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GERMANIA.

*Colossal typical figure on the National Monument at Niederrwald.*

# GERMANY

## HER PEOPLE AND THEIR STORY

A • POPULAR • HISTORY • OF • THE  
BEGINNINGS • RISE • DEVELOPMENT  
AND • PROGRESS • OF • THE • GERMAN  
EMPIRE • FROM • ARMINIUS • TO  
WILLIAM • II • TOLD • FOR • AMERICANS

BY

AUGUSTA HALE GIFFORD

*ILLUSTRATED*

BOSTON

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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY  
OF MY BELOVED DAUGHTER

KATHERINE

AND TO THE LARGE CIRCLE OF FRIENDS WHO MADE  
HER LIFE SO BLEST.





## INTRODUCTION.

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THE researches of recorded history do not bring to light the deeds of its heroes without much labor and pains. In order to gather for this story of Germany and her people the most interesting facts which illuminate the character and lives of men, many of whom were actors in the drama of life so many centuries ago, search has been made everywhere, and information gained from all available sources. Personal relations with many people of this most patriotic and steadfast nation in their own homes have afforded the author great assistance in comprehending the principles and motives of action of their ancestors. Facts which otherwise might have escaped notice have also been gathered from diplomatic officials who for many years have made Germany their adopted home. By means of their acquaintance access has been gained to various books written in the original tongue, which have brought out numerous points that could not otherwise have been found.

As the intensity of interest in the subject deepened, and the multiplicity of the characters arrayed themselves as in a great panorama, the limitations of space became more and more apparent; therefore, in place of entering into extensive dissertation upon the different personages and epochs, an attempt has been made to present the leading events of each age by the most striking acts and sayings of the individuals, while the anecdotes and

legends have been thrown in for the purpose of exhibiting the manners and customs of the various eras, as well as to bring out the mainspring of action. The intention in the beginning was to give merely an outline of the whole, and through the ordinary interesting periods this was not found difficult; but on emerging from mediæval times, the awakening of men's minds gave rise to new developments and to many striking events in subsequent epochs, so that it was impossible to condense into too narrow limits such eras as that of the Reformation, the Thirty Years' War, Frederick the Great's martial career, the time of Prussia's oppression ending in the War of Liberation, and the Franco-Prussian War with its galaxy of illustrious characters; but, in the end, these periods have been made, it is hoped, as comprehensive as many volumes devoted to each of these subjects in detail.

The desirability and importance of such a work was first called to my attention both through participation in the life and good-fellowship of the German people in their own land and by a residence of some years amongst German-Americans in our Republic. Therefore in writing the book I have had ever before me, not only the youth of American parentage, but a nation of young German-Americans whose fathers and mothers, for the most part, some years ago came to our shores, and who themselves desire to obtain a knowledge from its origin of the country of their ancestors. It has been my hope, that, while gaining by means of this information a love of the Fatherland, they may, at the same time, imbibe a patriotic sentiment with regard to our own country. For this reason the volume has been written from an American standpoint.

A. H. G.

PORTLAND, *December*, 1898.

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# GERMANY:

## *HER PEOPLE AND THEIR STORY.*

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### CHAPTER I.

EARLY GERMANY. — FROM PYTHEAS TO PEPIN THE SHORT.

754 A.D.

LONG years ago, in the days of that warlike King of Macedon known to us as Alexander the Great, there lived in Marseilles, in Southern France, a bold sea-captain named Pytheas.

Captain Pytheas had made many voyages, and visited many curious lands. He was, in his way, a sort of Greek Columbus; for he came home full of his travels and discoveries in the far north, where he claimed the sea came and went regularly twice a day in a great ebb and flow of tide. This great tide-moved sea, he said, washed other shores of a wonderful land; there, as one went still farther north, the days and nights were six months long, and men might see floating in the heavens a wonderful midnight sun.

But the people of Greece and Rome in Pytheas' day could not understand this; they would not believe his story, but declared that he was out of his wits, and distrusted also all his other tales of discovery.

But the world found out after a while that Captain Pytheas was right; he had discovered Germany. The race

of men he had found along this seaboard were the Teutons of German birth and the Cimbrii of Celtic origin. They came originally, it is believed, from far-off Asia, one tribe after another, the fiercest driving the others farther and farther before them, until their advance was cut off by the broad Atlantic or the cold North Sea.

It was on the table-lands of Asia that this wonderful people originally lived, in the valley north of the Aral Sea between the Oxus and Jaxartes Rivers. From their superior traits of character we recognize them as belonging to the Aryan race, that stock from which all modern civilization and progress have sprung.

The Aryans were neighbors of the Hebrews, and earlier, no doubt, worshipped the same God, believing in the immortality of the soul; but later, drifting away, they lost the inspiration of the true religion, and accepted the doctrine of the pagan gods, believing in Woden, Thor, and the lesser deities. They had a rude civilization; and their knowledge of the mechanical arts was exhibited in the constructing of comfortable houses, with doors and windows of opaque glass, and the manufacture of household utensils and weapons of war. The decimal system, which, in time, must take the place of much of our hard mathematics, doubtless took its rise with them when they discarded every means of reckoning except in tens and hundreds. They were primitive agriculturists; but, like their Hebrew brethren, they wandered from place to place tending their flocks; and while they followed the chase their women kept the home fires brightly burning. Their domestic life was beautiful, being founded on conjugal affection; for they honored their women, who returned their love and taught their children to be dutiful.

It is supposed that these people emigrated from this plateau (of the Iran) about the time Abraham left Ur of

the Chaldees, and that they reached northeastern Europe two thousand years before Christ; and there is an hypothesis that in the dense forests some of them met other prehistoric races, and degenerated into the barbaric tribes which later overran Europe.

There were three waves of migration,— the Celtic, the Germanic, and the Slavonic. The Celts went north, where Captain Pytheas found them; the Gauls, another branch of the Celts, settled in France, where Cæsar subjugated them. When the Celts came they found only marshes and forests, with a race of people little superior to savages. The habits of the Celts were those of their Aryan ancestors; and like the latter, their character was worthy and reliable, almost their only blemish being the system of slavery, which originated in the conquered becoming the spoils of the conquerors. Woden, the highest God, ruled the fate of men, gave victory, sent every blessing, and took fallen heroes up into his spacious heaven. Frey dispensed friendship, faith, and freedom, and gave us Friday, the luckiest and unluckiest day. Thor, in the full strength of manhood, was the thunderer, but Baldur, the son of Frigga, was in the bloom of youth. No people believed so fully in the future life. They were not afraid of death, because they knew that to be brave was to be good, and that it was only the weak and timid, the cowardly and unholy, who would be shut out of Walhalla's mirth, where there would be merry hunting and gay feasts, everlasting wrestling and matches to test their strength. The story of the old goddess who, when Baldur was struck by the mistletoe, would not weep for him and thereby restore his life, illustrates, in the compromise by which he was given back to his mother half of the year, not only the change of seasons, but the higher life, the struggle between good and evil. The legend takes

away our grief when the beautiful seasons fade away, and ice and snow stiffen the earth and make us feel chill winter's blast; and by the allegory we are reminded that evil must vanish before the soft light of love.

After the sea-captain Pytheas found them, the ever-increasing tribes had an uneventful existence, until the mountain glaciers, melting, caused great floods, and the encroachment of the incoming tribes sent them sliding on their shining shields over the Rhætian Alps into Italy, where they sought new homes. The Roman general Marius conquered in the first struggle between modern civilization and ancient barbarism, in 101 B.C., at Vercellæ. After he had slain one hundred and forty thousand Cimbrians, the women formed themselves into a square three miles in extent, with their shields locked together, and when driven to desperation, made a fortification of their carts and wagons. At last finding resistance useless, they slew their children and afterwards themselves, thus exterminating the race. But military experts declare that Marius could not have conquered the Cimbrians had he not posted his men in such a manner that the enemy was obliged to fight against a head wind and a July sun.

Within the next fifty years after the battle at Vercellæ Cæsar was born, and a quarter of a century later the great Augustus. It was known in Cæsar's time that a multitude of people, who had homes of their own and were agriculturists, occupied the country beyond the Rhine. They were called Germani, either because so nearly related to the people of Gaul and therefore germane to them, or from their weapons, for *Ger-* meant a spear. Ariovistus, who was conquered by Cæsar near what is now Basle, Switzerland, was the first German name mentioned in history. In these wars Cæsar recognized

the German valor, and on one of his campaigns took back to Rome six thousand youths to fill up the waning Roman ranks. By this means the Germans learned Roman tactics, and carried home the refinements and culture of the more advanced civilization.

Tacitus describes very graphically the customs and habits of Germany the century before Christ. He speaks of the country as cold and barren, with malarious swamps in place of the present fruitful fields and finely built roads; of the dark forest's sombre shade, where now are smiling prospects with happy people tilling the soil. The men spent their time in warlike pursuits and following the chase. They had reddish hair and blue eyes, and were simple, pious, truthful, patriotic, and brave, their word being as good as their bond; but they were given to drink, and were therefore quarrelsome. The women, as now, were beautiful, virtuous, dignified, and proud, with blue eyes, golden hair, and fresh complexion. They shared their husband's counsel, gave advice, and attended to the agricultural pursuits when he was following the chase; but they accompanied him to battle, caring for the wounded, and stimulating to victory by shouts and song. The government in those days resembled a primitive republic, the first executive gathering being called a "Meeting," and afterwards "Folk-mote," because every freeman had a right to his word in matters to be considered. This "Folk-mote" was the origin of the "town-meeting," which still exists in America. The "Meeting" afterwards became the Assembly, and, in time, the Diet. The kings and chiefs were chosen in the general assembly, which was in effect like our representative government. The kings and princes and chiefs formed a kind of cabinet, where measures were discussed and afterwards presented to the people for final decision. If the freemen did not

agree to these measures they clashed their arms. The kings and dukes were elected by being raised upon a shield. A habit almost identical with this was practised in England up to the time of our Revolution; and some time previous to this, when Washington was elected to the Legislature in Frederick, a friend went through this formality for him by proxy, so averse was he to vain show.

Thirty years before the Christian era the peaceful reign of Augustus commenced. Although he governed wisely and justly, his desire to extend the dominion of the Roman Empire was paramount to all. In the centre of Rome he erected a golden milestone to indicate the centre of the universe, and from this site wonderfully built roads went out to all parts of his dominion. These roads opened the country to hordes of barbarians, but they also made way for the spread of Christianity. This was after the years of intolerance had become so insupportable that all Christianized people lived only in the hope of death.

Drusus, the stepson of Augustus, made four campaigns into Germany, and built fifty castles along the Rhine. He would have subdued a large part of the independent territory had not a Velleda or German prophetess terrified him by her warnings, which were fulfilled thirty days after by a fatal fall from his horse. Tiberius succeeded Drusus; after him came Domitius Ænobarbus, and finally, in the year 7 A.D., Augustus sent Varus Quintilius as governor of the turbulent tribes. He soon rendered himself despised by his tyranny and exaction; for he overturned all their old forms of government, substituted the customs, laws, and punishments of the Romans, and even claimed the right to put German freemen to death. The inborn spirit of German liberty could not brook such a policy; and they determined to deliver themselves from a bondage, the chains of which a conflict

of seventy years had been welding more firmly at each assault.

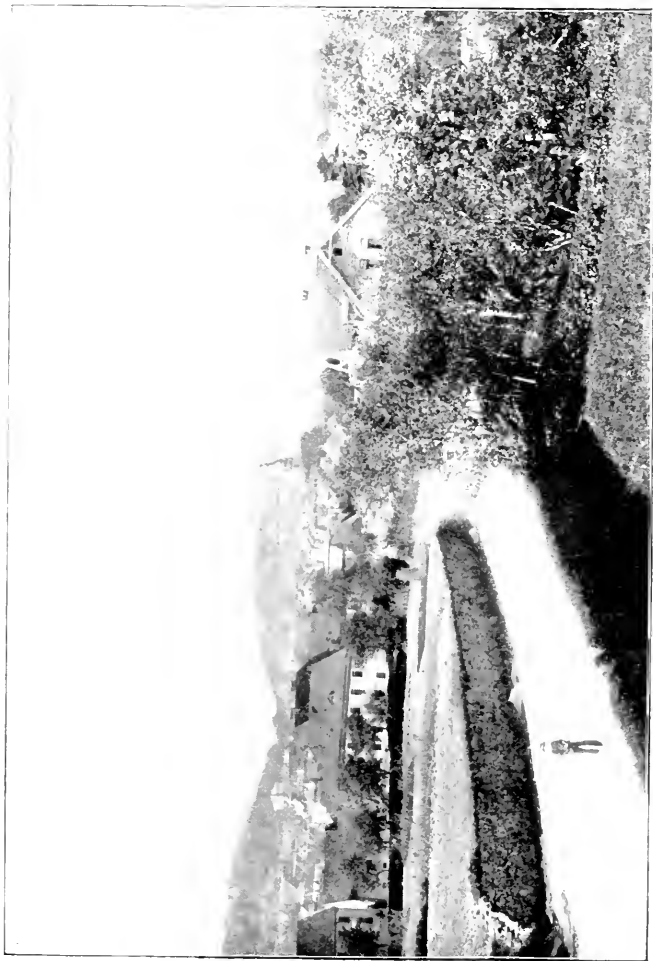
The tribes of the Cherusci, which inhabited the country between the Weser and the Elbe, had as the head of one of their distinguished families a chief, Sigimar by name. His son, the young prince Arminius, was a noble youth of great promise. He was so brave in character, with a judgment so discreet and a mind so cultivated, that, just budding into manhood as he was, with no one can he so well be compared as with our Washington. While still a lad he had entered the Roman service, acquired Roman tastes and culture, and by his military talents he had distinguished himself and been made a Roman knight.

As chief of the Cherusci he fought at the head of the Roman legions; and when after several years he returned to his home and found his kindred smarting under the despotism of Varus, he determined, like Washington, to liberate his country. Being still in the Roman army with Varus he had influence, and was able to scatter detachments amongst the different tribes; while the Romans, secure in the strength of their great power, mistrusted nothing of artifice or revolt. When Varus was marching through the Teutoburger Forest, Arminius, who had formed a network by means of these detachments, burst upon the legions of Varus, murdering his warlike men. From the trees above and the thickets on all sides, from the mountain passes and impenetrable forests and along impassable rivers, men hurled their weapons upon the Roman soldiers, who, although they fought like heroes for three days, were entirely cut to pieces and the whole army exterminated, Varus himself falling on his sword. Arminius cut off the head of Varus, and sent it to his enemy Marbod as a trophy of the victory gained, and also as a warning of the fate awaiting him. The news of the

slaughter filled Augustus and all Rome with the greatest grief. The Emperor did not shave his beard nor cut his hair for many weeks, and was often heard to cry out, "O Varus, Varus! give me back my legions." But Arminius said to his army, "The spell of the Roman power is broken; the German gods are greater than the gods of Rome."

In 14 A.D., the year Augustus died, Germanicus made the first of four campaigns for plunder. The second was interesting from a dramatic point of view. Arminius had stolen away Thusnelda, the daughter of Sergestes, another chief of the Cherusci, and had married her; but subsequently Sergestes had recaptured her, and shut her up in a German fortress which Arminius besieged. Sergestes applied to Germanicus for assistance; and he presented himself before the castle, and after driving Arminius away and making Thusnelda a slave, he took her back to Rome, where he exhibited her in a triumphal procession as one of the trophies of this victorious campaign. Germanicus, that same year, collected the bones of Varus' legions which still lay bleaching in the sun, and buried them with military honors. Arminius compelled Germanicus to retreat; but the former's army was so weakened by opposition and want of unity at home that Germanicus was able to retire in good order, and to erect a monument on the banks of the Weser declaring that he had conquered Germany. In honor of the bravery of which America as a nation also has reason to be proud, the Germans, hundreds of years afterwards, erected to Arminius a lofty monument on the highest point of the Teutoburger Alps, near the field of this battle (ever since called Winfield). It was from this very region where Arminius conquered that our English ancestors, the Saxons, including the Cherusci, went over and established a government





VIEW OF DETMOLD ON THE WERRE.

*Here Countess defeated the Roman general Varus, A.D. 9. The monument to commemorate the event is on the ridge just over the town.*



in England, the basis of which was the same solid groundwork from which the old code of English laws sprung.

Tiberius, the successor of Augustus, becoming jealous of Germanicus, recalled him, saying it was better for the Germans to destroy themselves in their own internal discord than to waste the best legions of Rome; therefore for one hundred and fifty years the Romans gave up the idea of conquering Germany. Thus Arminius may well be called the liberator of his country, for it was the first time the Romans had abandoned any conquest, and this became an epoch in their history which was the precursor of Rome's final fall. Arminius was the first who conceived the idea of a United Germany and a consolidated Fatherland. But as was the case with Washington, there had been ingratitude at the great deliverance which he had accomplished for Germany; there was jealousy, complaint, and envy on all sides; and just as he was trying to establish a new government on a firm basis, he fell by the hand of an assassin at the age of thirty-seven years. He was murdered through the treachery of one of his own race, who thought that, like Cæsar, he aspired to be Dictator. But his name has been handed down to the ages ever since, his brave deeds have been the theme of minstrels and poets, and will be celebrated in patriotic songs as long as Germany lives. Even now Arminius is supposed to interest himself in Germany's military affairs, hovering over her armies, always assisting in great battles, and helping the Germans to gain the hard-won victories which have established their Empire so firmly and so well.

As Tiberius had predicted, the Germans were so much occupied with their own civil dissensions that during the first century after Christ there were no disturbances outside, excepting the insurrection of the Gauls under Claudius Civilis. The Romans, however, still kept up the old

Rhine boundary, often crossing over to build fortresses on the eastern side of the river. They also went over the Danube, and appropriated Baden and Württemberg, occupying them as a colony for their Roman and German veterans disabled in the Oriental wars. In the time of Marcus Aurelius, having built towns on the Rhine as well as Bregenz, Salzburg, Augsburg, and Vienna, they constructed stockades from a city where Ratisbon now stands as far as the Rhine, for a line of defence against the Picts and Scots. The custom of enlisting Germans into the Roman ranks, as old as Cæsar's time, gave rise to an accusation of disloyalty; but since they were always quarrelling at home, it seemed no worse to fight their countrymen under the Roman flag, where they were considered most desirable troops, Titus saying that their souls were greater than their bodies.

During the time of the five good Emperors much of Roman civilization was introduced into Germany. Fruit-trees were planted, the rich cloths and ornaments of Italy, as well as gold, silver, and southern wines, were brought in, while the German products, horses, furs, and eiderdown, as well as smoked beef and honey, were carried to Rome. The Romans also built baths at Baden-Baden and Aix-la-Chapelle, and utilized the ores, metals, and marble quarries in building their temples, thus teaching the Germans the resources of their own land. This period was not, as might be supposed, one of moral growth for the Romans; since the people, enervated by idleness, became effeminate, degenerating into vice and extravagance. It was at this epoch that they were accustomed to strew with dust of gold the streets through which the chariots of the Emperors drove. But, as regards power and strength, the position of the two nations was rapidly changing place.

For a century or two after Marcus Aurelius, few records appear; and when the Germans next come into the field, from thirty tribes they have become four nationalities; the despised nation then had become so large a factor in the social life of Rome that Caracalla copied their manners and dress, wearing his hair in imitation of their flaxen curls. The degeneracy of Rome can no better be illustrated than by mentioning Maximus, a barbarian Goth, who was raised to the throne. Born in Thrace, the son of a Gothic peasant and one of the Scythian Alani, Septimus Severus had found him on one of his Eastern expeditions, and attracted by his marvellous strength and agility, had brought him home. He was eight feet in height, and able to wear the bracelet of his wife as a ring on his finger. He is said to have consumed forty pounds of meat and to have drunk an amphora of wine a day. His valor equalled his strength. He rose in the army from rank to rank, and in time, through the influence of the German soldiers, succeeded Alexander Severus as Emperor. When at last deposed because he had put the Senator Magnus to death, he howled like a wild beast, and beat his head against the wall. He was finally murdered by the German soldiers.

It was just before the reign of Caracalla that the Roman government, having been put up at auction by the Praetorian Guards, was bid off by Didius Julianus for three million pounds. These guards had been instituted by Augustus, and now numbered sixty thousand men, mostly Germans. They had become so powerful that their influence established on the throne several rulers known as the "Barrack Emperors."

The combat with Christianity had been growing more fierce and widespread each year; and at the time of Diocletian the Christians had become numerically half

of the entire Empire, while, under Constantine the Great, Christianity was established as the religion of the civilized world. But the long struggle had involved the slaughter of millions of people. Gibbon says that the victims of famine, pestilence, and war, together with those of the persecution, then amounted to one-half of the population of the globe. Julian pronounced the Christians a sect of fanatics, declaring that they had brought the Roman Empire to the brink of destruction; but, when he was dying, impressed with the imminence of the danger to the Empire, he exclaimed, "Thou hast conquered, O Galilæan!"

During the first four centuries of the Christian era, the details of the German confederations had intimate relation with the leading events of Rome, which included for the most part all the important incidents then transpiring in the world.

In the century previous to the fall of Rome, the Goths had learned so much of Roman civilization that Constantine the Great feared their power, and for forty years prevented any provocation arising which could engender the spirit of war. With a view to weakening their influence, he had adroitly separated the Vandals from the Goths, and made them tributaries in a province which is now Hungary, where they remained for forty years. In the fourth century they were admitted on equal terms into diplomatic relations with the Romans. In 375 A.D. they were driven across the Danube into Italy by the Huns, their aged leader, Hermanric, having died through fright. The first historical character among the West Goths was Fritigern, who laid waste the country along the Danube, halting at the doors of Constantinople. The Emperor Valens was slain in the subsequent encounter with Fritigern's army, and was succeeded by his son Gratian,

while Theodosius, his brother-in-law, a brave young Spaniard, became Emperor of the West. By conciliating Athanaric, King of the West Goths, Theodosius the Great obtained possession of both the Eastern and the Western Empires, and was the last king who enjoyed single rule, dying a few months after at Milan, 395 A.D., the massacre of fifteen thousand Thessalonican Christians being the only tarnish on his great name. The story of the divided rule under the nominal sovereignty of the boys Arcadius and Stilicho, the sons of Theodosius, through their guardians Honorius and Rufinus, brings out the weakness of the decaying Empire, and at the same time exhibits the resistless but chivalrous bravery of Alaric, King of the West Goths.

