious, through all his dominions, to reassert everywhere the Roman Catholic Church against Protestant dissidence, and to destroy, throughout all lands which owned his sway, the principle of liberty and self-government.

Policy of Philip II.

It was his religious policy which first brought him into trouble with the Netherlands; but the religious question there, as everywhere else, was now closely connected with political aspirations. The Netherlands were in a dangerous condition of unrest. It is probable that tact and compromise could have regained the recalcitrant states to loyalty and submission; but Philip determined on the most forcible measures of repression. A great Spanish general, the Duke of Alva, with one of the best-equipped armies that Europe had ever seen, was sent to enforce the will of the king in the seventeen states (1567). Both the general and his royal master were confident that a short campaign and a small expense would reduce this land of merchants and shopkeepers.

For some time no effective resistance was offered. The Netherlanders were beaten wherever they ventured to fight. Alva established a new Court, "the Council of Troubles" (which was called by its enemies "the Council of Blood"), to try all cases of treason against Spain. Its summary methods and cruel punishments spread a reign of terror throughout the land. By 1569 all opposition to the Spanish *régime* seemed at an end. But then Alva proceeded to impose taxes so heavy and so unwisely arranged, that if they

Alva and the Netherlands.

had been submitted to, they seemed likely to kill the commerce which was the source of all the wealth of the land. The new taxes raised a more dangerous opposition than the Council of Blood.

A large number of the inhabitants had been driven into flight by Alva's repressive measures; many of them had taken to a life of piracy, and were called in derision "the Water-Beggars." In 1572 a squadron of their vessels appeared off the mouths of the Rhine and Scheldt, and succeeded in capturing the important fortresses of Brill, Flushing, and Enkhuisen. It seemed as though it were merely a surprise which Alva would soon be able to get the better of. But the country was seething with discontent, and this rebellion was destined to destroy the prestige and power of Spain in a war that lasted nearly forty years. The rebels invited William of Orange—famed for all time as "William the Silent"—to take command of their forces. He had already fought against Alva without success, and had fled into Germany. But now he threw himself again into the contest, and his courage and tenacity of purpose, his diplomatic skill, his unselfishness and warm humanity, make him the one great heroic figure in the political history of the sixteenth century.

The Water-Beggars.

William the Silent.

Success seemed at first impossible, for a handful of untrained soldiers had to oppose the whole might of the greatest military monarchy of the age. William's genius and the tenacious courage of the Dutch could not by themselves have achieved success; but the canals and the proximity of the sea made the country easily defensible, for again and again the dykes were cut and the sea was allowed to flood the country in order to drive out the Spaniards. Spain, too, was not so strong as she seemed. Her soldiers were unsurpassed in Europe, and remained generally victorious until the end of the war; but her finances were exhausted and her troops in consequence often unpaid. Spain, too, had serious occupations in every part of Europe, and before the end of the Dutch struggle was at war with both France and England. Thus it was that in the end the heroic endurance of the Dutch, inspired and strengthened by their grim and intense Calvinism,

Nature of the struggle with Spain.

succeeded in tearing a portion of the Netherlands from Spain, and established it as an independent state.

William the Silent.

Born, 1533; flees from Netherlands, 1567; negotiated Union of Utrecht, 1579; assassinated, 1584.

The war was largely one of sieges, for it was only behind walls that the Dutch could struggle with any chance of success against Spain. Their first important success was in 1574, when

Leyden, after a heroic defence, was saved by the cutting of the dykes and the letting in of the ocean. William the Silent showed great skill in directing the military operations, but his greatest gifts were those of a statesman and diplomatist. In 1576 came his greatest triumph. He induced the southern states to join hands with the northern, and by the "Pacification of Ghent" to join together for the expulsion of the Spaniard and the establishment of some form of self-government. If that agreement had been kept the struggle would have been shorter, and the success of the insurgents greater than it was. But there was real difference of feeling and interest between the northern and southern states; and these differences were skilfully worked on by Alexander of Parma, the great Spanish general, who commanded in the Netherlands. In 1579, William the Silent had to recognize that the union of all the states was an impossible dream, and there was formed instead the "Union of Utrecht," whereby the seven northern Protestant states bound themselves together to prosecute the war, and at the same time accept a common form of government. This government has a great interest, for it was the first federal government of modern history. Each of the seven states was to manage its own domestic affairs, but to submit its foreign and military policy to a common government. It is thus the forerunner of the constitution of the United States of America.

Course of the struggle.

After this the struggle grew even more bitter than before. A reward was offered for the assassination of William; and the United Netherlands (for so the seven states were now called) at last renounced all allegiance to Philip of Spain. In 1584 the last of several attempts on William's life was successful, and the United Netherlands had to struggle on without his firm guidance. Alone they could hardly hope to survive. Before his death William had been eagerly negotiating for an alliance with France or England; but Elizabeth of England refused his overtures, and though help had come from France, it had been of little real use to the United Netherlands. After William's death foreign help was more necessary than ever; and at last Elizabeth consented to send help, though she sent it grudgingly

Assassination of William the Silent.

and in insufficient force. The result, however, of England's assistance was that the long-threatening war between England and Spain at last came to a fierce outbreak. The Armada was despatched in 1588, and its defeat by the English gunners and its destruction by the winds and waves of the Atlantic were a great relief to the hard-pressed Netherlanders.

Help from England.

The defeat of the Armada did not by any means end the war; but never again were the United Netherlands in danger of utter destruction. Spain, henceforth, was fighting hard against both England and France, and could not find a sufficient army to cope with the heroic and now self-confident Dutch. On their side, too, a great soldier had appeared, Prince Maurice, the son of William the Silent. In 1597 he gained against the Spaniards the great battle of Turnhout. The Dutch navy, meanwhile, had established an unquestioned supremacy over that of Spain; and while Spain was bleeding to death in consequence of her many wars and her mistaken financial policy, the commerce of the Netherlands was rapidly strengthening and advancing.

End of the war.

Queen Elizabeth.

At last the Spaniards, as tenacious as the Dutch themselves, had to acknowledge defeat. Even so, they were not willing to recognize at once the independence and separate political existence of the United Netherlands. But in 1609 they made a truce for twelve years. At the end of the truce the war was renewed, but not with the former energy. Dutch independence was safe. The power of Spain was

Peace at last.

sinking. What she had failed to accomplish in 1572 there was never again any likelihood of her being able to accomplish.

The importance of these events can hardly be exaggerated. The Catholic reaction and the power of Spain had received in them a very severe defeat. But, more important than that, a state of a new type had emerged, founded upon the ideas of religious and political liberty; and this state was for the seventeenth century the most progressive state in Europe. When despotism triumphed in England and in France, the champions of liberty found an asylum in Holland. The absolutism of Louis XIV. of France saw in the United Netherlands an enemy that must be overthrown at all costs; and had it not been for the United Netherlands the Revolution of 1688 in England could hardly have taken place.

Importance of the Dutch Republic.

Motley's Rise of the Dutch Republic and History of the United Netherlands. Frederic Harrison's William the Silent (Foreign Statesmen) is an admirable account of the life and time of its subject.

CHAPTER IX

France during the Era of the Reformation

States General called	1560
Massacre of St. Bartholomew	1572
Assassination of Henry III.	1589
Battle of Ivry	1590
Edict of Nantes	1598
Assassination of Henry IV.	1610

Francis I. during his long rivalry with Charles V. had at times entered into alliance with the Protestants of Germany, and it was at one time hoped that he would prove the protector and supporter of "reformed" opinions in France—would, in fact, play in France the part that Henry VIII. played in England. But this was far from being the case. After the battle of Pavia he desired the support

Francis I. and Protestantism.

of the pope and the clergy, and he had to purchase it by measures of repression against the "heretics" of France. His measures of persecution had been carried on and intensified by Henry II.

In spite of all, Protestantism had grown strong in France. It had appeared at first as Lutheranism; but that form of Protestantism rarely flourished strongly outside of Germany. Lutheranism was soon superseded by Calvinism, whose severe and logical character seemed better to suit the French temperament. By 1560 Calvinism was a really serious force in France, and the French Calvinists received the nickname of Huguenots—a word of obscure origin. Protestantism in France had certain noteworthy characteristics. It found its chief support in the south and west, though Protestantism as a rule has been the faith of the northern nations of Europe. And it is, above all, important to observe how largely Calvinism found favour with the nobles of France. Its earliest professors and martyrs were drawn from the ranks of the middle and industrial classes; but during the latter half of the century it found its chief support among the aristocracy. The truth is that in France, as elsewhere, the Reformation movement stood in close relation to preceding political and social struggles. The nobles had fought against the supremacy of the crown, and had been defeated. They saw in the new religious movement a chance of renewing the struggle in a different form. And thus the Protestant movement in France more than elsewhere in Europe (except, perhaps, in Scotland) bore a strongly marked political character; and many of its aristocratic champions were self-seeking and hypocritical in their religious pretensions. This is, however, by no means true of all. European Protestantism produced few nobler figures than Coligny, the leader and the martyr of French Protestantism.

Calvinism in France.

Coligny.

Upon the death of Henry II. in 1559 the crown passed to his son, Francis II. But all the children that his wife Catherine de' Medici had borne to him seem to have been feeble in body and mind, and though three in succession—Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III.—came to the throne, it was really their mother who ruled

Catherine de' Medici and her children.

for them. Catherine de' Medici had been neglected by her husband, and she gladly seized the opportunity of satisfying her ambition. Her name is one of the most bitterly execrated in history; but her policy and character have often been misrepresented. She was far from being a religious fanatic; rather, she treated the religious controversies of her day with Italian levity and detachment of mind. Her aim was to avoid religious warfare, and, when it broke out, to bring it to an end, and thus to maintain the unity and the strength of France. We must sympathize with some of her aims; but her career was blackened and ruined by an absence of all scruple and a readiness to seize any means to serve her egotistic purposes. Machiavelli, the Florentine writer, had asserted that a ruler was not bound by the ordinary laws of morality; and, though many statesmen of the age seemed to act on these principles, none did so more clearly than this Florentine lady who had in an evil hour become Queen of France.

States-General summoned.

The government of France was weak, and as a result a meeting of the States-General was called in 1560. The States-General were, as we have seen, a body representative of the three "estates" of France—the clergy, the nobility, and the commons. But, in fact, it was the nobility that had the chief influence; and the meeting of 1560 represented chiefly the desires and aspirations of the French nobility. They demanded religious toleration, regular meetings of the States-General, and confiscation of Church property. The government of France could consent to none of these, and its refusal led soon to civil war.

Protestant and Catholic leaders.

On the Protestant side the chief figures were the house of Bourbon represented by the vacillating King of Navarre and his brother, the Duke of Condé; it was the son of the first named, Henry of Navarre, who was finally carried to the throne by the civil war. Of far nobler nature was the Châtillon family, whose chief representative, Admiral Coligny, has already been mentioned. Upon the Catholic side the chief influence lay, not with any member of the royal house, but with the noble family of the Guises. They were related by marriage with the royal house, and were regarded by the party of the Catholic reaction as their

leaders. At first it was on Francis, Duke of Guise, that all Catholic eyes were fixed ; at his death his son Henry was their leader. His position seemed to give him a chance of gaining the throne of France, and led him actually to a violent death at the hands of the King of France. Standing between Catholics and Protestants must be mentioned the Chancellor L'Hôpital, who represents the noblest humanist spirit of the age, and who struggled, and struggled in vain, to find some basis of reconciliation for Catholics and Protestants.

The civil war: its character.

The civil war broke out in 1562, and lasted with some interruptions but no real peace for thirty-eight years. Next to the Thirty Years' War in Germany, which will be dealt with in the next chapter, it was the most evil and destructive war that the Reformation period produced. It is a peculiarly difficult war to follow, for the fighting was desultory and the confusion almost universal. It will be enough for our purpose to note the decisive incidents, and to summarize the results of the struggle.

The crisis of 1572.

Between 1562 and 1570 three wars are reckoned by the historians. The Huguenots fought stubbornly, but usually got the worst of it. A peace was patched up in 1570 (the Peace of S. Germains), and to many it seemed that it would be a permanent peace, which would coincide with great European changes. The reigning king was Charles IX., and he seemed to be growing weary of the influence which his mother, Catherine de' Medici, exercised on the policy of France. To him, as to most thinking men, it was evident that the result of these civil wars was to depress the power and influence of France, and consequently to exalt that of her great European rival, Spain. So Charles IX. drew near to Coligny, the leader of the Protestants, and it seemed that under his influence a permanent religious peace might be established in Europe, France might join hands with England's queen and the rebels against Spain in the Netherlands, and strike a decisive blow against Spain and the Catholic reaction. Europe has had no more critical year than 1572, when it seemed that these great schemes would be carried into execution.

There came instead the Massacre of S. Bartholomew.

It was no deep-laid scheme, and Charles IX. was not a hypocrite in his professions. Rather is it to be ascribed to the determination of Catherine de' Medici and Henry of Guise to regain, by whatever means, the power which seemed slipping from their grasp. Coligny was murdered, and with him thousands of Huguenots in Paris and the country. It seemed for the moment that Calvinism was destroyed in France ; but the massacre proved to be, not only a crime, but a blunder. Protestant hopes in Europe had, indeed, received a heavy blow, and the Huguenots of France had suffered cruelly, but there were enough left to struggle on with the energy of despair. The religious wars at once began again, and, with no real intervals of peace, lasted yet for over twenty years. In 1574 Charles IX. died, and was succeeded by his brother, Henry III., who had won some reputation as a soldier in his youth. But he had developed into a superstitious voluptuary, and he was soon almost equally distrusted by both parties.

The Massacre of S. Bartholomew.

During these later stages the war assumed a somewhat different character. Calvinists still opposed Catholics, and theological differences still gave rise to the most violent passions. But the Huguenots had now to abandon the hope of conquering by their unaided forces, and they looked round for allies among the more moderate section of the Catholics. There thus grew up the party called the "Politiques," consisting of men who, whether Catholic or Protestant, put political considerations before theological, and aimed at a real union of all classes in France on a basis of religious toleration. Note, too, that their general political theories were almost the opposite of those with which the Calvinists had begun the war. They supported now extreme doctrines of the royal authority, whereas in 1562 they had fought against royal absolutism, and had tried to substitute for it government by the representative States-General. The explanation of this change is easily discovered. Henry III. was childless, and so was his brother, the Duke of Anjou. When these two died, and their health did not promise them a long life, the next claimant to the throne was Henry of Navarre, a Protestant, and the leader of the

Rise of the Politique party.

Huguenot and "politique" party. Thus the success of the Protestant cause in France seemed bound up with the claims of strict hereditary succession.

While the Protestants had thus made alliance with the Politiques, and supported the absolute claims of the crown, the Catholic party had undergone an opposite transformation. They repudiated hereditary right and supported the claim of the States-General; they declared that no heretic had any claim to the throne of France, and they were ready to join in alliance with Spain, the great enemy of France, or even to declare themselves subjects of Spain, if thus they could maintain the supremacy of Catholic orthodoxy. Their organization was known as the "Holy League," and was largely under the influence of the Jesuits. When in 1584 the Duke of Anjou died, the question of the succession became an urgent one. An elderly prince of the royal family, Cardinal Bourbon, was adopted by the Holy League as their nominal candidate, but, in fact, some supported the claims of Henry of Guise, and others those of Philip II. of Spain.

The Holy League.

Now French history becomes a scene of furious confusion. The king, Henry III., though a Catholic and one of the chief agents of the Bartholomew massacre, was offended by the anti-royalist tone of the Holy League, and regarded Henry of Guise with wild jealousy. This was increased by what is known as the Day of the Barricades in 1588, when Paris rose in support of Henry of Guise, and drove King Henry, in terror of his life, from his own capital. The king's position was most difficult. He was suspected and powerless in the camp of the Holy League, and it was Henry of Guise who really reigned in their hearts. Assassination suggested itself as a remedy to this true son of Catherine de' Medici, and at Christmas of the year 1588 he had Henry of Guise murdered.

Henry III.'s opposition to the Holy League.

But his position in the Holy League was not thereby improved. Rather he was regarded by all zealous Catholics as the declared enemy of their cause. To whom could he look for help? He was forced by the pressure of circumstances to turn to his great rival, Henry of Navarre, to recognize his claim

Henry III. allies himself with Henry of Navarre.

to the succession, and to promise religious toleration for Huguenots. The principal author of the S. Bartholomew Massacre adopted the language of a William the Silent or L'Hôpital, and spoke of the wickedness of forcing the consciences of men.

Assassination of Henry III.

This strange alliance gave the two Henrys overwhelming military strength, and it seemed that, in 1589, the Holy League would be utterly crushed. Paris, indeed, held out for the League; but the king and Henry of Navarre laid siege to Paris, and it seemed that the city would soon be forced to surrender through starvation. But religious fanaticism was at fever heat in Paris, and a friar made his way into the camp of the besiegers and stabbed Henry III. His death produced an instant change in the situation. Many who had served Henry III. because he was a Catholic and the legitimate King of France by hereditary right, now refused to follow the standard of the heretical Henry of Navarre. The siege of Paris had to be abandoned, and Henry of Navarre was again an adventurer fighting for the crown.

Henry of Navarre fails to conquer France.

During the next two years he fought with a courage and audacity and success that endeared his name to Frenchmen. In 1590 he won the battle of Ivry, and pressed hard upon Paris. Again the city was reduced to the extremity of famine, and seemed certain to fall; and, if Henry gained Paris, he would gain France. But again Paris was saved. The Holy League was now in close alliance with Spain. A Spanish army marched into France from the Netherlands under the command of the great Duke of Parma, and relieved Paris. Henry had meantime entered into an alliance with Elizabeth of England; but, even with English help, it seemed that he could not win the crown of France by his sword alone.

The conversion of Henry of Navarre.

Another way had for some years been suggested. If he were to declare himself a Catholic, all resistance would collapse, and the vast majority even of Catholic Frenchmen would readily obey a king whose personal gallantry and genial humanity had become a proverb in France. Henry debated the question long and

carefully, looking at it chiefly from the political point of view, for his theological convictions had no very strong hold upon his conscience. At last he determined to make "the great plunge." Paris seemed to him "well worth a mass." He was instructed in the Catholic faith; declared himself convinced, and went to mass on July 25, 1593. The anticipated results were not slow to follow. Town after town surrendered into his hands. Next year he entered Paris, and soon could boast that he reigned over a united people.

The kingdom which he had thus won was torn with the effects of a thirty years' civil war; and difficulties had to be faced on every side. France was at war with Spain; the Huguenots were discontented; the nobles were inclined to be rebellious; the finances of the country were in almost hopeless confusion. Henry IV. (for such was his title now) faced all these difficulties with courage and a large measure of success.

The condition of France.

Spain was less dangerous than she seemed; her resources were utterly exhausted, and the country was rapidly sinking from the position of importance which it had held for two centuries among the nations of Europe. The disorders of France had allowed Spain to win some successes, but when Henry devoted his undivided attention to the war, it was soon over. In 1598 he forced Spain to accept the Peace of Vervins. In the same year Philip II. died. Few rulers have entertained greater or more ambitious projects; but he had accomplished hardly any of his schemes. The united Netherlands were practically independent; England was triumphant at sea; Protestantism was vigorous and victorious in Northern Europe; Spain herself was, in spite of or because of her vast empire, poor and exhausted. The annexation of Portugal was his only considerable success; and that has not proved permanent.

The war with Spain.

As soon as peace was in sight, Henry turned to the question of the Huguenots. They were indignant to see the prince, for whom they had fought so long and so stubbornly, reigning as a Catholic king, and giving his chief confidence to his new co-religionists. Their discontent might not impossibly issue in civil war. But in

The Edict of Nantes.

1598 Henry IV. issued the great Edict of Nantes, by which freedom of worship was given to the Huguenots, and they were put on an equality with the Catholics for all careers both civil and military. And, in order to show them that this religious equality was to be a genuine measure, they were allowed to garrison certain towns with exclusively Protestant troops, and to have law cases tried by tribunals containing both Protestant and Catholic judges. It was a glorious measure. No other country in Europe gave such favourable terms to religious dissidents. Roman Catholics in England did not enjoy such a position for nearly two centuries and a half. The privileges granted to the Protestants were, indeed, so great as to be dangerous to them. They became an object of jealousy and fear; and in less than a century the edict was withdrawn, to the infinite loss of France.

The financial and domestic reforms of Henry IV. were less decisive. He was determined to develop the power of the monarchy, and all representative institutions were depressed or neglected. His minister, Sully, did much for the finances and agriculture of France. But much remained to be done when, in 1610, Henry was assassinated as he was about to set out to take part in a war which threatened to break out in Germany.

Domestic reforms.

Histories of France as before. *Willert's Henry of Navarre* (Heroes of the Nations); *Baird's Rise of the Huguenots.*

CHAPTER X

The Thirty Years' War in Germany

Beginning of the struggle in Bohemia . .	1618
Edict of Restitution	1629
Battle of Breitenfeld	1631
Battle of Lützen	1632
Peace of Westphalia	1648

We have not devoted attention to the affairs of Germany since the Peace of Augsburg (1555). We saw that the terms of that peace made it clear that the efforts of the Emperor to reimpose

Catholicism on all Germany, even in a modified form, had failed. Each of the many sovereign states of Germany was left to take its own line in religious matters. The peace was a mere breathing-space. None of the pressing questions had been settled.

It is easy to see what were the chief causes of the great conflagration which was to afflict Germany for thirty years.

Cause of the Thirty Years' War.

The Peace of Augsburg had extended toleration to Lutherans alone; and since the peace, Calvinism had gained a very strong hold on Germany. The Elector Palatine and the Elector of Brandenburg were Calvinists, and they were important forces in Germany. What was to be the position of these Calvinist states in the Germany of the future? Next, the Peace of Augsburg had laid it down that all ecclesiastical states (and they were many and powerful in Germany), which had become Protestant before 1552, should remain so, but that no conversions after 1552 could be recognized. Now since 1552, eight bishoprics had become Protestant. According to the Treaty of Augsburg, they should have been handed over to Catholic rulers, but they were in fact possessed by Protestant and secular rulers in defiance of the stipulations of the peace.

But there were other causes independent of the Peace of Augsburg. Since 1555 the Catholic reaction had spread and

The Catholic reaction in Germany.

achieved extraordinary success in Germany. The preaching of the Jesuits and the activity of the Inquisition had completely expelled Protestantism from Austria, Bavaria, and the neighbouring kingdom of Poland. These and other victories raised the hopes of Catholicism once more. It seemed possible that in Germany, the original home of Protestantism, it might be utterly destroyed and that the whole country might return to the Roman obedience. Maximilian of Bavaria, and Ferdinand of Austria, soon to be emperor, were warm supporters of Catholicism in its new and aggressive phase. And while Catholicism was thus confident, the Protestant enthusiasm had notably cooled. The Protestant outlook was unquestionably dark.

The Thirty Years' War did not spring wholly from religious causes. It was also a great effort on the part of the

Empire to reassert its authority in Germany; to counteract the political disintegration that had gone on in the organization of the Empire since the thirteenth century; and to make the Emperor the real ruler and not merely the titular head of all German states.

Political ambitions of the Emperor.

Thus, though the course of the struggle is difficult and obscure, the issues at stake are plain.

Bohemia had been the scene of fierce anti-Catholic movements long before the Reformation, and Protestant opinions had a strong hold there, especially among the nobles. In 1618 the long smouldering fires broke into flame. Ferdinand of Austria, the future Emperor, and a strong supporter of the Catholic Reaction, had been elected King. But when, in defiance of imperial promises, he proceeded to demolish Protestant churches he encountered strong opposition. There was fierce rioting in Prague which led to the outbreak of war between Protestant Bohemia and the forces of Catholicism and the Empire. Without help the Bohemian Lutherans could not hope to maintain their cause. They appealed in vain to the Lutheran Elector of Saxony, but at last prevailed upon Frederick, the Elector Palatine, a Calvinist, to accept the Bohemian crown and champion their cause. But he had neither the character nor the power to carry through the enterprise to a successful issue. By 1622 the imperial forces had not only triumphed in Bohemia, but had driven the Elector Palatine from all his territories in the upper and lower Palatinate. It was a great victory for the forces of Catholicism and the Empire, and seemed to promise still greater.

The first phase: the Bohemian War.

The Bohemian war had been a comparatively small affair, but now German affairs began to demand the attention of all Europe. Frederick, the Elector Palatine, was son-in-law of James I. of England, and he eagerly desired to see him reinstated in his dominions. But all the neighbours of Germany were deeply concerned in the prospect of a vast advance in the power and activity of the Empire, which was closely connected by relationship and alliance with Spain. To France this Austro-Spanish power was the traditional enemy, and in the end decisive interference came from the side of France.

The second phase: Wallenstein. Jealousy of the Empire.