It was Alaric who first opened the way to the inroads of barbarians, conducting them to the very centre of the Roman Empire. Discovering its weakness, he set out on a voyage of plunder, pillaging every city of Greece except Thebes and Athens, only sparing the latter at the cost of a large ransom, though a legend declares that it was his consternation at the miraculous appearance of Pallas Athenæ that saved the city. "Alaric had just given the command to storm the town when there appeared on the fortifications, surrounded by sunlight, a wonderful woman, a giant in proportion, and armed from head to foot; threatening she waves her spear, and her weapons glitter dangerously, so that Alaric draws back in alarm, calling out, 'Great Spirit, thou art none other than Pallas. If the gods are contending for the spot, then the strength of man must yield.' To his soldiers he said, 'Away! this place dismays me;' and Athens was left in peace."

Alaric twice invaded Italy, once being vanquished by Stilicho; but gathering an overwhelming army, he presented himself at the doors of Rome, her first enemy

there for six hundred years. But Aurelian's wall was too secure to be taken by assault. The Senators sent word that the Romans were still strong and able to defend themselves. To which Alaric made the memorable reply, "The thicker the grass, the better the mowing." When asked what he demanded, Alaric replied, "All the gold and silver in your city, all your precious possessions, all the slaves of barbarian origin." Asked what he intended to leave, Alaric briefly replied, "Your lives." It is said that in order to pay Alaric the ransom the Romans stripped the roof off the temple in the Capitol, and melted down the images of the old gods; yet the very next year he blocked up the harbor of Ostia, and put into the city an Emperor of his own by the name of Attalus; and, returning the third year, he entered the city the 24th of August, 410 A.D., just eight hundred years after Brennus the Gaul had climbed up to the Capitol.

Although Alaric was a barbarian, he ordered everything belonging to Christianity to be spared, levelling all the pagan temples; so that from that time forth the people of Rome were Christians, since heathenism had fallen with its altars. The Goths could not bear a life circumscribed by the culture of Rome, and after six days marched southward, where, at Conzenza, Alaric fell ill and died. His warriors turned the course of the Busento, and in full armor, with his rich spoils about him, Alaric was placed in a grave dug in the river-bed, all the slaves employed being slain. He was succeeded by his brother-in-law Adolphus, and an arrangement was made with the Roman government by which the East Goths should inhabit Southern Gaul. Adolphus on leaving the state said, "I earnestly desired at first to abolish the very name of Rome, and to build up a Gothic Empire, so that Goth should mean all that Rome had meant, and Ataulf



stand for Cæsar Augustus. But experience showed me that the unbridled barbarism of the Goths could submit to no law, and I chose for my part the glory of restoring the name of Rome by Gothic strength." His wife was the beautiful Placidia, who, after he was murdered, was married to the Roman general Constantius.

In 428, Attila and Bleda became kings of the Huns. In order to obtain supreme power Attila had his brother Bleda murdered, proclaiming that the will of the gods and the necessities of the state demanded the deed. At this time all the Huns scorned luxury and effeminacy, wearing plain woollen garments, and eating and drinking from wooden cups and plates. They had never dwelt under a roof, and ate, drank, slept, bought, and sold on horseback. Short, thick, muscular, with yellow complexion, high cheek-bones, and bright eyes set far back in the forehead, with deep cuts in cheek and chin, the Huns were generally frightful to behold. At a later date they learned to imitate the luxury of Rome, and lived in great though barbaric splendor, so that the stranger might imagine himself at Constantinople or Ravenna.

Attila's kingdom reached from the Volga to the Black Sea, and from the depths of the German forests to the Rhine. At first he chose the Byzantine Empire as the scene of his destruction, where he was called the "Scourge of God;" and it was said that "where the hoofs of his horses trampled no grass ever grew again." Later he turned his course to Gaul, and it was at Châlons that the fate of ancient barbarism and the destinies of modern civilization were sealed by the bloodiest battle that was ever fought. In the course of it a brook which ran through the plain was red with the blood of the fallen, and according to a legend the disembodied spirits of the combatants continued fighting three days and three nights in the air.

Attila made a brave speech before the battle, saying, "If we are to die, we are to die; some who advance may live, but death shall be the fate of every one who flies." But, notwithstanding this, he himself was seized with a panic after the battle, and retreated, leaving great tracks of blood and ashes from Gaul to Hungary. He was also frightened away by visions when, the following year, he was about to lay waste Italy and march to Rome. Returning home, he died the next year in his wooden palace at Tokay, murdered by one of his countless beautiful wives.

During the fourth and fifth centuries there are no records of the Germans who remained at home. But the legends of the Nibelungen appear concerning this epoch, in which Siegfried King of Burgundy weds Chriemhilde, Gunther marries Brunhilde, and Hagen, Chriemhilde's uncle, kills Siegfried, who has destroyed the dragon by means of whose blood, except between the shoulders, Siegfried had been made invulnerable. To avenge Siegfried, Chriemhilde marries this very Attila, and in the same wooden palace at Tokay, slays Gunther and Hagen; but she herself is put to death by Dietrich of Bern (Theodoric the Great), because he would not permit a woman of such foul deeds to live.

In the year 455 A.D., Eudoxia, the wife of the murdered Valentinian III., summoned Geiseric, the old sea-king, to avenge her enforced marriage with Maximus; and as a consequence the Vandals sailed to the doors of Rome. They sacked it and plundered it until "vandalism" became the name for the destruction of the beautiful. After this Ricimer, King of the Suevii, obtained possession of the city, overturning five rulers at his will.

But the shadow of the migrations was not yet effaced, for every new conqueror tried his hand at Rome. The Germans had gradually wrenched from the Romans one

province after another, until the Western Kingdom consisted only of Italy; and this was doomed when it fell into Odoacer's hands. He, having seen the weakness of the government, discovered how easily he could rule where he had only served. Thus, in 476 A. D., just twelve centuries after the founding of Rome, he snatched the Empire from the hands of the weak Romulus Augustus, and sent him into retirement. This was the culmination of the world-conquering Roman Empire. After the fall of the Western Empire, its territory was divided and governed for a time by a number of kings. The Vandals still held Africa, the West Goths Spain and Southern Gaul, the Saxons had established a firm foothold in Britain, and the Franks in Northern Gaul. The East Goths became allies of the Eastern Empire, and received annual tribute for defending the Byzantine frontier. Theodoric, their king, was a noble character, who had acquired the culture and refinements of high civilization at Constantinople. Emperor Zeno had made him governor of the West, with instructions to attack Odoacer, and bring peace to the land. It was not the march of an army which Theodoric directed, but the migration of an entire race; for as a nation the East Goths emigrated, with wives and children, herds and household goods. When Odoacer saw them coming, he went forth to meet them on the plains of Northern Italy; but when he perceived their large number, he retired to Ravenna, where he was forced to remain three years, until Theodoric successfully besieged the city, taking Odoacer prisoner. Although he promised the latter a third of his kingdom, the Teutonic chief was murdered soon after, a crime which is one of the few blots on Theodoric's great character; but it is said that Theodoric had heard that Odoacer was plotting to murder him.

When Theodoric took possession of Italy he spread abroad such a feeling of peace and security that even the spirit of the Romans revived. On coming into power he said, "Let other kings seek to procure booty and the downfall of conquered cities, our purpose is, with God's help, so to conquer that our subjects shall lament that they have too late come under our rule." During the twenty-six years of his reign Theodoric was the most powerful monarch of the civilized globe. The Germans regarded him as the greatest and mightiest of their warriors, and he proved to be so just and magnanimous that he well deserves the name "Theodoric the Great." He lived at Verona, but came often to Rome, setting aside each year a sum for repairing the old buildings and restoring the works of art. His correspondence, carried on by means of dictation to his slaves, exhibits his cultivated mind; but he could never learn even to write his name, although he carried tablets with him, and practised the letters of the alphabet during his leisure hours. His signature was a big black mark over his Greek name, "ΘΕΟΔ," stereotyped in a mould. Being a follower of the dissenter Arius, he was considered a heretic by the Pope; therefore soon after his death, which occurred on August 30, A.D. 526, his ashes were taken from his tomb at Ravenna, and scattered to the winds. Some have compared him to Abraham Lincoln.

Seven Gothic kings ruled after Theodoric, but the Pope was beginning to monopolize the power. The inextinguishable courage of these last Gothic rulers and their heroic death left grand examples until the destruction and fall of the nation.

The golden milestone which Augustus had planted now marked the spot from which, through all the centuries of the Empire, the squadrons of Rome had marched forth

to victory, and to which the nations of Europe and even Asia had come to learn their doom. But the milestone itself had long since been broken; for the Empire had fallen, and alike, victorious generals and their train of captives, mouldered in the same dust.

At the close of the period called "The Irruption of the Barbarians," Europe was like the flotsam and jetsam on a wide ocean after a great ship has foundered. For the next three centuries there were four important factors which exerted a powerful influence in preparing Germany and Italy for a union in the Holy German Empire. The Franks were the great people who were destined to destroy the remnant of Gothic influence, extinguish the Lombard nation, and, uniting with the Holy See of the Roman dominion, were to build up a new and firmer government.

While the barbarians were waging their brutal wars, the Franks had exhibited great energy and bravery, and had been cultivating the arts of civilization. About the time of Theodosius the Great, A.D. 395, the year the Byzantine Empire was formed, the Franks, having found a nation on the lower Rhine, began to elect kings. The third ruler was called Meroveus, from whom the Merovingian dynasty is named; their kings were called Meerwigs. At this time the Franks were heathen; but through the marriage of Clovis with the Christian princess Chlothilde, the former, with the greater part of the nation, embraced the Christian faith.

History gives no record equal in crime to that of the Merovingian dynasty, — the father constantly murdering the son, the brother betraying the brother, and the wife the husband. In their history, which comes out only in the legends of the Nibelungen, Siegbert and Chilperic are among the rulers; but instead of Brunhilde and

Chriemhilde fighting before the Worms Cathedral for preference in entering in, it is Brunhilde and Fredegonde who cause all the wars for forty years. The city of Worms is one of the places in these legends, thus named because Siegfried is there supposed to have met and slain the dragon "Wurm," which in those days meant a serpent.

After the death of Siegbert the divided rule was united under Clotaire II. in 628 A.D. Then it was shared by Dagobert and Charibert, the former of whom was the first of the so-called "*Rois Faineants*" (lazy kings). Under these, the mayors of the palace were the real kings. These were the "*rois faineants*:" —

SIEGBERT II.	THIERRY I.
CLOVIS II.	DAGOBERT II.
CLOTAIRE III.	CHILPERIC II.
Sole king in 656 of Neustria and Burgundy.	THIERRY II.
CHILDERIC III.	CHILPERIC III.
Sole king of Austrasia.	THEODORIC.

Pepin of Heristal, mayor of the palace, overthrew these "*rois faineants*," and with them the dynasty fell. Pepin the Short was the first to gain the title of king. Charles, the father of the latter, from his skill as a commander in many and great battles, and his remarkable triumph over the Saracen invaders at Poitiers, gained for him the name of Charles Martel (Charles the Hammer). This victory was almost as magnificent and was fraught with quite as important consequences to the world as that at Châlons. The Carlovingian dynasty commenced with Pepin the Short in 754 A.D. But Pepin enlisted in a long struggle with the Lombards before he gained the power.

The Lombards were first heard of as far back as legen-

dary times. The good dames prayed to Frigga, the wife of Woden, to give the tribes good speed when they were going forth to battle. Frigga, the next morning, bade the warriors stand forth in the rising sun with their long hair let down over their chins. Woden asked, "Who are these longbeards?"—"Thou hast given them a name and now thou must give them victory." answered Frigga. Henceforth they were called "Longbeards," or "Longo-bards;" and afterwards they were known as "Lombards," though a modern critic derives the name from the German *lang* and *barte* (battle-club).

In the time of Cæsar they were living near the mouth of the Elbe. After they had reached the Danube, in the fourth century, history is silent as to their wanderings until 560 A. D., when their king, Alboin, conquered the Gepidæ and married Rosamond, the daughter of Kunimund, the Gepidæ's king. But when, to celebrate the victory, Alboin tried to force Rosamond to drink out of her father's skull, she had him murdered. There is, however, a more fascinating romance concerning Autharis, the grandson of Alboin, who ascended the Lombard throne in 584 A. D., conquering Italy. Autharis had heard of the charms of the beautiful Theodolinda; he was too impatient to wait the return of the embassy sent to arrange the marriage, and sought her palace in the disguise of a courtier, conducting their romantic courtship himself. Thus, instead of observing the diplomatic rules in such cases, he won her heart as well as her hand. Autharis lived only long enough to see Theodolinda the idol of his people; but after he died she persuaded them to become Christians, and taught them the arts of civilized life. It was she who built the cathedral at Monza, near Milan, where the "Iron Crown of Lombardy" is still kept.

Finally, in 565 A. D., Narses, the Byzantine general,

invited the Lombards to come to his aid against the Avars. The passes of the Alps were left open for them, and the whole nation emigrated into that portion of Northern Italy now called Lombardy. After a siege of four years, the last Alboin reduced Pavia, and Italy became the home of the race. Thus in 570 A.D. ended the migrations begun in 375 A.D.

After this only Ravenna, Naples, and Genoa were held by the Eastern Emperors, who lived at Constantinople and were called Exarchs. Rome, though nominally subject to the exarchy, was under the government of the Pope, while Venice, then a young Republic, was safe for many years on its marshy islands in the Adriatic.



## CHAPTER II.

PEPIN THE SHORT AS KING. — REIGN OF CHARLEMAGNE.

754 — 800 A. D.

BETWEEN "*les rois fainçants*" (the lazy kings), the Royal Stewards, the Pope, the Exarchs, and the Lombards, whose kingdom was at its zenith at the time of Charles Martel, the government of Italy saw the greatest vicissitudes and was at its lowest ebb. There had been eighteen Exarchs in all, and their cruelty gave rise to fierce insurrections, which were suppressed by the most desperate means. But, since human nature has a limit to its power of endurance, the Exarchs shared the same fate as the Emperors themselves. Sometimes they, with all their court, would be murdered in one night. One, proclaiming himself Exarch, was struck down by his soldiers on the spot; another plundered the National Treasury; and still another seized the Pope, and sent him to prison. So, with the Exarchs on one side, and the Lombard kings on the other, the people had a hard time.

Pope Zacharias had appealed to Pepin the Short against the persecution of Aistolphus, King of the Lombards; whereupon Pepin propounded the famous question, which settled the destiny of Royal Stewards as Carovingian kings: "Does the kingdom belong to him who exercises the power without the name, or to him who bears the name without possessing the power?" The answer was what he expected. An assembly having been called, Pepin was anointed king by Archbishop Bonifacius, called

the Apostle of Germany, the good missionary who had converted so many Germans. Pepin was raised on his shield, and accepted by the nobles and people, while Childeric III. was shorn of his long hair, the Meerwig badge of royalty, and sent to a monastery. Pepin named himself king "by the grace of God," an example followed by most of the French, German, and English rulers ever since. He rewarded the Pope by giving him a large part of Lombardy; this was a great step gained in the interests of the Papal power, which had commenced when Clovis the Great gave the Church Papal lands.

Stephen became the successor of Zacharias. Aistolphus, the Lombard king, had driven the Byzantines out of the Exarchy of Ravenna, and was marching to take Rome. Pope Stephen gave Pepin the title of "Patrician of Rome," and crowned him and his sons, Karl and Karlo-man, in the Chapel of St. Denis near Paris, issuing a ban of excommunication against all other monarchs. Pepin, having failed to negotiate with the Lombard king, marched into Italy, and made Aistolphus fulfil a former promise to give up the Exarchy, and also to pay the expense of the war. He remained some time in Italy with his son Karl (Charlemagne), who was then fourteen years old. Twelve years after, Pepin the Short died, leaving a stronger and better-organized government to his sons Karl and Karlo-man than Europe had seen since the downfall of Rome.

During three years after Pepin's decease the government had remained unsettled; but on the death of Karlo-man, in 771 A. D., the great man, whose memory posterity continues to honor, ascended the throne. His name has been handed down as Charlemagne, — that is Karl, — or Charles the Great. He ruled over an Empire which during his reign became more powerful than any that had existed since the Cæsars. But the greatness of his strong

character was more admirable than all his conquests, while his simplicity of soul shone out clear above all else. He is said to have been a type of chivalry before the age of chivalry began.

Charlemagne was at once called to the first, the greatest, and most extensive task of his life, the conquest of the Saxons. Of all the barbarians that had ever overrun Europe, the Saxons were the most warlike and inextinguishable in their hatred of civilization and Christianity. But they were brave and daring, they revered and honored their women, and, when finally subdued, made the best Christians and the sturdiest citizens of all the German tribes. They were of the same stock as the English Saxons from whom sprang the race that made America.

Although Boniface had tried to convert the Saxons, they were the last of the Germans to hold out; he had been dead many years before they finally yielded as Christians and good subjects to the influence of Charlemagne. For thirty-three years the great king fought the Saxons; and though he never lost a battle, he many times thought them conquered when they were still unsubdued.

While Charlemagne was engaged in his first encounters with the Saxons, a new danger arose. Soon after his succession to the throne, he had sent his wife, Hermingarde, the daughter of Desiderius, back to the court of her father, the last of the Lombard kings. The widow and sons of Charlemagne's brother Karloman had also sought an asylum at this same court, because Charlemagne had refused them any part in the government. Desiderius, not comprehending the great monarch's power, appealed to Pope Hadrian to protect the young princes, threatening in case this was not done to march upon Rome. Hadrian summoned Charlemagne, and thus brought him in all his might across the Alps into Italy, leading an

army over the passes of St. Bernard and Mont Cenis. The story runs that he rewarded the trumpeter who showed him the way with as much land as came within the sound of his trumpet's blast.

Desiderius was much alarmed when the mighty hero drew near the town. Looking from his high tower at Pavia, the capital that old Alboin had chosen for the Lombard race, and seeing the approach of the vanguard, an irresistible force, he asked a Frank who had fled from Charlemagne and was with him; "Is Charles in this great army?" — "Not yet," replied the Frank. Then as the great mass of the army appeared, and a long line of bishops, cardinals, and all the priesthood with their servants approached: "Charlemagne must certainly be here," said the king. "Not yet, not yet," was the answer. After this new legions appeared, and the frightened monarch called out once more: "That must be Charlemagne." But again the reply was, "Not yet." Then the Frank said: "When you shall observe a crop of iron rise upon the field, then know that Charlemagne is coming." Thereupon Desiderius from his high window perceived a dark cloud in the West, which shut out the day. As it drew near, he saw Charlemagne, his armor glittering in the sun; for he wore an iron helmet, iron splints, and an iron breastplate around his broad chest; he held an iron spear in his left hand, and his unconquerable sword in his right. His shield also was of iron, and even his war-horse seemed to be of the same stern stuff. The street below was covered with iron men whose swords flashed in the sunlight. This time Desiderius, recognizing the mighty warrior, stammered: "Let us hide ourselves in the earth before the anger of so terrible an enemy."

After a siege of several years, Desiderius was obliged to descend from Alboin's lofty perch and give battle at



CHARLEMAGNE AT PAVIA



Pavia, where he was completely routed after a long and brave defence. Charlemagne sent him to a cloister where he died, the last ruler of the Lombard race. Then the great sovereign united the remnant of the Lombard nation with the Franks.

Charlemagne took the iron crown of Lombardy, and placed it upon his head. This crown, still in the Cathedral at Monza, is in reality a crown of gold encircled within by a ring of iron, which is said to have been twisted into this shape out of one of the nails of the sacred cross from Calvary. Napoleon, one thousand years after, hoping to establish an Empire greater than that of Charlemagne, took the same crown and placed it upon his own brow, just as the Empire that Charlemagne had founded was crumbling into dust.

From this epoch Charlemagne was recognized as king of the Franks and the Lombards; and the Pope added the title, Protector of the Roman Church. At once he pushed forward to Rome. It was Easter Sunday. Crowds came thirty miles to meet him outside the city gates. As he neared the town, the whole populace assembled in the streets; maidens strewed palms and olive-branches beneath his horse's feet; thousands of voices rose in thankfulness and gratitude to him as liberator, and sung, "Hosanna! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

The Pope received him at the door of the Vatican; they embraced, and walked side by side, Charlemagne in the place of honor at his right. Thus they entered St. Peter's Church, the supposed site of the Apostle Peter's martyrdom. Charlemagne bent and touched each step with his lips. This was the first time that the great monarch had visited the Eternal City since, as a boy, he had come with his father.

Charlemagne had been solicited by the Saracen knights of Spain to come and protect them against the Caliph of Cordova, who had banished their governor at Saragossa. The Emperor, who had returned to Saxony, led an army over the Pyrenees, conquered Spain as far as the Ebro, and storming Saragossa, reinstated the governor on condition of his taking the oath of fealty; he then annexed the conquered territory to the Roman Kingdom.

This is said to have been the only useless war in which Charlemagne ever engaged; since it was afterwards proved that the Saracens, a brave and gentle people, already learning the arts of civilization, would have been better off if left to themselves. But this was an era of culture to the rough Franks, who learned refinement from the Saracens.

On Charlemagne's return from this victorious battle, a part of his forces were massacred by the Basques in the wild passes of the Pyrenees, many of his best warriors being among the number. The Basques threw spears and rolled huge stones upon Charlemagne's knights as the army passed through the narrow defiles. All of his twelve Paladins were slain excepting two. Among those slaughtered was his nephew Roland, called by the Italians Orlando, who was the theme of poets down to Luther's time. Roland received his death from four spear wounds; and when he saw that he was fatally wounded, seizing his glittering sword, Durindana, which had been taken from a Saracen warrior and was said originally to have belonged to the great Hector of Troy, he bore down upon a rock, with the great strength for which he was celebrated, determined to break the sword rather than surrender it to the enemy. His efforts were in vain, however, for the sturdy blade remained uninjured. Roland had refused to summon Charlemagne, who was in the



valley below; but when he saw his end approaching, he blew his horn three times with such force that it burst the arteries of his neck, and cleft a rock in the mountain which was ever after called "Roland's breach." Again the brave knight returned to the fight, until the news was brought that the enemy had surrendered; then, fixing his eyes on his sword hilt as if on a crucifix, he breathed out his pure soul to God.

Just then Charlemagne came up. He had been deceived by the enemy asking a truce, and had sent Roland with an embassy; but having heard the horn sound three times so vigorously, he feared it was a signal of distress, and started with the remainder of his knights up the narrow defiles to meet his nephew. When he saw Roland dead before him, embracing his body and kissing him, he said, "I bless thee, Orlando; I bless thy whole life, and all that thou wast, and all that thou ever didst, and the father that begat thee; and I ask pardon of thee for believing those who brought thee to this end; they shall have their reward, O thou beloved one! but indeed it is thou who livest, and I who am worse than dead."

Charlemagne in his wrath hung the Duke of Aquitaine, in whose territory the massacre took place, on charge of treachery.

The legends concerning Roland's youth are most explicit and fascinating. According to one of these, Roland was a poor boy, living in a cave with his mother, the sister of Charlemagne, who by a forbidden and unfortunate marriage had separated herself from the glory of her family. After her husband's death she was so very poor that one day, calling to her little Roland, who was playing in the sunshine, she bade him go into the town and beg for bread.

While she was speaking to her son, Charlemagne was

sitting at dinner attended by great pomp and splendor; and outside in the court were many beggars, amongst whom Roland soon took his place. The king took no particular notice of the vagrants until, suddenly, a splendid-looking boy appeared, in a peculiar outfit, consisting of a suit of clothes made up in four colors. The lad, springing through the network of the enclosure, lifted a dish from the table, as if in his own house, and without a word carried it out. The king thought this a most extraordinary proceeding; but since he said nothing, the servers allowed the event to pass without remark; in a few moments, however, young Roland reappeared, and snatching the golden goblet from the hands of the king himself, walked out. "Hold on! you saucy scamp!" cried Charlemagne. Then, recalling a dream of which this was a reminder, he ordered the boy to be followed by three knights, who encountered Roland at the entrance of his cave, where he stood with a cudgel ready to protect his mother. They soon learned who she was, and promised to obtain pardon from their sire; whereupon Roland was so far received into Charlemagne's favor that he took him with him as an inmate of his palace, and afterwards made him one of his twelve Paladins.

The explanation of the "coat of many colors" involves another anecdote. Roland was so poor that he was sometimes only half clad. Being a favorite of the boys, four of them one day brought cloth to make him a suit of clothes, each bringing a different color. Oliver, the son of the governor of the town, was one of Roland's early playmates; and the two boys maintained a close friendship up to the time that Roland went to live with Charlemagne, after which they saw no more of each other until they met at a tournament some years later. There had been a quarrel between Charlemagne and one of his

nobles, Guerin de Montglave, which was to be settled by a contest, the combatants being decided by lot. Roland was chosen on Charlemagne's side, the noble's grandson on the other. After fighting bravely for two hours, the young men snatched at each other's helmets, tearing them away, and at the same moment rushed into each other's embrace. "I am conquered!" cried Roland. "I yield me," cried Oliver; for it was no other than Roland's old friend, whom when a poor boy he had so passionately loved.

The rest of the knights were so much pleased at the bravery which both of the young men had shown that they effected a reconciliation between Charlemagne and the noble, Guerin de Montglave, who with his sons and grandsons went forth with Charlemagne to conquer the King of Spain. From this contest arose the expression, "A Roland for an Oliver."

The Saxons, encouraged by the report that the army of the Franks was destroyed, revolted for the fifth time. Their king, Wittikind, invaded the Frankish kingdom, plundering, murdering, and burning everything in his way. Charlemagne formerly had had little trouble in temporarily suppressing these Saxon insurrections, consequently he sent a strong division of his army with messages of peace. The messengers were treacherously murdered, and the army cut to pieces with great brutality in the Teutoburger forest at Detmold, on the same battle-field where Arminius and Varus had fought. On account of this deed Charlemagne's great patience was exhausted, and his slumbering barbarism so far aroused, that, when his army had met and defeated the Saxons, the prisoners to the number of four thousand were beheaded. The Saxons, being thoroughly enraged by this treatment, rose in rebellion yet two or three times, but their spirit was

almost broken. A year or two after, when the fugitive Wittikind stole in disguise to the camp of Charlemagne, he was impressed to such a degree by the dignity of the king's bearing, and the pomp and glory of the religious services held there, that the Saxons soon after yielded, and in 808 were incorporated into the Empire, King Wittikind and his people being all baptized. Afterwards Charlemagne made Wittikind Duke of the Saxons, and henceforth was his friend.

As a protection against the Avars, a Tartar tribe, and the Wends, a Slavonic tribe, Charlemagne built fortresses at Halle, Magdeburg, Buchen, made Saxon colonies among the Franks, and also established provinces called Marks. In the Saxon Mark the earliest germ of Brandenburg and of modern Prussia originated, and from this the present Germany sprung.

The resources of Charlemagne's genius were taxed to the uttermost; for there were always disturbances among the Lombards and amongst the Saracens in Spain; the still unsubdued Bavarians were continually inciting the Avars to make invasions; and finally the Norsemen, in the guise of merchants, came down the great rivers in their open boats. Although Charlemagne had made many expeditions, when he saw the piratical inroads of the Normans he said, "They are not merchants but cruel enemies;" and covering his face with his hands, he wept like a child. By carrying their boats on their shoulders, the Normans crossed from one river to another, spreading the same terror through the heart of the country that had pervaded the people on the seacoast.

To add to Charlemagne's sorrows, his son Pepin, to whom he had given Normandy, revolted; but the rebel having been well flogged, peace was once more restored. Then the Saxons, in 796 A.D., rose in insurrection for the

last time; and poor old Pope Leo III., having got into trouble, fled from the persecution of the Roman nobles to Charlemagne, who was then holding court at Paderborn. The king agreed to help him; and the soldiers, waving their swords in the air, promised to re-establish him on the Papal throne. Amidst the chanting of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, Leo was sent back to Rome.

## CHAPTER III.

CHARLEMAGNE CROWNED AS EMPEROR. — HIS DEATH. —  
COMMENTS ON HIS CHARACTER.

800—814 A.D.

CHARLEMAGNE kept a minute account of the resources of his kingdom. He knew just how much milk and how many eggs were produced, attending to all such minute details himself. He also employed officers, the *Dominici Messi*, and kept them going over his dominion, reporting the condition of the different portions, investigating grievances, and proclaiming imperial decrees.

He had several times himself been down into Italy and visited Rome. Now, when all these troubles were over, except those with the Normans, Charlemagne, at the head of his army, followed Pope Leo to Rome. On Christmas Day, 800 A.D., after celebrating mass in St. Peter's, he knelt for a long time in prayer. While he was still kneeling, Leo III., stepping forward, placed the golden crown of the Roman Empire upon his head, and with the other hand anointed him. Prostrating himself before him, he said, "Carolo Augusto, crowned by God, the mighty peace-giving Emperor of the Romans, long life and victory!"

This was intended as a resuscitation of the extinct Western Empire; from this day Charlemagne was reckoned with the old Roman Emperors, who had been dead so long.

Charlemagne's kingdom now extended from the Eider in the North to Benevento in the South, the Byzantine

Empire in the East to the Ebro in the West. It comprised France, Italy, Germany, Hungary, and the north-east part of Spain; its shores were washed by the British Channel, the North, the Baltic, and the Mediterranean Seas and the Atlantic Ocean.

Besides his other campaigns, in order to bring all the German provinces under his sway, Charlemagne had made thirty-three expeditions into the swamps and marshes of Germany.

Haroun-al-Raschid, of the "Arabian Nights," sent embassies from Bagdad to court his friendship; and, besides other magnificent presents, he gave him a wonderful clock, which was propelled by water-power, this being the first ever made to keep time; he also presented him with the keys of Jerusalem and of the Holy Sepulchre. At Charlemagne's request, Haroun-al-Raschid took the holy places of Palestine under his protection, allowing the Christians to visit them at their will.

At last all the greatness of his conquests, and the glory of his renown, like all earthly baubles, became an empty show. The tired old man who had held Europe in a tight grasp found he must let it go. When Charlemagne had reached the age of seventy-two years, while still engaged in the chase in his hunting-grounds of Aix-la-Chapelle, he suddenly fell ill. The pain in his side increased in severity during seven days of illness. In the meantime he had strength enough to assemble the nobles, and introduce them to his son Louis as his successor. With the crown in his hand, accompanied by the whole assembly, he knelt before the altar and engaged in silent prayer. After this he spoke in a loud voice, in the presence of all, admonishing his son to fear God, care for the Church and for his sisters, to love his people as though they were his children, to aid the poor, appoint honest, God-fearing func-

tionaries, and to conduct himself in a spotless manner before God and man. "Will you carry out all this?" Louis, with tears, said, "I will." — "Then put on this crown, and may you remember your promise." Louis assented to all the Emperor required, amidst the weeping of the people. Charlemagne sickened more and more; and one day soon after, making a sign of the cross on his forehead, he folded his feeble hands upon his breast, and sang in a low voice, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." Thus he walked through the "Valley of Shadows."

His embalmed body was placed in a vault under the floor of the Cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle, amidst the loud sobs of a lamenting people. Here he reposed, sitting on a golden throne, in full imperial splendor. On his head they placed the crown of the world, in one hand the holy sacrificial cup, in the other a globe surmounted by wood from the holy cross, the symbol of his world-wide government. At his right side was the sword which had subjected Europe, at his feet the sceptre under which he had tried to establish the permanent kingdom of Christ on earth.

In this chamber of worn-out splendor and power they walled up his remains for two hundred years. When the throne of his descendants who had been laid to rest in forgetfulness was swept away, and Germany was governed by the race (so strange is the irony of fate) who had made Charlemagne's life a constant battle, Otto III., the Saxon King, with a band of sacrilegious rioters, one night opened the vault; a glance from the eye of Charlemagne, who was still sitting on his throne with the same kingly dignity, sobered the godless crew. The majestic sight is said to have inspired Otto III., who was afterwards called Otto the Saint, with new aspirations for a higher and holier living.



Charlemagne was a man of infinite resources, — a great statesman, a wise legislator, an able general, and like Napoleon in his capacity for accomplishing great military results. While he was enlarging his territory, he was all the time fortifying his dominion against foreign foes. He regarded the common people, and recognized their individual rights; but the influence of his strong government, and the necessity of arbitrary measures in bringing communities from a barbarous condition under law and order, strengthened an oligarchy which laid the foundation for a government of lords and serfs.

Charlemagne had no settled residence, but was one day here and one day there. He used to spend much time in his hunting-grounds in the forests of Ardennes; but he liked best his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle with facilities for warm baths, and there he lived in his old age. There he built the Cathedral, with pillars taken from Roman ruins. It remains almost unchanged in appearance at the present day, with some of the same colonnades arranged in semicircles. The oldest part of the present Cathedral was erected as a palace chapel by Charlemagne in 796. The most of it was rebuilt by Otto III. in the year 1000 A.D.

The following legend explains the reason why the Emperor preferred Aix-la-Chapelle as a residence: Charlemagne had in his possession a charmed ring, which had the power of making him ardently attached to whomsoever wore it. He gave it to his wife, of whom he immediately became passionately fond. Dying soon after, she still wore the ring when placed in her casket. From that time Charlemagne refused to be separated from her remains. He carried the casket wherever he went, to the great annoyance and trouble of his courtiers, who one day decided to open the casket, expecting to find it filled

with gold. Much to their surprise, the only thing they discovered of value was the ring. Without much thought, one of the courtiers immediately commenced to wear it; whereupon Charlemagne's fondness for the casket disappeared, and an unweaning regard for the courtier took its place, so that the Emperor refused to be separated from him, even for a moment in the day. This becoming tiresome, the favorite suspected the complicity of the ring, and threw it into one of the springs for which Aix-la-Chapelle is so celebrated; and from that time this city was the favorite residence of Charlemagne.

It was the Emperor's custom to hold two assemblies, besides special sessions, each year, at which the chief men from all parts of the kingdom gathered. These national councils are considered the most distinguished features of his reign; at their meetings measures were proposed and debated after the manner of our time. Here Charlemagne tried to find out the wishes of the people as a whole, submitting to the nobles any new laws which had become necessary in the interval since the adjournment, and the revision of old ones which were no longer practicable as they stood. After deliberation of these questions by the members, they were sent to Charlemagne for his signature, through which only they became valid as laws.

In these statutes, discussed and adopted, there was much of ethics, religion, and politics. The royal note-book contained principles like this: "Covetousness doth consist in desiring that which others possess, and in giving away naught of that which one's self possesses." Again he said in his note-book: "Hospitality must be practised." Once more he adds: "If mendicants be met with, and they labor not with their hands, let none take thought about giving unto them."

Nearly all the distinguished men of the eighth and ninth centuries were grouped around Charlemagne's court, either as political advisers or as the instructors of his household. He established schools all over the Empire, in which children were taught gratuitously. He also instituted a kind of college, called the "School of the Palace," in his own court, where learned persons gave instruction, himself presiding. His sons and daughters and friends here discussed theories of learning, and were instructed in rhetoric, astronomy, the languages and literature, while he also took an active part. His chief counsellor was Alcuin, an English monk, and a man of great learning, while Paul Diaconus, a learned Lombard, and Bishop Turpin were among his friends.

Charlemagne's secretary, Eginhard, wrote a history of the Emperor's life, in which, among a great number of other interesting things, he said: "In all his undertakings and enterprises, there was nothing he shrunk from because of the toil, and nothing he feared because of the danger."

Charlemagne was very fond of visiting the schools which he had established, and listening to the boys at their lessons. In one of these visits he was told that the noblemen's sons were much more idle than those of the common citizens. At this, frowning and flushing up, with flashing eyes he called the young nobles to him, and said, "You think you are grand gentlemen! You are puffed up on account of your rank, and take it for granted that you have no need of learning; but you are nothing but young puppets. I can assure you that your lofty airs, your nobility, and your high notions amount to nothing with me; beware young men! for without diligence and conscientious study you will receive no favors."

Charlemagne brought from Rome the same taste for

beautiful music which prevails in Germany to-day. It was he who introduced the Gregorian Chant and other chorals. He shared the opinion of the Italians when they said that the Franks had little aptitude for music, and compared their singing to the howling of wild beasts and the noise made by the squeaking and groaning wheels of a baggage-wagon over a stony road.

Charlemagne was no spendthrift of time. During all his leisure hours he conversed with the learned, and even at meal-time had books read to him, among which was Augustine's "City of God." Notwithstanding the duties of his public career, he became a cultivated scholar in many branches. Although he learned to speak Latin fluently, he and his court still continued the use of the German tongue; yet in his time the basis of modern French was laid, which was called *Langue d'oil*, in contrast to the Provençal dialect, *Langue d'oc*.

Charlemagne cultivated the fine arts, often rising in the night to study astronomy. He also encouraged architecture, building several palaces and basilicas, which became models for fine structures for several centuries after. He taught civil engineering, and had bridges built; it was he who planned the canal which Louis I. of Bavaria completed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, connecting the Main with the Regnitz, and forming a waterway across the country from the Rhine to the Danube, thus uniting the German Ocean with the Black Sea.

Charlemagne's daughters spent their leisure in making duplicates of all the ancient manuscripts, a task which naturally belonged to the monks. He paid largely for original copies wherever found, and collected them as a library, which he established in his own palace at Aix-la-Chapelle. He superintended the compiling of a German

grammar and also a collection of the German national patriotic ballads, songs, and legends. These, unfortunately, were destroyed in the time of his son Louis the Pious, a man entirely in the hands of the priests, who considered national songs pagan in character.

At twenty-four years of age, when Charlemagne ascended the throne, he was in person huge and strong. He could easily snap a horseshoe with his hand; and having the muscular power of heroes of song, it was only sport for him to fight the gigantic wild bulls in the forest of Ardennes. His face was commanding and noble, with large eyes, arched forehead, and blond hair, the impression of his intellectual power being heightened by his quiet dignity. His manner of dress was simple in the extreme; he always wore a linen shirt, spun and woven by his daughters, and over this a jacket with a silk lining, trousers, stockings, and shoes completing his outfit. He covered his shoulders and chest by a protector of otter skin, his outside garment being a stout dark-green coat. He was always seen with a sword girded around him, the handle and belt of which were usually of gold; on the pommel of this weapon his seal was engraved; when once this was put to a command, he would say to any prince whom he had found obstinate: "Here is my mandate, and here" — shaking the sword — "is that which will render obedience to it." On special occasions he carried a sword richly set with jewels. He would hear nothing of foreign clothing, however costly, except while in Rome, when at the request of the Pope, he submitted to wearing a long cape and a purple coat. At great feasts he appeared in gold-inserted clothes, shoes set with jewels, and a coat held together by a gold buckle, his head then being ornamented with a gold crown which sparkled with diamonds. On work-days he could hardly be distinguished

in outward appearance from the common people. He very seldom gave dinners, partaking of food and drink but moderately. He was a good talker, and conversed intelligently on all subjects, entertaining his friends, and admitting people to audiences on business when dressing. He was terrible in crushing whoever interfered with his work; but at the banquet, or following the chase, or in the family circle, no one was more frank, joyous, and kindly than Charlemagne.

As a boy he had not learned to write; for up to the time of the royal stewards, all the Germans, to a certain extent, had been barbarians. Although their language was cultivated in poetical form and heroic songs, the scorn for learning, engendered earlier by the priests, was kept up until Charlemagne ascended the throne. His education had been neglected in his youth; but when he became the ruler of his vast Empire, he tried to copy the letters in the alphabet of the language which he could read so well. So persevering was he that he kept paper and slates under his pillow with which to while away the wakeful hours of the night. But the strong muscles of his hand, so skilful in wielding the sword, were never supple enough to guide that mighty instrument, which, in the last years of the nineteenth century, conquers the world. His name, carved so unerringly on history's page, was never inscribed by his own hand. This was his mark: "*Signum, (†), Caroli gloriossissimi regis.*" (Signature of Charles, the most glorious king) or, as we should say, "Charles, †, his mark."

In his latter days Charlemagne withdrew from the gaze of men, and accepted as his right the worship of his subjects, who entertained the sentiment of Athanaric, one of the first of the West Gothic kings: "Doubtless the emperor is a god on earth, and he who attacks him is guilty

of his own blood." At this period of Charlemagne's life, only a favored few could approach him; on very few important occasions only was he seen in public, in the full pomp of imperial splendor. He has been called the ideal "Kaiser;" and it was in his time that the word "Kaiser," from the Latin Cæsar, was first used as the technical name for the German Emperor, as later the word Czar, also from Cæsar, became the title for the ruler of Russia.

A contemporary writer says of Charlemagne: "It is not possible to imagine the grief of the inhabitants of the earth and the nations around, who mourned him as the great father of mankind, for he had held the Empire by his own tenacity and strength." Soon after his death, although Charlemagne had desired national unity, the government was divided up, being gradually absorbed by the different provinces of Germany. However, it was afterwards proved that he did, in fact, what both he and Theodoric the Great tried to do, and what Washington really did for us,—he made of the German nation a unit, which, notwithstanding all subsequent disagreements and drawing apart, finally became the solid foundation on which the present German nation stands.

After Charlemagne, during the next thousand years there were six dynasties, from which many strong rulers came. In these different lines, besides the rest of the Carlovingian kings, were the Saxons, the Franconians, the Hohenstaufen, followed by a mixed dynasty, and then the Hapsburg Emperors, eighteen in number.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE CARLOVINGIAN LINE CONTINUED.

LOUIS THE PIOUS.	KARLOMAN.
LOTHAIR I.	CHARLES III. (The Fat).
LOUIS II.	ARNULF.
CHARLES II. (The Bald).	LOUIS IV. (The Child).

814—912 A.D.

THE merry court of Charlemagne now put on the aspect of a monastery. Louis the Pious, or the Debonair (the gentle, or, the “well-intentioned” as one American historian explained), was the last surviving heir of Charlemagne; for among the reverses of his later days was the loss of two able sons. Louis was so much engaged in the work of the Church that he relaxed all the regulations for carrying on the government and sustaining the army which had made his father’s rule so efficient, the feudal tenures as early as his reign becoming almost hereditary. Such a weak tool did he become in the hands of the clergy, that in 817, three years after his succession, influenced by the Church, he partitioned the realm between himself and his three sons, Lothair, Pepin, and Louis, excluding from any part in the government his nephew Bernhard, Charlemagne’s grandson through his deceased son Charles. On account of this injustice to Bernhard and his partiality in general, there were continual disturbances throughout the reign of Louis. His second wife, Judith, was a daughter of Welf, a Bavarian count, from



whom descended the present royal family of England. Judith gained great ascendancy over him, and influenced him to bestow upon their son, Charles the Bald, portions of the kingdom before given to his elder sons, until finally even the Pope took sides with the latter, and Louis, abandoned by everybody, was forced to abdicate, and was left to die in a deserted camp called "The Field of Lies."

After this, amongst the numerous battles between the armies of the brothers, the one at Fontenay, at the "Brook of Burgundians," 843 A.D., was the decisive encounter, resulting in the Treaty of Verdun. After this treaty Charlemagne's Empire was never again for any length of time entire, being divided into France, Germany, and Italy. Lothair received Italy, Burgundy, and Lorraine; Charles the Bald, as King of France, received the territory east of the Rhone, which was at first called Carolingia after him, but subsequently received the name of France from the Franks. Louis, King of Germany, had the province east of the Rhine. The Treaty of Verdun marks the beginning of Germany and France as different nationalities; and we now commence with the German nation, on the very soil where we first found it, and the word "Deutsch" (from Teutsch, Teutons), which we translate as "German," now first came into general use. Thus the Germans separated themselves from the Latin races.