But at first it was rather the Protestant kings of Denmark and Sweden who saw with alarm the growth of a power which they feared for both religious and political reasons. It was King Christian of Denmark who first came forward to the support of the Protestant cause, and the Empire was threatened at the same time by an insurrection in Hungary. But there appeared on the imperial side a great soldier, Wallenstein. He was a Bohemian and a Protestant by birth, but he had become a Roman Catholic and attached himself to the imperial service. He was a great soldier and a capable organizer; he attracted the military adventurers of all countries to his standard by promises of high and regular pay, and men of all religions were welcome. He soon crushed all the enemies of the Empire. The forces of Christian of Denmark were entirely defeated and forced into the service of Wallenstein. He besieged and occupied most of the towns on the Baltic, though Stralsund offered a successful resistance. In spite of this important check, he was so successful by 1629 that the Emperor could force his will on Germany in the Peace of Lübeck and the Edict of Restitution. By the first, Christian of Denmark was compelled to abandon all his claims within the Empire; while by the Edict of Restitution it was declared that all Church lands "secularized" since the Peace of Augsburg must be restored to the Catholic Church. The great archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, and more than a hundred smaller ecclesiastical states, were affected by the edict.

The intervention of Denmark.

The imperial and Catholic victory seemed complete. Who could resist Wallenstein's army? Yet the very completeness of the victory raised difficulties. The smaller powers of Germany saw with profound alarm the measures of religious persecution undertaken by the government, and even the allies of Ferdinand feared to be overshadowed by his power. Wallenstein was already entertaining designs which would carry him beyond the position of a subject. And if Sweden and France had been jealous of the imperial position in 1622, what were their feelings likely to be now? It was from Sweden that the next interference came.

German jealousy of Wallenstein.

The danger in which German Protestantism stood, and the attack which Wallenstein had made on the possessions of Sweden to the south of the Baltic, were a direct challenge to the King of Sweden; and events in Germany soon gave him a good opportunity for interference.

The third phase: Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden.

In 1630 the Emperor summoned the diet of the Empire to Ratisbon. His chief anxiety was to secure the election of his son, Ferdinand, as King of the Romans—a title which would give him an assured prospect of succeeding to the Empire on his father's death. But he found the diet in no yielding mood. The electors felt that the growing power of the Emperor threatened their independent existence, and they saw in Wallenstein his most dreaded agent. They refused to make any concession until Wallenstein was dismissed, and the Emperor was at last forced to consent to his dismissal. Wallenstein retired in bitter indignation into Bohemia, and, men said, "seemed to carry the imperial crown with him." He was succeeded as general of the imperial forces by Tilly, a far weaker man.

The Diet of Ratisbon.

The retirement of Wallenstein gave an opportunity for further interference on behalf of the Protestants of Germany, and the opportunity was seized by Gustavus Adolphus, the heroic King of Sweden. He had personal and territorial interests in the contest; but he was genuinely ready to fight and suffer in the cause of Protestantism. He landed near Stralsund in 1630, with an army of forty thousand men. He was sincerely religious and devout, but intensely practical and energetic, and had real genius for the conduct of military operations. His troops were well disciplined and kept from the licence and plunder which disgraced the other armies during the Thirty Years' War. He introduced new methods into warfare, moved his troops with greater rapidity than had been previously used, and made more use of firearms. Note, too, that Gustavus received important assistance from France. France was at this time practically governed by the great Cardinal Richelieu; and Richelieu saw with increasing anxiety the development of the imperial power in Germany. He made a treaty with Gustavus, and granted him assistance in money.

Landing of Gustavus Adolphus.

At first the Protestant powers of Germany looked askance at their great deliverer: they mistrusted Gustavus as a foreigner, and the Calvinists suspected him as a Lutheran. But the victories and the frightful excesses of the imperial armies under Tilly soon drove them into alliance with him. In 1631 he was joined by Brandenburg and Saxony, two of the most powerful of the German states. Thus supported, he struck irresistibly into the centre of Germany. In September, 1631, he fought the great battle of Breitenfeld, near Leipzic, and completely overthrew the imperial forces. Vienna seemed at his mercy; but instead of attacking the Austrian capital he turned westwards against the ecclesiastical states of the Upper Danube and the Rhine. Nowhere was any serious resistance made to him; Bavaria and the Rhine lands fell into his power.

The victories of King Gustavus.

Gustavus Adolphus.

Born, 1594; invades Germany, 1630; gains the battle of Breitenfeld, 1631; killed at Lützen, 1632.

Deaths of Gustavus and Wallenstein.

So portentous did this power and the victories of Gustavus Adolphus seem to be that the Emperor had to turn to the great soldier whom he had dismissed with contumely; for if any one could save the Empire it was Wallenstein. He only consented to resume his command on terms that made him almost master of Germany. But he collected a great army—the prestige of his name was sufficient to make soldiers flock to his banner—and he faced Gustavus in November, 1632, at Lützen, near to the battlefield of Breitenfeld. In the great battle that followed Gustavus was victorious, but died in the moment of victory. Wallenstein's death followed shortly afterwards. He was too powerful for a subject. He assumed the position of an independent ruler. It seemed as though the Emperor would have to struggle

against his own general; but in February, 1634, Wallenstein was assassinated.

The deaths of Gustavus and Wallenstein might seem to balance one another, but without Gustavus the Protestants were too weak to struggle against their enemies. In September, 1634, the Swedish and Protestant forces under Bernard of Saxe-Weimar were utterly defeated at Nördlingen. So overwhelming was the defeat that both Brandenburg and Saxony joined the imperial side. The triumph of Austria and the Catholic reaction seemed assured.

Protestant defeat at Nördlingen.

Protestantism in Germany was saved by Catholic France; the great agent in its deliverance was a cardinal of the Church of Rome. We shall see in the next chapter how France was growing united and strong, while Germany was falling into hopeless disunion. The interest of Richelieu in the Thirty Years' War was entirely political. The Austrian house and the allied Spanish house had now for generations been the great enemy and rival of France. If the Empire were to become a centralized and effective government instead of the loose and helpless confederation which it was at present, the power of France would be seriously threatened. So when, after the battle of Nördlingen, it was clear that Germany would fall helplessly into the hands of the Empire unless help came from outside, Richelieu determined to give that help; and in 1635 France openly entered into the war against the Empire and Spain.

The fourth phase: the interference of France. Richelieu and his aims.

We need not give any details. It is enough to say that at first France was by no means successful. Her untrained armies were defeated by the veteran soldiers who had been trained in the terrible experiences of the Thirty Years' War. But the French profited by their disasters. Richelieu and, after Richelieu's death in 1642, his successor, Cardinal Mazarin, were great organizers and diplomatists. Great generals such as Turenne and Condé rose up on the side of France; Spain and the Empire were terribly exhausted; and at last, in 1648, thanks to the skill of the French generals and the diplomatic astuteness of Cardinal Mazarin, the long agony of the Thirty Years' War was brought to an end by the great

The victory of France.

Peace of Westphalia. The general results of the war, as laid down in this famous and important peace, must be carefully noted.

The effort of the Emperors to control and unite the Empire had been wholly defeated. The Peace of Westphalia declared that the Empire could no longer be regarded as an effective state. It was henceforth clearly a loose confederation of states, large and small (the number as fixed by the peace was 343), and within the Empire there was no power that could enforce on all the acceptance of laws, or the levying of soldiers, or the granting of taxes. The Austrian or Hapsburg Emperors having thus failed, a chance was left for some other power to secure the leadership of Germany, and perhaps succeed where Austria had failed. We shall see how this task was carried out with wonderful success by the Electors of Brandenburg, who soon came to be called Kings of Prussia. We may note, too, that by the peace the United Netherlands and Switzerland were legally declared to be, what they had actually long been, independent of the Empire.

Results of the Peace of Westphalia. (*a*) Germany.

France had gained much in prestige during the later years of the war, and the exhaustion of the Empire and Spain left her the chief Power in Europe. She made also considerable territorial gains. Upper and Lower Alsace, "with all the rights that formerly belonged to the Empire," were ceded to her by the peace, and she became formally possessed of the "Three Bishoprics" of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, with their territories; and these gains were a very material strengthening of her eastern frontier.

(*b*) France.

Note further that with the Peace of Westphalia the era of the Reformation may be said to come to an end. It ended in a drawn battle. The early hopes of the Reformers, that Roman Catholicism would be entirely destroyed, were now quite abandoned; and the effort of the Catholic reaction, to win back all Europe to the Roman obedience, had also failed. Henceforth both forms of religion would have to exist side by side in Europe, and some form of religious toleration became a prime necessity of all progressive states.

(*c*) The end of the Reformation.

The Thirty Years' War, at the course of which we have glanced, was the cruellest and most destructive of all modern wars. The destruction of population by war, pestilence, and famine had been enormous: it has been estimated that at least a half of the population of Germany perished. But the very foulness and barbarity of the contest produced a valuable reaction. The great Dutchman, Grotius, appalled by a war which seemed to "let loose every crime," meditated on the possibility of discovering some check on the worst excesses of war, and in his great work, *De Jure Belli et Pacis* (1625), laid the foundations of international law.

Rise of international law.

Henderson's History of Germany; *Gardiner's Thirty Years' War* (Epochs of Modern History); *Fletcher's Gustavus Adolphus* (Heroes of the Nations); *Schiller's Wallenstein and Piccolomini.*

CHAPTER XI

The Growth of the French Monarchy

Cardinal Richelieu in chief influence	1624
Capture of Rochelle	1628
Death of Richelieu	1642
Outbreak of the Fronde	1648
Triumph of Mazarin	1653
Peace of the Pyrenees	1659

FRANCE was the one great Power in Europe during the seventeenth century. While the Empire was engaged in a suicidal war, while Spain was sinking under the strain of her empire, and England was occupied with the domestic problems that led to the Puritan Revolution, France meanwhile was growing in unity, and her government was more and more completely concentrated in the hands of the monarchy. By the middle of the century she was distinctly superior to any single rival, and showed herself able to hold her own against the powerful coalitions that were formed against her.

The supremacy of France.

The result of the civil wars of the Reformation period had been to strengthen the monarchy; and Henry IV. had made the authority of the crown supreme over all rivals—over States-General, Parlements, and religious organizations. But at his death his son was only nine years of age, and there seemed a chance that the discontented elements of French society might manage to overthrow or to weaken the authority of the crown. There followed a period of unrest and reaction. The nobles and the Protestants rose in civil war. They insisted upon the summoning of the States-General, and in 1614 this cumbrous representative body met for the last time before the French Revolution. But the reaction was superficial. The real movement in France was toward a strong monarchy, and when, in 1624, Cardinal Richelieu became the young king's chief minister, he devoted himself with complete success to the development of the power of the absolute monarchy.

Reaction after the death of Henry IV.

Cardinal Richelieu's position in history is a very strange one. He was a cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church, and yet he was, for the most part, in league with Protestants against the forces of Catholicism. He was the chief agent of the crown, and worked incessantly for the advancement of the French monarchy, and yet he was always at variance with the members of the royal family, and not always on the best of terms with the king himself. He was no royalist of the English Cavalier pattern; he looked upon the monarchy not as an end, but as a means—as a means to the strength and glory of France. He was a sincere Catholic, but the politician in him was far stronger than the ecclesiastic, and hence it was that he was so often in conflict with the pope and the Catholic reaction in Europe. The double object of all his policy was (1) to raise the authority of the crown in France above all rival powers, and (2) to make France the dominant power in Europe. He succeeded wonderfully in both objects.

Cardinal Richelieu.

Let us take his domestic policy first. The rivals by which the authority of the crown seemed threatened were chiefly the Protestants and the aristocracy, and we have seen that in France Protestantism and aristocracy were closely related.

Europe in the Seventeenth Century.

Richelieu had no feelings of religious antagonism against the Huguenots of France, but he feared them as a political force.

Domestic policy of Richelieu.

The Edict of Nantes had given them dangerous powers, and they had used them during the minority of Louis XIII. to produce a dangerous civil war. Richelieu struck against their privileges again and again; and the end came in 1628. Then the great

Siege of Rochelle.

cardinal led the royal forces against La Rochelle, the stronghold of Protestantism. The siege that followed is one of the most memorable in history. The Huguenots fought with heroic stubbornness, but in the end starvation did its work, and the city surrendered. The Huguenots were left religious liberty and civil equality, but their legal and military guarantees were taken from them. Henceforward, they were told, they must trust only "to the word of a king." Sixty years later they found how delusive a thing that was to trust to!

The blow that had fallen upon the Huguenots was in itself a serious check to the power of the nobles. But

Richelieu's measures against the aristocracy.

Richelieu knew them to be the most serious enemies of the crown, and reduced their power still further. Any unruliness on the part of noblemen was punished with exceptional severity. Richelieu says "he was harsh to the few in order that he might be kind to the many." Some of the greatest of the French aristocracy atoned on the scaffold for intrigues or rebellion against him. Further, he destroyed their great fortified castles, by virtue of which they had been important military powers in the earlier centuries. But the chief blow which he struck against their power was by excluding them from the work of government and administration, which had

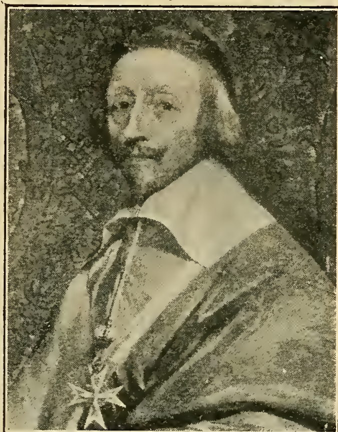
Intendants.

previously been largely in their hands. Henceforth the local government of France was in the hands of royal *intendants*, men usually drawn from the middle class of society, and sent into the provinces to represent the royal authority. The nobles of France remained rich, and had great social influence, and held all the important posts in the army, but henceforth, until the coming of the Revolution, they had little influence on the government of France. They

had wrestled with the monarchy for five centuries and were now completely overthrown.

Great as was Richelieu's influence on the domestic life of France, it is as a foreign statesman and diplomatist that he is best known. He possessed great strength of will, a deep knowledge of the political condition of Europe, and he was unsurpassed in diplomatic skill. His great effort was to counteract the schemes of the Austro-Spanish power, and to raise the power of France amidst the confusion and wars of the century. Even before France actually threw herself into the war, the persistence, energy, and skill of Richelieu had made the influence of France preponderate in the Thirty Years' War, and we have already seen that it was the military power of France which brought the great struggle in Germany to an end in 1648.

Richelieu as diplomatist.



Cardinal Richelieu.

Born, 1585 ; Minister of Louis XIII., 1624 ; died, 1642.

He had done his work amidst constant intrigues against his power and authority. His bearing in the face of these intrigues, the half-sympathy of King Louis XIII. with them, and Richelieu's final triumph over them, give to history some of its most romantic pages. It is impossible even to glance at them here. It is enough to emphasize that the absolute monarchy of France was more the work of Richelieu than of any other single statesman. The great age of French history deserves to be called rather the Age of Richelieu than the Age of Louis XIV.

Richelieu's relation to the king.

His death in December, 1642, was soon followed by that of his royal master, Louis XIII., in May, 1643. The removal of these two great figures left the field open for renewed

intrigues on the part of the nobility; for Louis XIV. was a child only five years old, and it did not at first seem that Richelieu had any capable successor. The government of France was in the hands of the queen-mother, Anne of Austria, and she lacked entirely the character and talents necessary for beating down the turbulent elements of French society.

Deaths of Richelieu and Louis XIII.

Under these circumstances, then, there broke out the movement which is known as the "Fronde." It was, in effect, the last rally of the discontented elements of French society against the power of the monarchy, the last before the great Revolution of 1789, in which the monarchy and the old order both disappeared. It was partly stimulated by the contemporary Puritan and Parliamentary movement in England, and at first aimed at procuring for France a constitutional form of government. But the past history of France made such an enterprise very difficult. In England, representative and parliamentary institutions had struck so deep a root that it would have required a force greater than that of the Stuarts to have destroyed them. But in France the position was quite different. The king had been for centuries the real representative of the French people, and had usually taken their part against the nobility. The States-General were no necessary part of French political life, and at this juncture the aspirations of France towards a constitution found a voice not in the States-General, but in the Parlement of Paris. The Parlement of Paris was not a representative body at all, either in the method of its appointment or in its character. It was a body of lawyers and

The wars of the Fronde.

Louis XIV.

Born, 1638; began to reign, 1643; died, 1715.

judges, who were concerned primarily not with the making of the laws, but with the administration of justice. They held their office by hereditary right, and, though there were noble and patriotic figures among their numbers, their outlook was that of lawyers, not of statesmen. Thus the first constitutional phase of the Fronde was soon over, and it was succeeded by a movement of mere aristocratic opposition to the crown. Prince Condé, a great soldier, who had distinguished himself in the war against Spain, was the chief actor in this "aristocratic Fronde," and it derives its chief interest from his struggle with his greater and nobler rival, Marshal Turenne.

Cardinal Mazarin.

In resisting these dangers the queen-regent relied on her favourite and minister, Cardinal Mazarin. He had been chosen by Richelieu as his successor, and, though he lacked altogether Richelieu's nobility of character and his extraordinary energy, he continued his policy with consummate skill and success. He was an Italian by origin, and never completely at home in France, and his foreign origin was one reason why he was so bitterly hated by the French nobles. His real skill shows itself in diplomacy and the handling of foreign affairs; in his relations to the Fronde he was subtle, elusive, often apparently defeated, but in the end victorious. The nobles were not popular in France, though the city of Paris gave them for a time its support. It told heavily against them that they consented to an alliance with the national enemy, Spain; and Condé, who had gained his great victories over Spanish soldiers, now commanded those very soldiers against his own countrymen. So Mazarin and the queen-mother triumphed. Condé was condemned to death in his absence; Parlement was forbidden to concern itself with affairs of state; government by *intendants* was re-established; and after 1653 the authority of the king was restored without rival in France.

Mazarin and the war with Spain.

Meanwhile Mazarin had been conducting the foreign affairs of France with signal success. The later stages of the Thirty Years' War were influenced by him, and the peace of Westphalia was a proof of his diplomatic skill. We have seen something of these events already, and need not go through them again. But we must note carefully that though the Peace of Westphalia brought the Thirty

Years' War to an end, it did not give peace to France. The Empire had retired from the struggle, but Spain remained in the field, and ten more years of dragging warfare ensued before Mazarin terminated the Spanish struggle in a manner satisfactory to France. It was the civil war of the Second Fronde which allowed the war with Spain to be thus prolonged, but, even when France was at peace within her own borders, her exhaustion was so great that she seemed incapable of delivering the final blow to Spain. However, in 1657, Cardinal Mazarin—the Catholic royalist—negotiated an alliance with the regicide Puritan Cromwell (although the wife of Charles I. was aunt of Louis XIV.), and it was the English Ironsides that brought the war to an end. Condé and the Spaniards were beaten near Dunkirk in 1658, and shortly afterwards Spain accepted, at the hands of France, the Treaty of the Pyrenees. France gained no great amount of territory by this peace, though certain cessions by Spain rounded off the French frontier to the north and south. The most important point was that a marriage was arranged between King Louis XIV. and Maria Theresa, princess of Spain. At the time of the marriage the king solemnly promised that he would never make any claim upon the territories of Spain by virtue of this marriage. We shall see how soon he broke this promise, and how this marriage was the direct cause of two wars, the latter of which was one of the most disastrous that France had ever waged.

Lodge's Richelieu (Foreign Statesmen); *Richelieu* by *J. B. Perkins* (Heroes of the Nations); *France under Richelieu and Colbert*, by *J. H. Bridges.*

CHAPTER XII

The Ascendency of France under Louis XIV

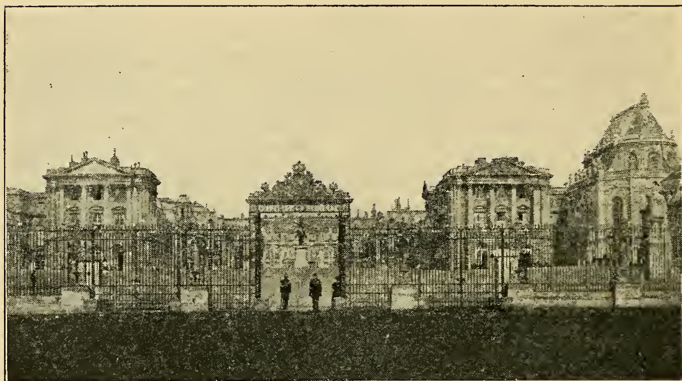
Colbert, Finance Minister	1661
Invasion of Holland	1672
Seizure of Strassburg	1681
Revocation of Edict of Nantes	1685
War with the Grand Alliance	1688
War of Spanish Succession	1701
Peace of Utrecht	1713

Richelieu and Mazarin had done their work effectively. The French monarchy held an ascendency in Europe greater than had been held by any monarchy since the days of the Carolingian empire. Louis XIV. had begun to reign in 1643, in his sixth year, but while Mazarin lived the affairs of France were always in the hands of the great minister. When he died, however, in 1661, Louis XIV. declared that he would have no other "First Minister," and that it was henceforth his intention to rule as well as reign. He accomplished his purpose; he controlled the destinies of France for fifty-five years, and as long as he lived he was the most prominent figure in Europe. He was not a man of genius, or a really great statesman; but he was capable, energetic, and dignified. So great was the prestige of the French monarchy under him that its etiquette and its manners soon spread to all other courts in Europe.

Characteristics of the Age of Louis XIV.

While Louis XIV. reigned, many wars were fought, and the position of the European powers materially altered; but more important than his wars and his diplomacy was the type of civilization which was developed in France during "the Age of Louis XIV." There was unquestionably a great refinement of manners, the king himself setting the example of a dignified courtesy, and this refinement has never ceased to act on European society. The provincial differences of France were also to a great extent destroyed. An uniform system of administration and type of civilization spread over all France. At the same time the literary and intellectual movement which had begun in the days

of Richelieu and Mazarin culminated, and the dramatists and critics of France became the arbiters of taste for all Europe. The French drama reached its highest development in the hands of Corneille, Racine, and Molière ; and, though the French type of drama was very different from that established in England by Shakespeare, it gave to the world in tragedy a very noble and stimulating form of art, while in pure comedy the work of Molière has not been surpassed or equalled. But it was not only in the lighter forms of literature that the age of Louis



The Palace of Versailles.

The Palace of Versailles was the creation of Louis XIV. It is believed to have cost nearly twenty million pounds sterling; and was only one of many palaces possessed by the Kings of France. The ambitious building schemes of the Kings of France were a very heavy burden to the finances of the State.

XIV. was great; it contributed also great names to philosophy and thought. Descartes is one of the world's most fundamental thinkers, and only a little inferior in importance is the work of Bossuet and Pascal. The "Age of Louis XIV." marks a very great advance in European culture.

Colbert's reforms.

The early years of Louis XIV.'s reign were much influenced by his great minister, Colbert, and under his reforming guidance the economic condition of France wonderfully improved. It appeared for a time that France was going to set her heart on pacific progress to the neglect of

military glory; and in all the reforms of the early years of Louis XIV.'s rule, Colbert had an important influence. (1) He made great changes in the administration of the finances. It had been the custom of the French Governments to farm out the collection of the taxes to middlemen (called *partisans*), who paid down a sum of money to the Government and then made what profit they could by exacting the taxes from the people. This indirect method of tax-collecting was as old as the Roman Empire, but it was wasteful, oppressive, and irritating. Colbert maintained the system in principle, but by careful supervision and the rigorous enforcement of justice at once decreased the burdens of the people and increased the income of the State. (2) Colbert did his utmost also to stimulate French commerce. He found that the world's trade was for the most part in the hands of England and Holland, and was carried out by them chiefly through the agency of trading companies. Colbert founded several companies (the most important were the West Indian Company, and the East Indian Company) to compete with the English and the Dutch. (3) He further introduced industries into France, and endeavoured to promote and maintain them by means of great protective duties. Weaving, stocking-making, glass and lace-making were thus planted in France, and though some of them subsequently decayed, partly in consequence of the protective system, it is unquestionable that Colbert's changes added very much to the wealth of France. Other reforms were about the same time made in the organization of the army and navy, and in the administration of justice. The king was admirably served by great statesmen, diplomatists, and soldiers. In addition to Colbert there were such men as Turenne and Condé, the great soldiers; Vauban, the great engineer; Lionne, the diplomatist; Louvois, the organizer of war.

(*a*) The finances.

(*b*) Commerce.

(*c*) Industry.

But before the rule of Louis XIV. had lasted long these peaceful and administrative changes gave place to war, and the rest of his reign, which was prolonged for another half century, was almost continuously occupied with war or the preparation for it.

In 1665, King Philip IV. of Spain died, and was succeeded

by the half imbecile Charles II., the brother of Louis XIV.'s queen, Maria Theresa. At the time of the marriage Louis XIV. had promised never to assert any claims to the Spanish inheritance which might come to him through his wife; but now, without real justification, he claimed a large portion of the Spanish Netherlands. War came in 1667, and Spain could make no resistance to the armies of France, large, splendidly equipped, and finely led. It seemed that all Spanish lands on the northern frontier of France would be overrun and occupied by France. But then other European powers—England, Holland, and Sweden—interfered, and Louis XIV. consented to a peace whereby he retained only a strip of the Spanish Netherlands (1668). It was not a very important campaign, but it gives us on a small scale the characteristic of his whole reign. We see an aggression on the territory of his neighbour resisted by a European coalition. Aggressions and coalitions followed one another, until his reign ended in exhaustion and defeat.

The war of devolution.

Holland had taken a leading part in resisting him, and it was upon Holland that the next blow fell. Louis XIV. hated Holland as a republic, a trade rival, and as the supporter of Protestantism and freedom of thought. Almost without the pretence of an excuse, the French armies invaded the country in 1672, and at first carried all before them. The United Provinces (for that is the correct name of the state) humbly begged for peace, and offered large concessions; but France insisted on terms so humiliating that they had no option but to fight on. Her people showed the same heroic endurance which they had shown in fighting against Spain. They raised William of Orange (afterwards King William III. of England) to be their commander. Allies came to their assistance—England, the Empire, and Spain, and at last, in 1678, France accepted the Peace of Nimwegen, whereby she gained Franche Comté upon her eastern frontier at the expense of Spain. Her armies had gained great glory during the war, but the gains were far smaller than at one time seemed possible. Still, Louis was decidedly the first power in Europe, and, after the Peace of Nimwegen, he occupied large districts in Alsace (including the important city of Strassburg, 1681) and elsewhere,

The Dutch War.

upon the ground that they legally formed part of the cessions made to France by the Peace of Westphalia. Europe would have resisted these acquisitions by war, if Europe had been strong enough, but the nations were weary of fighting, and therefore the indignation with which they regarded these French acquisitions did not issue in open conflict.

Up to this point the reign of Louis XIV. had been glorious and uniformly successful. But now the time of his success, though not of his military glory, was nearly over. Each of the subsequent wars which France waged during his reign were closed with loss and the admission of defeat.

The decline of France.

What were the causes of this change? It was partly due to the fact that the resources of France were being exhausted in this continual warfare; Colbert, before his death, saw many of his best reforms sacrificed to the exigencies of the moment. It was partly due to the growing suspicion and indignation of the European powers against France. They regarded Louis XIV. as a dangerous and aggressive power, against whom it was the duty of all European Powers to unite for their common safety. But it also stands in close relation to a change which was passing over the temper of the king, which made him adopt a series of measures of religious persecution, which struck a fatal blow against the strength of France.

The king's early life had been licentious and largely devoted to the pursuit of pleasure. But of late Madame de Maintenon, the governess of his children, had been gaining a great influence over his life and opinions. He repented of his early errors and turned, with great devotion, to the practice of religion. In 1683, his wife, Maria Theresa, died, and soon after he married Madame de Maintenon, though the marriage was never officially announced. A great change came over the character of the court. It lost its old gaiety and frivolity, and became austere and almost puritanical in character. There was much in the new ideals that was beautiful and noble; but Catholicism insisted on the necessity of uniformity in matters of religion and had never accepted the ideas of religious toleration. Thus it came to pass that the king felt it to be his imperative duty to withdraw

The king's religion.

toleration from the Protestants of France; and in so doing to inflict a fatal blow upon France herself.

We have seen how the Huguenots of France had been granted religious toleration and equality of civil rights by the great Edict of Nantes in 1598. We have seen, too, how Richelieu had taken away the military and legal privileges which were connected with the edict; but he had still left the Huguenots their civil and religious liberties. They had taken no part in the Wars of the Fronde. They were without question an entirely loyal people, and they had done more than any other section of the population to promote the industrial and commercial projects of Colbert. Apart from religious bigotry, there was no reason to attack them.

The withdrawal of the Edict of Nantes.

But the king and his advisers (the great Bossuet must be mentioned as one of the chief of these) were determined to force them into conformity with the king's religion. For many years pressure was brought to bear on them. They were excluded from the service of the Crown; apostasy was rewarded; Protestant "temples" were destroyed on various pretexts. The number of professing Protestants was by these means largely diminished. At last, in October, 1685, it was determined to withdraw the Edict of Nantes altogether, and Protestantism ceased to be a legal form of worship in France. The whole procedure had been accompanied with calculated cruelty and brutal violence; and for any efforts which the Protestants made to avert their fate they were cruelly punished. Thus the unity of the Catholic faith had been restored, but at a terrible cost. The oppressed Huguenots were forbidden to leave the country; but the order was eluded and they emigrated by tens of thousands. They went to England, to Holland, and to Prussia; and thus not only was some of the best blood of France drained away from her, but the strength of her Protestant enemies was materially increased.

As we approach the next great war, we must glance at English affairs. They were very critical for Louis XIV. In 1685, James II. had ascended the throne. He was an outspoken Catholic, and his Catholicism would necessarily bring him into alliance with France. But from the first he offended

English sentiment, and Louis XIV. saw with alarm the coming of the revolution of 1688. Upon the issue of those events it would depend whether England was to be the ally or the bitter enemy of France. We know that the latter was the actual result. James II. fled; William III. became king of England. His strongest political feeling was fear and hatred of the French ascendency, and henceforth England was the leading influence in all European coalitions against France.

Louis XIV. and the English revolution.

The result of the English revolution was the outbreak of a war between France and what came to be called the "Grand Alliance," consisting of England, Holland, Spain, the Empire, and Brandenburg (Prussia). It lasted for nine years and was fought out in three main arenas—in the Netherlands, on the seas, and in Ireland. The French troops still showed their former high military qualities, and, though Turenne and Condé were both dead, their generals still proved themselves the best in Europe. But though France could win battles on land, she was in the end defeated at sea and in Ireland. Her finances were utterly exhausted and her financial system ruined. In 1697 she accepted the Peace of Ryswick, by which many French conquests, made in the earlier wars, were restored, and the new *régime* in England was recognized.

The war of the Grand Alliance.

France sorely needed rest; but a greater struggle was now impending over her. The weakly, half-imbecile Spanish king was clearly dying. He was childless, and the future destiny of the Spanish dominions became at once the most urgent question of European diplomacy. Spain, it is true, was no longer a great power. Political and religious absolutism, the exhaustion produced by unceasing wars and a wretched financial system, and the burden of her colonial empire, had dragged her to a position far below that which she had held in the days of Charles V. and Philip II. But the extent of her territories, both in Europe and out of it, was so great that in the hands of a capable ruler, and under a better system, she might again become a vast force in European politics.

The question of the Spanish succession.

And now what was to happen to these vast territories?

Were they to remain united or to be divided? Who was to inherit the whole or the bulk of them? European diplomacy has hardly ever had a more difficult question to face. There were three claimants—the royal house of France, the Imperial house, and the electoral house of Bavaria. All three stood at about the same distance of relationship from the dying king; but while the union between Spain and France or Spain and the Empire would wholly upset the European balance of power, the union between Bavaria and Spain would cause no such serious difficulty.

First an attempt was made by William III. and Louis XIV. to make some arrangement which would avoid the necessity of war; but the death of the Bavarian prince and the mutual jealousies of the powers made these efforts ineffectual. It became a struggle between France and the Empire: first a struggle of influence and diplomacy, and then one of war. In the earlier diplomatic struggle the French gained a complete success. The dying king was induced to make a will in favour of Philip, the grandson of Louis XIV., and after some hesitation, Louis XIV. decided to accept the bequest. He could hardly do otherwise. It would bring with it, indeed, war, but it would mean the practical union of France and Spain, and would bring the greatest gain in power and prestige ever made by the French crown.

The will of Charles II.

So Louis XIV. accepted the bequest, and faced the great war. It was the war of the Grand Alliance over again, except that now Spain was on the side of France. But France got little help from Spain. Her finances were in hopeless disorder; her military strength was decayed. She was, it has been said, "like a dead body tied to a living one." The alliance, on the other hand, was strong, united, resolute. Marlborough, the English commander, was perhaps the greatest of all English soldiers; and Prince Eugène, the commander of the imperial troops, worked with Marlborough throughout in cordial co-operation. Bavaria, irritated against the Empire, was the ally of France, and the Bavarian alliance offered France her best chance of success in the great struggle.

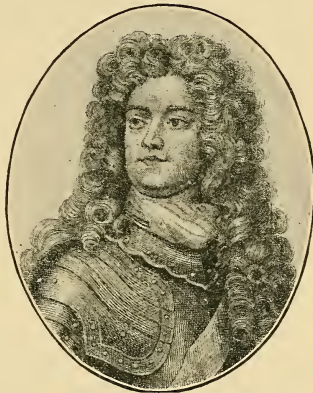
The war of the Spanish succession.

The war was prosecuted in five main theatres. There was

fighting in the Netherlands, which the allies wrested from the grasp of Spain, and through which they tried to penetrate into France; in Italy, where the Austrian armies fought, and in the end successfully, for the Spanish possessions in the Lombard plain; in France itself, where a serious civil war broke out as a result of the cruel suppression of the Protestants; in Bavaria; and in Spain. Bavaria was the critical point in the struggle during the early part of the war. It seemed as if a Bavarian and French army might dictate peace in Vienna. But the great battle of Blenheim (1704) destroyed that hope, and drove the French armies entirely out of Germany. After the battle of Blenheim the fortune of war ran continuously against France. It was only in Spain that the allies met with serious defeats. At first the French and Spanish armies there were wholly defeated, and Madrid was taken; but then the national spirit of Spain rallied wonderfully, and in the end, though English troops captured and held Gibraltar (1704), the allies were driven out of the peninsula, and Spain was left mistress of her own destiny.

The theatres of the war.

Battle of Blenheim.



The Duke of Marlborough.

Born, 1650; battle of Blenheim, 1704; died, 1722.

The war went on until 1713 with cruel loss to France. Her finances were utterly exhausted; her government discredited; only her soldiers still showed themselves brave, and, even in defeat, worthy of respect. For some time Louis XIV. begged for peace in vain. But the overthrow of the Whigs in England, and the appointment of a Tory ministry favourable to peace, withdrew the English army from the struggle. Austria fought on a little longer; but in 1713 the long contest ended in the Peace of Utrecht.

The Peace of Utrecht.

By the Peace of Utrecht the allies gained far less than had at one time been well within their grasp. After all their

victories the French prince still reigned in Spain as Philip V., and France lost little territory. The chief territorial changes were these : (1) England (or Great Britain) gained Gibraltar from Spain, and Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay from France ; (2) Austria gained Milan, Naples, Sardinia, and the Netherlands from Spain ; (3) the Duke of Savoy, who had come over to the alliance during the course of the war, gained Sicily from Spain. It was an acquisition which, though it seemed unlikely at the time, led the Dukes of Savoy ultimately to the throne of Italy.

France thus lost surprisingly little at the peace, but she had suffered terribly during the war. Louis XIV. died in 1715 ; and with his death France sank for more than half a century from the position of European predominance which she had held for a century and a half.

Hassall's Louis XIV. (Heroes of the Nations) ; *Macaulay's Essay on the War of Spanish Succession.* For Spain, see *Spain, its Greatness and Decay*, by *Martin A. S. Hume.*

CHAPTER XIII

Russia and Prussia

The Rise of New Powers in the Eighteenth Century

Brandenburg acquires Prussia	1611
Accession of Peter the Great	1682
John Sobieski, King of Poland, relieves Vienna	1683
Charles XII. defeats the Russians in the Battle of Narwa	1700
The Prussian Monarchy	1701
Accession of Frederick the Great	1740
Peace of Hubertsburg	1763

The Peace of Utrecht did not by any means mark the end of the greatness of France. She remained throughout the eighteenth century one of the first-rate European powers. But her ascendency was over. Other powers struggled with

her upon terms of equality or superiority. Since 1688, England had been her successful rival for commerce and the control of the seas, on which commerce then depended. And during the course of the eighteenth century Russia and Prussia assumed that importance in the councils of Europe which they have held ever since.

Whilst they were rising and France was standing still there were other countries which were rapidly sinking. The great days of Spain as a military power were over; her wretched Government repressed the energies of her people. When she appeared again as an important military force during the Napoleonic wars, it was due to the energy of the people, not to the action of the Government. Among the declining powers were also Sweden and Poland. We have not found time to say much of either, but both had counted at one time among the great powers of Europe. We have seen Sweden's glorious and decisive interference in the Thirty Years' War; and in 1683 John Sobieski, King of Poland, had come to the relief of Vienna when her destruction by the Turks seemed imminent. After the early years of the eighteenth century neither country was able to play a great part in European politics. The decline of Sweden was due to the overstraining of her resources in wars of conquest and empire. She was soon again prosperous and progressive, though no longer a first-rate military power. Very different was the destiny in store for Poland. Her population was large, her territory far larger than that of Prussia; but she was afflicted by almost every evil that can afflict a state. Her frontiers were almost indefensible; her constitution was, under the name of an elective monarchy, really in the hands of the wildest, most turbulent, and most immoral nobles that Europe knew; the mass of the people was sunk in a degrading serfdom. Her great neighbours—Austria, Russia, and Prussia—constantly interfered in her affairs, and were glad to see her weak and misgoverned. Before the end of the century, Poland disappeared from the list of independent European states.

Sweden and Poland.

Meanwhile new states were appearing among the great powers of Europe. Russia, as a European power, dates from

the early eighteenth century. We must not go further back in the history of Russia than the accession of Peter the Great in 1682. Modern Russia may be regarded as his creation. He found Russia barbarous and uncivilized, the power of the monarchy less than that of the *boyars* or nobles; the country and its resources almost unknown to Western Europe. It was Peter the Great who introduced the rudiments of European civilization, asserted the power of the monarchy against all the other elements of Russian society, founded the new capital of St. Petersburg, and displayed Russia to the world as a military power, which had to be most seriously reckoned with. The man himself was a strange mixture of barbarism and civilization: on the intellectual side he was pure European, on the moral side he belonged still to the barbarism of early Russia. From the first the practical achievements of Western Europe had profoundly interested him, and a visit which he paid in 1697 to England and Holland was probably the decisive point in his career. He saw how the strength of those two countries rested on their navies and their commerce; and he returned to Russia determined to introduce there these same forces.

The rise of Russia.

The work of Peter the Great.

Peter the Great.

Born, 1672; visited Holland and England, 1697; founded St. Petersburg, 1703; died, 1725.

He introduced European customs and European dress; he beat down the power of the nobles, as all strong European monarchs had had to do: he made the Church entirely subordinate to the monarchy. Above all, though he added little to the territories of Russia, he gained a foothold on the sea both to the north and

Russia reaches the sea.

south. Hitherto Russia had touched the sea nowhere. But not only did Peter found the new capital of St. Petersburg, and thus give Russia her share in the commerce of the Baltic, but he also acquired Azov and an opening on to the Black Sea. There was profound aristocratic discontent with his work, but it has proved enduring.

Peter the Great and Charles XII.

From 1699 onwards he was engaged in a fierce struggle with Sweden, whose king, Charles XII., had military ambitions and energies not unworthy of those of his ancestor Gustavus Adolphus. In 1700 he defeated the Russians with overwhelming loss at Narwa, and for a time was master of Eastern Germany. But Sweden was unequal to the support of his gigantic schemes. In 1709 he was defeated at Pultawa, and the power of Sweden collapsed. It was a great thing for Russia that this strong rival disappeared. Peter died in 1725, and a period of confusion and reaction followed. But in 1762 the Czarina Catherine II. acquired the throne, and she carried on the *régime* of Peter the Great, and began that course of territorial expansion which has been the distinguishing feature of Russian history ever since.

The rise of Prussia.

Even more important than the growth of Russia was the rise of Prussia into the position of a first-rate power. Prussia had been originally inhabited by a non-German stock, and it had been conquered in the Middle Ages by the Teutonic knights. The real origin of the Prussian state, however, is to be found, not in Prussia, but in the electorate of Brandenburg, which in 1611 acquired Prussia, and nearly a hundred years later took from it the royal title.

The annexed map deserves careful study, for geography has been a most important influence in the history of Prussia. Note how widely separated the territories of Brandenburg are in 1740. The state falls, roughly speaking, into three parts, situated (1) on the Rhine, (2) on the Elbe and Oder, (3) beyond the Vistula. She possessed no geographical advantages ; and it seemed little likely that this scattered power would grow into the great example of a powerful centralized military monarchy.

The foundation of the greatness of Prussia was laid by Frederick William, "The Great Elector" (1640–1688). Not

only did he win Pomerania and Magdeburg for Prussia, but he successfully asserted the power of the central government against the aspirations of the nobles; he encouraged industry, especially by allowing the exiled French Protestants to settle in Berlin; and he formed a large standing army, which was henceforth the chief institution of Prussia. Prussia was a small and a very poor country. It was only by continuous discipline and by rigid honesty and great simplicity of life that she was able to outdistance her larger neighbours in the race for power in Central Europe.

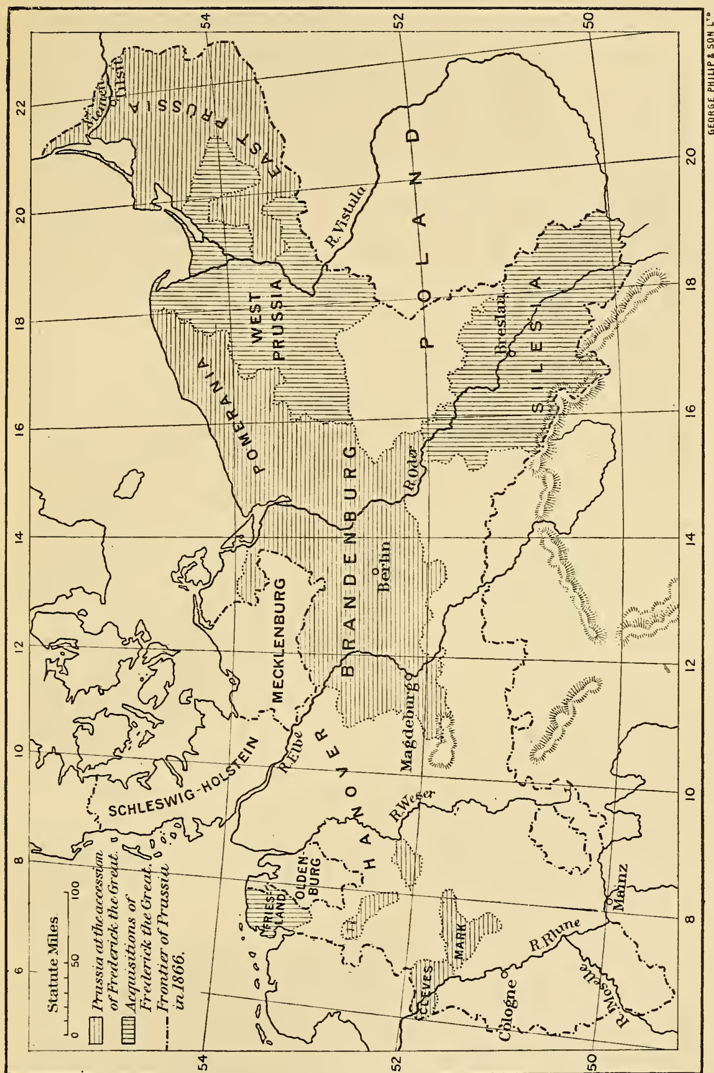
The Great Elector.

In 1701, at the beginning of the war of the Spanish succession, the Elector of Brandenburg took the title of King of Prussia. The royal title was part of the price paid to Prussia by the Empire for co-operation in the war. The next Prussian king, Frederick William I., for twenty-seven years built up a strong army and resolutely maintained peace. The Prussian army was raised from 38,000 to 83,000, and upon Frederick William's death, in 1740, it passed into the hands of Frederick II., usually known as Frederick the Great.

Beginning of the Prussian monarchy.

The eighteenth century is sometimes known as the age of benevolent despots, and several countries show us reforms undertaken and carried out by absolute rulers. We have seen how Russia owed her early greatness to Peter the Great; in Austria, a little later, great changes were introduced by the Emperor Joseph; but Frederick the Great is the great instance of this feature of the age. His great reputation depends usually upon his long wars and the success that he achieved against immense odds. His organization of Prussia, and the reforms which he introduced into the state, give him an even more unquestionable claim to rank as the greatest name among the rulers of the eighteenth century. He was much under the influence of the contemporary French philosophers, and Voltaire had been for some time a resident at his court. He wrote French in preference to German, and introduced into Prussia ideas which had their chief representatives in Paris.

Hardly was he on the throne before he plunged into a great war. The death of the Emperor Charles VI. made the


EAST PRUSSIA
Tilsit
Memel
WEST PRUSSIA
R. Vistula
POLAND
POMERANIA
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
R. Oder
SILESIA
Breslau
MECKLENBURG
SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN
R. Elbe
Magdeburg
HANOVER
R. Weser
OLDEN-BURG
FRIES-LAND
MARK
CLEVES
Cologne
R. Rhine
R. Moselle
Mainz
Statute Miles
0 50 100
Prussia at the accession of Frederick the Great.
Acquisitions of Frederick the Great.
Frontier of Prussia in 1866.
GEORGE PHILIP & SON LTD

whole future of the Austrian dominions exceedingly doubtful, for his only heir was his daughter, Maria Theresa; and, though most European powers had promised to allow her to succeed, the possessions of Austria were so great and so desirable to her neighbours, that it was certain that she would not be able to maintain her inheritance without a struggle. Frederick was the first to attack. The province of Silesia, lying on both sides of the river Oder, adjoined the territories of Prussia. Without any excuse he at once invaded and occupied it. A great European war (the war of the Austrian Succession) at once broke out.

The war of the Austrian Succession.

Frederick was engaged in hostilities, actual or expected, from 1740 to 1763. European history had known no wars which concerned so wide an area and touched the destinies of so many races and nations. Austria, Prussia, France, England, Russia, were all concerned as leading combatants; and the whole population of the Indian peninsula, and the whole of the continent of North America, were influenced in all their future history by the results of these wars. There were two main issues in this long struggle. First, the future of Prussia: was she to be a great power, or was she to be forced back by the ascendency of Austria into the position of a small German state? And with the fate of Prussia that of Austria was intimately connected. Secondly, there was the colonial, commercial, and naval rivalry between England and France. To which of them was the Empire of the Seas to fall, and with it the control of North America and of India? So clear and keen was this rivalry that in all European combinations, England and France are found on opposite sides, though they change their allies in the middle of the struggle.

Character and issues of the war.

From 1740 to 1748 the struggle is known as the war of the Austrian Succession. During this war Great Britain was allied with Austria, while France took the side of Prussia. It was entirely indecisive of the two main issues, as we have described them. Frederick invaded and occupied Silesia, and clung to it in spite of all efforts to dislodge him. His ally, the French monarchy, also gained great victories. After

suffering an unimportant defeat at the hands of the British and Hanoverians in 1743, the French army completely defeated the British and allied forces at Fontenoy in 1745, and occupied the whole of the Austrian Netherlands and Holland. Meanwhile, there was fighting at sea and in India and America, but the contest there was quite indecisive. Exhaustion and disagreement among the allies brought the war to an end by the Peace of Aix la Chapelle (1748). Frederick was recognized as the possessor of Silesia, but in all other important respects the conditions were restored as before the war. There was a general feeling that no permanent peace had been reached—only a truce during which the belligerents might prepare for a further encounter.

Before the fighting was renewed eight years later, there had been a great change in the diplomatic relations of Europe. Since the days of Charles V., France had almost invariably been opposed to Austria in any European quarrel; but now France was induced to desert Frederick and enter into alliance with Austria. It was a change more important than the winning and losing of many battles. The French Government, as we shall see in the next chapter, was utterly weak and bad at this time; her statesmen and diplomatists lacked entirely the skill and insight which had distinguished them in the days of Louis XIV. Their wisest course would have been to keep out of the European war, and concentrate the efforts of France upon the maritime and colonial struggle. The new alliance exposed France to the blows of Prussia under Frederick, and England under Pitt. She lost control of the seas and all chance of dominion in Canada and India; and in Europe she suffered some of the most ruinous defeats that are to be found in all her history.

The diplomatic revolution.

Thus there came in 1756 what is known as the "Seven Years' War." England joined Prussia, while on the other side were ranged Austria, France, Russia, and Saxony. The war opened favourably for Austria and France. Frederick was checked. Great Britain received blow upon blow. It seemed to many that her day was over, and that even at sea she was no longer equal to a struggle

The Seven Years' War.

with France. Then there came an amazing change. Pitt (afterwards the Earl of Chatham) came to power in England, and he and Frederick, in hearty co-operation, turned the tide of battle. Frederick, indeed, had to struggle during the whole of the war for very existence, and it was only his unquenchable energy and great military skill which saved Prussia from annihilation. He found the Russian armies especially formidable, but he survived in the end, and inflicted on Austria, Russia, and France defeats of the most overwhelming kind; but even these would not have saved him if a change upon the Russian throne had not converted Russia from a bitter opponent into an ally. Great Britain meanwhile was gaining a series of wonderful victories in all parts of the world. British and Hanoverian armies, under a Prussian commander, crushed the French armies in the north of Germany; and in Canada, India, and at sea Great Britain gained victories such as find few parallels in her military annals. The Earl of Chatham fell from power with the accession of George III., and the British abandoned the Prussian alliance; but it was as a conqueror, though exhausted, that Frederick brought the war to an end in 1763. The terms of the European settlement were laid down in the Peace of Paris and that of Hubertsburg. France abandoned her claims to Canada and India; the destinies of both countries were henceforth to be knit up with that of Great Britain. But it is Prussia that we are chiefly concerned with just now. Maria Theresa, the proud Austrian Empress, definitely ceded Silesia to the Prussian crown. But Prussia had gained much more than that important province. Her reputation was immensely enhanced. She had given to Europe an example of efficient and economical government which made men think that a new type of state had arisen. Nothing seemed impossible to Prussia, and though future events were to show that Prussia also had her weak sides and could suffer defeat and disaster, she was for the time decidedly the first military power in Europe.