A new nation was soon developed in Lorraine, and a new language was formed from the Roman. It was a mixture of Latin and Gothic. With the Gothic and Lombard languages was the beginning of our modern French. In 846, when the oath of friendship was renewed between the sovereigns, Louis the German and Charles the Bald, their soldiers could not understand the words of the agreement, and each ruler translated his own part to the other. Also at the Treaty of Verdun the sov-

ereigns had taken the oath each in his own language, old German and primitive French respectively. This new name, Lorraine, was given to the province in honor of Lothair, which in German was called Lotharingen (Lothringen), and in French Lorraine.

The kingdom had many unnatural divisions, the strip west of the Rhine, from Basel to Mainz, "for the sake of the wine," so the document stated, being given to Louis, henceforth called the German; while the slice from the Mediterranean to the North Sea, given to Lothair, was unwieldy in shape and hard to govern. Lothair found it so, and after a few years gave it up, retiring into a monastery, where soon after he died, leaving his son Louis as his heir. The latter ruled twenty years as Emperor, under the title of Louis II. After his death the united kingdoms were divided between the remaining brothers, Louis the German and Charles the Bald. As an independent sovereign, Louis II. governed Germany with great ability for thirty-six years, dying at the age of seventy-one. He had sat on the knee of his grandfather, Charlemagne, and remembered all he said to him as a boy.

Louis the German left as his heirs Karloman and Louis the Younger, while Charles the Bald ruled as Emperor. Karloman, however, soon attacked his uncle, Charles the Bald, in his kingdom, and drove him to the Alps, where he died in 877 A.D., after which Karloman became Emperor and Louis the Younger ruled over Saxony. After much contention, and when all the other legitimate heirs had died, Charles the Fat, son of Karloman, succeeded to the throne and for a short time the Empire was undivided. Charles the Fat was harassed by foes on all sides as his father had been, the Normans sweeping down in piratical expeditions, while the Wends and Bohemians kept up their warfare along the frontier. Lothair had invited these

barbarians, together with the Magyars, into the country to fight his brothers, and they ever after did the people much harm. A story is told that when the Saxons and Thuringians came home defeated from a battle with these people, their wives rose up and flogged them for their cowardice.

Charles the Fat was too weak to hold the power, and was soon deposed, dying poor and forlorn. The natural son of Karloman, grandson of Louis the German, Arnulf by name, succeeded him. He was the last lineal descendant of Charlemagne, and was as wise and brave as he was able and efficient. He was the greatest sovereign since Charlemagne, making everything and everybody, including the Pope, subject to his will. He defeated the Normans in their fortified camps, and made them so afraid of the Germans that they never troubled the latter again. Finally Arnulf brought the whole Empire, including the provinces of Italy, which had reverted to the Roman princes, under his dominion. He was crowned Roman Emperor in 899 A.D., and died in 902 from the effects of a lingering poison administered three years before.

Arnulf's son, a boy of seven years, known in history as Louis the Child, was the last of the Carolingian line, while Charles the Silly, son of Charles the Bald, was also closing this dynasty in France. After this the history of the two nations gradually separates; but the events in French history for the next few years are no less interesting than those of Germany, which we follow out.

Bishop Hatto was placed in charge of the young prince, Louis, and for a time ruled the Empire. It was he who burned the starving people in a great barn on the Rhine, and he was the famous "Bishop" of the well-known legend, "The Mouse Tower on the Rhine," which Longfellow has referred to in his verses, "The Children's

Hour," and which the English poet Southey memorialized in a well-known poem.

At the age of eighteen Louis the Child, at the head of the German army, took the field against the Hungarians, who swept down upon the Germans like the old race of Huns. The flower of the German nobility were gradually exterminated; and Louis, after being conquered again and again, was utterly defeated, and even compelled for some years to pay the Hungarians a tribute. He died in 911, before he was of age.

## CHAPTER V.

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM. — THE AGE OF CHIVALRY. — THE  
MIDDLE AND DARK AGES AND THE RENAISSANCE.

**I**N the time of the “Lazy kings,” the last days of the Merovingian dynasty, when the royal stewards were coming into power, the Feudal System took the shape which continued to develop new features until it began to decline in the eleventh or twelfth centuries. The practice which arose near the close of the Roman Empire of allowing great proprietors to absorb all the lands was no doubt the germ from which this system originally sprung; but it perhaps took root even earlier, when the German mercenaries first gave their military service in exchange for Roman land. From that early date it had been the custom of all conquerors to claim a third of the territory which fell into their hands, and the Franks as a nation had been very tenacious in asserting their right to such land. A small part of these conquered provinces was given to the soldiers; a part was the common property of the people, and was called “public lands;” but the largest portion was set aside for the royal house.

In the time of so much contention and so many conquests, a very large number of estates reverted to the king and chiefs of tribes, and were disposed of by the royal stewards in what seemed the most judicious way: therefore these were rented to the freedmen on condition of their being followers of their superiors and doing service in war. Sometimes they received the soil for life,

and this was called a life-tenure. The land thus rented was called a fief (feudum) or feod; the hold upon it being a "feudal tenure," and the system a "lien" (*leihen*, to lend), so called to distinguish it from the "allodial system." The "allod" was that land which was given to the soldier or freedman by allotment in the first division of the conquered territory, and was the freedman's allodial or allotted share.

As has been said, in return for this "feudal tenure," the "lien" by which they held their fiefs, the freedmen were bound to give their count or knight homage and service, and in war to furnish a certain number of men, who must be ready at any moment to appear at the castle of their lord, especially in case of sudden attack; these men were called his retainers or vassals. There was a class of people whose property was slipping from their grasp, as often happens in our country with respect to those who have mortgaged their land; these were poor freedmen, persons ruined by taxation, and the owners of small "allods." This class was glad to give up the remnant of its property to some powerful lord, receiving it back as a "fief" in exchange for the protection and emoluments he was able to give. Even great nobles became vassals of the king in return for his rich gifts, while kings of small principalities were themselves vassals of other kings with reference to estates lying outside of their own land; thus William the Conqueror of England, as Duke of Normandy in France, became a vassal of the French king. Nobles also were vassals to each other by exchange of property and pledges of fealty. So gradually, from the Dark Ages and through mediæval times, Europe became a connected system of fiefs: and society, from the poorest freedman, consisted of a chain of ranks, each retaining from the class above it.

This is what took place in a country about to go to war : the king summoned his vassals or retainers to appear in the field with their retinue ; these vassals, generally the chief nobles of the kingdom, made a similar claim upon their retainers, the smaller proprietors ; and they in their turn summoned the farmers and yeomen who stood to them in the relation of serfs. These serfs were not actual slaves, since they could not be bought and sold ; but they were bound to the land by a life-tenure.

Up to the time of Henry I. (about 900 A.D.), the army consisted of bands of freedmen, each armed at the cost of his feudal superior, and each following under the banner of his chief. This "lien system," in giving rise to a class who were dependent on the favor of a chief or king, made it necessary that whenever the latter appeared in the national assembly, the retainer should vote on his side ; therefore whoever gained possession of the most wealth in lands could command the most votes in behalf of the enterprise which was on hand. It was as though our President, Senators, or Representatives could by wealth gain a monopoly of United States territory, and by letting it out to farmers on condition of having their votes, could gain great influence in the affairs of the government. In such a case all offices of trust would be controlled by monopolists, and all liberty would be at an end.

A fief consisted of two things, — the castle in which the proprietor lived with his family and men-at-arms, and the village, whose inhabitants were called "villeins," and were the parties renting the land or serving for wages. There were also the serfs bound to the soil, who could not change their abode, marry, or dispose of property, without the permission of their lord. These gradations formed a system of hierarchies, where all were vassals except the chief or king himself.

Charlemagne required all his nobles to take the oath of vassals under him; and although people could be vassals without holding lands, they could not hold lands without being vassals. By these arbitrary methods he helped to build up a system of feudal tenures, the foundation of which had been laid in barbaric times. Many of the wise think that feudalism in the Dark Ages was a necessity in order to consolidate and centralize rule, and that it was needed in Charlemagne's time in order to repel the inroads of people not yet disenthralled from barbarism, who would otherwise have overthrown his institutions, and stopped the progress he so much desired. For such people feudalism was a rise in the social scale: "It was better that they should till the lands of allodial proprietors in misery and sorrow, attacked and pillaged, than to wander like savages in forests and marshes in predatory bands." Charlemagne never doubted that he was ameliorating the condition of the people; and the people, believing implicitly in him, did not think of questioning the justice of his motives. It afterwards proved, however, that he was preparing weakness and humiliation for those coming after. Such was the influence of feudalism, that in the eleventh century, when the Dark Ages drew to a close, the social condition was undermined. Then no law was binding; religion was only a sentiment, and love a phantom of the brain.

Feudalism has been painted in "roseate hues" by novelists and poets, for the outgrowth of it was chivalry. Those old feudal castles on the Rhine, in the high places of Switzerland, and amidst England's fair scenes, with the barbican, the portcullis, the moats and thick walls, the drawbridges and courts, are all alive to-day with memories of chivalrous knights and their daring deeds undertaken in behalf of fair women. "Love of God and the ladies" was enjoined as the duty of the knight.



When the little boy of seven years became the page of some fair lady his career of chivalric knighthood had begun ; he must follow the ladies of the mansion, attend them in their walks, hold their trains in social festivities, and perform all the little offices which society required.

The moral and religious training of the boy was intrusted to these ladies, and was as diligently attended to as the other branches of the course. He was taught obedience and courtesy, he was instructed in music, chess, and the use of light arms. Being always associated with nobles, gentlewomen, and valiant knights, his earliest impressions were those of honor, of valor, and of gallantry ; while love, in the boy's eyes, was a sacred thing ; for respect toward woman was born in the Aryan days, and nursed in the German forests at the time when among the nobles in Italy Roman civilization was blotting out these traits. Even the old Cimbrian women had held aloft the banners and chanted war-songs for the inspiration of their heroes, while the Goths, in their wanderings, had kept their wives with them. Chivalry developed all the respect of the pages into admiration and love, which savored of a kind of worship.

The page was taught to bear himself with grace, dexterity, and promptness in attending to all the ladies' wants. There were regular schools of chivalry, but usually the castles of the nobles were training-schools for the knights. The most renowned and wealthy knights had their castles full of these embryo nobles,—boys who belonged to the families of their acquaintance ; for each noble preferred to trust his children to the hands of a renowned knight, rather than to undertake their education himself, fearing that home government would have in it an element of weakness which would counteract the end sought in chivalry. Sometimes children of the poorer

aristocracy would find themselves in the same feudal castle and on terms of equality with the sons of princes.

At the age of fourteen the page received the military belt and sword at the altar, and became a squire. After this his severe training began; for instead of ladies, he waited upon lords, and he must now endure fatigues of all kinds, — he must attack mimic fortresses, spring upon a horse in full career without the aid of a stirrup, leap to the shoulder of a mounted man by the help of only one arm. His office, too, was sometimes menial: he led the horses of the knights, carried their helmets, shields, and lances; he took part in active combat, a line of squires always being found behind a line of knights. He waved the knight's pennant, and the banner of the banneret was held aloft by him. Also, listening to minstrels who sung of love and war, he learned to write odes.

At the age of twenty-one the squire was made a knight. As the time approached, his religious exercises were conscientiously kept up, for piety was closely akin to chivalry; he fasted, he confessed and was absolved, and was thought to be a new man. He was then clothed in a white tunic, symbol of purity, a red robe, significant of the blood he was bound to shed for religion and right, and over these a black coat, the emblem of death which awaits all. Then, having heard a sermon on knightly duties and his new life, he took the communion. As he knelt at the altar the priest blessed him, and returned to him the sword of a knight which he wore suspended on his breast; then the knights and ladies armed him, buckling his spurs and girding on his sword, whereupon he took the vow. The vow was this: "That he would be a good, brave, loyal, just, generous, and gentle knight; that he would be a champion of the Church and clergy; that he would be a protector of ladies; that he would be a redresser of the

wrongs of widows and orphans." He was then adopted, a lord approaching him and giving him blows with his sword and palm of the hand three times on the cheek, saying: "In the name of God, of St. Michael, and St. George, I dub thee knight." Then, with helmet on, brandishing his sword and lance, he rode away.

Noble birth was the principal requisite for knight-hood, though wealth was necessary to support the position. Knights were first called "bas chevaliers," or bachelors.

Chivalry, like a kind of freemasonry, bound all the aristocracy together, and made knight and squire of hostile nations one in sympathy. When newly made, they were always anxious to contend in the lists for the purpose of showing their valor. A knight could not tourney without a name. It was no uncommon thing for troops of knights to be led to the lists by ladies, each lady leading a knight by a chain of silver or gold. Everything was arranged to show the greatest deference to the fair sex, for this was the distinctive feature of chivalry. The knight must always come to the rescue of a woman in danger or distress, and to insult a lady or reveal her secrets was lasting ignominy. She bestowed the prize of valor at tournaments; gayly mounted on her steed she accompanied her husband to the chase. At the joust, mock combats were engaged in; but these differed from the tournament in that the ladies were not present, the joust being often undertaken to resent insults to a woman. The duel was the outgrowth of the joust.

In the Middle Ages woman became the object of worship and devotion; she was "the presiding genius of the castle, regent of thrones, heir to crowns, and manager of great estates." The gallant warrior blended "adoration of our Lord with adoration of our Lady." The mother

of Christ was the type of woman, the example for everlasting veneration; every knight and squire, and even the little page, had some woman as the object of dutiful regard. The feudal lady ignored all degrees of merit, since all knights were supposed to be the soul of honor. To-day it is the model American mother who claims the chivalrous regard of her sons; these good men are our knight-errants. But the position of woman to-day in civilized countries is said to be a consequence of those days of chivalry.

Chivalry rose to its zenith in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; in the fifteenth it passed out of history, for as royal power increased, feudalism was gradually annihilated. It had sprung from the peculiarities of the Teuton race, the high place which the profession of arms held, united at the same time with a delicate sense of honor with reference to woman.

During the centuries that feudalism held sway, chivalry had a wonderful influence in the habits and thoughts of all the Western nations of Europe. The power of the priesthood modified all laws; theft of church property had to be paid back ninefold; slaves of priests were valued at double the amount of those of laymen; no criminal could be seized at the foot of the altar. Those who neglected to attend church three times on the Sabbath were punished by the loss of a third of their property, and for a second offence were made slaves.

Chivalry softened the character and manners of the old robber barons, who dwelt upon the heights and lived by plunder; it gradually brought them out of barbarism, and, on account of a certain sense of honor, it often saved them from crime, and kept them from many of the cruelties engendered by feudalism. All the good that was in chivalry and its civilizing influences has survived, and is

still active, while the last vestiges of its evils are rapidly passing away.

The periods of history from the Christian era are marked and definite. Roman civilization held its place until the fourth century. From the time of its final extinction, in the fifth century, which was the beginning of the Dark Ages, to the eleventh century, the end of that dismal period, the melancholy spectacle of almost total darkness was presented. This had been brought about by a relapse into barbarism. But the Roman Empire did not fall from forces outside of itself; it was its own weakness and decay that invited the attacks. From the eleventh century monarchical rule grew stronger, and what they called in Louis XIth's time "kingcraft" became more adroit. Feudalism had received its death-blow, local rulers and lords became subject to the will of kings, the bondage of the serfs began to weaken, and the middle classes grew self-respecting and felt their power increase.

The epoch reckoned as the "Middle Ages" occupies the time from the end of the fifth century to the close of the fifteenth century, and "the period of the Renaissance was the last stage of the Middle Ages emerging from the night of ecclesiastical and feudal despotism." This era developed the ideas that had been germinating during mediæval times. It was the day-star coming after mediæval night; it held in itself the promise of the modern world about to come into the light.

In 1453 Constantinople, the capital that Constantine the Great had chosen, fell into the hands of the Turks. This event, together with the decline of what had been called the Holy Roman German Empire, was like the removal of a Upas poison; for the alliance with Italy had retarded Germany's consolidation hundreds of years. The Renaissance was the death-blow to Catholic unity, while in Ger-

many it was the commencement of the humanistic feeling which awakened the sentiment of liberty and brought about the Reformation.

The Renaissance was the dawn of all modern improvements. It opened paths never dreamed of in the solar system, and above all it brought about the discovery of our dear native land.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE SAXON KINGS.

CONRAD I. HENRY I. (The Fowler).

912—936 A.D.

THE reign of the Saxon kings is one of the most interesting epochs in German history. It was the beginning of the age of chivalry, and the commencement of the struggle for Papal power which lasted through the Middle Ages, it being only put down after the Reformation had done its work.

The deeds of the wise and noble Henry I., followed by those of his son Otto the Great, form a romance of more thrilling interest than can be derived from fiction. The calm moderation of Henry's life, the great wisdom shown in all his acts, light up the period of the Dark Ages with noon-day brightness. Coming out of the barbarism before him, and followed by the complications which feudalism had engendered, his life shone like a streak of sunshine between the clouds. His government was not distinguished for the resplendency of glory which characterized the reign of Charlemagne before him, and predominated in that of his son Otto coming immediately after; his sovereignty was of a nobler order, since his personal interests were submerged in the common good.

But before these two illustrious sovereigns reigned, the throne was occupied by a Franconian, who, although a Carlovingian through a female line, is generally reckoned among the Saxon kings.

After the line of the Carolingian kings became extinct, through the death of Louis the Child, the German crown was offered to Henry of Saxony's father, Otto the Illustrious, who, being old, resigned the proffered honor in favor of Conrad I., the Franconian.

In the choice of Conrad originated the idea of the "College of Electors." Germany at that time became an elective empire; nevertheless, it continued, to a certain extent, hereditary, since it was customary for the electors to choose from the sovereign's family or in conformity to his wishes.

It was well said of Conrad I. that "nothing in his life became him like the leaving it," and that his greatest achievement was conquering himself for the sake of his kingdom, which he left to his enemy, Henry the Saxon.

Conrad was a man of agreeable presence and dignity of manner, and a favorite with the people, but a weak prince, and almost entirely subject to the Church. Not understanding the art of government, he could not adapt himself to the exigencies of the troublous times, while his attitude to the clergy gave them a prestige which was a bane to the people for hundreds of years. In the contest with the Duke of Saxony, afterwards Henry I., there was a great battle fought at Ehresburg, in which Conrad's army was cut to pieces. A Saxon song of victory written at the time says, "The lower world was too small to receive the throng of the enemies slain." This war came about through a trouble with Archbishop Hatto, who, with the best intentions probably, had sent Henry of Saxony a spiral necklace. This closed so tightly about his neck, that, not understanding its mechanism, Henry was only rescued from strangling by having the chain cut. He was very angry, declaring that the archbishop had intended to suffocate him; and thereupon, with an armed force, he



entered the territory of the prelate. Conrad I. at once came to the rescue of his friend the archbishop, and this terrible battle just referred to ensued.

There are some pleasing anecdotes told of Conrad, which exhibit his genial character as well as his devotion to the Church. He was in the habit of visiting the monasteries, and sitting down with the monks at the table to partake of their scanty fare. One day he came to St. Gallen, and said to the monks, "You must share with me whether you will or not."—"We have but poor fare to-day," said the superior; "for to-morrow there will be new bread and beans." At this same convent Conrad scattered red apples before the boys, who were made to march through the garden for his entertainment; but so intent were they on their duty that they did not even look at the apples, much less try to pick them up. Conrad was much pleased with their excellent training, and told the abbot that from that time they must have three extra holidays in the year.

In 919 A.D. Conrad, having been mortally wounded in trying to repel one of the numerous invasions of the Hungarians, summoned his brother Eberhard, when he saw death approaching, and calling the nobles about him, gave into their hands the treasures of the kingdom. These treasures were the sacred lance, golden armlets, the sword, and the purple mantle of the old kings. In all German coronations the pictures exhibit the king arrayed in these vestments. Conrad bade them pass these with the crown into the hands of his enemy, Henry Duke of Saxony.

When the envoys went to inform Henry of his election, they found him in the pleasant valley of the Hartz Mountains catching finches with a falcon on his wrist. Ever since he has been known in history as "Henry the Fowler."

He was not only himself descended from Wittikind through the daughter of the latter, who married a noble and founded the "House of Ludolfs," but his estimable wife Mathilda was also, through the house of Westphalia, a descendant of the same old Saxon.

By forbearance, generosity, and genuine statesmanship Henry gained over the nobles whom Conrad had indiscreetly estranged; for when he himself was Duke of Saxony he had felt too thoroughly independent of the king to use violent means in bringing the nobles under the royal sway when he became king. He also, by skilful diplomacy, soon won back Lorraine and Alsace from Charles the Simple, giving his daughter in marriage to Giselbert, their duke; thus he incorporated these provinces into the German kingdom, where they remained for eight hundred years, until Louis XIV. snatched them from Germany's hands.

The altercation with reference to the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, which began in Conrad's time, is especially interesting, for the question of ownership has been the bone of contention ever since, having caused much strife, and is still the ever-smouldering ember which threatens any moment to burst into flame. At the Treaty of Verdun, 843 A.D., though both the French and Germans desired the province, it was given to the Romans under Lothair; after this it had been taken and retaken several times until this conquest, which, by means of Henry's statesmanship, secured it to Germany for a long period.

At the end of five years, in 924, while engaged in peaceful pursuits in the interests of his country, he was startled by the invasions of the Hungarians, or Magyars as they were called, who came, asking to have the tribute restored which had been granted at the time of Louis the

Child. Although the nobles were not much pleased at the truce Henry made with the Hungarians, in the end it proved to be by far the wisest course. He agreed to pay them tribute for nine years, at the same time giving up one of their princes who had fallen into his hands. Immediately he commenced a systematic work of improving the facilities of the kingdom, which gained him the title of the "First Founder of the German Empire." Others have called him the "Second Founder;" but Charlemagne's ambition, as well as that of most of the German kings who were crowned at Rome, was to found an Augustan Empire for the Romans, while Henry's aspiration was a united Fatherland.

At this time there were few cities in the north of Germany and no fortified towns. Therefore Henry commenced building a series of impregnable enclosures, compelling one man out of every nine to live in these strongholds. He required that a third of the annual provisions should be placed in the storehouses of these cities as a necessary precaution against the chance of attack and a long siege; he also commanded that all fairs and festivities should be held inside the walls. He built Meissen, Meersburg, Quedlinburg, and other fortified towns, thus gaining the name of "Founder of Cities." These walled towns were called "Burgs," and the men who lived within them were called "Burghers." They were ready for military service in case of war, but in times of peace they carried on all kinds of business and commercial affairs; thus there was behind these walls not only protection from danger, but by degrees prosperity.

In this way Henry secured a regular army: and seeing that his men fighting on foot were no match for the fleet horses of the Hungarians, he formed for the first time a cavalry system. He also introduced the tournament,

which in connection with his cavalry became very celebrated in the Age of Chivalry. This was the way knight-hood originated. The younger brothers of the nobles were a set of men who did not know exactly how to employ their time; being too proud to serve in the army, some were obliged to hire themselves to different counts for all kinds of nominal service, while others robbed on the highways. Henry gave the robbers a free pardon, mounted them on horseback, and called them knights. He imposed upon them certain conditions, which made the rank of knighthood one of honor; and thus the Age of Chivalry began. Henry required of those who were to become knights proofs of their worthiness. A discussion between Henry and these very dukes whom he had pacified shows how chivalrous he and his nobles were. Henry said, "The knight should not by word or deed wrong the Mother Church." Count Paladin added, "Nor hurt the Holy Roman Empire." Berthold of Bavaria exclaimed, "He must not be a liar," "nor," said Herman of Swabia, "have injured a weak woman." "No, nor run away in battle," cried Conrad of Franconia. Hence these were made the laws of knighthood: "To be true to the Church and country, true in everything, gentle to women, and courageous in battle." Although Henry demanded this in behalf of the Mother Church, he was the only king of his time who was really independent of the clergy.

After Henry had educated his army in theoretical warfare, in 928 he undertook his only war of conquest, that against the Wends, who were a Slavonic tribe and still heathens. In conquering the tribe of the Havelli, he marched with his army over the ice, and took the fortified city called Brennabor, which was surrounded by lakes. This was the commencement of the Mark of Brandenburg, which, in connection with the Hohenzollern Mark some

centuries later, formed the basis of the present German Empire. By this conquest the northeastern boundary of Germany was secured, and the whole region between the Elbe and the Oder was laid open to the kingdom. By means of other victories Henry annexed Schleswig as well as Holstein, and thus opened this vexed "Schleswig-Holstein" question to Germany. With these provinces the Netherlands and Holland also came to Germany.

Henry was now regarded as the greatest sovereign of the Western World and England offered the beautiful princess Edith as a bride for Otto, his son.

In 933 Henry felt himself equal to a war with the Hungarians, whose attacks he had been warding off for nine years. So he called his nobles about him, and pointed out the abject position in which they placed themselves in giving tribute to the Hungarians. The nobles sustained him unanimously; and when the time came round for the annual tribute, Henry is said to have thrown a "mangy dog" to the Hungarians. Not understanding the acquired resources of the country, they came down upon the kingdom with a large force; but with Henry's well-organized army and mounted cavalry he soon won a complete victory over them, the consequences of which lasted for many years.

By these victories and his superior methods of warfare, he revived German valor, guarded the interests of the state, built up its industries, and elevated the standard of the people. Before his time there had been no trades, each noble having one of his men make his own and his horses' shoes, model his saddle, and construct each piece of armor; when he was hungry some one shot the pheasant for dinner, or caught the fish from the pond. There were then only the beautiful wild-flowers which grow so abundantly in Germany still; and it was not until many

centuries after, when the Huguenots found a refuge in Germany, that horticulture was introduced.

On an old German seal of this period, Bertha, the wife of Rudolf II., the king of Swiss Burgundy, is represented as sitting on her throne with a spinning-wheel before her, spinning-flax from which to weave garments for family use. When the Germans wish to express their regret at the changes in the good customs of the past, they say, "In the old times when good Queen Bertha spun." In this same day the only ornaments of the Germans were curiously wrought weapons: but in Henry's time trades commenced; and as the doctors do in our day, the shoemakers, tanners, tailors, and smiths lived in rows of houses by themselves, and in some of the cities those streets retain their names at the present time. Towns were always built on some river or on the sea-coast to facilitate trade with foreign nations, so that after this era industries of all kinds prospered greatly.

Henry had been so busy in his home affairs that he had found no time to think of going to Rome to be crowned ruler of the Roman Empire. Just as he was meditating this step, he was seized with a serious illness which resulted in a stroke of apoplexy. Calling a Diet at Erfurt, he exacted a promise from his nobles that they would choose his son Otto as his successor. On July 20, 936 A. D., he retired to Memleben, where at the age of sixty years, amidst the loud sobs and lamentations of the members of his family, he quietly breathed his last. He was buried in the Cathedral which he had built in the city of Quedlinburg, a town which he had founded some years before.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE SAXON DYNASTY CONTINUED. — OTTO THE GREAT.

936 — 973 A.D.

A WEEK after his father's death, Otto I. and Edith his wife were crowned with great splendor in Charlemagne's old Cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle. Seated on the very throne of that great Emperor, which was covered with gold, Otto was anointed by the Bishop of Mainz, and the great dukes were invested with honorary offices in the palace. The Duke of Lorraine acted as Chamberlain, the Duke of Franconia as Carver, the Duke of Swabia as Cup-bearer, and the Duke of Bavaria as Master of the Stables. When the dukes went home they were so pleased with the ceremonious magnificence of the occasion that they appointed counts under them as butlers and servers, chamberlains and marshals; then the bishops did the same, making these offices hereditary in certain noble families in the land.

Thenceforth the German kings were crowned four times, — at Aix-la-Chapelle as King of the Germans; at Monza or Milan as King of Lombardy; at Pavia as King of the Romans, and at St. Peter's Church in Rome as ruler of the Roman Empire. From this time the title was the Holy Roman Empire of the Germans. The full consummation, however, was not attained by Otto until a few years later.

The history of Otto's reign fulfilled the promise of his coronation. He carried on internal and external wars

with an energy equal to that of his father, but not always with a like discretion, therefore he was not as popular at home as his predecessor had been.

In the early part of his reign the nobles connected with his family plotted against him; and, after these rebellions were put down, his brother Henry conspired to murder him, arranging that Otto should be slain at the Easter service at Quedlinburg. When the plot was discovered, the accomplices were executed, and Henry thrown into prison. The Christmas after, as Otto was celebrating mass in the Cathedral, his brother appeared before him, deeply repentant. At first Otto felt that he could not pardon him; finally, through the influence of the bishop, who reminded him of the passage in the Scripture where we are commanded to forgive our brother seventy times seven, he magnanimously forgave him, and bestowed the Dukedom of Bavaria upon him, afterwards annexing to his domain the territory on the Adriatic, from Venice to Istria. Henry never again proved untrue.

Otto made Bohemia a tributary, and confirmed Schleswig as a part of the German kingdom. He repelled the invasions of the Danes under their king, Harold "the Blue-toothed," hurling his spear into the sea at the extremity of the peninsula of Jutland as a sign that he had taken possession of the land. At Augsburg he repulsed the Hungarians in their last invasion, these dangerous people having become so numerous that they boasted that their horses "could drink the German rivers dry, and stamp the towns to dust." The Hungarians pushed up along the Danube, and turned south through the valley of the Leck to the city of Augsburg. They had seen only poor villages on the way, and were hungry for spoil; for Augsburg, an old Roman town, whose ancient walls



had been restored, was known to be full of wealthy merchants. Suspecting mischief, the inhabitants had brought all their treasures inside, and manned the citadel before the barbarians arrived.

It was the custom of the Huns, as in the old days of Attila, to burn the towns they had plundered, butcher the inhabitants, and carry away the remnant of the people as slaves. They were mounted at this time, as always, on fleet horses, and armed with bows. The Germans up to the reign of Henry I. had fought on foot, and were no match for these fierce Magyars, since they had for weapons only swords, and balls covered with spikes attached to a wooden handle; but these, nevertheless, they brought down with considerable effect upon the heads of the enemy.

When the Hungarians halted before Augsburg, much to their surprise they saw a city with walls, surrounded by a moat filled with water from the river Leck. The leaders whirled their long whips and slashed at their men to drive them into the ditch and force them through the moat, while a gigantic Hungarian stood and blew a horn. Then all at once a gate was opened in the wall, a bridge was dropped, and out rushed the weavers of Augsburg armed with pikes; falling upon the enemy, they surrounded and killed the Hungarian chief, and went back in triumph, carrying his shield with them. Ever after, to this day, the shield has been preserved by the "Guild of the weavers." The Hungarians hesitated so long that Otto came up behind with an army he had collected, and a great battle was fought on the 10th of August, 955. The fight was desperate, and the plains of rolled white limestone glared in the blazing sun. The men inside joined with Otto's forces; however, the fate of the day was uncertain until Conrad of Franconia, the brother-in-law

of the Emperor, by his heroism, turned the tide of battle in favor of the Germans; but unable to bear the heat of the sun, Conrad took off his burning helmet for a moment, when, an arrow piercing his neck, he fell dead. One hundred thousand Hungarians perished in the fight, and others, plunging into the river to escape the Germans, were swept away. This was the last time the Hungarians invaded Germany with any considerable force.

Otto now held a larger domain than his father had governed, and the power of the independent rulers was weakened. He was respected and feared everywhere, — in Western Europe, Constantinople, and Cordova, — and he supposed he had laid a permanent basis for German power; but he was not so popular with the common people as his father or Charlemagne had been. He was cold and haughty in manners, and exhibited an inordinate ambition, surrounding himself with too much ceremony.

Internal dissensions continued through many years; but at last there was an end of civil war in Germany, and Otto turned his attention to Italy. He crowned his son Otto II., a boy of only six years, at Aix-la-Chapelle, and placed him and the kingdom under the guardianship of Archbishop Bruno of Cologne. Then he contended for the crown of the Roman Empire which had always hovered before him, and which now he saw the opportunity to grasp.

Italy had been plunged in anarchy for over sixty years, ever since Arnulf, the last but one of the Carlovingians, was crowned at Rome. There were several princes who had called themselves "King of the Romans," among them Lothair, who had wedded the beautiful Adelaide, sister of the King of Burgundy. The present king, Berengarius II., tried by force to marry Adelaide, Lothair's widow, to his son. He shut her up in prison; but she

escaped, and fled to the Castle of Canossa, whence she appealed to Otto for aid. Otto is said to have been a model of knightly virtue, a type which was beginning to show itself after the brutality of the preceding age.

The account of Adelaide's rescue at the Castle of Canossa is extremely interesting. In order to keep her out of the way of Berengarius, she was shut up like a prisoner in the citadel, the moat having been filled with water, and the drawbridge taken up. To gain admittance, since it could not be determined whether the envoys outside were friends or foes, the messengers sent to deliver her were obliged to tie the letter, with the ring from Otto, to an arrow, and shoot it from a bow through the window of the castle.

His amiable wife, Edith, now being dead, Otto sought Adelaide in marriage, and forced Berengarius to acknowledge him as King of Italy. After a return from Germany, where they went soon after the ceremony, both were crowned in Rome by the Pope, in 962 A.D. This coronation as Emperor is said by an eminent writer to have retarded the progress of Germany more than a hundred years. "For the crown of the Roman Empire was always a sham and delusion, a phantom, which ever led rulers aside from the true path of civilization." Thenceforth the official title of the Empire was "The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation," and Otto was called "Otto the Great."

Over and over again Berengarius was thought to be conquered; but as soon as Otto turned his attention to affairs in Germany, both Berengarius and the Pope forgot all their pledges, and rose again in rebellion. New troubles continually arising in Italy, Otto was compelled for the rest of his life to travel back and forth from Germany.

In 965 A.D., when Berengarius had been banished and his own sovereignty had been established, with the remnant of his army Otto returned to receive ovations from his people at home. His aged mother, Mathilda, was still alive; and she, with all the dukes and princes of the land, as well as people assembled from far and wide, was present at Cologne. More than ever before, all the world sought to do the Emperor honor. But an insurrection broke out in Lombardy; and after bidding his mother a last farewell, he returned to Italy. In this Italian visit Otto made a close alliance with the new Pope, Leo VIII., granting him the Lombard territory, which Pepin the Short had also ceded to the Church many years before, and receiving in return a promise of support for himself and his son.

His marriage with Adelaide and his conquests in Italy had quite turned Otto's head from all thoughts concerning the interests of his German subjects. Now it was splendor and greatness he sought and the aggrandizement of his family. For the sake of an alliance with the Greek Empire, hoping to unite in one great union the Byzantine with the Western Kingdom, and together with Germany to form a world-wide sovereignty, he secured for his son in marriage, Theophania, a Greek princess.

On his return from his final visit to Italy, at a festival at Quedlinburg, there was given in his honor a greater celebration than Germany had ever known before. Immediately after these festivities, however, on the 6th of May, 973 A.D., before the altar in the church at Memleben, Otto the Great was stricken with apoplexy; and before he could be removed he had breathed his last. He was buried at Magdeburg.

In person, Otto was tall; he was impressive in his bearing, with eyes very piercing, and hair and beard curl-

ing in shaggy fashion around his head, so that his face is said to have resembled a lion. There is a story about him and his generous behavior towards Henry of Kempten, his son's tutor, which illustrates his character in a striking manner. For some trifling offence Henry of Kempten was sentenced "by Otto's red beard" to death. All the court knew that when Otto swore by his beard nothing would make him retract; but this brave young scholar resolved to protect his life to the uttermost, and so, overmastering Otto the Great, with his knee on the latter's chest and his hand on his throat, he made him commute the dire sentence to banishment for life. Afterwards, in the complications of war, Henry of Kempten saved the Emperor's life, and was restored to favor in a most magnanimous manner.

## CHAPTER VIII.

OTTO II. — OTTO III. — HENRY II.

936 — 1024 A.D.

IF there was some pomp observed at the coronation of Otto the Great, there was tenfold more introduced by Otto II. His wife Theophania had hitherto despised the customs of the Germans, considering all their ways those of barbarians. A writer on the usages of that day gives this description of her: "She was accustomed to the elaborate ceremonies of the court of Constantinople; and although she despised the manners of the Germans at first, she brought in a love of letters, and helped to polish and refine the rough and boorish customs of the court. The Germans had never seen any one so lovely as this beautiful princess. When she arrived, the trappings of her horses were enriched with feathers and gold, her Greek dress was encircled with jewels and embroidered with pearls, and her hair was confined in a gold net; yet all this splendor was outshone by the beauty of her features and the brilliancy of her eyes."

Otto II. was called Otto the Red. He had a stormy reign of ten years, dying at the early age of twenty-eight.

In the beginning of Otto's reign there were new wars in Germany and the old-time revolts in Italy; for the Italians, supposing him engaged in his German strife, gained the assistance of the Arabs with their fleet horses, rose in rebellion, and soon routed the army which Otto hastened to send against them. Wandering as a fugitive

in disguise, on the southern shores of the Mediterranean, Otto found a peasant, who took pity on him, and lent him his horse; mounted upon this Otto pushed his way into the sea towards a ship lying at anchor, whence boatmen were sent out to take him on board. He soon discovered that it was a Greek ship, and heard them say in a whisper, "It is Otto, our enemy." They were about to take him prisoner, when with great presence of mind he eluded their design, representing himself to be an Italian diplomat who was going to Constantinople to see the Greek Emperor; but soon seeing a chance to escape, he joined his wife, who was on shore waiting for him. He had bribed the seamen to steer the vessel near the coast, so that he could jump overboard and swim to land. His wife, though lovely in person, was so cruel that she derided him because he had been afraid of the Greeks, saying, "How my countrymen have frightened you!"

When the news reached Germany, the whole country rose in arms to help rescue Italy from the hands of the Arabs; but Otto died in 983 A. D., before this army could attack the enemy. He was the only Emperor of the Germans buried in St. Peter's Church in Rome.

Otto II. left a baby son three years of age, whose grandmother, Adelaide, reigned in Germany, while his mother, Theophania, was appointed regent over Italy, and the famous Gerbert was the boy's tutor.

At sixteen the boy was crowned at Rome as Otto III. For a time he enjoyed the pomp and luxury of that splendid city; and he thought of making it the capital of his entire domain, and building a palace on the Aventine Hill between the Coliseum and St. John in Lateran. Here he intended to live, for, like his mother, he despised the rude ways of the Germans. Afterwards, under the influence of his old tutor whom he had made Pope Syl-

vester II., he began to feel that the vanities of this world were too fleeting; therefore he left Rome, threw off his royal apparel, and hid himself in caves for the purpose of fasting and prayer. On account of this he is sometimes called Otto the Saint. With many other devotees, he went on a pilgrimage to Prague, to the Sepulchre of the Holy Adalbert, who had preached Christianity to the Poles. St. Adalbert was the guardian saint of Prussia and Poland. He was slain in 997 by the heathen Prussians, but in falling he stretched out his arms in the form of the cross, thus in his death imprinting on the land the symbol of Christianity.

In the year 1000 A.D. the people of the Western Empire were terrified at the appearance of a comet; they thought it meant the destruction of the world. On account of this many neglected their terrestrial pursuits, and spent their time in going on pilgrimages and in fasting and prayer. When Otto was returning from his journey to the tomb of Adalbert, hoping to learn the secret of restoring power to the Church in the Roman Empire, he opened the vault at Aix-la-Chapelle, where Charlemagne still sat on his marble throne. He took the cross of gold suspended from Charlemagne's neck, and wore it ever after as a talisman against the evils of the times. The marble throne on which the great sovereign had sat through the two centuries was from that time used in all imperial coronations. Otto III. died in Rome in the year 1000 A.D., at the age of twenty-two years. It was with great difficulty that his body was carried back to Aix-la-Chapelle over territory which through his indiscretions had become hostile ground.

Henry II., called the Saint on account of his devotion to the Church, also gained the surname of "the Lame," because, in a time of danger at Pavia, he leaped from



a window and sprained his foot. He was the grand-nephew of Otto the Great and the last of the Saxon kings. After his death he was canonized by the Pope.

In Henry II.'s reign the power of the clergy became intolerable. On account of a jest at the expense of one of the bishops called Meinwerk, the clergy forced Henry to put on the garb of penitence, and stand at the church door imploring forgiveness for his sins.

Henry had thought it an excellent joke to frighten his bishop by writing on slips of paper: "Meinwerk, Meinwerk, prepare for death, for in five days thou shalt die." The poor man found these slips of paper wherever he went, and thought they were dropped in his path directly from the skies; so he fasted and prayed, and daily expected his demise, but after five days he was as hale and hearty as ever. The Emperor, meeting him, asked if he was a spirit, or if he had died and risen again. Thereupon Meinwerk, indignant at the joke, pronounced the "ban" upon him.

There is also another interesting anecdote related of Henry. In his earlier years he had a dream in which it seemed as if a word were whispered in his ear, and, at the same time a giant had come forth and written upon the wall these words, "At the end of six"—, and there had stopped. Puzzled, Henry II. started up in his sleep, with the words "at the end of six" still sounding in his ear; something appeared to say, "That foretells death; you have only six days to live." Then Henry the Saint bowed his proud spirit, and threw himself down in humility before Him who alone can judge; and when the morning of the day had dawned, and the sun commenced to color the horizon, he was willing and ready to die. The sixth day passed, the night shut in, and still he was alive. Six weeks, six months, in their course flew by, and yet the

Lord spared his life; but when the sixth year had gone he was presented with the Emperor's crown.

Henry was the first to assume the title, "King of the Romans," before he was crowned as Emperor; and ever after this appellation was conceded to the presumptive heir to the throne. In Henry's reign also the highest nobles were first called princes; and in his time the Normans first gained a foothold in Southern Italy. Forty Norman knights, on their way home from Jerusalem, delivered Salerno from a siege by the Saracens, after which, out of gratitude, they were invited by the inhabitants to settle in the South.

In 1020 A.D., when at last the kingdom was at peace, the Cathedral at Bamberg, which Henry had built, was consecrated. Pope John XIX. came across the Alps to be present at this ceremony, together with the assembled princes and people. On account of this being one of the great interests of Henry's life he is often represented in pictures with the model of the Cathedral in his arms.

Henry spent a few years more in travelling back and forth from Germany to Italy, where, after emancipating the Italian people from the power of the Byzantine Greeks, he hoped to establish the arts of peace. But in 1024, on the way home from a visit to Robert the Pious, King of France, he died near Göttingen, and was buried in his favorite Cathedral of Bamberg. Although he was called "Henry the Saint," he is said neither to have lived like a good saint nor to have conducted himself like an able emperor. There is a large diversity of opinion about his character; the greater number of records declare that he was weak and the tool of the clergy, while others say that he did his duty well, and made every effort to restore peace and prosperity to the Empire, after the misrule of the two preceding reigns. But the state of the

country when Conrad ascended the throne does not prove that he had made its condition flourishing; for the decline of the great Empire of Charlemagne had commenced, and but for the genuineness which exists eternally in Christianity, Europe would have gone back to barbarous times.

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE FRANCONIAN DYNASTY.

CONRAD II. HENRY III.

1024 — 1056 A.D.

AT the close of the Saxon dynasty the German nation seemed about to be rent asunder. The great dukes desired independence of the king; yet the general wish of the Germans was to preserve from extinction the Empire, in order to maintain the glory of the nation, and protect themselves by unity against attack from foreign foes.