The Peaces of Paris and Hubertsburg.

Carlyle's Frederick the Great; Reddaway's Frederick the Great (Heroes of the Nations); *Charles XII.*, by *R. Nesbit Bain* (Heroes of the Nations); *Peter the Great*, by *Wasilewski.*

CHAPTER XIV

The coming of the French Revolution

Expulsion of Jesuits from France . .	1764
Abolition of Parlements	1771
Voltaire	1694–1778
Rousseau	1712–1778

After 1715 a great change passed over the government of France. There was no one to take the place of "the Great Monarch," Louis XIV. His successor was his great-grandson, Louis XV., who was quite a child and incapable for many years of ruling France. The Duke of Orleans was made regent, and he altered the policy of France at almost every point. Peace with England instead of war; favour shown to the great nobles; the elements of self-government encouraged; the financial system of France overturned;—such were some of the features of the new *régime*. As Louis XV. came to take a share in the government of France, he gave the chief post in the ministry to his old tutor, Cardinal Fleury; and we may note that a war which began in 1733, and had for its central object the question of the Polish succession, ended in 1735 in the acquisition by France of Lorraine. This district had for some time past been effectively in her possession, but it was now definitely ceded to the French crown. It was the last acquisition of the French monarchy before the storm of the Revolution fell upon it.

Reaction under the Regency of the Duke of Orleans.

Louis XV. at first seemed to have ambition and some energy; but later he became self-indulgent, licentious, and torpid beyond the measure of any other king in the history of Western Europe. He would not allow any First Minister to take into his hands the government of France; and, as he was himself incapable of it, the result was that France had no effective government at all. The chief influence in the state lay with his mistresses, the chief of whom were

Louis XV.

Madame de Pompadour for the central part of his reign, and Madame Dubarri for the latter part. The chief interest of the reign is to see how the strength of the old monarchy rapidly declined; how opposition to the crown arose; how the nation became conscious of its evils, and confident of the possibility of a bright future. Thus the Revolution was prepared.

The failure of France in the wars of the eighteenth century.

Among the influences that broke the strength of the French monarchy, military failure played an important part. It was largely as successful leaders in war that the kings of France had acquired absolute power. In the reign of Louis XV., after the first success in Lorraine, of which we have already spoken, there was a long period of warfare, ending in terrible disaster. During the war of the Austrian succession, indeed, the French armies gained victories, and succeeded in occupying Belgium and Holland, which Louis XIV. had so often tried in vain to conquer. But, upon the conclusion of peace, diplomacy succeeded in holding nothing of what arms had won. During the Seven Years' War, France, after an early gleam of success, experienced nothing but disaster by land and by sea, in Europe and abroad. The Prussian king destroyed the French army at Rossbach; the English fleets drove the French entirely from the seas; Canada and India were lost. The humiliation of France inevitably destroyed much of the reverence and unquestioning loyalty that Frenchmen had formerly felt for the monarchy.

The rise of opposition.

Popular opposition began to show itself. France was almost entirely without representative institutions. The States-General had not been called since 1614; the Provincial Estates had either been destroyed or deprived of any real power. The only channel through which any constitutional opposition could be offered to the action of the Government was the Parlement of Paris. That was, as we have seen, a body of lawyers and advocates, existing almost entirely for judicial purposes. But they had the right of registering the king's edicts, and no edict was binding on the people until it was so registered. And the Parlement claimed that they had not only the right to register, but also to refuse

registration, and to criticise the royal edicts that were sent down to them. This was a very narrow channel for public opinion to express itself through, but it was the only constitutional one left, and it became of great importance during the reign of Louis XV. The members of the Parlement wrangled with the king about many subjects, but chiefly about the edict which had been passed against the religious body called the Jansenists; about the heavy taxes which had been imposed in time of war and were not relaxed in time of peace. The struggle was a long and intricate one, and the Parlement was for a time very popular in Paris; but in the end victory rested with the king. In 1771 the Parlement was abolished, and a different arrangement was made for the highest courts of justice in France.

The fall of the Jesuits.

But before the Parlement fell it had gained one great victory over the monarchy: it had secured the abolition of the Jesuit order in France. We have seen with what success the Jesuits had fought against Protestantism during the age of the Reformation. Since the Reformation struggle had practically ended in a drawn battle, the Jesuit order had somewhat changed in character. It had engaged with great success in foreign missions, and it had in Catholic countries secured great influence over the councils of kings. The Parlement of Paris had an almost traditional antipathy to the Jesuits, and lost no opportunity of curbing their powers and criticising their action. Now the failure of a commercial speculation, in which the Jesuits had engaged, brought the order before the Parlement of Paris. It was decided to examine the whole principles and character of the order. The king in vain tried to take the process out of the hands of the Parlement. The Parlement persisted; declared that the principles of the Jesuits were contrary to the laws of France; and, as the Jesuits would admit of no compromise, secured their expulsion from France in 1764. Similar movements were going on in various countries of Europe. They were expelled from Portugal, Spain, Parma, Naples, Savoy, Austria. At last, in 1773, the order was dissolved by a Papal Bull. But it was too valuable to the Church to be utterly destroyed. The order was restored in 1814.

The action of Parlement and the suppression of the Jesuits were signs of the growing weakness of the Crown and the fermentation of public opinion. But a greater movement was meanwhile taking place in the minds of men, which undermined loyalty and prepared the way for revolution.

The intellectual movement of the eighteenth century.

The intellectual movement of the eighteenth century was not confined to France. It was common to the whole European world, and marked a change in the opinions and convictions of men equal to what had taken place in the period of the Reformation.

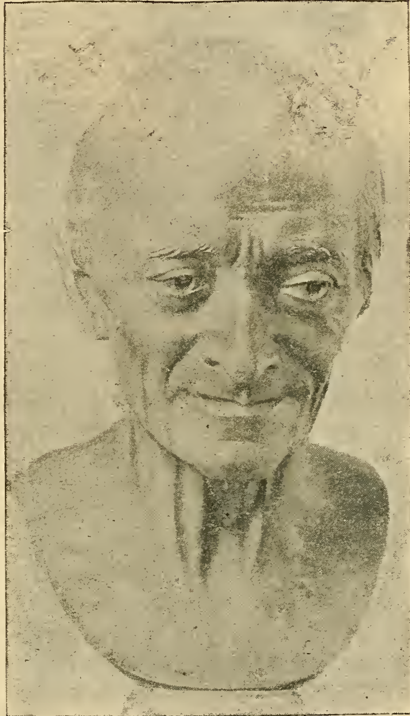
The general features of this intellectual movement are not difficult to seize. It was hostile to established opinions in Church and State. It was sceptical, critical, and negative; that is to say, it was more definite in denouncing the basis upon which the old society had rested than in suggesting what new foundations should be laid. It rejected, or seemed to reject, the teaching and experience of the past. It was especially contemptuous of the Middle Ages, and spoke of them as the age of superstition, while the present was the age of reason. But, while it rejected the Middle Ages, it turned to the history of Greece and Rome with admiring enthusiasm; and classical phrases, examples, and ideas had a great influence on the thinkers who preceded the French Revolution. But what most distinguished the thought of the eighteenth century, and gave to it its most beneficent influence, was its assertion of humanity. Not merely does it protest against cruelty, against judicial torture, and against religious persecution; but it brings all institutions, whether religious or political, and all creeds, philosophical and religious, to the test of humanity. If they serve human ends they are good; if not they are evil, however well supported they may be by tradition.

Its characteristics.

The chief names among the French philosophers were Diderot, Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau. The last two were the most immediately influential, though Montesquieu and Diderot were deeper thinkers. Voltaire was the great opponent of the claims and powers of Catholicism. He criticised its doctrines and denounced its influence. Especially he made himself the determined champion

Voltaire and Rousseau.

of religious toleration, and succeeded in putting an end to some of the worst excesses of religious persecution. In politics he was far from being a revolutionary thinker. He had seen the great reforms introduced into Prussia by Frederick the Great, and he would have liked to have seen reforms introduced into France by a reforming king. Rousseau was a very different nature from Voltaire; but he had in the end even more influence on public opinion and the course of events. He was passionate and emotional; he had none of the cold, clear logic of Voltaire. He appealed to men's feelings rather than their reason; and France came to be penetrated by the passion which he inspired, and embraced his ideas with hot enthusiasm. He wrote on education, on religion, and on politics; and all his ideas are connected and aim at the same goal. His main doctrines were the inalienable sovereignty of the people; the superiority of feeling over thought; the superiority of the natural uncivilized man over man as formed by civilized and conventional societies. As men read his works they came to despise the society in which they lived, to believe in the possibility of an infinitely better one, and to determine to realize it.



Head of Voltaire (by Houdon) in the Louvre, Paris.

Born, 1694; visited England, 1724; resided in Prussia, 1750-1753; died, 1778.

Thus the Government of France, after the middle of the eighteenth century, was fallen into weakness and unpopularity; new ideas were spreading and inciting to wide-sweeping changes. But these would not have been able to produce a great revolution if the condition of the people had not made a change really desirable. It is to the condition of the people that we must now turn.

It is a mistake to imagine that the French Revolution was caused by the misery of the people, or that the condition of the people was worse than in any other country. It is impossible to make accurate comparisons between the conditions of different countries without elaborate statistics; but it is certain that the condition of Poland and of many German states was far worse than that of France. It is certain, too, that the condition of France had improved during the half century that preceded the Revolution. But the burdens upon the people of France were very heavy; the Government was really oppressive; and above all, men's eyes were opened at last to the possibility of improvement.

The ancient régime in France.

The grievances of the population of the towns lay in the exclusiveness and oppression of the Government; in the action of the trades guilds in harassing and repressing industry; in the administration of the law; and the poverty that was the result of all these. It is the country districts that reveal to us most clearly the evils of the ancient *régime* in France. For in the beginning of the French Revolution the peasantry, usually so conservative an element in the State, were eager for change and ready to gain it by revolution. We shall understand this if we realize their position.

Feudalism, as a system of government, had been completely destroyed in France. The nobles had far less power than in England, and were in consequence many of them at first ready to welcome the Revolution. But though feudalism was dead as a political system, many of its financial burdens remained. The peasantry had to pay, in addition to heavy taxation for state purposes, heavy feudal dues which had lost all meaning and justification. The peasant who owned his own land (and a great proportion of the French peasants before the Revolution were *proprietors*)

Condition of the French peasantry.

had to pay a large number of feudal dues. He must pay toll as he passed along roads or crossed rivers; he must pay dues when he threshed his corn or pressed his grapes; he must pay in many instances a certain proportion of the produce of his land (land which was his own) to a feudal lord with whom he never came into contact.

Then, in addition to the feudal dues, there were the State taxes; and these were not only exceedingly burdensome, but irritating and ruinous in their working, and, above all, unjust in their incidence. For the weight of the taxes of France fell upon the so-called unprivileged classes, and chiefly upon the peasantry of the country districts. The privileged classes were to a very large extent exempt; and the privileged classes included the clergy, the nobility, and the court, and many of the wealthy men of the middle class who had bought patents of nobility. It was therefore the poorest who paid the taxes, while the richest were to a large extent exempt. The chief were the *gabelle*, the *corvée*, and the *taille*. The *gabelle* was a State monopoly of salt, and not only was the price of the salt fixed by the State, but the peasant was forced to buy a certain amount from the State, and even then the use of the salt was surrounded by irritating restrictions. Nothing in the old system was more irritating than this tax. The prices varied enormously from district to district. Salt smuggling was fiercely punished, and a large number of persons were annually imprisoned for the offence. The *corvée* was a system of forced labour. It was an irritating rather than a heavy burden, and had at one time been far heavier than it was on the eve of the Revolution. It was a system whereby the peasant was obliged to give a certain number of days' labour to the State without pay. But of all the taxes that fell upon the peasantry, the *taille* was the heaviest and the most detested. It was a tax on land and houses, equitable in its main character, but entirely unjust in its incidence, and irritating in the way in which it was levied. The total amount each year was determined by the central Government, and it was assessed upon the various districts and upon individuals by Government agents according to what they thought the district or individual could bear. It repressed, therefore, all

The taxes.

appearance of comfort or well-being; for if the peasant seemed to be improving his condition, the tax was sure to be raised.

We have said that misery and poverty were not the sole or essential causes of the Revolution; but the burdens on the peasantry were very heavy. In some districts the peasant paid more than half of his earnings in taxes. The possibility of shaking off the feudal dues and abolishing or alleviating the *gabelle* and the *taille* turned the long-suffering peasant at the beginning of the Revolution into an ardent revolutionist.

Summary.

The distinctive feature of France before the Reformation was not the cruelty and oppressiveness of the social system, which it shared with most other countries. Rather the characteristic is extreme instability. No one was loyal to the old order. The nobles, the middle class, even the clergy desired great modifications; the people at large found it intolerably burdensome. And those who had imbibed the new ideas of Voltaire and Rousseau, regarded it as unjust, and believed that it barred the way to a state of society which should know neither poverty, nor oppression, nor crime. Without these enthusiastic hopes the revolution would not have come, or, if it had come, it would have been something very different from what it actually was.

In addition to the ordinary histories of France, see *Taine's Ancient Régime; de Tocqueville's Causes of the French Revolution; Morley's Lives of Voltaire and Rousseau.*

CHAPTER XV

The French Revolution

Turgot dismissed	1776
States-General assemble	1789
First Constitution completed	Sept. 1791
Execution of King Louis XVI.	Jan. 1793
Fall of Robespierre	1794
Establishment of the Directory	1795

Louis XV. died in 1774, and was succeeded by his grandson, Louis XVI. He was married to Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa, the Austrian empress. The antipathy between

France and Austria was of long standing, and throughout her life her Austrian origin was one of the causes of the unpopularity of the queen.

Louis XVI. was popular at his accession. He had taken no part in the follies and vices of the last reign, and his first acts showed that its policy would not be maintained. The Parlements were recalled, and a reforming ministry was appointed. Turgot was the great influence in this first ministry, and he is one of the noblest and most pathetic figures of the eighteenth century. He was loyal to the Crown, but convinced of the necessity of great reforms. He hoped to abolish financial privilege, to strike off all restraints from industry, and to lay the foundations of self-government. Had he been firmly supported by the king, the revolution might have been avoided ; but, though Louis XVI. sympathized with his great minister, he had not strength of will to maintain him in office against aristocratic and court opposition. He was dismissed in 1776.

Louis XVI. and Turgot.

From the beginning of the reign, the financial question was a pressing difficulty. The expenses of the recent wars and bad financial methods had brought France to the verge of bankruptcy. The large immunity of the privileged classes from taxation was really at the root of the evil, but all efforts that were made to destroy this immunity failed until the revolution came. After Turgot's dismissal, Necker a Protestant banker from Geneva, controlled the finances. By economy and financial skill, he improved the situation of France, but then there came upon France another great war—the war which she waged in 1776 as an ally of the United States of America against England. It was a war full of glory for France. Her old rival was defeated and humiliated, and the prowess of France, both on sea and land, had contributed very largely to this result. And yet this triumph did nothing to strengthen the French Government. Rather it weakened it, for the great expense of the war made the financial situation still more hopeless, and the democratic and republican principles of the United States, taken in connection with the vast success which they had achieved, increased the faith of Frenchmen in those ideas of liberty, equality, and

The finances of France.

self-government, which they had derived from the writings of their philosophers.

For some years after this, the Government still tried various financial expedients, but always without success. Meanwhile, the conviction was growing strong in all classes of Frenchmen that only in self-government could any real solution of the difficulties be found. At last, the king yielded to the general demand, and called together the States-General of France for May, 1789.

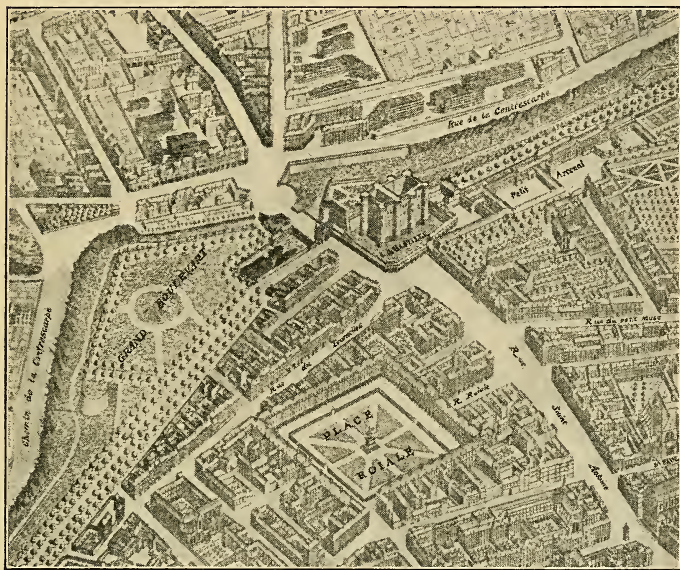
Calling of the States-General.

No meeting of the States-General had been held since 1614, and their organization and procedure were uncertain. It was decided that the clergy and nobility should be represented by three hundred members, whilst the third estate, or Commons, had six hundred representatives. The king opened the sessions on the 5th May, 1789. The enthusiasm was intense, and the belief that a new and better era was beginning almost universal. It was soon found, however, that grave difficulties were before the States-General. The first question was as to the method of procedure. The Commons demanded that all three orders should deliberate and vote together, in which case the friends of reform would undoubtedly command a large majority. The privileged classes demanded that the three orders should sit separately, and that a majority of orders should be required for the passing of any measure. The whole future depended upon the decision of this question. The king, after long hesitation, decided for separate chambers, but the Commons, led by such men as Mirabeau and the Abbé Sieyès, outmanœuvred him. The vast majority of Frenchmen were with them, and by the end of June all the deputies met, deliberated and voted in a single chamber, and took the title of the National Assembly.

If, then, the National Assembly remained in power great reforms were certain. The king (or the king's advisers, for the king himself was weak of will and incapable of resolute action) determined to crush the popular party by force. But when troops began to be moved towards Paris for that purpose, the great city rose in violent revolt; the fortress of the Bastille fell into the hands of the insurgents, and the king, shrinking from further bloodshed, yielded and

The fall of the Bastille, July 14, 1789.

professed approval of what had been done. It was a great victory for the popular cause. An even greater soon followed. There were rumours that the king was again preparing to strike, and on the 5th October a great crowd marched out from Paris, forced its way into the palace of Versailles, and after receiving armed reinforcements, compelled the king to abandon the great



The Bastille.

Section of an engraved map of 1734, showing the Bastille, the Rue Saint Antoine, leading towards the Hotel de Ville, and, outside the Saint Antoine gate, the Faubourg, where many of the revolutionary armies were recruited. The attack on the Bastille was made from the courtyards at the right.

palace of Versailles and come to live in the palace of the Tuileries in the centre of Paris. Henceforth the king was jealously guarded and every movement watched. He was practically a prisoner in the hands of his people.

The National Assembly now declared that its aim was to draw up a constitution for France, and is henceforth known as the Constituent Assembly. It worked eagerly at its new task ;

closely limiting the powers of the king; bringing the Church strictly under the control of the State; introducing radical changes in the administration of justice, giving, in fact, to France a new political system. In June, 1791, came a sudden interruption. The king fled from Paris. He felt himself a prisoner; he disliked the new Constitution, especially in what concerned religion; and he hoped to place himself under the protection of his armies, and revise the Constitution. But he was arrested before he could reach his armies, and was taken back ignominiously to Paris. It was clear, henceforth, that he was no free agent. When in September, 1791, the Constitution was completed and offered to him, he accepted it, and promised to rule according to it. With the king's acceptance the first phase of the Revolution was over, and many thought that the Revolution was over altogether.

The Constituent Assembly.

The new Assembly that was to govern France, the Legislative Assembly, soon fell into three clearly defined parties, (1) the Constitutionalists, who desired to maintain the constitution of 1791; (2) the Girondists, who were supported chiefly by the middle class and the provinces, who desired to push the Revolution further still, and were at heart republicans; (3) the Jacobins, who represented the cities, and especially Paris, and found their support in the poorer strata of the population. At first the Jacobins worked with the Girondists; later, a wide division appeared between them. The Jacobins were the most violent, the most resolute, and the most capable of the extreme Revolutionists.

The new legislative assembly.

Now there came into the Revolution an influence which profoundly modified its whole course. In April, 1792, France went to war with the Emperor; Prussia soon joined in the fray; and at the beginning of the next year Great Britain, Holland, and Spain joined the coalition against France. From this time, until the battle of Waterloo, in 1815, France was almost always fighting against a coalition of the chief powers in Europe, and, until 1812, she fought with success. We need not examine in detail the causes of the war. The French politicians were far from blameless; but the war was essentially a conflict between the principles of the Revolution

Foreign war.

and the principles of the old European order; the republican idea went to war with the ideas of monarchy and feudalism.

An immediate result of the foreign war was the overthrow of the monarchy in France. Louis XVI. was believed to be in sympathy with the enemies of France, and the early failures of the French armies were ascribed to him. On August 10, 1792, an armed crowd stormed the Tuileries palace; the king took refuge with the Legislative Assembly; the Assembly was dissolved, and a new body elected by manhood suffrage, and called the Convention, was elected to decide upon the future government of France. Meantime the king was suspended from his functions. Danton, Robespierre, and Marat, the leaders of the Jacobins, were the chief movers in these great events. The excitement in Paris was extreme. There were rumours of plots on behalf of the king, and at the beginning of September, while the elections to the Convention were in progress, a large number of persons, who had been imprisoned on suspicion of anti-revolutionary aims, were massacred with only the mockery of a trial. Thus the extreme party among the Revolutionists triumphed in Paris. Danton and Robespierre were masters of the situation.

The overthrow of the French Monarchy.

The armies of Austria and Prussia meanwhile were advancing on Paris, and they seemed at first invincible. They advanced up to and beyond the frontiers of France; fortress after fortress fell into their hands. But then, on September 20, 1792, they were met at Valmy in the Argonnes by Dumouriez, and there the Prussian advance was checked. The battle of Valmy has been called one of the decisive battles of the world because it saved the French Republic from extinction; but in itself it was a very small affair, and it was made decisive by the diplomacy that followed and the quarrels of the allies rather than by the actual fighting.

The French victory at Valmy.

But the battle of Valmy saved the Revolution, which could now address itself to the task of political reconstruction. The Republic had been declared in September, 1792. The king was brought to trial for treason against the nation, and was executed in January, 1793.

Execution of the king.

Henceforth the development of the internal affairs of

France and the struggle against the European coalition are of almost equal importance, and the two stand in the most intimate connection. Within the borders of France there was established what is usually known as the Reign of Terror, and at and beyond the frontiers the armies of France were continually struggling with the Austrian, Prussian, British, Dutch, and Spanish armies. If the Reign of Terror was not caused by the foreign war, at least it could not have existed without it. The Jacobins, who now controlled the Government, were a minority in France; they could not rule by constitutional means, for if they appealed to the votes of France they would certainly have been thrust from power. They must rule, therefore, if at all, by a display of force and violence which should overawe their opponents; they justified their actions to themselves by the plea that they were saving France from her internal and external enemies; and France was the less willing to rise against their rule because of the foreign war and the need for concentrated action to meet it.

The Reign of Terror: its chief features.

The great instrument of the Reign of Terror was the Committee of Public Safety—a body of twelve men, in which first Danton, and afterwards Robespierre, had the chief influence. This committee exercised complete control over both the internal and external affairs of France, and all other agencies of government sank into subordination to them. A special tribunal was appointed to try all political offenders, and the supposed enemies of the Revolution and the Jacobins were sent before this tribunal in increasing numbers, and, if found guilty, guillotined upon the great central square of Paris. The number of victims reached their highest figure after Danton had left the committee, and while Robespierre was supreme in it. In 1794, as many as eight hundred and thirty-five persons were guillotined in one month. Among the victims were the Queen Marie Antoinette, and many who had played a leading part in the early victories of the Revolution, but were now branded as Moderates. The Girondist party was entirely crushed by the Jacobin committee.

Institution of the Reign of Terror.

But all through the Terror the Jacobins were busy with

the reorganization of France. They produced a new constitution, though it was never actually set to work; they introduced a new and decimal system of weights and measures. A new calendar was adopted. The weeks and months were re-arranged and renamed, and a new Republican era, beginning with September, 1792 (the declaration of the Republic), was to replace the Christian era. Christianity was "abolished" in Paris, and a new religion was adopted —first the worship of Reason, and then the worship of "The Supreme Being." The latter system was introduced by Robespierre, and reflects closely the ideas of Rousseau. Amid much that was retrograde and oppressive there was much in the work of the Jacobins which became a permanent part of the life and ideas of France.