In order to give a practical test of the sentiment of the people, there was a national assembly called, September 4, 1024, at Kamba on the Rhine, that noble river, the exclusive control of which has ever since been the object of the fiercest strife. The Rhine at this time was entirely German, from its source in the Gotthard to its mouth in the North Sea.

It was a scene of activity unusual in that part of Germany; for in the beautiful country between Mainz and Worms all parties interested in the election of an Emperor were in camp. No building was large enough to contain so great a multitude, sixty thousand in all. The bishops, archbishops, and dukes of the bishoprics and dukedoms which Henry had incorporated into the Empire were encamped on the right bank of the Rhine, while the white tents of the people of Lorraine and the Rhine Franks dotted the landscape on the opposite shore.

There were two Conrads, both Franconians, who were candidates for the throne, relatives, and up to this time friends.

The election was conducted by the great nobility; and the contest was long and doubtful; but finally the elder Conrad took his cousin aside, and both agreed that each should acquiesce in the final choice.

The freedmen had no part in the election; for, according to the feudal customs of that time, only nobles could vote. The Archbishop of Mainz led the balloting, in favor of the elder Conrad; the princes followed suit; whereupon the whole populace, although they threw no votes, confirmed the choice by general acclamation and applause, shouting vociferously as the candidate stepped before the crowd.

Coming from the impetuous race of Franks, Conrad II. was fiery but resolute, and altogether different from the cool Saxons. On the vine-clad banks of the Rhine the dynasty had arisen; and, as their nominee presented himself before the Diet, his imposing presence and gracious manners, a type of the nationality to which he belonged, augured well, the people thought, for a reign of peace and prosperity.

At present it was a chaos over which Conrad II. was called to rule, — a chaos of robber knights, of ruthless brigands living in inaccessible fortresses, the strong looking from their rocky perches ready to seize the weak for the purpose of plunder.

Within three years from this time comparative order was re-established in the Empire where the death of Henry II. had been a signal for an uprising of every foreign foe. Conrad II. proved to be one of the wisest and most energetic of all the German rulers. At the commencement of his reign the Lombards rose in Italy; in

Burgundy King Rudolf declared that he would resist Conrad's claim; and old Boleslaw of Poland, who called himself king, announced that all former treaties which the Poles had made with the Germans were "null and void."

Yet fortune favored Conrad II.; for the Polish king died, and his broad kingdom, reaching from the Baltic to the Danube, and from the Elbe to Central Russia, was shattered by the quarrels of his sons. In Burgundy Rudolf was without heirs, and was soon compelled by Conrad to appoint the German sovereign as his successor. By restoring Schleswig, Canute, King of Denmark as well as of England, was enabled to make a treaty of peace.

In 1026 A.D. Conrad had found the gates of Pavia closed against him; but, supported by the Lombard bishops and nobles, he was crowned with the "Iron crown of Lombardy," and supported by the Church. In March, 1027, he was crowned in Rome by Pope John XIX., who had been one of the Counts of Tusculum, and had assumed the sacred office when a boy of twelve years. Canute and Rudolf of Burgundy were both present at the coronation; in their presence Conrad betrothed his son to the daughter of the former, the Princess Gunhilde.

In Southern Italy, Conrad accepted as vassals the Normans who had gained a foothold in the time of Henry II., after the battles with the Saracens and Greeks. When he left Italy everything was quiet; but on his return to Germany, the Normans, as well as the Lombards, proved a turbulent factor in the government of the land.

On arriving in Germany he found his stepson, Ernest of Swabia, in open revolt; the latter was the nearest heir to the dukedom of Burgundy, the annexation of which was considered the great success of Conrad's life. Ernest

of Swabia, however, felt that he was being defrauded of his legitimate right. Conrad shut up his stepson in the strong fortress of Gibichenstein, near Halle; but Gisela, Conrad's worthy queen, and the mother of Duke Ernest, by her prayers secured his liberty, on condition that he should give up to justice his friend, Count Werner Kyburg, also a conspirator. Considering this a breach of honor, he refused, preferring rather to retire with Kyburg to the depths of the Black Forest, where together as outlaws they spent their time in plunder, defying the government to do them harm; afterwards, in a struggle with the imperial militia, both were slain. The sympathies of the people were so enlisted by what seemed the hard fate of this young nobleman, that in the Middle Ages the story was sung by many a minstrel, and, blended with a similar narrative, connected with Ludolf, son of Otto the Great, it was handed down as the "Song of Ernest of Swabia;" in this the two young men were represented as together meeting with wonderful adventures on their way to the Holy Land in the time of the Crusades.

In 1039 Conrad II. suddenly died at Utrecht, at the age of sixty years, and was buried in the Cathedral of Speyer, which he had commenced to build. Altogether he was a successful sovereign from almost every point of view, some even comparing his government to that of Charlemagne. He had been too busy, however, in endeavoring to increase the royal power to be very popular with the masses. In order to make the clergy dependent upon him, he replaced the reigning dukes by members of his own family, making the smaller dukedoms hereditary. On the other hand, to sustain himself against the disaffected nobles, he was careful to gain the support of the clergy. In his reign knowledge, the arts, and all kinds of internal improvements, began to take root. He brought

the finest vines from France, and planted them on the banks of the Rhine; these vineyards are the same that to-day yield the celebrated wine of Johannisberg and Rüdesheim.

At this time, also, the monks of Cluny began to agitate reform in the Church, and to talk of the "*Treuga Dei*."

Henry III. was surnamed "the Black," "the Bearded," "the Old," and "the Pious." He had been crowned in his youth, and, at the age of twenty, ascended the throne. In his reign imperial power reached its height. The temporal princes were held by him in complete subjection, and he transformed the German Empire into a monarchy in which the power of the sovereign was absolute.

Henry III. was for a time Duke of Swabia, Franconia, and Bavaria, as well as King of Germany. On his accession Germany was at peace, and never in its history did a monarch seem to commence his reign more auspiciously. His position was acknowledged to be that of the most powerful sovereign then existing.

The "royal ride" which Henry III. and all sovereigns took immediately after their coronation was extremely deleterious in its influence upon Germany. It tended to prevent the German Emperors from acquiring fixed power. The necessity for it had come about because for a number of years the nation had no capital, and the sovereign was therefore obliged to personally receive the allegiance of the people by a journey through the country.

Henry travelled with a magnificent retinue. It was like a triumphal procession in its pomp and splendor, the princes from Italy and vassals from Burgundy bringing rich presents, and prostrating themselves before him. But it soon began to appear that the enthusiasm first shown with reference to him was somewhat superficial. Corruption in the government was exposed, and a general



demoralization in the Church and amongst the clergy; for the baleful influence of long years of war cast dark shadows over the reign of peace, and the general depravity became infectious in every department.

But a reaction came. The monks in the monastery of Cluny determined to introduce a more Christian spirit into the life of the age, and there was developed what is called the *Treuga Dei* (the "Truce of God"), vaguely suggested in the reign of Conrad II., but now, for the first time, put into practice. According to the *Treuga Dei*, all feuds and battles were forbidden throughout the land from every Wednesday evening until Monday morning. Several hundred monasteries in France and Burgundy joined in the acceptance of this verdict, and the worldly rulers were called upon to enforce it. In the same year of the *Treuga Dei*, Henry III. prevailed on the Diet of Constance to issue an edict that there should be no right of private vengeance, but that all quarrels should be settled by law.

The abuses of the Church were taken up next. At this time priests, abbots, and bishops, and often the Popes, were accustomed to buy their appointments, this being called "simony." Henry III., seeing the necessity of a reform, sought out the most pious and intelligent priests, and having made them abbots and bishops, required them to serve without payment and presents, those already in such places being instructed to refuse all emoluments.

Peace was now enjoyed all over Germany, and in 1046 Henry crossed the Alps to be crowned as German Emperor, with Agnes of Aquitaine, whom he had married after Gunhilde's death, as Empress; this happened on Christmas Day, just two hundred and forty-six years after the magnificent ceremonials at the time of Charlemagne's coronation. The people hailed the king as "Imperator,"

declaring that no Pope ever after should occupy the chair of St. Peter without the Emperor's consent ; but the opposing party said Henry had made a bargain with the Pope.

Henry appointed four Popes in succession, all but one of whom were no doubt poisoned. Hildebrand, afterwards famous as Gregory VII., and for many years the real ruler of the Christian world, was offered the Papal chair ; but at that time he declined the honor. The attitude of Henry III. and the tendencies of the day were spoiling the clergy, and in the reign of his son and grandson the position of the Popes grew insufferable.

Meanwhile the Emperor had reached the height of his power ; he had promoted education, encouraged art, and advanced the interests of the nation. In history he is reckoned as a great king ; but he had grown reckless in his prosperity, bestowing principalities on personal friends regardless of hereditary claims or the wishes of the people. One of his bishops, a faithful friend and supporter, had seen the Emperor in a dream standing before his throne with his hand upon his sword, crying out that he would yet strike down all his foes ; and in fact this had become the real situation.

In October, 1056, Henry III., after discovering a plot against himself, retired to his palace at Goslar broken down in health ; and immediately after hearing of the defeat of his army by the Slavonians in Prussia, he died, leaving as his successor a boy of six years.

Henry III. was a religious fanatic ; and in regarding the office of Emperor as a sacred trust, he could see no escape from the corruption of the age except in rigid severity of life. He thought it was his calling as Emperor to be a pattern for his people. It is said he never put on his crown without first receiving stripes and scourging to remind him of the vanity of all greatness.

## CHAPTER X.

## THE FRANCONIAN LINE CONTINUED.

HENRY IV. POPE GREGORY VII.

1056 — 1077 A.D.

THE child king, Henry IV., was brought up carefully, his enemies said effeminately, by his mother, Agnes of Aquitaine. To appease the nobles, she, in her weakness of character, gave to them many of the dukedoms which her husband and Conrad II. had confiscated and made family estates. But this had no effect in pacifying them; they continued their opposition to all her plans, harassing her by every means in their power.

Ever since the time of Charlemagne, there had been an element growing up in the government which was now bearing its baleful fruit. In order that he might have a force which would stand by the throne against the violence of the ambitious nobles, Charlemagne had caused some of the archbishops and bishops to be made secular princes, giving them dominions over which they might reign as sovereigns; but this now proved, in the case of the young king, to be very disastrous in its results. The archbishops of Cologne and Mainz were potentates who exercised the power of life and death: but this, besides giving them too much authority over other lives, had an unwholesome effect upon their own, by turning their minds more to their power and advancement as princes than to their duty as bishops of the Church; therefore they were

obliged to keep bishops under them as a kind of curate to perform all the business of the Church, while they devoted themselves to their secular ambitions. Also, in handing these bishoprics over to their sons, they did not take into consideration whether the latter were fit for the sacred office or not.

Archbishop Hanno of Cologne, who was endowed with the rights spoken of above, cruelly formed a plan to tear away young Henry IV., now twelve years of age, from the care of his mother. In 1062, after a dinner given at Kaiserwerth, an island on the Rhine, to Archbishop Hanno, the latter asked the young king, who was living there with his mother, to inspect his magnificent boat, now anchored near the palace. Immediately after Henry had stepped on board with the archbishop, the boatmen seized the oars and put out to sea, while the crowds on the shore cried out, "The king is kidnapped." Meanwhile Henry struggled to free himself from his captors by jumping into the river; but he was soon retaken by Count Egbert of Brunswick, and, by a convocation of the bishops, he was placed under the guardianship of the cruel Hanno, whose stern harshness soon made Henry his enemy for life. The news of his seizure created such an excitement in Germany that Archbishop Hanno had to bribe the great vassals by making the young king give them estates belonging to the crown.

Meanwhile his unfortunate mother, shrieking, had gazed helplessly, from the balcony of the palace, after the ship containing her dear boy until it disappeared from view. She retired soon after to a convent in Italy, where she spent her life in doing charitable deeds.

Henry grew so restive under Hanno's severity that the archbishop was obliged to pass him over into the hands of Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, who carried disci-

pline to the other extreme, dazzling the child with worldly pleasures until he became dishonest, dissolute, reckless, and ungovernable. At last Adalbert grew so tired of his charge that, when the king was fifteen years of age, the bishop was glad to rid himself of responsibility by having the "sword of majority" given to Henry, at the same time proclaiming him king. This was a sorry day for Henry and for the German people; for his life ever after was one of fighting, not only against the adversaries of his soul, but the enemies of his body, represented by the secular princes and spiritual advisers, officers of the Church, and nobles of the kingdom at home and in other parts of his domain.

In childhood Henry had been betrothed by his father to Bertha of Susa, an Italian princess; and he was now, at the age of sixteen, forced by his advisers, who hoped to change his dissolute character, to a marriage with this princess. Although she was very charming and amiable, he immediately took action for a divorce. The Archbishop of Mayence and some others were willing to grant it; but Hildebrand refused his consent on account of conscientious scruples. But in the years following, when all the world was false to her husband, she remained faithful, until her patience and forgiving character, together with her genuine attachment for him, gained his love, and the romance of their lives began.

The unfortunate events of Henry's childhood, and the demoralizing character of his education, together with the associates he had formed in early manhood, had made him uncontrollable; and on account of Adalbert's influence in poisoning his mind, he became distrustful of the Saxons, who could never brook the idea of a Frankish king. When he forced them to march against Poland, they arose with an army of sixty thousand men headed by Otto of

Bavaria, who when a boy had received his dukedom from Henry's mother. They marched to his palace at Goslar, where they made their own terms, while Henry, attended only by a few followers, escaped with difficulty from the besieged castle, and was for three days without food. The bishops turned against him; and he would have been helpless except for a few cities on the Rhine, which, tired of the arrogance of the clergy, always supported the sovereigns, and thus turned the tide in many a strife between Church and State.

Notwithstanding the help of these cities, in 1074 Henry was obliged to make a treaty with the Saxons, conceding everything they demanded, including the destruction of fortresses which he had built in their territory. Here he and his young associates had spent much of their time recklessly, trying to spy out the movements of the Saxons, thus rendering these strongholds most obnoxious.

In spite of many concessions the Saxons were so enraged that they tore down the costly Imperial Palace at Goslar, and destroyed the church which contained the tomb of Henry III. This was too great an outrage, and a reaction set in amongst the people. With an immense army, in a terrible battle at Langensalza, Henry defeated the Saxons, and laid waste their land. He acquitted himself with so much credit, exhibiting marvellous courage and daring in leading his men to the attack, that history gives him a conspicuous place as a warrior amongst the great chieftains of his day. The battle had been so hotly contested that the fleeing enemy left eight thousand dead bodies on the field; the poor peasants were massacred, and the whole province laid waste. Thus at the same time the king satisfied his thirst for military glory and for revenge.

In triumph he entered Goslar, whence the preceding

year he had so ignominiously fled. That he might make the humiliation of the chief leaders of the conquered Saxons more degrading, he was seated on a high throne as the long procession of the conquered enemy filed along. "Bareheaded, barefooted, without weapons, their heads bowed with shame, on they came before the king they had dethroned and attempted to murder." Among these prisoners, with others, was Otto of Nordheim, who had helped to kidnap the king when a boy.

Henry, feeling his throne re-established, built again the Saxon fortresses, and by his arrogance fostered new seeds of revolt. But notwithstanding this, he might have ruled comfortably for some time but for the monk Hildebrand, who, after governing the clerical forces so long, had accepted the Papal chair under the name of Gregory VII.

The character of this man stands out in history like that of a great general, an astute politician, and a diplomatic statesman of the very highest order. His will and ambition were Napoleonic, his energy was exhaustless, and his wisdom, foresight, and daring were unequalled by the greatest conquerors of the world. The son of a poor carpenter of Tuscany, he had been educated as a young monk at Cluny when the reforms connected with the *Treuga Dei* were first agitated, and he had imbibed the fever for the "Supremacy of Papal power." In order to understand the incentives of this great man's action and the principles which shaped his remarkable career, we must go back a quarter of a century.

In the reign of the two preceding Henrys, and during the minority of the present king, Hildebrand had been making his plans. In 1056, when Henry IV. was only nine years of age, and Agnes of Aquitaine, his mother, was busy trying to quell the assaults of her nobles, Hilde-

brand called an ecclesiastical council which annulled the edict of the Romans made in the reign of Henry III., solemnly declaring that henceforth there should be no Papal election without the Emperor's seal. He substituted instead an electoral college of seventy cardinals, who alone should confirm the choice of those who were to sit in St. Peter's chair. This word cardinal was from *cardo*, a hinge, and was derived on account of its relevancy with regard to their important functions. Later a shade of red was called "cardinal," because the cardinals' hats were of that color.

The method of electing Popes mentioned above has continued the same up to this day; for whenever a Pope dies, the palace is filled with cardinals belonging to the electoral college, and is sealed up from all knowledge of the doings of the outside world, until, like a jury, they bring in the final result of their vote. This voting of the cardinals represents the will of the Holy See.

During the first five hundred years after Christ, the Pope had been merely a bishop of Rome. During the next five hundred, although the nominal head of the Church, he had been subordinate to the political rulers; but Hildebrand, in remodelling the Papal office, claimed that the Pope was the direct representative of God on earth, who could bestow or withhold the imperial crown according to his own will. In this he asserted the "Infallibility of the Pope," and at the same time the "Right of Investiture." This course incited a war between Church and State that lasted not only through the reign of the last two Henrys of the Franconian line, but for a century after. The doctrine of the "Right of Investiture" declared that bishops could not henceforth be invested with their office by receiving the badges, that is the ring and staff, or crozier, from secular sovereigns. This election must be accom-



plished by a college similar to that called together for filling the Papal chair, and subject to confirmation by the Pope alone.

On the occasion when the manner of the Pope's election had been decided by the council, Hildebrand, then only a cardinal, placed on the head of Pope Nicholas II. "the crown of the kingdom from God's hand; the Imperial German crown from Peter's," thus confirming the Pope as the direct representative of God on earth.

Hildebrand was also determined upon the question of the celibacy of the priesthood. He argued that no human tie should separate the priest from God. This struggle for the obliteration of a married priesthood had been begun in the time of Charlemagne. Years after, when Hildebrand became Gregory VII., he enforced this system, making removal from the priestly office the penalty of non-compliance, and requiring those who already had families to abandon them. He promulgated laws against the sale of offices and the receiving of emoluments. In short, he instituted statutes whose execution has ever since been moulding the Roman Catholic Church.

In 1073, seventeen years after Henry IV. had been crowned, Hildebrand was elected Pope under the name of Gregory VII. Until this time the title of Pope was given to all bishops alike. Gregory, however, three years afterwards, decreed that henceforth it should be applied only to the Roman "papa" or pontiff, prefixing at the same time the epithet *sanctus*, whence the modern title, "His Holiness, the Pope."

The election of Gregory VII. occurred the year before Henry's victory over the Saxons at Langensalza. Immediately after their humiliation, the latter, feeling that there were now two sovereigns, appealed to Gregory for aid. Thereupon he sent word to Henry to enforce the laws of

the Church concerning the celibacy of the clergy, etc.; but Henry, who had always been at war with the ecclesiastical party, filled with indignation, and puffed up with the glory of his Saxon victory, called a synod at Worms, where he deposed Gregory VII. in these words: "Henry to the false monk, 'Thou hast ascended to thy seat by cunning and fraud. Thou art loaded with just maledictions. Come down from thy usurped apostolic chair. I, Henry, by the grace of God, King of Germany, and all our bishops command thee. Come down! Come down!'"

Gregory VII. was presiding over a synod in the Lateran Church at the moment the messenger with the communication arrived. The envoy addressing the Holy Father said, "Sir, Henry, Emperor of Germany, and the German and Italian bishops, command thee to descend from the throne thou hast usurped by robbery; for without the Emperor's consent no one has a right thereto." Then, turning to the clergy assembled, he went on, "As for you, brethren, you are required to send ambassadors to the Emperor that you may receive a new Pope from his hand. Gregory here is no Pope, but a ravenous wolf." At this the Roman knights drew their swords, and would have cut Roland the ambassador to pieces, had not Gregory VII. protected him at the risk of his own life; but he afterwards had him dragged through the streets, and finally cast him into a dungeon.

The enforcement of the rules Gregory had made was especially hard upon the sovereigns, particularly the one with reference to the right of investiture, because the rulers had gained much of their strength against the feudal nobles by having the right of conferring the offices in the episcopacy in their hands. Having no particular regard for the interests of the Church, Henry had con-

trolled these offices according to his needs and convenience. He had often disposed of bishoprics to relieve his pecuniary embarrassment; and in deposing Gregory he expected, as his father had done, to replace him by a succession of Popes of his own appointment.

## CHAPTER XI.

HENRY IV. CONTINUED. — DECLINE OF GREGORY VII.'S  
POWER. — HIS DEATH IN EXILE. — HENRY V.

1077—1125 A.D.

GREGORY VII. was at this epoch the Roman Empire's real ruler, and for the first time in German history the ban of excommunication upon a sovereign was passed. The ban, by severing all a ruler's ties to the Church on earth and blotting out all his hopes of heaven, released the nobles from their feudal allegiance to him as their Lord and king, so that henceforth they could choose a new sovereign at their will.

This ban of excommunication against Henry IV. shows the greatness and daring of Hildebrand more than any other act of his life; for at this very time he was engaged in serious troubles with the Normans under Robert Guiscard; the Lombards, who were always jealous of the church, were up in arms; the King of France was hostile; and there was a large party in Rome who refused to submit to his will.

The issuing of the ban seemed to Henry simply an edict on paper, and it might have been this but for the accelerated course of every stream tending downward. All at once the discontented nobles, the Saxons whom he had persecuted since their rebellion and defeat, and the German states, as well, — all these unitedly arose, and failed to appear, even by representation, at the National Diet.

Meanwhile Gregory VII. kept busy preparing for the practical dethronement of the obstreperous king who had defied his power. Much alarmed at the demonstrations, Henry sent word to the convention which met at Mayence in October, 1076, offering every concession for the sake of restoring imperial power; but on hearing that the Pope had been invited to an adjourned meeting to be held at Augsburg the following January, a panic seized him, and he started on a hazardous journey over the Alps.