Jacobin reorganization.

Robespierre.

Born, 1758; member of the States-General, 1789; entered the Committee of Public Safety, July, 1793; guillotined, July, 1794.

Meanwhile the war assumed even greater proportions. In addition to the vast European coalition, there was fierce civil war in France herself. It seems at first sight miraculous that France should have survived. She was saved firstly by the fierce energy of the Jacobins. Great armies were collected by the energy of Danton, and were directed by the wisdom of Carnot. The troops were for the most part inspired by an eager enthusiasm for the Revolution, and their commanders flung them upon the enemy with a disregard for the established rules of warfare and a savage energy which often defeated the methodical procedure of the enemy. But the defeat of the coalition was not merely

French success in the foreign war.

due to the energy of the Committee of Public Safety and the valour of the soldiers of the Republic. The coalition was divided by internal disputes and differences of aim. England, Prussia and Austria had each their own selfish objects which prevented the adoption of a general plan of campaign. And, more important than all, the attention of Prussia and Austria was, after 1792, directed rather to Poland than to France. For Poland, once a great power, and still large and populous, was breaking in pieces. A degrading social system, and a constitution which made good government impossible, made the land a helpless prey to her neighbours. In 1772, Russia, Prussia and Austria, had seized each a portion of the unhappy country. Now, in 1793, another partition was clearly impending; and the coming division of the spoil awoke in the three great powers the darkest suspicions and the fiercest jealousies. As a result, neither Austria nor Prussia threw themselves with any energy into the French War; and this it was which, more than anything else, saved the French Republic from destruction. By the end of 1793 the French armies were everywhere victorious; soon Belgium and Holland were overrun by them, and they began to invade Germany beyond the Rhine.

The partition of Poland.

As the military danger passed away, all justification of the methods of the Terror disappeared. But, in 1794, the Terror was more terrible than ever, and the victims of the guillotine more numerous. However, the Jacobins had begun to quarrel fiercely among themselves, and it was their quarrels which brought the Terror to an end. Danton, the greatest and the noblest of the Jacobins, was no longer in the front of his party. He had been willing to use violence for an object, but that object had been reached; France was saved; and now he pleaded for the adoption of more merciful methods. Robespierre stood at the head of the extreme Terrorist party. He succeeded in sending Danton to the guillotine, and in defeating all his rivals. But, though he became practically dictator of France, his power had no foundation, and he had no ability to maintain it. He struck his opponents down with a relentless hand; but the survivors united against him, and in the rising of

The fall of Robespierre.

Thermidor (July, 1794), Robespierre was overthrown and guillotined.

After his fall the Terror soon ended. The Committee of Public Safety ceased to rule. The Convention resumed something of its constitutional powers. A new constitution (the Constitution of the Year III.) was drawn up in 1795. France was henceforward to be governed by a legislative body consisting of an upper and a lower house, and at the head of the Government there was to be a Directory, or administrative committee, of five persons. The new constitution displeased many parties, and there was a rising against it (October, 1795), but the rising, though at one time dangerous, was suppressed through the action of Napoleon Bonaparte; and from this date the earlier ideals of the Revolution are overshadowed, and finally destroyed, by a military dictatorship.

The end of the Reign of Terror.

The French Revolution, by *Mrs. S. R. Gardiner*; *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*, by *J. H. Rose*; *Carlyle's French Revolution*; *Willert's Life of Mirabeau* (Foreign Statesmen); *Belloc's Life of Danton*; *Belloc's Life of Robespierre*.

CHAPTER XVI

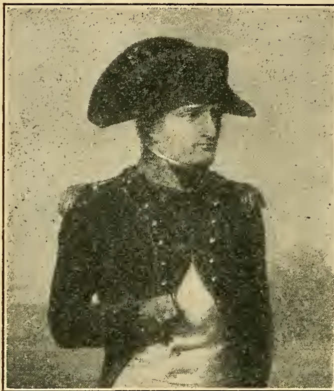
The Napoleonic Era

Napoleon at Toulon	1793
Napoleon in Italy	1796
Revolution of Brumaire	1799
Peace of Amiens	1802
Napoleon Emperor	1804
Battle of Austerlitz	1805
Peace of Tilsit	1807
Napoleon's Russian Campaign	1812
Battle of Waterloo	1815

The French Revolution had begun with aspirations towards universal peace and the declaration of human brotherhood. But when it had run its course for three years, it fell, as we have seen, into a great European war, and at the end of ten

years led to the establishment of the rule of a great soldier. But long before 1799, when Napoleon Bonaparte became clearly master of France, power and influence had moved from the legislators of France to the soldiers, and military rule was seen by many to be impending. Many great revolutions in history have ended in the establishment of some form of military rule, as the Roman Revolution ended in the establishment of the empire by Julius Caesar, and the English Revolution in the military dictatorship of Cromwell. An era of violence and lawlessness makes the need of order more keenly felt, and men acquiesce in the destruction of liberty, provided anarchy is suppressed. During the later stages of the French Revolution the politicians of Paris were more and more discredited, while men began to look with enthusiasm on the great soldiers who guided the armies of France to unexampled successes.

The rise of the power of the army.



Napoleon Bonaparte.
Born, 1769; died, 1821.

Napoleon Bonaparte was by birth a Corsican, but in 1768 Corsica had been annexed to France, and he was thus born as a subject of the French crown. He was destined by his parents for a military career, and went through the usual training in the military academies of France. He sympathized at first very keenly with the ideas of the Revolution, and took a prominent part in the siege of Toulon (December, 1793), when the British and allies were driven from that city, which they had occupied. But his first opportunity for distinction of an important kind came in October, 1795, when a rising of the people of Paris against the Convention and the new constitution was quelled chiefly by his energy. In recognition of his services he was soon appointed to important military command.

The rise of Napoleon.

The new Government of the Directory was at war with a strong European coalition, but Prussia had retired, and the chief antagonists of France were Austria and England. Austria had great possessions in Italy, and the Directory determined to aim a blow against her there. Napoleon was appointed to the command of the "Army of Italy," and in 1796 entered upon his first important campaign. The Austrian power was not strongly rooted in Italy. The people were, as a rule, ready to welcome the ideas of the Revolution, and they regarded their rulers, whether Austrians or native princes, as oppressive, and thought of the French as deliverers. The management of the war, too, by the Austrians was old-fashioned, and the generals were hampered by constant interference from the home authorities. So Napoleon advanced from victory to victory. He blockaded Mantua and took it, in spite of all efforts to relieve it. Then he marched against Vienna, invaded Austrian territory, and forced the Emperor to accept the Peace of Campo Formio. One of the results of this treaty was that the Republic of Venice, the oldest of European states, was destroyed, and its territory handed over to Austria. France had already gained possession of Belgium, and advanced her frontier up to the Rhine.

Napoleon's Italian campaigns.

But the Peace of Campo Formio was shortlived. The rulers of France felt their superiority to the powers of Europe, and during peace gained, by diplomacy and force, greater advantages than they had gained by the war. All Italy and Switzerland passed actually, though not nominally, into the power of France. The plan of the rulers of France was to interfere on behalf of the real or pretended grievances of the people, to alter the form of the government, and to bring the new government under the protection of the French Republic. Thus Switzerland was induced to change her constitution, and the Helvetic Republic was established instead ; in the north of Italy the Cis-Alpine Republic was established in the plains of Lombardy and the north ; a little further west Genoa became the centre of the Ligurian Republic ; and in Naples the monarchy was overthrown and the Parthenopean Republic took its place.

The acquisitions of France during the peace.

Moreover, Napoleon had, on the conclusion of his Italian campaign, set out on a strange expedition against Egypt, which was a dependency of Turkey, and with which France had no quarrel. On his route thither he captured the island of Malta, and then easily overthrew the armies of Egypt; but his fleet was destroyed by Nelson, in the battle of the Nile, and his future and that of his army were very precarious.

These changes upset altogether the balance of power in Europe. France seemed to be becoming mistress of the whole continent. A second great European coalition was formed to resist this new power. Prussia remained obstinately neutral; but Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Turkey, Naples, and Portugal united to attack France, and the absence of Napoleon in Egypt gave them a good hope of success. The most energetic member of the new coalition was Paul, the Czar of Russia. At first, all went well with the coalition. The French were expelled from all Italy except Genoa, and were driven out of Germany beyond the Rhine. But then the quarrels began which nearly to the end ruined these wars of coalitions against France. The chief fault was with Austria; and Russia, bitterly offended by what seemed to be her selfishness and even her treason, withdrew from the coalition.

The second coalition against France.

Meanwhile a great change passed over the Government of France. The rule of the Directory was utterly discredited by the quarrels of the Directors with the Legislative Chambers, by the corruption of the Directors themselves, and by the failure of the French armies against the second coalition. Napoleon seemed shut up in Egypt by the British fleet, but he escaped with a few of his officers, leaving his army behind him. His military triumphs, and the skill with which he appealed to the people, procured for him an enthusiastic welcome. He was without an army, and yet the influence of the Directors was little in comparison with his. The soldiers everywhere were ready to support him, and in November, 1799, he overthrew the Government of the Directory and established a new constitution. This is known as the Revolution of Brumaire (from the newly adopted name of the month in which the event took place). It was a victory of the army

Napoleon First Consul.

NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
Copenhagen
Tilsit
ENGLAND
NETHERLANDS
Utrecht
Ryswick
Nimwegen
Magdeburg
R. Elbe
BRANDENBURG
POMERANIA
Berlin
R. Oder
GRAND DUCHY OF WARSAW
Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen)
RHENISH CONFEDERATION
Paris
Valmy
Strasburg
Nantes
ALSACE
FRANCHE COMTE
HELVETIC REPUBLIC
Blenheim
Vienna
FRANCE
Milan
Venice
KINGDOM OF ITALY
ILLYRIAN PROVINCES
Toulon
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SPAIN
NAPLES
Naples
Statute Miles.
0 50 100 200
Boundary of France 1802
1810
Rhenish Confederation & Dependent States
GEORGE PHILIP & SON LTD.

over civilians, and it brought a much more centralized and despotic form of government. There were to be three consuls at the head of France, but Napoleon was to be the First Consul, and, in reality, all power lay in his hands. The other consuls were little more than his agents. There were various councils to assist in the work of legislation, but they were, or soon became, entirely subordinate to the First Consul. Step by step the power of Napoleon advanced from this time, until he became Emperor of the French.

The First Consul forces peace on Europe.

The new First Consul turned to the war with unsurpassable energy, and soon gave evidence of military genius even more striking than had been afforded in his first Italian campaigns. A double attack was made on the Austrian power. Napoleon himself advanced over the Alps into Italy, while General Moreau conducted an army down the Danube towards Vienna. Both armies were completely successful. In February, 1801, Austria had again to accept peace (the Peace of Lunéville), whereby the republics established by the French were recognized, and the terms of the Peace of Campo Formio were nearly repeated. In the next year (1802) Great Britain accepted the Peace of Amiens, and Europe was for a moment at peace.

Napoleon's domestic reforms.

The interval of peace lasted only for a short time; but this will be a suitable place to notice the vast social changes which were passing over France, as a result of the rule of Napoleon. First the religious question was settled in a way which lasted for a little over a century. The French Revolution had declared religious toleration as one of its central principles; but since the time of the Reign of Terror, the Roman Catholic Church had been, as a matter of fact, cruelly oppressed. And yet a majority of the people of France were still Catholic. Napoleon had from the first recognized the importance of securing the influence of the Church upon his own side, and in 1802 he made with the pope the famous Concordat. By this agreement all religions in France were to be tolerated, but Catholicism became again the official and established religion in France, and was to be supported out of the revenues of the State. But the Government (that is, Napoleon) was to

The Concordat of Napoleon.

make all appointments in the Church, and could thus make of it a direct support to his authority. To the pope belonged merely the empty ceremony of "canonical investiture."

Two years later the pope rendered a great service to Napoleon. He came to Paris and crowned him Emperor in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame. It was a strange position for the son of the Corsican attorney to occupy. But Napoleon was in power more than the equal of any crowned head in Europe, and he believed that, apart from all motives of personal ambition, it would expedite his policy if he were to throw aside the thin pretence of a republic and claim a title, the proudest that European history knew. Henceforth, then, he was "The Emperor," and before long he allied himself by marriage with the most dignified of the reigning families of Europe, the Austrian.

Napoleon Emperor.

He was busy, too, about this period with the whole social structure of France. Great lawyers under his presidency drew up the Code Napoléon (1804), which was henceforth the basis of the legal system of France. A new system of education was elaborated, and titles of honour and hereditary dignities, which had been swept away by the Revolution, were re-established. Napoleon founded the Legion of Honour in 1802, and through all the changes that have agitated France during the past century, membership of the legion has remained a coveted distinction.

The Code Napoléon.

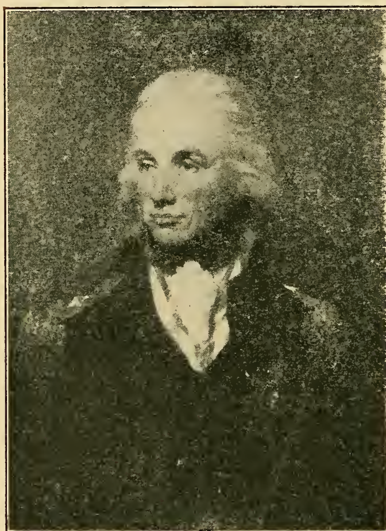
But soon the peace which had been established by the treaties of Campo Formio and Amiens was broken. The rupture with England came first. Each party was suspicious of the other; for England had not ceded Malta, though she had promised to do so by the treaty of Amiens; and Napoleon's power was advancing by leaps and bounds. The various protected republics were brought more and more clearly under the power of France. Quite apart from the question of Malta, the jealousy of Europe would probably not long have allowed the peace to exist.

War with Great Britain.

First, war came between Great Britain and France (1803). But next year Austria and Russia joined in the movement against Napoleon. France had been at war with Europe for twelve years, but the fighting in the past was on a small

scale in comparison with the gigantic struggle which now awaited Europe. What was the general character, what the general results of the struggle? Briefly, Napoleon succeeded when he had only the old governments of Europe to fight against, and failed when behind the governments there arose a resistance of the peoples themselves. And as Europe blazes in the great conflagration, in the midst of which the daemonic figure of Napoleon is always seen, first as its author and then as its victim, the social condition of Europe changes profoundly. The principles of the Revolution—the principles of liberty and equality—were perforce adopted by other countries, in order to fight against Napoleon, the heir of the Revolution. Italy traces the beginning of her new national life to the struggles of these times; but no country was more profoundly influenced than Germany. The antiquated and unwieldy fabric of the Empire was destroyed, and, by the side of Prussia in the north and Austria in the south-east, Napoleon created a new government, "the Confederation of the Rhine," which was formed out of the smaller states of the west and south-west. This creation was not permanent, but Napoleon's policy paved the way for the subsequent re-foundation of the Empire under the presidency of Prussia. But it was not only the political system of Germany which was abolished; its social condition was also profoundly modified. The principles of French legislation

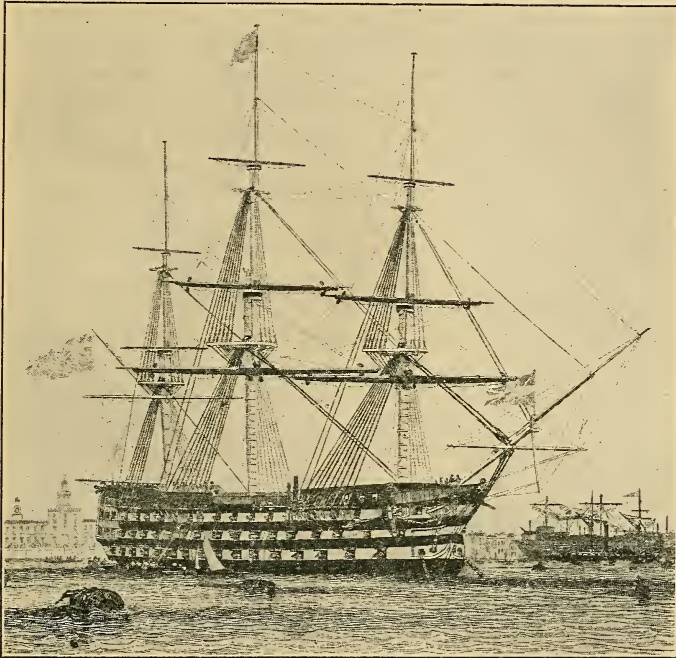
The third coalition.



Lord Nelson.

The result of the war to Germany.

were introduced into Western Germany, and in Prussia serfdom was at last abolished and the whole nation called upon to resist Napoleon by the wise statesmanship of Stein. Everywhere Europe, in fighting against the Revolution, adopted some of its principles, and that was especially true of Germany.



H.M.S. Victory.

Nelson's Flagship at the Battle of Trafalgar.

We can only mark the chief stages in this combat of giants. "The Third Coalition," against which Napoleon was now fighting, seemed overwhelmingly strong, including as it did the navy of Great Britain and the armies of Russia and Austria. Upon the sea the power of France was annihilated in the battle of Trafalgar (1805), and after that Napoleon never dangerously challenged

The war against the third coalition.

the naval supremacy of Britain. But the impression of Trafalgar was swiftly effaced by the victories which Napoleon himself gained in Germany. A large Austrian army capitulated at Ulm, Napoleon entered Vienna, and then at Austerlitz (December, 1805) defeated with overwhelming loss the Austrian and Russian armies in presence of the Emperors of Austria and Russia. Austria was forced to accept the Peace of Pressburg, which recognized many changes which Napoleon had introduced into Germany. But now Prussia, which for twelve years had remained neutral, in spite of solicitation from all sides, was driven, by fear of the growing power of Napoleon in Germany, into war against him. For Prussia had never ceased to aspire to the leadership of Germany, and now that leadership seemed likely to fall to France. Napoleon regarded himself as the "new Charlemagne," and was setting up the kingdoms of Würtemberg and Baden and forming the Confederation of the Rhine, without regard to the wishes or interest of Prussia. Had Prussia joined the coalition before Austerlitz the result might have been decisive; but vigour and insight were not to be found in her councils, and now, too late to be effective, she joined with Russia against the triumphant armies of Napoleon. In October, 1806, at Jena, Napoleon crushed the Prussian armies, and soon entered Berlin and made himself master of Prussia. The Russians and the remnants of the Prussian army still struggled on, but were defeated at Friedland (1807). The Peace of Tilsit concluded this wonderful struggle.

Prussia goes to war with Napoleon.

Prussia, which forty years before seemed invincible, was brought incredibly low. She ceded all her territories west of the Elbe, she ceded her Polish acquisitions, she saw the kingdoms of Westphalia and of Saxony erected to be her rivals and her watchers. The King and Queen of Prussia had to submit to insults and patronage at the hands of the new Emperor of France. The Peace of Tilsit seems to mark essentially the high-water mark of Napoleon's power; though there came afterwards a nominal increase of territory. There had been hardly a check in his career. His achievements both as soldier and statesman seemed something more than human.

The humiliation of Prussia.

The Peace of Tilsit.

He remained the leading figure in Europe for eight more years; but the era of his easy triumphs is over. There comes first victory after desperate fighting, then desperate fighting and no real victory, then the appalling catastrophes of Moscow, Leipsic, and Waterloo.

Napoleon and England.

After Tilsit the attention of Napoleon was especially directed to Great Britain, and he thought to ruin her financially by excluding her commerce from all European countries. In pursuit of this will-of-the-wisp, French armies marched from Lisbon to Moscow, and from Vienna to Waterloo.

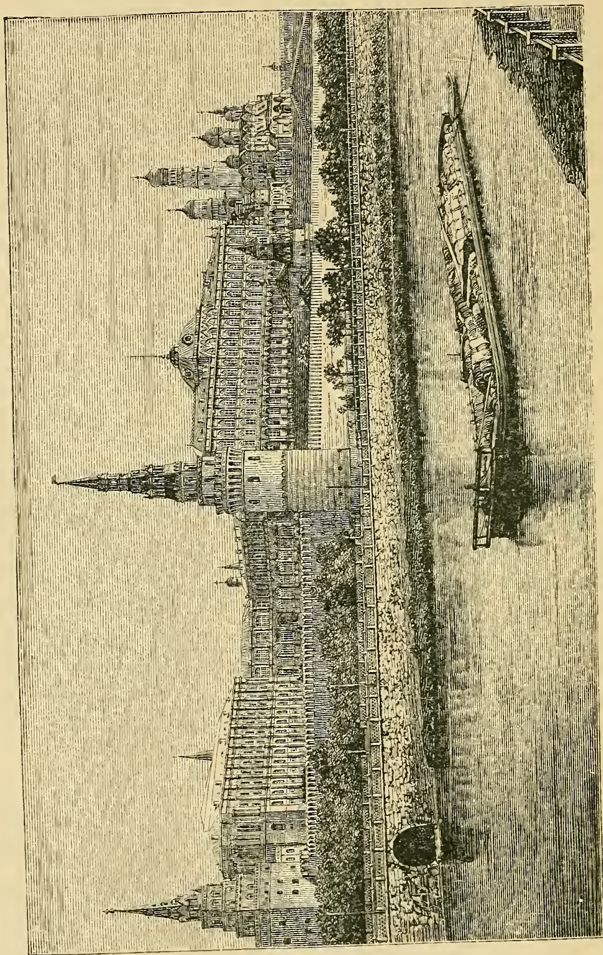
The Spanish War.

The first successful movement against Napoleon's power came from a most unexpected source. There was no government in Europe more contemptible than that of Spain. It had tamely followed the lead of France ever since it had retired from the first coalition. Now Napoleon, by a strange intrigue, deposed its royal family and seated his own brother upon the Spanish throne (1808). Then the Spanish people arose spontaneously against the insolent invader. Europe heard with amazement of their daring, and with still greater amazement of their success; for in 1808 General Dupont capitulated to the Spanish with his whole army at Baylen. It was the first great victory gained against the French armies since the ascendency of Napoleon, and the Spanish resistance was never overcome. Soon an English army, which was later under the command of the Duke of Wellington, came to the help of Spain. Had Napoleon devoted his whole attention to Spain, he might have crushed the Spaniards; but he was too busy elsewhere, and his power bled to death from the Spanish trouble.

The fourth coalition.

It was against Austria that his own efforts were directed, for, partly encouraged by the news from Spain, Austria had again declared war against France, and the new feature of this war was that the Emperor of Austria appealed to his people, and that the Tirolese fought as the Spaniards were fighting. But Napoleon's star was not sinking yet. Again Vienna was entered; again the Austrians were defeated, though with huge exertions; and again the Emperor of Austria accepted peace (the Treaty of Vienna) at the dictation of Napoleon. His Empire reached now its very widest extent.

The accompanying map (p. 329) must be studied to realize how wide it was.



The Kremlin, Moscow.

But Napoleon's power rested on the insecure foundation of force, and he sought rather to overawe than to conciliate his antagonists. And still the Spanish war went on.

Now came the great catastrophe of his career. History knows of no more colossal tragedy. Since the Peace of Tilsit Napoleon had tried to secure the alliance of Russia, and for a time had succeeded. But now, in 1812, jealousy and rivalry led to war between the Emperor of France and the Czar of Russia. Napoleon determined to dictate his terms in Moscow as he had dictated them in Vienna. He crossed the frontier with close on 600,000 men; he fought and won a great battle; he occupied Moscow. But the Czar showed no sign of negotiating; the winter threatened. Napoleon determined to retreat. He had lost terribly on the outward march. He suffered still more terribly as he struggled back to Germany. Of his 600,000 men he had a mere handful when he re-entered Germany. By death and capture he had lost quite 400,000 men.

The Russian campaign.

A general European rising followed. Austria, Prussia, and Russia flung themselves upon the now clearly tottering fabric of French power, and Great Britain assisted with an army in Spain, and subsidies in Central Germany. In October, 1813, Napoleon was crushed in the great battle of Leipsic (the Battle of the Nations). He escaped to France with a remnant of his troops. The allies followed after him, and after much desperate fighting he was forced to abdicate, and was allowed to retire to the island of Elba. Louis XVIII., brother of Louis XVI., whom the Revolution had guillotined, was made King of France. A congress of all the European powers was called at Vienna to settle the political condition of Europe, shaken as it was by the storms of a quarter of a century.

The wars of liberation.

But Elba was not the end. France regretted the glories of the Napoleonic *régime*, and was offended by many acts of the new Government. The great powers were quarrelling furiously in Vienna. So Napoleon left Elba, was received by France with a transport of enthusiasm, and again faced a coalition of all Europe, not without some possibility of success. But at Waterloo, June 18, 1815, he was defeated by the forces of Great Britain and Prussia. He abdicated a second time, was exiled to Saint Helena, and died there in 1821.

Waterloo.

J. H. Rose's Life of Napoleon; Fyffe's Modern Europe; Seeley's Life of Stein.

CHAPTER XVII

Reaction and Revolution

Congress of Vienna	1815
Louis Philippe, King of France	1830
The Year of Revolutions	1848
Napoleon III., Emperor	1852

WHEN the battle of Waterloo had been fought, the representatives of the states of Europe again met at Vienna to determine the boundaries of the different European states and other political questions. No general principle controlled their decisions. They refused to recognize the right of peoples to a voice in the settlement of their fate, and their refusal prepared serious troubles for the next generation. France was restored to her frontiers of 1792, and Louis XVIII. reigned again. Prussia abandoned some portions of Poland and gained instead valuable territories on the Rhine; while Austria abandoned Belgium but was compensated by acquisitions in Italy and in the east of Germany. Thus Prussia became a thoroughly German power while Austria added more foreign elements to those which she already possessed. Herein lay one great cause which made Prussia fifty years later the head of Germany and thrust Austria from that position. Belgium was joined to Holland, and ruled as the Kingdom of Holland by the head of the house of Orange. Norway was annexed to the Kingdom of Sweden. The claims of Poland and of Greece were not listened to. Italy remained divided. Spain was restored to its old royal house, and was ruled in the old bad way.

The Congress of Vienna.

With the cessation of the great war, the most modern period of European history begins; and it is far more difficult to write of it than of the earlier ages, for we are often too near to it to be able to distingush the really important events. Before we proceed to glance at the movements of politics and war, it will be well to note that forces were coming into European life which earlier ages had hardly known. The steam-engine had been invented, and soon

The new forces.

The Settlement of 1814–1815.

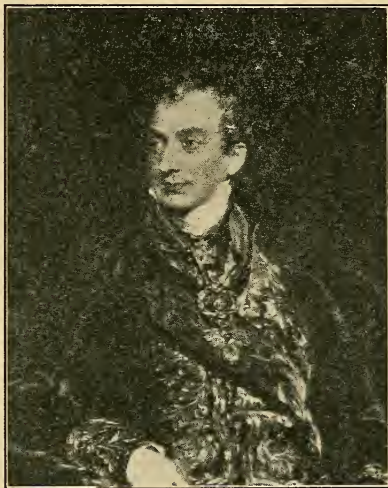
the locomotive came, and through their influence there rose first for England, and then for all Europe, a system of industry and labour which was new and raised new problems. More and more of the energy of statesmen has been devoted to the settlement of those problems, and they are far from settled yet. Europe, too, during the nineteenth century, came into even closer relations with the countries outside Europe. The eighteenth century was the period of the "expansion of Europe." European powers, and especially Great Britain, had then gained possessions in all parts of the world; and the rise of the United States had already shown the vast importance of "Europe beyond the Seas." But during the nineteenth century the reaction of the rest of the world upon Europe has been still greater and more continuous. The race for foreign possession has been a frequent cause of rivalry among European states, and it is now evident that Europe is not destined to exercise a perpetual dominion over all other parts of the globe. In war, politics, religion, and thought, the influence of Japan, China, India, Africa has been great, and will certainly be much greater. European history is a part, not the whole, of the history of civilization. Another vast topic, which we must leave untouched, is the development of religion and philosopy during the nineteenth century. Its influences have been as important as during earlier periods; but it seems too early to summarize it and examine its working.

Prince Metternich and his influence.

After 1815, the dominant feeling in Europe was distrust of the principles of the French Revolution, and a desire to prevent their issuing in fresh troubles. Austria was the chief influence, and in Austria Prince Metternich was the great power. This subtle diplomatist had contributed much to the overthrow of Napoleon; and now he threw his influence everywhere against the grant of constitutional liberties. In 1815, hopes had been held out that all the German states would receive free constitutions; but these hopes were for the most part disappointed. Prussia remained an absolute monarchy, and throughout Germany the Governments were, as a rule, oppressive, and crushed the freedom of the Press. The same tendency was observable in France also. Constitutional government

could not be quite destroyed, but it was limited in every possible way. Through Metternich's influence there grew up what was known as the Holy Alliance, of which Russia, Prussia, and Austria were the chief members, for resisting revolutionary movements anywhere in Europe; and promising constitutional movements in Spain and Naples were actually suppressed by this means.

Yet the sense of national life, and the desire for liberty, formed a force too great for Metternich and the Holy Alliance to suppress in the long run. In the chief states of Europe the repressive powers were too strong, and the memories of the Napoleonic period too vivid to allow of a rising. But liberty found champions in the colonies of Spain in South America, and in Greece. Greece formed a part of the dominions of the Sultan of Turkey, and for four centuries the people had bowed under the oppressive yoke of aliens in race and religion; but all the time they cherished their language, a sense of their nationality, and a desire for freedom. An insurrection broke out in 1821. Metternich and the European powers who agreed with his policy prepared to crush down this attack upon the established European order. It was largely through the interference of England, under the direction of Canning, that the cause of liberty triumphed both in the Spanish colonies and in Greece.



Prince Metternich.

Born, 1773; at the Congress of Vienna, 1814; overthrown by the Revolution at Vienna, 1848; died, 1859.

The first risings against absolutism.

In 1830 the established order was rudely shaken in Western

Europe. The chief movement came in France itself. Louis XVIII. had been succeeded by his brother, Charles X., and a spirit of reaction against all ideas of liberty animated his policy. France was recovering from the exhaustion and the depression which had followed on the great wars; the ideas of the revolution were again in the ascendant; and the efforts of Charles X. to repress them produced an outbreak. Paris rose against the king's policy. He found himself almost without support, and fled to England. The leaders of the revolution were not prepared to set up a republic. The monarchy was transferred from the house of Bourbon (to which Charles X. had belonged) to the house of Orleans, and Louis Philippe was declared king. The new monarchy was much more liberal than the old one. The change was not a violent one, but it was a great break in the arrangements established in 1815. And the movement in France encouraged other movements elsewhere. It had much to do with the winning of the Reform Bill in England, and it produced at once a movement in Belgium. The Belgians complained that the Dutch regarded them as a subject people, and put upon them an unfair part of the financial burdens of the State. They rose and expelled the Dutch troops, and secured their independence. Europe was frightened of republics, and so, in Belgium as in France, a constitutional monarchy was set up. The settlement of 1815 had received a second heavy blow.

The new revolution in France.

The accession of Louis Philippe.

The revolution in Belgium.

But these were small events compared with what was soon to come. Throughout Europe there was growing up eager political and social speculation, as enthusiastic as that which preceded the French Revolution, and much more definite and constructive. The wave of revolutionary thought passed all over Europe, but as before France was the centre of it. The problem of social organization was occupying men's minds. Could society be so organized, men were asking, that poverty and crime and oppression would be banished from the world? The belief in the possibility of great improvements was again universal. Fourier, Saint Simon, and Comte in France had developed systems that

The new ideas in Europe.

powerfully affected men's ideas. Socialism in its modern phase began to be a force in politics. And at the same time there was growing a strong sense of nationality and of race. Peoples that had been oppressed by alien races or governments were everywhere claiming an independent life. These aspirations and beliefs brought about the revolutionary movements of the year 1848.

The revolutions of the year 1848.

The chief countries which were stirred by this new leaven were Italy, Austria, Germany, and France; but there was hardly a corner of Europe which did not feel some results of its working.

Italy.

Italy, since the fall of the Roman Empire, had never been a political unity; and, both during the Middle Ages and since, her divisions and her weakness had made her the prey of the stronger nations of Europe. During the storms of the Napoleonic period the dream of Italian unity had arisen only to be rudely dispelled. But in 1848 demands were made by the various states for a constitution, and these demands could not be refused. Sicily, Naples, Piedmont, and Tuscany received constitutions. Milan and other cities of the north rebelled against the Austrian dominion. Even in Rome the pope granted certain constitutional rights to the people. Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, put himself at the head of the national movement. It seemed as though the power of Austria would be annihilated, and Italy, in whatever political shape, would be mistress of her own destinies.

Austria.

Austria had troubles on her hands outside of Italy. The Austrian Empire was made up of a strange collection of races, languages, and religions. The new hopes of change and the new doctrine of nationality excited among them the liveliest hopes. Strongest among these subject nationalities were the Hungarians and the Czechs of Bohemia. Kossuth, the leader of the Hungarians, gave the movement its force and energy, and demanded an independent government for Hungary and the other racial units of Austria. The new movement was so strong and threatening that the emperor was forced to yield. Metternich, who represented in the popular mind all that was worst in the old system, was dismissed; feudalism was abolished;

Hungary.

and a constitution was promised. Later the Emperor was forced to flee from Vienna. The problem of the organization of the many races of Austria was an extraordinarily difficult one, but change of some sort seemed assured.

In Germany the aspirations to national unity had grown strong ever since the fall of Napoleon. Prussia and the larger states had, in 1837, formed a customs union or Zollverein, and the practice of common action, then initiated for commercial purposes, paved the way for political union. Thus the year 1848 found the country eager for action. The Prussians demanded a constitution, and the news of the fall of Metternich in Vienna induced the king, Frederick William IV., to yield. A constitution was promised, along with freedom of the Press, and a closer federation for Germany. A national assembly was summoned ; and here too the eager anticipations of liberty and constitutional progress seemed fully justified.

Germany and Prussia.

In France, so often the centre of European revolutionary movements, events were on a larger scale and achieved a more immediate success. The Government of King Louis Philippe and his minister Guizot was in many respects a good one, and the interests of the middle and commercial classes had been especially attended to. But it was not calculated to evoke enthusiasm, and latterly had had recourse to measures of oppression against its opponents. The minds of many Frenchmen were turning fondly to the glorious memories of the great Napoleon, while others were eager for change which should usher in the golden age, in the possibility of which so many men believed. Against these new feelings the commonplace Government of Louis Philippe was quite unable to maintain itself. Riots broke out in consequence of the opposition of the Government to reform, and Louis Philippe made no effort to fight against them. He abdicated in favour of his grandson, and fled to England. But Paris was in no mind to accept a new monarchy. The republic was declared, and a national assembly elected by manhood suffrage was called together. At first it seemed that the change would be made without bloodshed ; but the conflict of aims between the moderate and

The revolution in France.

The second republic.

the socialist party led to some days of fierce fighting, in which the moderates triumphed. A new constitution was elaborated in which there was to be a single legislative chamber and a president. Who was to be president? Much of the future of France depended on the answer to that momentous question. Louis Napoleon, the nephew of the great Napoleon, had recently returned to France after a very adventurous career. All the memories of the greatness of France were connected with his name. The result of the election for the presidency was that an enormous majority of the voters declared for him. Thus Louis Napoleon became President of the second French Republic.

Louis Napoleon.

So far, then, the victory lay everywhere with the forces of change, nationality, and constitutional progress. But soon a reaction set in at every point, and upon some arenas of the struggle the Revolution was crushed, upon others its victory was postponed.

Reaction.

In Italy the high hopes of the Revolutionists had failed before the end of the year. The Governments which had granted constitutions were in some instances anxious to avail themselves of the first opportunity to take them away again; there were jealousies between the forces of the different states; there was no capable military leader. The Austrian troops, therefore, found little difficulty in suppressing what had at one time seemed the irresistible movement of the north of Italy. Resistance collapsed after a couple of defeats, and the *status quo* in the north of Italy was restored. The same fate befell the Revolutionists in the south of Italy. The constitutions were withdrawn and the old form of government re-established. There had been for a time a republic in Rome, where Mazzini and Garibaldi were the leading spirits; but this, too, failed, and the Papal power was restored. The hope of Italian liberty did not disappear by any means from the minds of men, but it had to wait twenty years for its fulfilment.

Reaction in Italy.

In Austria events followed a somewhat similar course. Here, too, there was division of aim and jealousy between race and race, and thus the Government was able for the time to triumph completely. For a time

Reaction in Austria.

Vienna was in the hands of the insurgents; but the city was recaptured by the royalist troops, and a reactionary *régime* re-established. The movement was most dangerous in Hungary, for there an independent government had been proclaimed, and in Kossuth the Hungarian movement had a chief of great wisdom and tenacity. But Hungary had no force that could oppose the Austrian armies when they were free from the Italian difficulty, and now Austria was assisted by Russia. In 1849 the Hungarians were utterly defeated, Kossuth was driven to take refuge in Turkey, and the country passed again under the oppressive yoke of Austria. The general results of the "year of Revolution" for Austria were to strengthen the power of the Austrian Emperor.

Hungary.

Nowhere had the hopes of change been higher than in Germany. There men had confidently hoped for a united Germany with constitutional governments established in the different states. All had turned on Prussia and the King of Prussia, and if Frederick William IV. and his advisers had been possessed of real statesmanship and energy, a German Empire under Prussian presidency might have been founded now instead of twenty-three years later. But the Prussian king had neither clearness of thought nor energy of action. He allowed the favourable moment of Austria's complications in Italy and Hungary to pass. He offended the monarchies of Europe, and especially the Czar, on the one hand, and on the other he failed to satisfy the revolutionary and democratic aspirations of his own people. When Austria recovered from her troubles her influence was thrown against Prussia. For a moment it seemed as if the crown of a united Germany was within Frederick William's grasp, but then all changed, and Germany gained neither unity nor liberty from the crisis of 1848. Unity she was destined to gain nearly a quarter of a century later by far different methods than those of which the revolutionists of 1848 dreamed; liberty, in the sense in which the word was used in that time of sublime enthusiasms, she has not yet gained.

Germany.

The reaction in France was equally complete. Louis Napoleon, the president, stood to the constitution somewhat in the same relation in which his uncle had stood after the

Revolution of Brumaire (1799). All men's eyes were upon him, and the Assembly was discredited by its squabbles, the desire of a section to restore the Government of Charles X., and certain measures it passed, whereby the control of education in France was given to the clergy. At the end of four years Napoleon should have retired from the presidency. But in 1851, confident of his own popularity, he dismissed the Assembly and submitted a new constitution to France, whereby the executive government, including the president, was to be elected for ten years. An almost unanimous vote gave Napoleon the powers he desired. A year later he felt himself strong enough to take a yet further step. He had been on a great tour through the provinces of France, and felt sure of their support. He asked, therefore, for the restoration of the Empire, and again an overwhelming majority supported his ambition. He reigned until 1870 with the title of Napoleon III.

The second French Empire.

Napoleon III.

Napoleon III.

Son of Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland; born, 1808; in London, 1838; President of the Republic, 1848; emperor, 1852; a prisoner at Sedan, 1870; died, 1873.

Thus the second French Republic had ended even more quickly than the first in the establishment of the Empire. The revolutionary movements ended for the time everywhere in the temporary victory of absolutism and reaction. But the victory could be only temporary. The ideas of 1848, like the ideas of 1789, were too important, and a large part of them too true, to be annihilated by military or constitutional defeat. So men still cherished all over Europe the vision of a regenerated Europe which had floated upon them in 1848; and before the end of the century some of these ideas were realized in France and elsewhere.

Fyffe's Modern Europe; Alison Phillips' Modern Europe; The Student's History of France; Seignobos' Political History of Europe since 1814.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Unification of Italy and Germany

The Crimean War	1854
Napoleon III. in Italy	1859
The Kingdom of Italy	1865
William I., King of Prussia	1861
Battle of Sadowa	1866
Franco-German War	1870
The German Empire	1871

The enthusiastic aspirations of the revolutionists of 1848 had failed at every point. They had desired political self-government, and the establishment of national unity. But the result was that nearly everywhere absolute governments were established; Italy and Germany were still divided, and the national spirit unsatisfied; Hungary still lay under Austrian rule. During the next twenty-three years Italy and Germany achieved the national unity which the revolutionists had aspired after. But by what different means! Popular enthusiasm and the rights of nationalities counted in the final result for very little. Resolute statesmanship, employing astute intrigue and great armaments, brought Italy and Germany under one government. It was not done, as Bismarck said, by Parliamentary decrees, but by blood and iron.

These great events can best be understood if we look first at France. Napoleon III. was ruling there. He had been raised to the imperial throne by the vote of the people of France, and he claimed to represent the popular will and the Napoleonic tradition. But there was little in common between the methods and character of Napoleon I. and those of his nephew. The prestige of France was great in Europe; but she was no longer able to force her will upon civilized Europe and to refashion

the European state system as she thought well. France was far weaker than in the great days of Napoleon, and Europe was far stronger. Thus Napoleon III. had to have recourse to subtle intrigue, where Napoleon I. would have struck straight and hard. Yet military prestige was absolutely necessary to Napoleon III. Only by dazzling the eyes of the people could he induce them to forego their desire for freedom and democratic government.

Napoleon III. had been proclaimed Emperor in December, 1852. In less than two years France was at war with Russia. The question at issue involved the whole future of the Turkish state and the position of Russia in the east of Europe. In resisting Russian pressure upon Turkey, France had the alliance not only of Turkey herself, but of Great Britain, and, during the later stages of the war, of the King of Sardinia: that is, of the strongest state of northern Italy. There is no need here to recapitulate the course of the war. Vast numbers were employed; there was great loss of life by battle, disease, and cold; but the course of the campaign was tame, and the strategy was dull and unadventurous, compared with what Europe had known during the great Napoleonic wars. No first-rate military ability was shown, at least, on the side of the allies; but the Russians were defeated again and again, and after the fall of the great city of Sebastopol, in September, 1855, Russia accepted terms. The integrity of Turkey was guaranteed; Russian warships were excluded from the Black Sea, and her southward advance seemed permanently checked. A few years later it turned out that the loss inflicted on Russia was not so great as it seemed. Her warships were soon seen in the Black Sea again, and her armies passed victoriously to the south of the Danube.

The Crimean War.

Napoleon III. had achieved a success in the Crimean War, which was extremely valuable in consolidating his power at home. Soon he appeared decisively on a still more important arena. The beginnings of Italian unity and liberty were largely the work of his diplomacy and his armies.

The liberation of Italy.

In no country had the movements of 1848 been attended by nobler enthusiasms than in Italy. The prophet of Italian

liberty was Mazzini, who preached the doctrines of democracy and national unity with unsurpassed religious fervour. But nothing had been done. Italy was still divided. Austria held Venice and a broad tract of the valley of the Po; the papal states stretched across Italy, turbulent and ill governed; in the south Naples and Sicily were in the oppressive hands of the Bourbon monarchy. But in the far north-west there was the so-called kingdom of Sardinia, consisting of Savoy and Piedmont, as well as of Sardinia; and the Sardinian king, Victor Emmanuel, made himself the representative of Italian sentiment, and finally carried the cause to victory. But, great as were the services of Victor Emmanuel, the liberation of Italy was not really his work. The two names that should be most closely associated with the great result are Cavour, the diplomatist, and Garibaldi, the soldier.

The first stage.

Napoleon III. desired a further field in which to distinguish himself; and Cavour saw in French assistance the best hope of starting the national movement. He hoped at first that diplomacy and a show of force would be enough; but hard fighting was necessary in the end. In 1859 a French army appeared in the plains of Lombardy—where French armies had fought so often and with such varied success during the last four hundred years. France and her Italian allies triumphed again, first at Magenta, then at Solferino. It seemed as though Austria might be driven from Italy, and the highest dreams of the Italian patriots brought near to accomplishment. But Napoleon had had enough of the war, and was frightened by the aspirations of Italy. He concluded peace with the Emperor of Austria, on terms widely different from the desires of Cavour. The King of Sardinia was to receive Lombardy; all else was to be restored to the former owners. Cavour retired into private life in passionate indignation.

The second stage (1859).

It seemed that little had been done for the national cause, but the prestige of Austria had been shaken and the position of the Sardinian king, as the champion of Italian unity, established. The next step followed very quickly. To the south of the Sardinian kingdom there lay Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the Romagna (a part of the papal territories). Risings broke out in all these states—a

common army was organized—union with the kingdom of Sardinia was demanded. Cavour returned from his retirement as this new hope dawned. Napoleon III. was inclined to resist this infringement of the arrangement that he had made, but he was bought off by the cession of Nice and Savoy. So the above-mentioned districts were incorporated in the Sardinian kingdom, and free Italy stretched far into the centre of the peninsula.

The next step was the most romantic of all. Sicily and Naples had been stirred by the great events in the north, but there had been no actual movement of revolt against the Bourbon dominion. But now Garibaldi arose, one of the most adventurous soldiers of the nineteenth century. He landed with a thousand red-shirted volunteers in Sicily, and his arrival was the signal for the overthrow of the Bourbon dominion in the island. He crossed the straits, and the Neapolitan kingdom fell into his hands, though not without fierce fighting. Cavour saw Garibaldi's advance with alarm as well as hope; for Garibaldi's ideas were of an extreme revolutionary type, and the statesman in him was not the equal of the soldier. But in the end diplomacy solved the problem. Not only Naples and Sicily, but the greater part of the papal territories as well were annexed to what was now the kingdom of Italy.

The third stage (1860).

Even now the wishes of the Italian patriots fell short of realization. Venice still bowed to the yoke of the foreigner; and Rome, by far the most famous of all the Italian cities, was no part of the new Italian kingdom. We must anticipate events in order to see how Venice and Rome were incorporated. In order to gain that end Italy had to triumph over the opposition or the jealousy of Austria and of France: for Austria was mistress of the Venetian lands, and the papal power in Rome was supported by a French garrison. But in 1866, Austria was at war with Prussia, and the Italians, though far from triumphant in their conflicts with the Austrian troops, succeeded in securing the territory of Venice in the settlement with which the war ended. Then, in 1870, France succumbed to the attack of Prussia, in that great war at which we must glance in a moment. The French garrison, which had for some

The completion of Italian unity.

time past occupied Rome and defended the Papal power, was withdrawn, and in September the Italian troops occupied the Eternal City. The unity of Italy was complete, and the temporal dominion of the Papacy was at an end.

Italy was at last more than a "geographical expression." She was a state, and henceforth a progressive member of the European commonwealth of states. Very shortly after the occupation of Rome by the Italian troops, Germany was declared an Empire, and was henceforth, until the present time, the great military state of Europe. Here, too, we must trace the chief steps by which the great event was arrived at.

The foundation of the German Empire.

German unity was the work of Prussia even more than Italian unity was the work of Sardinia ; and Prussia achieved her great object by the humiliation of two rivals, Austria and France. Austria was her rival within the limits of Germany itself ; France was her rival in Europe, and resisted, openly or secretly, each step in the advance of Prussia towards the refoundation of the German Empire. But before the outbreak of the great war there were signs that, in spite of Napoleon's success in the Crimea and Italy, the power of France was declining. In 1863, a rising in Poland was beaten down, and the efforts of France to control the movement were quite unavailing. A little later the effort of Napoleon III. to establish a European ruler, in close alliance with France, upon the throne of Mexico, ended in ignominious failure, as soon as the United States were free from the great civil war which had been raging within their boundaries. Moreover, popular discontent was beginning to show itself in a dangerous shape in France itself.

Decline in the power of France.

Three names stand out in Prussia's triumphant march on the path to Empire—the king, William I., who came to the throne in 1860 ; Bismarck, the powerful, capable, unscrupulous diplomatist of the age ; and Moltke, the organizer of the Prussian army and the greatest strategist that Europe has known since the fall of Napoleon.

The agents in the Prussian victory.

It was upon Austria that the first blow of Prussia fell Their rivalry became acute over the question of the duchies

of Schleswig-Holstein, which had been forced from the grasp of Denmark by a joint Austrian and Prussian occupation. After the occupation, the future of Schleswig-Holstein led to sharp diplomatic friction and then to war. Prussia had the alliance of Italy, but the chances were believed to be favourable to Austria. Yet the Austrian power collapsed at once. A single great battle (Sadowa, July, 1866) forced Austria to accept terms. The German confederation was dissolved. Austria was excluded from any participation in German affairs. Prussia annexed Hanover, and was henceforth the chief power in Germany, without rival or second. Now the great monarchy was to receive the further dignity of the imperial title, as Charles the Great and Otto I. had received it; but this time the pope was to have no hand in conferring it.

The Franco-German War.

There have been few great wars in European history where the nominal cause of the struggle has been more widely removed from the real cause than in the war between France and Prussia which broke out in 1870. The diplomatists were arguing about the succession to the Spanish crown; but the real point at issue was the rival claims of France and Prussia to a leading place in Europe. Napoleon III. and his ministers had followed the advance of Prussia with great jealousy, and had declared that Germany must not be united under her leadership; and Prussia saw in the power of France the chief obstacle to her imperial ambitions. Napoleon III. had no desire for war for its own sake, but his unstable position in France required the support of diplomatic or military success, and he believed that success in a war against Germany was assured. The statesmen of Prussia welcomed a struggle, for which they had long and carefully prepared, and they, too, were confident of success.

The isolation of France.

The diplomacy of Prussia had carefully isolated France before the outbreak of hostilities. She had hoped for help from Italy, Austria, and the states of southern Germany; but Italy was irritated with France on account of the surrender of Savoy and Nice, which she had enforced, while Bismarck had succeeded in making arrangements which assured the neutrality of Austria and the active assistance of the southern states of Germany.