It was in the middle of a winter of uncommon severity, when the rivers were all frozen, and the brink of the precipices were a glare of ice. With his devoted Bertha and the child Conrad in arms, and only one loyal knight, he started out over the St. Bernhard; they were obliged oftentimes to creep on hands and knees along the slippery paths at the brink of overhanging precipices, sliding on bearskins over the ice-covered declivities, Bertha all the time wrapped in other bearskins, and drawn on a sledge. It was a most remarkable experience, but at last they all arrived in Lombardy alive.

There was always a large antipapal party here, and now they were ready to espouse Henry's cause; but with his usual vacillation of character he refused the proffered aid, preferring to throw himself on the mercy of Gregory, who, having been alarmed at the uprising in Lombardy, had taken refuge in the castle of Canossa, the property of Mathilda of Tuscany, his most faithful friend.

Alone and unarmed Henry climbed the mountain, presenting himself in the garb of a penitent at the great palace gate. Without food or shelter from the driving storm, clad in haircloth, and begging for mercy, he stood there repentant; but Gregory for three days and nights kept him waiting in an outer courtyard of the castle. On the fourth day Gregory received the penitent, and re-

moved the ban. The conditions he required were entire obedience to the will of the Pope, and the subservience of the crown to the bishops of Rome. He then broke bread with the Emperor, invoking the immediate wrath of Heaven if he had been guilty of the crimes of which Henry had accused him, saying, "Do as I do, my son, if you are guiltless wherein the princes accuse you." But Henry did not dare to make this appeal to God. This was the first great victory of Papal power, but the memory of it has supported the fainting hopes in many a Papal battle for eight hundred years.

Gregory VII. had carried his severity too far; and, like all extreme measures of arrogant men, this was followed by a reaction. The conspirators against Henry became enemies of the Pope; and Henry now commenced a war which he sustained with great energy, first with one enemy and then another, for thirty years. In the meantime his brother-in-law, Rudolf of Swabia, had been proclaimed king in his stead. The princes, supported by the Lombards, helped Henry in a terrible civil war waged for two years against the Papal party in Germany, the consequences of which were apparent for two centuries. Henry's authority was not re-established until 1080, when the Papal struggle in Germany closed, resulting in the death of Rudolf of Swabia, who was slain by Godfrey of Bouillon, afterwards the hero of the First Crusade.

In the Cathedral at Meresburg there is shown to the sightseer a withered hand. This is supposed to be that of Rudolf of Swabia, who, after having sworn allegiance, proved false to his sovereign. This hand was cut off before he was slain; and while he lay dying it was shown to Rudolf, who remorsefully said, "That is the hand with which I swore eternal fealty to my king."

Henry now took the offensive, and having crossed the

Alps with a large army, was crowned King of Lombardy, and marched to the gates of Rome. Gregory VII.'s friends all forsook him, except Countess Mathilda of Tuscany, and his forces finally had to yield. In the long war that followed, Rome suffered more than from the Goths or Vandals before the Dark Ages began.

From his prison in St. Angelo, Gregory removed the ban from Robert Guiscard the Norman, who then came to his aid with an army of thirty-six thousand men. As the Normans approached the Eternal City, Henry retired; but the allies, consisting mostly of Saracens, burnt up all that part of the town on the "Aventine" between the Lateran Palace and the Palatine Hill, the most of which has not been built up to this day; they slaughtered thousands of inhabitants, carried away innumerable slaves, and left blood and ruin behind.

Gregory VII. retired to Salerno, and died in exile in 1085. He left the ban still upon Henry IV.; but dying he said in the tone of a martyr, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile."

It will be remembered that when Henry went over the Alps on his journey of penitence he was accompanied by one faithful knight, Frederick of Buren, who afterwards married Henry's daughter, and was made Duke of Swabia by the former. It was he who afterwards founded the House of Hohenstaufen. Through all Henry's disasters this Duke of Swabia remained loyal; and dying he left two sons, Frederick and Conrad.

Henry's eldest son, the little Conrad before mentioned, died in 1101, but not until he had already rebelled against his father. Henry now turned to his remaining treacherous, calculating son, afterwards Henry V., who, with the German nobles, revolted, and war for another year desolated the land. But the cities on the Rhine, as

usual, held out for Henry IV., so that he kept the field until 1105, when his son Henry made a fictitious truce with him by means of which he gained his father's confidence. On a false pretext he induced the Emperor to meet him at the Castle of Böckelheim, when he shut the gate upon him, threw up the drawbridge, and held him prisoner, thus compelling him to abdicate the throne.

A story is told of the lord of the Castle of Hammerstein, where Henry sought shelter when escaping from the treachery of his son. He presented himself at the gate of the noble stronghold which travellers see to-day as they pass along the Rhine, and, knocking, begged admission and shelter for the night. The lord of the castle had two beautiful daughters whom he considered useless, whereas sons he thought might have borne arms for the king, his beloved sovereign, to whom, through all vicissitudes, he had been true. The old knight, responding to the knock, saw the gray-haired and bowed-down king. When Henry entered and beheld the two lovely maidens he said, "Well for thee that thou hast gentle daughters to cling to thee and cherish thee in thy old age; I have had two sons, both of whom have risen against me."

After Henry had escaped from Böckelheim, he was recaptured and brought to Speyer, where he appealed to the bishop for work about the Cathedral with which to earn his bread; but considering his request profane, since he was under the ban, the bishop, with his accustomed cruelty, refused to grant the request, and Henry was obliged to sell his boots to obtain food. Henry V. had placed his father in the care of this pitiless bishop, because he considered him the person most likely to carry out his inhuman purposes.

In 1106, the people having become aroused at the brutal treatment of Henry IV., the cities came to the res-



cue, and there was a general uprising in his favor; but at this critical juncture, this most unfortunate of German princes breathed his last, dying at Liege in August, 1106. Even in death the Pope's ban followed him; for his coffin was left unburied on unhallowed ground for more than five years, a faithful monk keeping watch over it night and day during the entire time.

Death was a welcome visitor, who indemnified Henry IV. for all the unfortunate circumstances of his life, — the errors of his education, the follies of his youth, and the irresolution of his manhood. No weaker, perhaps, than many a monarch has since been, he lived at an epoch when nothing less than a moral giant could have been victorious in so great a battle for Papal power. The people mourned bitterly for their sovereign, now beloved, who had atoned for the delinquencies of his youth by severe suffering. It is said that the penitential scene in connection with Hildebrand at the Castle of Canossa, which burned into the hearts of the German nation, changed Henry from a wild youth to a resolute man; and the future acts of his life show that, from that time, all the latent capabilities of character were brought out, and a knowledge of his own rights revealed to him. In his later years he was courageous, magnanimous, and just, relieving the oppressed, and doing much to free the country from the general brigandage to which the knight-errantry had sunk.

The reign of the unprincipled Henry V. may be summed up in a few words. It was one continual war between Pope and Emperor, lasting nineteen years; the strife was never settled until a few months preceding this monarch's death, when an agreement was entered into between Church and State, which gave to the Pope the election of the bishops, together with all the clerical offices; and

while the Emperor could be present to ratify their election, the conferring the ring and crozier was granted exclusively to the Pope. The Emperor still had power to confer the sceptre, to distribute the fiefs to the nobles, and to exercise sovereign power with reference to the feudal estates. It was a large concession to the Church, but not all which Hildebrand had desired.

There was great rejoicing in Worms when this treaty was concluded in 1122. It was called the "Concordat of Worms." This compromise gave the German bishops two sovereigns; and by making the latter secretly dependent on the Pope, the antagonism between Church and State continued, and, notwithstanding the Reformation, has never, up to this day, been entirely healed.

## CHAPTER XII.

## THE CRUSADES.

1096—1270 A.D.

AS an outgrowth of this struggle between Church and State, an excitement had been created under Pope Urban II. It was first developed by the wild fanaticism of Peter of Amiens (called the Hermit), which aroused the slumbering fire of all Germany and France, enlisting a quarter of a million of men, women, and children, who demanded that he should lead them against the Saracen possessions of Palestine.

He had travelled over France as a wayfarer; he had grown thin by his austerities; and, bent under his load of cares and weariness, with the cross raised before him, and clad in the coarse garments of a mendicant, he had earned the name of "The Hermit." Men from all the country round rushed to the cities and hamlets, and filled the churches, listening while he told them what he, with his own eyes, had seen at Jerusalem; how the mild sway of the Saracens, which had given support to the pilgrims, had been supplanted by the scoffings of the Infidels, who spit upon the Christians, and perpetrated every imaginable cruelty. He appealed to all the elements of character, — pity, tenderness, indignation, and bravery; and immense crowds of all ranks were excited to tears, sighs, agonized groans, reproaches, and remorse, that they had so long abandoned the blessed scene of the redemption; while the congregated warriors responded

by their willingness to give their hearts' blood. "It is the will of God!" shouted the believers in the crowd; and they hastened to fasten little crosses of red cloth to their shoulders, signifying that they enlisted in the enterprise. From this event the expeditions took the name of Crusades, the French word "*Croisade*" (from *croix*, cross), meaning "War of the Cross." Traversing Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Thrace, the Crusaders had reached Constantinople, where they were almost exterminated. Godfrey of Bouillon, with sixty thousand valiant knights, the flower of German chivalry, had started out and penetrated Asia Minor, where he was joined by the handful of the survivors of the band of Peter of Amiens. It was a troop of mailed cavalry, with spurs, lance, sword, and armor, one hundred thousand strong. Constantinople was startled at the sight, for fear so brilliant an army might turn into a crusade for conquest and plunder.

For hundreds of miles they marched, until encountering the Sultan's army, with their ever-lessening band they conquered it, slaying thirty thousand men of Turkish cavalry. Through fields laid waste, famished and dying from hunger and thirst, their horses by tens of thousands falling under them, they proceeded on their way, and with only a handful of the original six hundred thousand took Antioch in January, 1098. After defeating another Turkish army, they marched with a fragment, twenty thousand foot-soldiers and fifteen hundred cavalry, to Jerusalem.

Taking a route along the seashore to Jaffa, they struck into the interior country; and all at once the glorious sight, the long-cherished desire, the fulfilment of their deferred hopes, lay before them. When the Holy City burst upon their view, they all prostrated themselves, pouring out their tears upon the consecrated ground.

But the deliverance of the Holy City and the Sepulchre was yet to be accomplished; and under a burnished sky, with no water in pool or brooks, the Crusaders fought for five long weeks, when at last the Saracen caliph of Egypt, who had won it from the Turks, surrendered in 1099. At the end of this time Godfrey of Bouillon and his stormers stood inside of Jerusalem. Like almost every foe, they were relentless, burning the Jews in their synagogues, and massacring seventy thousand Moslem in their homes; through all time this remains a stain on the glory they had won.

They proclaimed Godfrey of Bouillon king. He assumed the title, "Defender of the Tomb of Christ," saying "he would wear no royal diadem, where the Saviour of the world had worn, on his bleeding forehead, a crown of thorns." He laid the foundation of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem after it had been four hundred and fifty years in the hands of the Mohammedans. The design of the First Crusade at least was accomplished.

After the victory many of the actors went home, among them Peter the Hermit, who closed his days in a French monastery. The chivalrous Godfrey reigned a year lacking five days, and died at the age of forty. On account of his clemency, he passed away regretted alike by Moslem and Christian.

For fifty years the Christian dominion in the East maintained itself against the Mohammedans; then new dangers arose, the fall of Odessa startling the residents in Palestine, who called for assistance. A second Crusade, headed by St. Bernard, was then sent out by Conrad III. and Louis VII. of France. Nine-tenths of this army were destroyed by the scimitars of the Infidels. Both armies, instead of advancing on Constantinople, retired to Nicæa, and thence pressed forward through Asia Minor

to Jerusalem, with only a handful of the chivalric band. They had failed in the siege of Damascus, and the Second Crusade closed in gloom, only a few returning to their country.

Forty years after, a third Crusade went out, under Richard Cœur de Lion, Philip Augustus of France, and Frederic Barbarossa; for now Jerusalem had been retaken by the brave but gentle Saladin, and all of Palestine but Tyre had yielded to the Moslem. How Barbarossa met his death at the head of sixty thousand men will appear hereafter. Some forces, sent by the French and English by sea, united with the remnant left of Barbarossa's men, and after a siege of twenty-three months the town of Acre surrendered to the Christians. But the bright hopes of taking Jerusalem engendered by this victory were not realized. The kings of France and England grew jealous of each other's glory, and finally made a compromise with the high-souled Saladin, which on his part was most liberal.

The Children's Crusade in 1212 must not fail to be mentioned. The second Crusade had failed because, St. Bernard thought, the sinfulness of the pilgrims was displeasing to God, and it was believed that only through innocent hands could the work be accomplished; the words of Jesus, "Suffer little children," seemed to these enthusiasts to justify the sacrifice. Under the leadership of priests and monks, and headed by the boy Stephen, twenty thousand French children, and thirty thousand German boys and girls, under the peasant lad Nicolas, made their way to Marseilles and other seaport towns, and thence were conveyed to the Holy Land. Only a fragment of the whole returned, nearly all the poor little people either perished by the way, or were seized for the slave-market. It was a cruel movement,

the result of the universal fanaticism which then overspread Europe.

The enticing of these children into the Crusades was considered an abduction; and dwelling on it, the minds of the people of that century became so exercised that many legends arose which had for their foundation the details connected with the children's Crusade. Among the legends was the story of Hameln, one of the strongholds destroyed by the Swedes in a victory over the Imperialists in the Thirty Years' War, afterwards called the Bastile of Hanover. This is a very ancient place, situated twenty-five miles south of Hanover. The fortress was afterwards blown up by the French in 1807. It is still noted for its *Rattenfangerhaus*, connected with the legend of the "rat-catcher," celebrated in Browning's verse as the "Pied Piper of Hamelin." In this legend, which is said to have had an historical foundation, everything went well until the wizard demanded of the city fathers the fifty thousand guldens promised for freeing the town of rats. When refused, the piper blew his enchanted reed, and into the ancient streets,

Small feet were pattering, wooden shoes clattering,  
Little hands clapping, and little tongues chattering;  
Out came the children running,  
All the little boys and girls,  
With rosy cheeks and flaxen curls,  
And sparkling eyes and teeth like pearls,  
Tripping and skipping, ran merrily after  
The wonderful music with shouting and laughter.  
When lo! as they reached the mountain side  
A wonderful portal opened wide,  
As if a cavern were suddenly hollowed,  
And the Piper advanced and the children followed,  
And when all were in to the very last,  
The door in the mountain side shut fast.  
Alas! alas! for Hamelin.

The place of the children's last retreat,  
 They called it the Pied Piper's Street,  
 Where any one playing on pipe or on tabor  
 Was sure for the future to lose his labor.  
 And opposite the place of the cavern  
 They wrote the story on a column,  
 And on the great church window painted  
 The same, to make the world acquainted  
 How the children were stolen away,  
 And there it stands to this very day."

The inscription as you may read it to-day is this:—

*Anno 1284, am dage Johannis et Pauli, war der 26 Juni,  
 dorch einen Piper mit allerlie farbe bekleidet gewesen  
 130 Kinder verledet binnen Hameln gebon  
 to Calvaire bi den Koppen verloren.*

(In the year 1284, on the day of St. John and St. Paul, which was the 26th June, a piper, dressed in a suit of many colors, led one hundred and thirty children born in Hameln, by the Koppenburg, to Calvary.)

This legend of the enchanted reed is found in different forms in all ages, in all nations, and in all lands.

The three Crusades mentioned above were the most prominent; for the rest, four in number, lacked the element of piety. The fourth was unimportant; in the fifth, in 1228, Frederick II. of Germany entered Jerusalem in triumph, and compelled the Sultan to cede the city and several other strongholds to the Christians. The sixth, seventh, and eighth Crusades, in 1238, 1249, and 1270 were uneventful. Soon after the last, Acre, the only remaining stronghold of the Christians, fell, and the Holy Land passed over into the power of the Mohammedans.



Thus the immediate object of these Crusades was lost; but, in the ways of Providence, they rid Europe of many of its desperate men, gave unanimity of sentiment to the Western nations, and brought from the East the knowledge of commerce, arts, and manufactures, whence sprung an interchange of trade which benefited Europe.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## SOCIETY AND GERMAN CUSTOMS OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

AT the end of two hundred years of Crusades, the period called "the Dark Ages" had passed away, and a dawn in culture of all kinds commenced. Up to that time, progress in the art of real German living had been gradual; for while Italy was basking in the warmth of sunshine, Germany shivered under piercing winds and snow. While in Italy idle loungers in the warm evenings reclined on couches upon the flat roofs, the houses of the Germans had pointed gables and sloping sides, that the rain might run off and the snow not lodge. They were built with towers and miniature battlements, so that every man's house was his fortress and stronghold. To this day, in some parts of Germany, are to be seen many houses of the old type, with the family rooms built above the cattle-stalls, an entrance wide enough for a wagon-load of corn, the servants quarters still being below, with the spinning-wheel, shuttle, and loom, and the floor of solid beaten earth covered with sweet, clean straw. There is an immense high roof with port-holes and palisades, a gallery running around the upper rooms which used to serve as the only means of communication. In those early days, even beds of straw were too great a luxury except for nobles, and rushes kept the feet warm and dry.

In the time of Charlemagne, even the palaces were built of wood and had thatched roofs; but a little later the stone houses, and churches with slated roofs, came into

use. In the old days, there were not even candles; and when the firelight would not serve all the purposes, a pine knot was placed in a hole dug in the masonry, and, when lighted, illumined the whole house or castle. Finally, when oil-lamps and candles of tallow and wax were invented, they were used only as luxuries by the rich. The grandees soon sought to hide their whitewashed walls with embroidered hangings, and, as is the case now, there was a shelf built around the wall to show off the metal tankards and silver dishes for family use, the habitual spotlessness and brilliancy of these confirming the national creed that "cleanliness is next to godliness."

In those days they did not forget the minstrels who, at feasts, sang of the good old times when men were free and women ever fair; long before the Crusades galleries were set apart for these ever-welcome guests.

The Crusades changed the whole style of German noble life. Before the men set out, vast estates were often pawned for costly furs, embroidered cushions, hangings of purple dye, pavilions worked in gold, showy costumes, and shining armor. These journeys to the East also filled the Crusaders with dreams of art and fashion never thought of before. Antioch with all its wealth was a great revelation when it fell into the Crusaders' hands; and when the religious fever died out, men began to think more of the superb fabrics they could carry home; they studied the golden domes and marble palaces of Constantinople instead of the Sepulchre of their Lord. Shiploads of Damascus tissues and crystal glass from Tyre were carried to Venice over new routes opened through the ingenuity awakened by the interchange of thought.

Knights who had carelessly taken the vows learned true knighthood from the Saracen hosts. The home life in the castle put on a new look, and the castle itself

became more unlike the dungeon near by; all the adornments were costly and beautiful, and dress was a great centre of thought. Carpets were brought from the East, and improved timepieces, which are still seen in some of the old palaces; these took the place of the water-clocks such as were first seen when Haroun-al-Raschid sent his gift to Charlemagne.

In the great hall there were expensive sideboards, the stately chair of the lord, the couch with canopy, the cupboard with brilliant china, the chests for wearing apparel; there was also always glittering armor on the walls. In this apartment, where vassals and lords assembled and banquets were served, there was a spiral staircase, which led to the guest-chambers above. Outside was a spacious court, around which were the stables, the servants' quarters, and, on one or two sides, the palace walls. Soon the stone floors, which had succeeded the rushes, gave place to marble of varied colors; even mosaics, like those the old Romans had for floors, were introduced; while sculptures, carvings, and mural paintings, resembling the more ancient works of art, came into vogue, and Venetian mirrors took the place of those of polished steel. Large windows of painted glass were used instead of alabaster and small pieces of porcelain, which, although letting in no light, had seemed so short a time ago magnificently fine. Chimneys came into use; and around the vast fireplace the family group appeared, ever welcoming strangers with the bountiful hospitality of biblical times. Carriages were not yet used, but rank was indicated by the accoutrement of the war-horse and the fine palfrey. The nobles and rich burghers were not alone the sharers of these improvements, for the condition of the rural classes was alike changed.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## THE HOHENSTAUFEN DYNASTY.

## LOTHAIR II. CONRAD III.

1125 — 1152 A.D.

THERE was no one to mourn the death of Henry V., which took place in the year 1125; for even his effort to increase the imperial authority was neutralized by his coldness and want of principle as a man. He left his estates and treasures to his nephew, Frederick of Hohenstaufen; but the crown jewels and insignia were bestowed by the National Diet on his successor.

Three dynasties at this time had passed from history, and the scene again opens on the banks of the same beautiful river. Four nobles, the head of the dukedoms of Saxony, Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria, assembled on the Rhine with sixty thousand subjects to elect a new king; each of these dukes chose ten princes, each of the four groups of ten chose one elector, and the four electors, after nominating three candidates, elected the king. The candidates were Frederick, Duke of Swabia, of the Hohenstaufen line, Lothair of Saxony, and Leopold of Austria.

Since the Hohenstaufen family had stood faithfully by Henry IV. and Henry V. in their conflicts with the Pope, the dynasty was unpopular with the clergy. Therefore, after a very stormy session, the Diet chose Lothair of Saxony, because it was thought that he was the weakest character, and would be more under the direct influence

of the Pope. This choice lighted the first spark in the great quarrel between "Guelphs and Ghibellines," which caused numberless wars and lasted many years.

Lothair surrendered the only rights left to the sovereign by "The Concordat of Worms," — that of having the bishops and abbots appointed in the royal presence. He joined in marriage his own daughter Gertrude to Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria, grandson of Duke Welf, who, with Frederick of Swabia, was the last to sustain the cause of Henry IV., and whose family was called the "Welfs," or "Guelfs." By this marriage Henry the Proud became Duke of Saxony; but the part of the dukedom called the North Mark was given to Albert the Bear, one of Lothair's friends. We speak of Lothair among the Hohenstaufen Emperors, because all the incidents of his reign were connected with that family, though he himself was a Saxon, and opposed to the Hohenstaufen dynasty.