The French had designed to open the war by an attack on Germany, but they found themselves unprepared when the hour of action arrived. On the Prussian side there was a complete contrast: all was efficiency and preparedness; and immediately, on the outbreak of hostilities, an enormous German force poured across the French frontier. The rapidity and completeness of the successes which followed exceeded anything that Europe had known since the days of the first Napoleon. The French did not win one single engagement of even second-rate importance, and had immediately to change aggression for a defensive campaign. But their efforts at concentration were ruined by the overwhelming catastrophe of Sedan (September, 1870), in which the Emperor Napoleon was defeated and forced to surrender. Marshal Bazaine was shut up in Metz, but he also was forced to surrender in October, 1870, with all his troops. Meanwhile a rising in Paris had declared the empire abolished and the republic re-established. If Prussia's quarrel had been only with Napoleon III. the war might have ended here; but Bismarck declared that France must cede Alsace and Lorraine. The republican government refused so great a surrender, and the German army advanced to the siege of Paris. The defence of the city was conducted with great skill and heroic endurance; but all efforts to relieve the city from the outside, and all sallies from the inside, were beaten off. At the end of January, 1871, the great city—in some respects the capital of Europe—surrendered. Alsace and part of Lorraine were to become German again, and France was to pay a vast war indemnity.

The course of the war.

Before the conclusion had been reached the Prussian king had become the Emperor of Germany. The prodigious success of the war had set the seal to Prussia's predominance in Germany. Conditions had to be arranged with Bavaria and Würtemberg, and this was the work of Bismarck. At last, in January, 1871, William of Prussia was acclaimed emperor in the great hall of the Palace of Versailles. Versailles had often, in the past, re-echoed the humiliations of Germany at the hands of France: the palace of Louis XIV. and Napoleon I. now witnessed the completion of the triumph of Germany.

Foundation of the German Empire.

The French Republic had another terrible trial to pass through before it could feel itself in any way secure. Paris had retained its National Guard when the rest of the troops were disarmed, and the city now broke out in fierce revolt against the terms of the peace and the form of the new republic, and demanded an independent government for Paris herself. This movement — usually known as the Paris Commune — was suppressed after much fighting and cruelty on both sides. But it was suppressed, and the Third Republic, born amidst such agonies, has ruled France ever since.

The Commune.

Stillman's Union of Italy; *Headlam's Bismarck* (Heroes of the Nations); *Cavour*, by *Countess Cesaresco* (Foreign Statesmen).

CHAPTER XIX

The Last Generation of European History

Russo-Turkish War	1877
Hague Conference	1898

The thirty-five years that have elapsed since the conclusion of the Franco-German War have not made us think that war less important in the development of Europe. Rather we see that the changes which it introduced on either side of the Rhine, and the influence which it has exercised on other countries, are permanent factors in the relations of the states of modern Europe.

The influence of the Franco-German War.

Germany remains, in her essential features, what that great war made her—an empire nominally federal, but really guided by the policy of Prussia. The Emperor William, already an old man when the great triumph was achieved, died in 1888; and in the same year, after the short reign of his father, the present Emperor William II. came to the throne. Moltke died in 1891. In 1890 Bismarck was dismissed from office by the young and ardent emperor; but in spite of all changes the German state has proceeded

Germany.

along the lines which were laid down during the great struggle. It remains for Europe the great example of a state, strongly and efficiently organized upon a monarchical basis, with universal military service and universal education as the chief supports to its power. Since 1871 Germany has grown, too, with amazing rapidity to be one of the chief commercial states of Europe. The methods that had been so successful in military matters have been applied to commerce. But with this rapid development of German wealth, many of the old characteristics of Germany have disappeared. There is a marked decline in the old simplicity of life, in the old spirit of idealism, and in many of the old enthusiasms. The problem of the claims and rewards of labour, moreover, has emerged with a strength of organization and definiteness of aim in Germany greater than elsewhere in Europe. Despite all the greatness of the past, no country in Europe interrogates the future with more anxious questioning than Germany.

France.

For France, as for Germany, the war of 1870 was the beginning of a new phase in her life. The disaster of the war, almost unparalleled in its intensity, seemed at first as though it would efface France from the list of the great powers. But the result has proved far different. The history of France during the past generation has indeed been full of storm; but not only has the state survived, but each decade has seen her growing in steadiness and in prosperity. The republic which had been founded amid all the horrors of disaster and civil war, seemed at first little likely to maintain itself against its opponents. For supporters of the claims of the Bourbon, the Orleanist, and Napoleonist dynasties all intrigued against it, and trusted to gain their own ends in the confusion. The political life of France has indeed exhibited constant change upon the surface. None of the eight presidents who have been elected since 1871 have really controlled its destinies, and in the ministries change has succeeded change with bewildering rapidity. Nor has France been without grave troubles of every kind; threats of renewed war with Germany, labour troubles of extreme bitterness, difficulties in adjusting the relations between the army and the civil authorities, colonial difficulties, and in the last years a bitter contest with

the Church. Perhaps no one of these troubles has quite disappeared. But France has learned much in education, in political organization, and in war from the great enemy who humiliated her; and it is at least possible that the period of violent change in the form of government may have come to an end for France with the great war; and the future may see the settlement and progress of the last thirty-five years carried further and placed beyond the danger of complete overthrow. The warm friendship which now exists between her and Great Britain—what is known as the *entente cordiale* —may be hoped to contribute to this end.

National armaments and the Hague Conference.

For Europe generally the generation since the great war has been one of peace, broken only by the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, which will soon be mentioned; and all states of Europe have felt the urgency of the tasks of domestic organization which lie before them. But, in spite of this, in every country in Europe these years have seen a constant and rapid increase in military preparations, until Europe has become a vast armed camp. For this result the Franco-German War is chiefly responsible, both by reason of the example it gave of the success of a fully armed and fully prepared state, and also because of the bitter antagonisms and jealousies which it left behind. In spite of constant declarations of the ruinous nature of the burdens involved, and of the unreasonable character of the competition in armaments, no effort to reduce the armed forces of Europe has as yet proved successful. In 1898 the Czar of Russia invited the other powers of Europe to co-operate with him in an effort to procure disarmament; and delegates from all civilized states met in response to this appeal at the Hague in 1898. It is possible, even probable, that future ages may look back to that conference as the beginning of very great things. It has already done something to provide a machinery of arbitration between states; but the proposed reduction of armaments has not taken place. Rather they have increased, and soon after the conference had finished its labours, Great Britain at the one extremity of Europe, and Russia at the other, became involved in wars of enormous scope.

But in Europe itself, there has been only one serious war—

the Russo-Turkish struggle, already alluded to. This book has throughout concerned itself chiefly with the great states and races of Western Europe, and has only occasionally looked south of the Danube into the Balkan peninsula, or east of the German frontier into Russia, and we must now be content with a slight glance at this war. The great effort of the Crimean War had not succeeded in infusing new strength into the Turkish state. Political reforms were not introduced, or, if introduced, remained inoperative; the different races within her borders were restless and discontented; all her Christian subjects resented the rule of a Mahomedan power. Russia, meanwhile, was advancing and consolidating her position. She had availed herself of the Franco-German War to repudiate her promise to keep no war vessels in the Black Sea. While Turkey seemed more and more to deserve the title of the "sick man of Europe," Russia rose more and more in the hopes of the subject populations of the Balkan peninsula, and assumed the *rôle* of protector of the Christians within the Sultan's dominions. The stirrings of the Christian subjects of Turkey on the Danube frontier, and the fierce repressive measures of the Sultan, gave Russia an excuse for interfering, first diplomatically, and then by force of arms. In the struggle that followed Europe stood aside, and the war was a duel between the Russians and the Turks. The early results were surprising. The Turks showed unexpected military vigour; the Russians were beaten at several points, and many prophesied a Turkish victory. But when Russia had had time to bring up reinforcements the result was soon placed beyond doubt. Constantinople itself was threatened. Then the interests of Europe and the action of Great Britain prevented the further advance of Russian arms. A European Congress was called at Berlin, and its general result was to establish along the Danube a number of small independent states. Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro were relieved of their dependence upon Turkey, and were henceforth to rank as sovereign and independent states. To the south of the Danube, along its lower course, the new states of Bulgaria and Roumelia were created out of Turkish territory. But their

The Russo-Turkish War.

The Treaty of Berlin.

division was unnatural, and desired by neither party, and their union, as Bulgaria, followed in 1885. The future of these creations of the treaty of Berlin is still to some extent doubtful. But they have not proved the slavish instruments of the great powers ; they have at least continued to exist, and have thus belied the most pessimistic prophecies that were uttered over them at their birth.

As we approach the present day the difficulty of such a summary as this increases. Doubtless the historian who writes of the last quarter of a century from the distance of two or three hundred years, will see events in different proportion from that in which they present themselves to our eyes. Most of what fills the newspapers of to-day will sink out of sight; it may be that movements, ideas, organizations, that are unknown, or little known, will be seen to be the really important growths of the time. Two points would seem now chiefly to call for notice. First, inside all European states the democratic movement has made rapid advances, and seems everywhere to move to assured victory. Its ideals may not be realized, its victory may not be complete; but the claims of the whole mass of the people to be considered, and to exercise a decisive influence on the government of the state, is a dominant factor in every state of Western Europe. The labour movement—what may be vaguely spoken of as the Socialist movement—is one phase of that. It is an effort to banish poverty and oppression, and the vice and crime that flow from them, and to realize those dreams of social progress that have never been quite unknown since the days of Greece, but have assumed so much greater definiteness during the last century and a half. It would be wholly out of place here to analyze the aims of this movement, and still more to criticize them ; but we may here, with confidence, anticipate the verdict of the future historian, and say that here, at least, we have a movement which, under whatever transformations, is destined to remain one of the formative forces of European life.

The social movements of modern times.

The second outstanding feature of this time seems to be the reaction of the world upon Europe. As the Romans, in their pride, said that their empire was co-extensive with the

world, so the European nations have thought of themselves as the only depositories of civilization, and have assumed that, however the comparative importance of the different European states might change, there was nowhere in the world a power which could check the advance of Europe as a whole, or add anything of value to European civilization. But it is now plain that the progress of civilization, and the destinies of the human race, are not henceforth to depend wholly on the nations of Western Europe, and that the control of the European nations over the rest of the earth's surface, may conceivably be challenged and rejected.

The reaction of the world upon Europe.

The colonies which European states have planted have, almost without exception, risen up into a position entirely independent of the compulsion of the state from which they sprang. The rise of the United States of America is the most prominent, and the most important instance of this tendency, but it stands by no means alone. The Spanish and Portuguese colonies of Central and Southern America are also independent, and, if they are somewhat backward in their political and social development, as compared with North America, it cannot be doubted that they are destined, later or sooner, to play a great part in deciding the trend of the destinies of the human race. The great British colonies, too,—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa—whatever may be the future of their connection with the Mother State, are clearly, in effect, already independent, and allies rather than subjects of Great Britain. And as these states, of European origin and culture, develop and play an even greater part in the political, commercial, and intellectual life of the globe than they play at present, more and more will Europe shrink in comparative importance, and feel that she is a part, not the whole, of civilization.

The independence of European colonies.

The changed relations between Europe and the world are also seen if we look at the non-European states in distant parts of the globe. Hitherto, since the decadence of Islam, the military superiority of Europe over the non-European world has been beyond all question; that superiority is still maintained, but no longer to the same extent as formerly. As the Roman Empire, by

Europe and the non-European races.

continuous wars, educated the barbarians until they were able to defeat her, so it seems to be with modern Europe. Doubtless, over the greater part of the earth's surface the white man maintains an unquestioned military supremacy; but there are signs that that supremacy will not remain for ever unchallenged. Even the free races of Africa seem to show greater skill and more advanced military methods in each successive conflict with Europeans. The overwhelming defeat of a large Italian army at Adowah in Abyssinia in 1896 is the great example of this; but there are others, though none so extraordinary. But it is in Asia that the reaction of the world against Europe is now most noticeable. There the French Government received a heavy defeat at the hands of the Chinese in Tonkin. But it is useless to look at smaller instances when the greatest of all lies nearest to us. For during the last decade Japan has emerged as a first-rate power. Her victories over China created little surprise, for China's power of resistance was believed to be contemptible; but it was different when war broke out between Russia and Japan, and when Japan, in spite of all prophecies of her certain defeat, marched through an almost unbroken series of victories to the capture of Port Arthur, and the annihilation of Russian prestige in the Far East. Here, too, we may confidently assume, is a series of events which will assume an even greater importance as the centuries follow one another. The wide influence of the event is already plain in the constitutional movement which has triumphed in Russia, and in the transformation which is reported to be passing over China.

If Europe thus becomes conscious that the world is no longer hers to control, there is no reason to believe that the consequence will be only or mainly evil. The expansion of Europe has been one of the great causes of conflict among European states; as her control over the non-European world shrinks, she will perhaps become again conscious of the strong ties that bind European states to one another, of the essential unity and common interest of European civilization, and it may turn out that the fall of Port Arthur has in effect supported the task of European pacification to which the Czar set his hand in the Hague Conference.

In the introductory remarks to this book we said that the

European history might be analyzed into the three great divisions of Government, Society, and Religion. In these concluding remarks we have said something of society, something of government, but nothing of religion. In truth, it is too early yet to speak in such a sketch as this of the religious tendencies of the past generation. The chief feature would seem to be the disappearance of all religious authority for Europe as a whole, and that would be true, even if we give to religion its extended significance so as to include philosophy and all convictions that influence the life of men and states. Individualism, dispersion, disorder, seem to be the features of the intellectual life of Europe. There is an infinity of books, but no writer who gives the watchword to intellectual Europe; constant philosophical disputation, but as yet no dominant philosophical trend; many religious divisions, but little clear guidance given or loyally followed. If the philosophical and religious atmosphere cleared, if definiteness and fixity of conviction took the place of vagueness and a general flux, that would be a change, perhaps decisive of the future of European civilization.

J. H. Rose's Development of European Nations since 1870; *Prince Hohenlohe's Memoirs.*

INDEX

Aachen, 153, 155
Abelard, 203
Abotrites, 148
Abyssinia, 360
Achaea, 32
Acropolis, 8, 13, 14, 16, 17
Adelaide, 161
Adige, 129
Adowah, 360
Adriatic, 39, 58, 108, 167, 1 9, 232
Aegean Sea, 14, 106, 112
Aegospotami, 26
Aeschylus, 21
Aetius, 127, 128
Afghanistan, 37
Africa, 61, 64, 117, 126, 132, 138, 361
Age of Antonines, 93; of Pericles, 19
Agesilaus, 27
Agincourt, 217, 218, 214
Aistulf, 145
Alamanni, 106, 139
Alaric, 119, 122–124
Albertus Magnus, 235
Albigensian Heresy, 193
Alcibiades, 26
Alcuin, 152
Alesia, 71
Alexander, 33, 35, 37, 39
Alexandria, 37, 81
Alpheus, R., 119
Alps, 54, 67, 162, 239, 2:2, 327, 330
Alva, Duke of, 262, 263
America, 230, 265, 306, 317, 341, 360
Anagni, 207
Anglo-Saxons, 138
Anjou, 212, 271, 272
Antioch, 197
Antiochus, 57, 59
Anti-pope, 171, 178
Antoninus Pius, 93
Antony, 79, 80, 81
Apennines, 54
Apollo, 4
Aquae Sextiae, 67
Aquileia, 127
Aquinas, Thomas, 235
Aquitaine, 142, 148, 189, 218
Arabs, 196
Aragon, 182, 230
Arbela, 37
Areopagus, 18
Argonne, 321
Argos, 7, 12
Arian, 126, 130, 132, 133, 138
Aristophanes, 21
Aristotle, 28, 33, 235
Armada, 166
Armagnac, 216, 217
Arnold of Brescia, 177, 203,
Artois, 220
Ataulfus, 126
Athanasius, 117
Athené, 4, 20
Athenian democracy, 18
Athens, 8; constitution of, 18; art in, 20, 21, 22
Atlantic, 85, 266
Attila, 127, 128, 135
Asia, 157, 237, 360
Asia Minor, 57; Greek cities in, 12; Spartans in, 27; Alexander in, 35; Rome interferes in, 60; seized by Mithridates, 69; Turks in, 196, 226
Aufidus, 55
Augsburg, 160, 173, 252, 275
Augustine, 126, 248
Austerlitz, 334
Australia, 360
Austrasia, 140
Austria, House of, 220; Anne of, 288; Protestantism expelled, 276; gains of, 300, 338; Jesuits expelled from, 311; advances on Paris, 321; in Italy, 327, 343; joins coalition, 328, 335; dominant, 340; collapse of, 353
Autun, 142
Avars, 148, 150, 160
Avignon, 207, 208, 222
Axius, R., 29
Azov, 303

Babylon, 37
Babylonish captivity, 207, 222
Baden, 334
Baldwin of Flanders, 199
Balkan peninsula, 196, 358
Baltic, 120, 127, 228, 303
Barbarossa, Frederic, 172, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181, 198
Basel Council, 225, 226
Bastille, 318
Bavaria, 148, 159, 280, 298, 299, 338, 354; Maximilian of, 276
Bavarians, 141
Baylen, 335
Bayonne, 215
Bazaine, 354
Becket, Thomas à, 206
Bedriacum, 90
Belgium, 310, 325, 327, 341
Belisarius, 131, 132, 133
Benedict, St., 135, 163
Benedictines, 163, 202
Benevento, 161, 185
Beneventum, 48, 134
Berengar, 161
Berlin, 304, 334; congress of, 358, 359
Bernard, St., 175, 198, 201, 203
Bismarck, 348, 352, 353, 354, 355
Black Sea, 106, 112, 120, 303, 349, 356
Blenheim, 299
Boccaccio, 235
Boethius, 130
Bohemia, 223, 224, 225, 277, 279, 343
Bologna, 176
Boniface, St., 142, 145
Bonn, 155
Bordeaux, 212
Bosphorus, 112
Bossuet, 293
Bourbon, 341, 350, 351, 356; Cardinal of, 272; Duke of, 244
Pouvines, 182, 189
Brandenburg, 228, 280, 281, 282, 297, 303, 304
Breitenfeld, 280
Bretigny, treaty of, 214, 215
Brill, 263
Britain, 70, 100, 105, 138
Bulgaria, 358, 359
Burgundians, 130, 138, 139, 216, 217, 218

Burgundy, Duke of, 215, 216, 217; Charles of, 219, 220, 229; Philip of, 218
Busento, 124
Byzantium, 112

Caesar, Julius, 70, 75, 77, 78, 79
Calais, 214, 215
Calvin, 255, 256
Calvinism, 253, 255, 256, 263, 268, 271, 276
Cambunian, M., 29
Campania, 48
Canada, 307, 308, 310, 360
Cannae, 55
Canning, 341
Canossa, 169, 170, 172, 179
Cape of Good Hope, 237
Capet, Hugh, 186
Capetian Dynasty, 180
Capitularies, 152
Capua, 55
Carcassonne, 142
Carloman, 145, 146
Carnot, 324
Carolingian, 141, 145, 156, 159, 291
Carthage, 37, 51–56, 60–126, 138
Carthusian Order, 202, 258
Caspian, 37
Cassiodorus, 130
Castile, 230
Castillon, 218
Castle of St. Angelo, 170
Catherine of France, 217
Catherine de Medici, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272
Catherine of Russia, 303
Catholic *v.* Arian, 120, 133, 139, 194; *v.* Protestant, 247–252, 260, 267, 270–273, 276, 285, 296
Catiline, 74
Cato, 60
Cavour, 350, 351
Chaeroneia, 3
Chalons, 127
Charles Martel, 141, 153, 156, 185
Charlemagne, Charles the Great, 146–153, 146, 157, 161, 185, 186, 229, 235
Charles V. of France, 215, 216
Charles VI., 216, 217
Charles VII., 217, 219
Charles VIII., 239, 240, 242
Charles IX., 268, 270, 271.
Charles X., 342, 347
Charles IV., Emperor, 228
Charles V., 220, 243–247, 252, 259, 260, 261, 267, 297
Charles VI., 304
Charles of Anjou, 185
Charles Albert of Sardinia, 343
Charles II. of Spain, 294
Charles XII. of Sweden, 303
Chatham, Earl of, 307, 308
Chatillon, 269
Childeric III., 145
China, 238, 340, 361
Chlodovech, 139, 145
Christian of Denmark, 278
Chrysoloras, 235
Church, rise of, 83, 95, 100, 103, 109, 113, 114; disputes in, 117; triumphs of, 119, 138, 142, 143, 209, 224
Cicero, 74
Cilician Gates, 35
Cimbrians, 67
Cistercian Order, 175, 202
Civitate, 166, 167
Clericis Laicos, 206
Clotilda, 139
Clovis, 139, 145
Clugny, 165
Cluniac Order, 163. 202, 258
Codex Justinianus, 131
Code Napoleon, 330
Colbert, 292, 295, 296
Coligny, 268-271
Cologne, 138, 155, 173, 228
Coloniae, 50
Colonna, 207
Columbus, 237
Comites, 151
Comitia, 43, 44
Committee of Public Safety, 322, 324, 325
Company of French East Indies, 193; West Indies, 193
Comte, 343
Concordat, 171, 172, 330; of Bologna, 243
Condé, Duc de, 260
Condé, Prince de, 281, 289, 290, 293, 296
Condottieri, 231
Confederation of Rhine, 332, 334
Conrad I., 159
Conrad II., 163
Conrad III. (Hohenstaufen), 172
Conrad IV., 184
Conraddino, 185
Constance, 180, 182; city of, 225
Constantinople, 112, 113, 127, 129, 144, 157, 196, 358; Latin Empire of, 199, 206, 207; fall of, 226, 235
Constituent Assembly, 319
Constitution of Year III., 325
Consubstantiation, 254, 256
Consul, First, 330
Consuls, 41
Convention, 321, 325, 326
Copernicus, 238
Corinth, 4, 7, 16, 32, 57, 60
Corsica, 56, 61, 133, 326
Cortes, 210
Corvée, 317
Council of Blood, 262, 263; of Constance, 223, 224, 225, 259, of Five Hundred, 18
Counts, 151; Palatine, 160, 228
Courtrai, 205
Crassus, 71, 74, 75
Crecy, 121, 205, 214, 215, 217
Cremona, 80
Crimea, 70, 106, 352
Cromwell, 290, 326
Crusades, 183, 188, 193, 194, 197, 198–209
Cynoscephalae, 59
Cyprian, 126
Cyprus, 14
Cyrus, 12
Czechs, 348

Dacia, 95, 96
Danish, 162
Dante, 207, 234, 235
Danton, 321, 322, 323
Danube, 85, 95, 96, 99, 106, 112, 121, 127, 160, 280, 330, 338
Darius, 12 35
Day of Barricades, 272
Decemvirs, 46
Decurions, 94
De Jure Belli et Pacis, 283
Delphic Oracle, 7, 9, 31
Demos, 18
Demosthenes, 32, 33
Denmark, 182, 353
Descartes, 292
Desiderius, 150
Diderot, 312
Didier, 150
Diet, 270
Dionysius, theatre of, 21
Directory, 325, 327, 328
Dniester, R., 121
Doge, 233
Dominicans, 203, 258
Donation of Constantine, 158
Dorians, 25
Dubarry, Madame, 310
Du Guesclin, 215, 219
Dumouriez, 321
Dutch, 263, 264, 265, 322, 342
Duumvirs, 94

Eastern Church, 157, 226
Ecclesia, 18
Edessa, 106
Edict of Nantes, 274, 276; of Restitution, 278, 296
Edward I., 206
Edward III., 212, 214, 215, 217
Egypt, 14, 37, 57, 77, 80, 85, 105, 112, 136, 200, 328
Elagabalus, 103
Elba, 337
Elbe, 85, 148, 150, 303, 334
Eleanor of Aquitaine, 189, 212
Elector Palatine, 277
Elizabeth of England, 254, 265, 273
Elizabeth of France, 24
Emesa, 103

Emperors of Rome—
Alexander Severus, 103
Antoninus Pius, 93
Arcadius, 123
Augustus, 108, 110, 112
Aurelian, 106
Caligula, 88
Caracalla, 102
Claudius, 88, 106
Commodus, 98, 100, 113
Constantine, 110–113
Constantius, 110, 116
Decius, 106, 109
Diocletian, 107, 108, 109, 112, 119, 247
Domitian, 91, 109
Galba, 89
Galerius, 110
Gratian, 121
Hadrian, 93, 94, 96
Heraclius, 137
Honorius, 123
Julian the Apostate, 116, 117
Justinian, 131
Leo the Isaurian, 141
Marcus Aurelius, 93, 97, 100, 109
Nerva, 93
Otho, 80
Pertinax, 100
Romulus Augustulus, 128
Septimus Severus, 101, 102
Theodosius, 118, 122, 123, 128
Tiberius, 87
Titus, 91
Trajan, 94, 95
Valens, 128
Valentinian, 128
Valerian, 106
Vespasian, 90
Vitellius, 90
Empire, Eastern, 131, 138, 143, 157, 160, 162, 196; Western, 151, 159, 161; Holy Roman, 181, 186, 227, 243, 251, 294, 297
Ems, 148
England, 162, 206, 212, 218, 239, 242, 243, 259, 265, 297, 300, 306, 307, 308
Enkhuisen, 263
Epaminondas, 27, 28
Epirus, 48
Erasmus, 257
Ergastula, 64
Etruria, 41
Etruscan, 43, 47
Eucharist, 254, 259
Eugene, Prince, 298
Euphrates, 96, 112, 118
Euripides, 21
Exarchate of Ravenna, 136

Ferdinand of Aragon, 230
Ferdinand, Emperor, 247, 252
Ferdinand II., Emperor, 276, 277, 279
Ferrara, Council of, 226, 230
Festival of Union, 226
Feudalism, 188, 214, 314
Finland, 338
Flaminian Way, 134
Flamininus, 58, 59
Flanders, 204, 205
Fleury, Cardinal, 319
Florence, 231–235, 239, 241, 245, 246
Fontenoy, 308
Fourier, 342
France, 159, 186–193, 204–209, 211–220, 239–247, 267–275, 281–290, 291–300, 309–325, 325–337, 338, 348, 356
Franche Comté, 294
Francis of Assisi, 203
Franciscans, 203, 258
Francis I. of France, 242–247
Francis II. of France, 252, 267, 268
Frankish Monarchy, 134, 138, 143
Franks, 106, 113, 130, 139, 145, 146, 153
Franks, Ripuarian, 138
Franks, Salian, 138, 139
Frederick II., Emperor, 181–185, 191, 199
Frederick William I. of Prussia, 304
Frederick II. the Great, 304, 306, 307, 308, 313
Frederick William IV. 344, 348
Friars, 202, 203
Friedland, 334
Fronde, 288, 289, 290, 296

Gabelle, 315, 316
Galileo, 238
Garibaldi, 345, 350, 351
Garonne, R., 139, 142
Gaul, 54, 67, 70, 105, 126, 127, 131, 138
Gauls, 41, 43, 54, 71
General Assembly, 18
Geneva, 255, 256, 257, 327, 328
Genoa, 177, 231, 327
Genseric, 126, 127, 135
George III., 308
German Ocean, 154
Germans, 70, 99
Germany, 85, 146, 159–164, 172–176, 181, 183, 228, 244, 249–260, 267, 268, 275–283, 332, 334, 337, 338, 340, 346, 352–356
Ghibellines, 184, 231, 233
Gibraltar, 138, 142, 154, 299, 300
Girondists, 320, 322
Godfrey de Bouillon, 197
Golden Bull, 228
Goths, 99, 106, 112, 116, 120–122, 127, 132, 138
Gracchus, Caius, 64
Gracchus, Tiberius, 64
Granada, 230; treaty of, 240
Grand Alliance, 297, 298
Great Britain, 320, 328, 331, 333–337, 349, 359
Great Elector, 303
Greece, 21, 22, 210, 231, 235, 341
Greeks, 3–39, 48, 112, 175, 199, 209, 226
Grotius, 283
Guelfs, 184, 231, 233
Guise, Francis of, 270; Henry of, 270, 272
Guizot, 344
Gunpowder, 218
Gustavus Adolphus, 279, 280, 281, 303

Hadrianople, 121, 122, 205
Hague, Peace Conference at, 357, 361
Haliacmon, 29
Hamilcar Barca, 52, 53
Hannibal, 53, 54
Hanover, 353
Hanoverians, 307
Hapsburg, 227, 243, 282
Harding, Stephen, 175
Hasdrubal, 53, 56, 60
Hegira, 137
Helen, 4
Hellas, 4
Helvetii, 70
Henry the Fowler, Emperor, 159
Henry II., Emperor, 160, 163
Henry III., Emperor, 163
Henry IV., Emperor, 163, 168, 169, 172
Henry V., Emperor, 171, 172
Henry VI., 180
Henry II. of England, 206, 212, 214
Henry III. of England, 189, 191
Henry IV. of England, 216
Henry V. of England, 216, 217
Henry VIII. of England, 183, 205, 208, 243, 244, 267
Henry II. of France, 247, 268
Henry II. of France, 268, 271, 272, 273
Hera, 4
Herodotus, 23
Hildebrand, 172, 185, 226
Hippias, 10
Hohenstaufen, 172, 185, 226
Holland, 256–260, 267, 291–297, 305–310, 320, 325
Holy Alliance, 340
Holy Sepulchre, 194, 202
Homer, 3, 33, 118
Horace, 86
Hudson's Bay, 300
Huguenots, 268, 270–274, 286, 296
Humanists, 257
Hungary, 148, 160, 278, 343, 346, 348
Huns, 120, 127
Huss, 223, 224, 249

Hussites, 225
Hyphasis, R., 37

Iconoclastic, 144
Ignatius Loyola, 258
Illyria, 76, 338
Illyricum, 60, 123
India, 238, 306-310, 340
Innsbrück, 252
Inquisition, 204, 260, 276
Institutes, Calvin's, 256
Intendants, 286
Investiture, 168, 331
Ireland, 297
Isabella of Castile, 230
Islam, 136
Issus, R., 35
Italy, 41, 123-132, 134-138, 145, 146, 154, 166-175, 178-185, 235, 237, 239-249, 327-330, 343-352
Ivry, 273

Jacobins, 320-323
James II., 296, 297
Jansenists, 311
Japan, 340, 361
Jerusalem, 90, 138, 194, 196-199
Jesuits, 258, 276, 311, 314
Joanna the Mad, 220, 243
Joan of Arc, 218
John of England, 182
John of France, 215

Kaaba, 136
Kepler, 238
Knights of St. John, 198, 208
Knights of the Temple, 198, 908
Kossuth, 343, 346

Lancastrians, 216
Latins, 41
Latin Empire, 199
Latin Vulgate, 948
League, Achaean, 58, 60: Aetolian, 57, 59; of Cambrai, 241; of Cities, 184; Delian, 14; Hanseatic, 228; Holy, First, 242; Holy, Second, 245; Holy, Third, 272, 273; Latin, 47; Pan-Hellenic, 14; Spartan, 14
Legion of Honour, 331
Legislative Assembly, 321
Legnano, 179
Leipsic, 280, 335, 337
Leopold of Austria, 228
Lepidus, 79, 80
Lewis, 155, 156
Lewis the Pious, 154
Leyden, 265
L'Hôpital, Chancellor, 271, 273
Licinian Law, 47
Licinius, 110
Lilybaeum, 51, 52
Lionne, 293
Lisbon, 335
Loire, 142, 188, 217
Lombards, 133, 144-145, 150, 158, 178
Lombardy, 327, 350
Lorraine, 159, 247, 309, 310, 354
Lothair, 155, 156, 160
Lothair, Emperor, 172
Lotharingia, 156, 220
Louis VII., 189
Louis IX., 185, 191, 193, 200
Louis XI., 183, 219, 220, 239
Louis XII., 240, 242
Louis XIII., 286, 287
Louis XIV., 267, 288, 291-300, 309, 310
Louis XV., 309-311, 316
Louis XVI., 316, 317, 321
Louis XVIII., 337, 342
Louis Philippe, 342, 344
Louvois, 293
Lübeck, 228
Luther, 248-256
Lutheranism, 250-256, 268
Lützen, 280
Lyons, 207
Lysander, 26

Macchiavelli, 269
Macedonia, 12, 26, 29, 30, 33, 57, 231
Madrid, 245, 299
Maestricht, 155
Magdeburg, 278, 304
Magenta, 350
Magna Carta, 219
Magnesia, 59
Magyars, 160
Mahomet, 136, 137
Mahomedan, 136, 142, 148, 157, 167, 194, 198-202, 226, 358
Mahomedanism, 134, 137, 144, 208, 228
Maintenon, Madame de, 295, 296
Mainz, 222
Malta, 328, 331
Manfred, 185
Mansourah, 210
Mantinaea, 28
Mantua, 327
Marat, 321
Marathon, 12
Marco Polo, 237
Mardonius, 13
Maria Theresa of France, 291, 295
Maria Theresa of Austria, 306, 322
Marie Antoinette, 316, 322
Marignano, 242
Marius, 67, 72, 73
Marlborough, 299,
Mary of Burgundy, 220, 260
Mary of England, 247
Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 270, 272
Matilda of Tuscany, 160, 170
Maurice of Orange, 266
Maximilian, 220, 243, 260
Mayors of the Palace, 140
Mazarin, 281, 289-292
Mazzini, 345, 350
Mecca, 136, 137
Medici (Cosimo de'), 233; (Lorenzo de'), 233
Mediterranean, 39, 40, 154, 193, 233, 238
Megara, 32
Menelaus, 4
Merovingians, 140, 156
Mesopotamia, 39
Metternich, 340, 341, 343
Metz, 247, 282, 354
Mexico, 261, 352
Michael Palaeologus, 199
Milan, 127, 177-231, 239-244, 246, 300, 343
Military Orders, 198, 202, 208
Mirabeau, 318
Missi Dominici, 151
Mithraism, 103, 107, 109, 118
Mithridates, 69
Modena, 350
Molière, 392
Moltke, 352, 355
Monastic Orders, 135, 200
Mons, 136
Montaigne, 257
Montenegro, 356
Montesquieu, 312
Moors, 142, 229
Moreau, 330
Morgarten, 228
Moscow, 335, 337
Moselle, 140
Mount Taurus, 35
Mühlberg, 252

Naples, 175, 182-185, 231, 239-241, 300, 311, 338, 341, 343, 351
Napoleon, 325-337, 338-343
Napoleon, Louis, 245-254
Narses, 132, 133
Narwa, 303
National Assembly, 318, 319
Navarre, Henry of, 269, 271, 273, 274, 275
Necker, 317,
Nelson, 328
Netherlands, 247, 260, 261, 265, 272-274, 282, 294, 297, 299, 300, 307, 338
Neustria, 140
Newfoundland, 300
New World, 237, 238, 247
New Zealand, 360
Nice, 351, 352
Nile, Battle of the, 328
Nîmes, 142
Nogaret, 207
Nördlingen, 281
Normans, 163, 166, 169, 170, 175, 179, 186, 197, 212, 217
Northmen, 154, 186
Norway, 338

Notre Dame, 331
Numidia, 66
Nürnberg, 173

Oder, R., 303
Odessa, 197
Odo, Count of Paris, 186
Odoacer, 128, 129
Olympian games, 6, 119
Omar, 138
Orestes, 128
Orleans, 216, 218, 255 ; Duke of, 309 ; House of, 342
Ostrogoths, 126, 132, 133, 139
Otto the Great, 160-163
Otto II., 163
Otto III., 163
Otto IV., 182

Palmyra, 105, 106
Pan-Hellenic games, 6, 119
Palatinate, 277
Pannonia, 100
Papacy, 134, 136, 142-145, 151, 158, 161-185, 194, 197, 204, 206, 222, 225, 235, 241, 248-251, 259, 352
Paris of Troy, 4
Paris, 186, 189, 192, 208, 272-274, 304, 317-331, 354 ; Parlement of, 209, 216, 288, 310
Parliament, 210, 219
Parma, 311, 350
Parma, Duke of, 273
Parthenon, 20
Parthians, 76, 95, 99
Partisans, 293
Pascal, 293
Patricians, 45
Paul of Russia, 328
Pausanias, 14
Pavia, 67, 150, 161, 244, 245
Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 307 ; of Amiens, 330, 351 ; of Arras, 218 ; of Augsburg, 252-254, 276, 278 ; of Cambrai, 246 ; of Campo Formio, 327, 330, 331 ; of Cateau Cambresis, 247 ; of Hubertsburg, 308 ; of Lübeck, 278 ; of Lunéville, 330 ; of Nimwegen, 294 ; of Paris, 308 ; of Presburg, 334 ; of Ryswick, 297 ; of S. Germain, 270 ; of Tilsit, 334, 337, 338 : of Utrecht, 297, 300 ; of Vervins, 274 ; of Westphalia, 282, 289, 295
Peisistratus, 8
Peloponnesian War, 25
Pergamus, 60
Pericles, 19, 25
Persepolis, 37
Perseus of Macedonia, 60, 61
Persia, 10, 26, 33, 35, 106, 112, 116, 131, 138
Peru, 261
Peter the Great, 302-304
Peter the Hermit, 197

Phalanx, 35, 59, 60
Pharsalia, 77
Phidias, 20
Philip of Macedonia, 30-33
Philip I. of France, 188
Philip II. Augustus, 182, 189, 198
Philip III. of France, 193
Philip IV. of France, 204, 206
Philip VI. of France, 212
Philip II. of Spain, 247, 260, 265, 272, 274, 297
Philip IV. of Spain, 293
Philip V. of Spain, 300
Phocis, 31
Phrygia, 35
Picardy, 220, 255
Piedmont, 67, 230, 343, 350
Pisa, 177, 223, 231,
Pitt, Earl of Chatham, 308
Plataea, 14
Plato, 28
Plebeians, 45
Pnyx, 18,
Po, R., 48, 53, 54, 134, 350
Poitiers, 121, 142, 205, 214, 215, 217
Poland, 276, 301, 324, 338, 352
Politiques, 271, 272
Pomerania, 304
Pompadour, Madame de, 310
Pompey, 70, 74-77
Pontus, 69
Popes—
Adrian IV., 178
Alexander III., 178, 179
Boniface VIII., 206-209
Clement V., 207
Clement VII., 223, 245
Gregory the Great, 136 142
Gregory VII., 165, 168-172, 181, 194, 196, 209, 225
Gregory IX., 199
Gregory XI., 233
Hadrian, 150
Innocent III., 181, 193, 198, 203, 209, 225, 248
John XII., 161
John XXII., 223, 224
Julius II., 241, 242
Leo, 128
Leo III., 144, 151
Leo IX., 165
Martin V., 224
Nicholas V., 236
Pascal, 171
Paul III., 258
Urban IV., 185
Urban VI., 223
Port Arthur, 361
Portugal, 182, 237, 311, 328
Poseidon, 4
Praetorian Guards, 89, 90, 100
Prague, 276
Predestination, 256
Printing-press, 237
Protestant, 237, 246, 251-261, 269-276, 277-281, 296
Protestantism, 252-260, 268-275, 285, 286, 276-283
Provençals, 197

Provincial estates, 310
Prussia, rise of, 301-308, ; *v.* Napoleon, 324, 332-346 ; *v.* France, 351-356
Ptolemies, 57
Pultawa, 305
Punjab, 37
Puritan, 283, 288
Pydna, 60
Pyrenees, 54, 70, 133, 142
Pyrrhus, 48

Rabelais, 257
Racine, 292
Ratisbon, Diet of, 279
Ravenna, 123, 124, 127, 129-134
Reformation, 244, 248-260, 270, 276, 282
Reform Bill, 342
Reign of Terror, 322-325
Renaissance, 234
Republican Calendar, 322
Republic, Cis-Alpine, 327 ; Dutch, 260 ; first French, 321, 324, 327 ; second French, 345, 347 ; third French, 355 ; Helvetic, 327 ; Ligurian, 327 ; Partheno-paean, 327
Revolution, French ; 310-320, 325, 326, 332, 334 ; of Brumaire, 328, 347
Rhine, R., 70, 85, 99, 127, 138, 140, 156, 220, 255, 263, 280, 303, 325
Rhodes, 60, 208
Rhone, R., 67, 138, 193, 220
Richard Cœur de Lion, 189, 198
Richard II., 216
Richelieu, 281, 284-288, 291, 292, 296
Robert Guiscard, 166, 167, 170
Robespierre, 321-325
Rodolph of Hapsburg, 226
Roger of Sicily, 175
Romagna, 350
Roman soldiers, 50, 68
Rome, 40, 41, 44, 48, 64, 68, 81-83 112, 124, 128, 163, 170-178, 201, 222, 235, 239, 246, 249, 343, 345, 351
Rome, W. Empire lost, 133, 150
Romulus, Augustulus, 128
Rosbach, 228, 310
Roumania, 358
Roumelia, 358
Rousseau, 312, 316, 323
Russia, 106, 301-308, 324, 328, 331-334, 337, 349, 358

Sabines, 41
Sacred Mount, 45
Sadowa, 353
Saguntum, 53
Saint Helena, 337
Saint Marks, 179

Saint Petersburg, 302, 303
Saint Simon, 342
Saladin, 198
Salamis, 13
Salerno, 171, 183
Samnites, 41, 48
Sapor, 100
Saracens, 148, 150, 160, 175
Sardinia, 133, 350, 351, 352; King of, 343, 349
Sarissa, 35
Sassanids, 99, 106
Savoy, 300, 311, 350–353
Saxons, 141, 143, 148, 160, 166, 169, 171
Saxony, 159, 173, 252, 280, 307, 334; Elector of, 277; Maurice of, 228; Henry the Lion of, 173
Schism, Great, 223
Schleswig-Holstein, 353
Schwytz, 228
Scipio the Great, 55, 56, 59
Scipio, Minor, 60
Scotland, 256, 268
Sebastopol, 349
Sedan, 354
Seleucidae, 43
Sempach, 229
Senate, 43
Serfdom abolished, 333
Serfs, 210
Servia, 358
Sicilies, Two, 180–183, 191, 234, 350
Sicily, 25, 53, 56, 61, 132, 166, 167, 175
Sieyés, 318
Sigismund, Emperor, 224, 225
Silesia, 306–308
Slaves, 210; revolt, 74
Slavs, 150
Sobieski, John, 301
Socialism, 342, 359
Socrates, 23
Solferino, 351
Solon, 8
Spain, 53–61, 67, 105, 126, 131, 138, 148, 220, 230–247, 239, 260, 262–267, 270, 297–301, 335
Sparta, 4, 7, 13, 25–27, 32, 57
Spoleto, 134
States General, 207, 210, 269, 286, 288, 310, 318
Steam-engine, 338
Stein, 333
Stilicho, 123, 124
Stoics, 97
Stralsund, 228, 278, 279
Strasburg, 294
Study of Roman Law, 173, 189, 201, 209
Suevi, 70
Sulla, 67, 72, 73
Sully, 275
Susa, 37
Swabia, 159
Sweden, 182, 278, 294, 300, 338
Swiss, 222
Switzerland, 156, 228, 256, 279, 282, 327
Syagrius, 39
Syracuse, 26, 52, 55, 100
Syria, 35, 39, 57, 70, 85, 103–106, 136, 138, 196, 197

Taginae, 132, 133
Tagliacozzo, 185
Taille, 219, 314, 315
Tarentum, 55
Tarik, 138
Tartar, 120, 127
Tempe, 29
Tertullian, 126
Tetzel, 248, 249
Teutons, 57
Thebes, 7, 12, 27, 31, 57
Themistocles, 31
Theodoric, 127–132
Thermopylae, 31
Thessaly, 29
Thor, 106, 120
Thrace, 12, 39, 122
Thucydides, 23
Tiber, 41, 112, 128
Tilly, 280
Tirolese, 335
Tonkin, 361
Tories, 299
Totila, 132
Toul, 247, 282
Toulon, 326
Toulouse, 193, 203
Tours, 142
Trafalgar, 333, 334
Transubstantiation, 254, 256
Trasimene, 54
Treaty of Troyes, 217
Trent, Council of, 259
Trèves, 173, 228
Tripolis, 197
Triumvirates, 75, 79
Trojans, 4
Truce of Nice, 246
Tuileries, 319, 321
Turenne, 281, 289, 293, 297
Turgot, 317
Turkey, 246, 328, 341, 346
Turks, 196, 301, 349, 358
Tuscany, 134, 166, 169, 176, 343, 350
Twelve Tables, 46

Ulfilas, 120
Ulm, 334
Ulysses, 334
Union of Utrecht, 265–267
United Provinces, 294
Valmy, 321
Vandals, 123, 126–132, 138
Vasco da Gama, 237
Vauban, 293
Veii, 47
Venice, 131, 177, 198, 231, 235, 238, 241, 257, 327, 350
Vercingetorix, 71
Verdun, 186, 247, 282; treaty of, 220
Verona, 127
Versailles, 319, 354
Victor Emmanuel, 350
Vienna, 208, 280, 299, 301, 330, 334, 344; Congress of, 337, 338; Treaty of, 335
Visigoths, 122–126, 130, 133, 138
Voltaire, 304, 312, 316

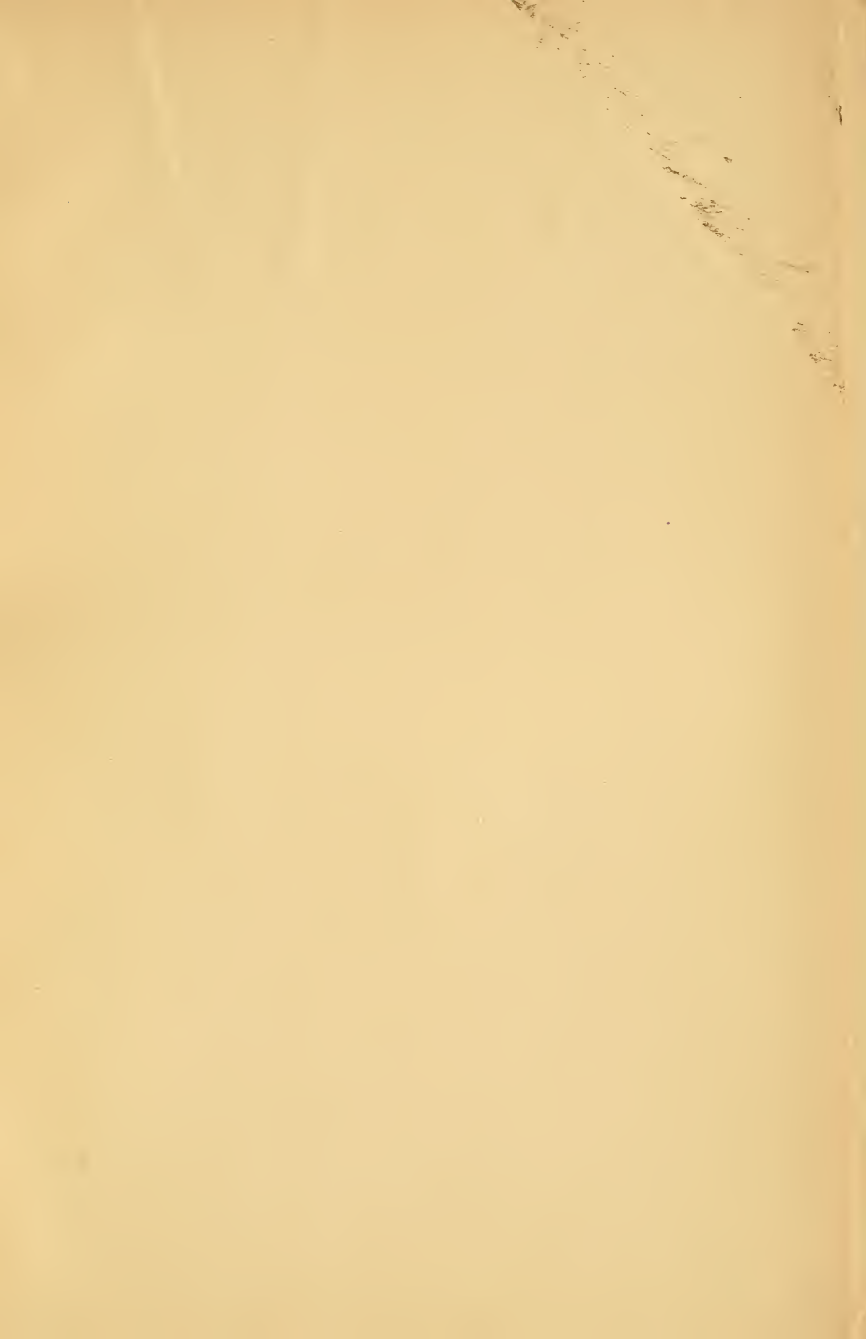
Wallenstein, 278–281, 321
War, of Austrian Succession, 306, 307, 310; Crimean, 349, 358; Franco-German, 353, 356; of the Grand Alliance, 297; Hundred Years', 210, 212; Napoleonic, 301; Peloponnesian, 25, 26; of the Polish Succession, 309; Punic, 52; of the Roses, 218; Russo-Turkish, 357; Seven Years', 307, 308, 310; Thirty Years', 270, 276, 281, 287–300
Water-beggars, 263
Waterloo, 320, 335, 337
Western Church, 157, 158, 226
Westphalia, 334
Whigs, 299
Wickliffe, 249
Widukind, 148
William the Conqueror, 166, 168
William I., Emperor, 352–355
William II., Emperor, 355
William of Orange, 294, 297, 298
William the Silent, 263 273
Willibrord, 142
Wittenberg, 248, 249
Woden, 106, 120
Worms, Diet of, 249
Würtemberg, 334, 354

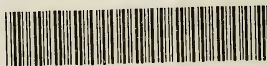
Xerxes, 12, 13

York, 102, 110, 152
Yorkists, 216

Zama, 56, 61
Zara, 198
Zeus, 5, 6, 37
Zollverein, 344

PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED, LONDON AND BECCLES.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

00022090902