In 1132 Lothair went to Rome, and was crowned by Innocent II., one of the two Popes then reigning. By paying the church four hundred pounds annually, he acquired the territory of Countess Mathilda of Tuscany. Thus he reversed the former state of affairs, and for the first time acknowledged an Emperor as dependent upon the temporal power of the Pope.

He returned to Italy a second time in 1137, to put down an insurrection in Lombardy. But he was unsuccessful, and started back over the Brenner Pass, where he was seized with a mortal illness, and died in a shepherd's hut amongst the Tyrolean Alps. He was buried in a monastery in Saxony.

In Würtemberg, at the angle where the Neckar meets the Rhine, there is a tableland of dry limestone capped with hills of volcanic formation, one of which used to be

called Mount Staufen. Frederick of Buren was the faithful knight who attended Henry IV. in his terrible journey over the Alps, when he went to beg for mercy at Hildebrand's castle door. Frederick's father, the elder Count of Buren, had climbed Mount Staufen and built a castle, founding the Hohenstaufen line, which became the sturdiest dynasty ancient Germany ever knew. The two sons of the younger Frederick of Staufen, Frederick and Conrad, were connected intimately with the election of Lothair.

In 1138, at Mainz, Conrad, the younger son, was chosen king. There was, near Mount Staufen, a town called Waiblingen, where Conrad III. was born; and therefore the house was called "of Buren," "of Hohenstaufen," "of Waiblingen." But as Waiblingen was a town and the other places were only castles, the princes of the dynasty were called Waiblingers.

There was a strong opposition party of great prominence in the time of Lothair, which was headed by Lothair's son-in-law, Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria. Henry was a mighty prince, and held already half of the realm, so that, to him, the crown seemed more properly to belong; but he had already made himself so conspicuous that the jealousy of the reigning princes was excited against him. As they had done in the case of Lothair, their policy was to choose a weak rather than a strong ruler, preferring one who would not interfere with their authority in their own lands. Conrad, brother of Frederick of Hohenstaufen, took advantage of this feeling, and courted the favor of the princes and bishops, so that he was chosen and crowned three months before the meeting of the Diet. When the Diet was called, all acquiesced in the election except Henry the Proud.

The Bavarian dukes were called Welfen, since they

were descended from that old Welf, Count of Bavaria, the father of Jutta (Judith), who was the wife of the Carolingian king, Louis the Pious. It was he who hid himself in the Black Forest because his son consented to live under feudal obligations to the Emperor, the agreement between the ancient Welf and Louis the Pious being that the former should have, for his hereditary possessions, as much land in a circle as he could plough around, with a golden plough, while the Emperor slept.

In order to sustain himself, Conrad III. felt that he must break his rival's great power; therefore, declaring that Henry the Proud should not be allowed to hold two dukedoms at the same time, he took away his share of Saxony, giving it all to Albert the Bear, who already held the northeastern part. It was this Albert the Bear who afterwards founded Berlin. Henry the Proud now summoned the Saxons to his aid, but in 1139 he died, and his brother Welf continued the struggle in the interest of the former's son, afterwards called Henry the Lion.

Although Welf tried to deliver Weinsberg, which was besieged by Conrad III., he failed. There is a story that, when the town was forced to surrender, the women sent a deputation to Conrad, begging to be allowed to leave the city with whatever property they could carry on their backs. Conrad had been so angry at the long resistance of this stronghold that, although he promised the women their liberty, he threatened to kill the men whenever he should take the place. When the provisions were exhausted, and Weinsberg finally yielded, the Emperor consented that all the women should be allowed unmolested to leave the town, and that they might carry with them their choicest treasures. The gate was opened; down the hill came Countess Ida carrying on her back her hus-



band, Welf; she was followed by all the women of Weinsberg carrying their husbands, fathers, sons, and lovers, also on their backs. Some of the army wanted to stop the strange procession and slay the men; but Conrad was touched by the women's devotion, and answered, "Not so; I gave my word, and the word of an Emperor must never be broken." The hill where these events happened has ever since been called "Weibertreu," or woman's fidelity. In 1820 Charlotte, Queen of Württemberg, with other German ladies, built an asylum on this spot for poor women who had been noted for self-sacrificing deeds of love.

It was in this battle that "Welf" and "Waibling" were first used as war-cries, and in the Italian language they became "Guelphs and Ghibellines;" and for hundreds of years, during the entire period of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, and through all the contests of Church and State, these names continued to be significant as battle-cries.

The term Welf (Guelf) soon began to mean the party of the Pope; Waiblingen (Ghibellines) that of the German Emperor. The first conflict ended in 1122, when Henry the Lion, great-grandson of the ancient Duke Welf, was allowed to be Duke of Saxony. From him descended the later Dukes of Brunswick and Hanover, who still kept the name of Guelf, this being the family of Queen Victoria of England through George I.

When Henry the Lion was allowed to be Duke of Saxony, Albert the Bear had to content himself with his original possessions. The Northern Mark, which extended to the east, was called the Mark of Brandenburg; it was made independent, and Albert the Bear called himself "Margraf" (border count). Thus, in 1142, was laid the basis of Prussia, or "Borussia" as it was then called,

this being the name of a Slavonic tribe. This was the nucleus, through the subsequent consolidation of the dukedoms of Brandenburg and Hohenzollern, of the present great Empire, which in spite of all its disasters has continued to extend its boundaries up to the present time.

In 1147 Conrad III. was forced by the excitement of the times to head the second Crusade. Frederick Barbarossa and other prominent princes, in the depths of winter, put the cross upon their mantles, and with their armies accompanied him; for the monarchy in Jerusalem, under Baldwin, cousin of Godfrey of Bouillon, was threatened by the Saracens. During the year 1149 the Crusader returned with a few surviving followers.

Conrad III. now made plans to visit Italy to be crowned; for the Roman Senate had invited him to make Rome the permanent capital of the Empire after his coronation. The National Diet at Würzburg confirmed the movement; but while making preparations for his departure, he died, in 1152, at Bamberg, and was buried in the same Cathedral which Henry II. had built and in which he was entombed.

When Conrad III. was at Constantinople, in the time of the Crusades, he saw that the Byzantine Emperor bore on his imperial standard a two-headed eagle, representing the double Empire which had been united under Constantine and his successors. Conrad was so struck with the idea, that when he came home he assumed the double eagle as the arms of his Empire; and it may be seen on the coins of both the Emperor of Germany and the Emperor of Austria at the present day. There is a story told that one of the grand-dukes of Austria was out shooting in the Tyrol some years ago, when a huntsman bringing down an eagle, the grand-duke picked it up and said, "Why, what a queer eagle! it has only one head."

## CHAPTER XV.

THE HOHENSTAUFEN LINE CONTINUED. — FREDERICK  
BARBAROSSA.

1152 — 1190 A.D.

THE next heir to the throne, excepting an infant son, whose election the Diet would not confirm, was Conrad's nephew, Frederick, Duke of Swabia. The Italians called him Barbarossa, or "red beard" on account of a tinge of red in his beard; and by this name he is known in history. He was thirty-one years old, a man superior in judgment and intellect, a renowned warrior, tall, stately, handsome, and very popular, — in every respect a thorough German in character. He was elected without opposition, and crowned immediately after at Aix-la-Chapelle. His mother was a Welf princess, and since he was a Waiblinger, it seemed as if the rivalry between the two parties would come to an end.

Since the accession of Otto the Great, no German monarch had been crowned under circumstances so favorable, and not one had embodied so many attributes of an able sovereign. He gave to the German princes the assurance of the rights they already held as rulers of States, on condition that they should fulfil their obligations to him. He showed the will, the decision, and the courage, and had the impressive personal bearing, of one who felt himself born to rule; and had he remained contented with trying to unite the German States into one nation, instead of reaching after the "old phantom" of a Roman

Empire, he would have been the greatest ruler Germany ever knew.

In 1154 Barbarossa, with a large army, accompanied by Henry the Lion and other important princes, crossed the Brenner Pass in the Tyrol, and descended into Italy. According to an old custom they pitched their camps in the Roncalian fields near Piacenza, the royal shield being set up as a sign that the king was there in the capacity of judge in the political disturbances which were then likely to occur.

Many complaints were brought against the city of Milan, which already had become a haughty and despotic republic, and was even now beginning to tyrannize over Lodi, Como, and neighboring cities. After having been crowned King of Lombardy at Pavia, Barbarossa marched towards Rome for the purpose of receiving the crown of the Empire. But this was not to take place without many humiliations and much sacrifice of self-respect.

Rome was now a republic, and had driven Pope Hadrian IV. from its doors. Frederick Barbarossa was obliged to sign an agreement to overthrow the republic, and to capture Arnold of Brescia who was the forerunner of all modern reformers. According to a papal decree, Barbarossa, before he could be crowned, was forced to deliver Arnold of Brescia into Pope Hadrian's hands to be burned, because that reformer and patriot believed that the Church should be purged from its corruption, and that the clergy be allowed no interests of a secular kind. But the Pope regarded this as a dangerous doctrine, and, as one of the conditions of Frederick's being crowned, also demanded that he should submit to the humiliation of holding the stirrup when he mounted his mule. Barbarossa, for the time being, accepted all these requirements with meekness, and, in spite of the resistance of the people, entered Rome at

the right bank of the Tiber, and was crowned Emperor in hot haste. The Romans regarded it as an outrage that at the coronation no oath to respect the laws of the city had been required. Therefore he was obliged to withdraw immediately from the town, a large body of Romans treacherously attacking the Germans in their camp. A bloody conflict ensued, in which Frederick was only saved from death by the courage of Henry the Lion. The Germans were victorious; and the Emperor exclaimed, "We have indeed bought the imperial crown, not with silver, but with iron, according to the German fashion." But notwithstanding this, he was obliged to retire to Tivoli, and afterwards to Southern Italy, for the purpose of wresting the provinces from the Norman conquerors. A pestilence broke out; and the heat became so intense that Barbarossa was driven from Italy, fighting his way through Italian ground.

One robber stronghold, the castle of the wild Alberich of Verona in the Tyrol, brought the army to a halt. For Alberich of Verona's soldiers pelted them with stones, and demanded tribute for horses and knights, and even for the Emperor himself. In a narrow mountain gorge, Otto of Wittelbach, with two hundred picked men, climbed up the rocks to a point commanding the castle, and taking the inmates by surprise, killed them all, including the count himself; and thereupon he planted the imperial banner on the heights.

There used to be a punishment of a peculiar kind inflicted on distinguished nobles and bishops which was felt to be the acme of everything which was disgraceful and humiliating to their rank. This consisted in forcing princes and nobles of every degree to carry dogs in their arms before the imperial palace for a distance of five English miles, amidst the shouts and derision of the

crowds. When Barbarossa returned to Germany, he set about the work, in a most diligent manner, of reforming the customs of the country, and insuring peace and security. He executed many robber knights, tearing down their castles, and also inflicted the penalty of "dog-carrying" on fourteen reigning princes. This seems to have been to them a far more terrible chastisement than the loss of their castles or death itself. Count Palatine Hermann immediately after suffering this humiliation retired into a cloister, and died of a broken heart.

At this time, Beatrice, a lovely lady of rank, and heiress to the immense territory of Burgundy, was seized by her cousin William, and cast into a tower, where he intended to keep her captive that he might inherit her lands. She, however, found means to solicit the aid of Barbarossa, who released her from the hands of her oppressor, and made her his own wife. She was very charming, and the ornament of the Hohenstaufen court, and the mother of Barbarossa's five sons. At a Diet in Würzburg, soon after their marriage, there were ambassadors present from every civilized land. Henry II. of England sent magnificent presents with greetings, saying "England and all else we offer to thee; let there be concord and union between our nations in such a way that thou, as the greater, shall retain the right to command, and our side shall not be wanting in the will to obey."

At this Würzburg Diet, two Legates from the Pope brought a communication in which Hadrian spoke of the imperial crown as a fief. The assembly was so excited that one of the legates, Cardinal Roland, cried, "Why this excitement? From whom did the Emperor receive the Empire, if not from the Pope?" Otto of Wittelbach drew his sword, and would have struck the rash ambassador dead had not the Emperor prevented. Barbarossa then sent

the envoy back to Rome, and issued a proclamation declaring that the imperial power was from God alone, and that he should regard as an enemy of Christ any one who considered his crown a Papal fief. At this time he even proposed that the Empire should organize a German Catholic Church with an independent Pope. Hadrian in his alarm apologized, and said the word used did not mean a fief.

By his marriage with Beatrice, Barbarossa cemented Burgundy to Germany; he gave Bavaria to Henry the Lion, and made an independent dukedom of Austria, thus pacifying Duke Henry. Henry the Lion was encouraged by Frederick to extend his Saxon territory from the Elbe to the Baltic; it was the former who founded Munich, raising it from a cluster of peasants' huts to the dignity of a city.

Barbarossa was also pleased when Albert the Bear, Count of Brandenburg, followed the same policy that Henry the Lion had pursued; for as long as these nobles acted under his authority, his own dominion was all the time increasing in extent and power. In those days they used to sing this rhyme:—

“Henry the Lion and Albert the Bear,  
Thereto Frederick with the red hair;  
Three lords are they  
Who could change the world to their way.”

By his own influence Barbarossa modified the attitude of all the princes and prelates; and when Hadrian IV. saw the bishops turning against him on account of his treatment of Barbarossa, he was obliged to alter his course, so that one would hardly recognize in the humiliated and apologetic Pope the man whose stirrup Barbarossa had held while he mounted his mule.

At that early epoch Milan was always revolting, and

this city in 1158 called Barbarossa again over the Alps with one hundred thousand men to subdue it. The walls of the town were nine miles in circumference; but, after a month he compelled it to surrender, to pay nine thousand pounds in silver, and to rebuild Lodi, which the Milanese had brutally torn down.

Barbarossa, seeing how general the recognition of his authority had become, took the opportunity to revive the old Roman laws. He had a code drawn up defining his prerogatives and those of the German princes. Four old doctors in the University of Bologna discovered so many imperial rights which had fallen into disuse that Barbarossa's treasury was enriched thirty thousand pounds annually. But when Milan and the Lombard cities found that on account of the new developments they had lost the privilege of electing their own magistrates, they resisted, and a war ensued.

It has been said that Frederick Barbarossa, with all his strong points, was despotic and merciless in his revenge. He never committed greater cruelty than in the case of Milan. After a long siege, having forced it to surrender in 1163, he compelled the magistrates to come in sackcloth before him, and twelve of the chief burghers were obliged to appear, their naked swords tied around their necks; finally the people of the city came also with ropes around their necks and in rags, begging him in tears to be merciful. At the sight of their fallen city, the people wept so bitterly that even Barbarossa's stern warriors shed tears of pity; but the Emperor's heart seemed turned to stone. He gave the inhabitants eight days to leave the town; then he levelled it to the ground, and sowed salt upon the ruins as a warning that it must never be rebuilt. The rival cities, Pavia, Lodi, and Como, were so rejoiced, and so terrified withal, that they sub-



mitted to all Barbarossa's claims, even to letting him choose their magistrates.

On his fourth visit to Italy a pestilence attacked his army; and the Emperor was obliged to steal through Lombardy as a fugitive, hiding for months among the shepherds in the Alps. At this time, when he was thought dead, and his wife had put on mourning for him, he suddenly reappeared.

At Susa a band of armed men broke into Barbarossa's chamber at night; and while he escaped by another door, his faithful knight, Herman of Sieveneichen, threw himself into the bed to receive the death-blow which was intended for the Emperor; but before the blow was given, he was recognized, and was about to be slain by the Lombards, when, on account of his faithfulness, he was spared.

After this Barbarossa remained six years at home; but his fifth visit to Italy was made eventful by the treachery of Henry the Lion, whereby the latter lost the most of his dominion. He had resolved to be revenged on account of what he considered slights he had received from Barbarossa. An opportunity occurred in 1178, when Barbarossa, having crossed the mountains to put down an uprising among the Lombards, called upon him for his help under circumstances of great necessity. Barbarossa fell ill at Como, and Henry told him he would desert him if he did not yield to his exorbitant demands. Since the Lombards, in insurrection, were drawing near, Frederick entreated him on his knees to be true to him and to his country. The Empress Beatrice raised her husband and said, "God will help you, and remember the Welf's insolence some future day."

A battle was fought with the Lombards, who far outnumbered Barbarossa's troops. Henry withdrew with the division under him, and Barbarossa's army was fear-

fully cut to pieces. The Emperor escaped to Germany, where he found the indignation against Henry the Lion so great that he put him under the ban, and gave his dukedom to his faithful follower, Count Otto of Wittelbach, who was heir to the royal house of Bavaria. This time, Henry the Lion on his knees begged for pardon; but Frederick banished him to England, and left him only Brunswick. Afterwards, when Frederick besieged Brunswick, Mathilda, the wife of Henry the Lion and daughter of Henry II. of England, lay sick in bed, and sent to Barbarossa asking that some wine might be sent in to her. He replied that he would rather give her Brunswick than to have her suffer; he then drew off his troops. The house of Brunswick ever after belonged to the Guelfs.

The downfall of Henry the Lion fully restored Frederick Barbarossa's authority over Germany; he was now at the height of his glory. At a great festival at Mainz, in 1184, such as Charlemagne and Otto the Great had held to celebrate their glorious deeds, Frederick Barbarossa met all the princes, lords, bishops, scholars, and minstrels of the land, and hundreds of thousands of knights, including the flower of chivalry; they were all lodged in tents of silk and gold, and the whole scene was one of resplendent magnificence. Barbarossa was still in his full strength; and although sixty-three years old, he rode at the head of the tournament, a type of manly grace and beauty. His five stalwart sons rode beside him, the eldest, Prince Henry, afterward Henry VI., already having been crowned as his successor; his other sons he knighted that day. For many years after, the wandering minstrels sang the glories of this festival, which they compared to those given in honor of King Arthur and his Round Table.

Frederick Barbarossa now went to Italy for the last time, without an army, but accompanied by a magnificent



BARBAROSSA AND BEATRICE.



retinue. The confederacies formed against him had been torn asunder by jealousies, so that each city was trying to gain his favor. About this time Pope Urban II. died; he had opposed the marriage of Barbarossa's son Henry with Constance, daughter of the King of Sicily; and now the marriage was celebrated, in 1186, after which Henry was crowned King of the Romans, the first time this had happened while an Emperor was alive.

The next year the whole city was shaken by the news that Jerusalem, which had hitherto continued in the hands of the Christians, had been lost. The Christians had neglected their sacred duties, living such corrupt lives, under the shadow of the Holy Sepulchre, that the Sultan Saladin, who was a wise, just, and learned man, had determined to reconquer his country; and he was now in possession of all the holy places.

The third Crusade was soon undertaken. Barbarossa, who fought the Saracens with great courage, was supported by Philip II., King of France, and Richard the Lion-Hearted. In his advance he showed a military skill and valor which made the expedition a memorable one. Instead of paying tribute to the enemy to liberate the Christians, Barbarossa inspired such fear that Saladin offered to make peace.

After he had taken the city of Iconium, defeating the Sultan, he was hastening on to Jerusalem, hoping by reconquering the Holy Sepulchre to add the most glorious crown to his possession; but on the 10th of June, 1190, while fording the river Saleph, not far from Tarsus, where the Apostle Paul was born, Barbarossa was drowned. The water was ice-cold from the melting snow, and the chill rendered the old king unable to struggle with the waves. His followers brought him to Antioch; and although Richard the Lion-Hearted and the King of France held

out a little longer, the Crusade was practically broken up.

Frederick Barbarossa's enlarged and liberal views helped to ennoble and elevate his people ; the most flourishing period of the old German Empire in morals, poetry, and culture was in his time. No Emperor, before or after him, maintained so complete authority over the German princes. He established order and security in the life of the common people, and a new era for them dawned in his reign.

Barbarossa always represented to the Germans a grand national idea, being their type of German greatness ; and when he went away on his noble mission and never returned, the people refused to believe he was dead. By degrees the legend took root that he slept in a vault underneath Kyfihäuser, one of his castles on the summit of the Hartz Mountains, and that when the ravens ceased to fly round the mountain, he would come forth at the appointed time to make Germany united and free ; therefore the name of Barbarossa, like that of Arminius, is sacred to every patriotic German heart to this day.

## CHAPTER XVI.

HOHENSTAUFEN LINE CONTINUED. — DEATH OF HENRY  
THE LION. — HENRY VI. — PHILIP. — OTTO IV. —

FREDERICK II.

1190—1240 A.D.

**H**ENRY VI., son of Barbarossa, was twenty-five years of age when he was crowned Emperor in Rome, 1191 A.D. Although the opposition of the nobles seemed to have been suppressed in Barbarossa's reign, it awoke again at his sudden death. Henry the Lion revolted, Henry VI. fought against the princes, and all the strife of the Guelfs and Ghibellines continued with unabated force. In 1192, while the fight was still going on between the two parties, Richard the Lion-Hearted, returning home from Palestine, was taken prisoner by Leopold of Austria on account of a quarrel between them during the time of the Crusades. Richard was afterwards delivered up to Henry VI. for the purpose of gaining an enormous ransom; and being a brother-in-law of Henry the Lion, he was held as a hostage. The mother of Richard the Lion-Hearted came over from England, and gave the one hundred and fifty thousand marks which the Emperor demanded. Still Richard was kept a prisoner at Durenstein on the Danube in Austria.

A legend relates that Blondel, a minstrel, discovered Richard's place of imprisonment by singing the king's favorite song under the window of all the castles near the Rhine; until the strain was taken up in answer and

sung by his master. When Blondel heard the voice of Richard, he exclaimed, "That must be the king, my king!" He lost no time in returning to England and proclaiming to the country where he had found Richard. "Let us ransom him, and set him free," he urged; and although this was not easily done, a reconciliation was finally effected by Henry the Lion.

In his later days Henry the Lion devoted himself to the improvement of the people of Brunswick, and spent his time reading old family chronicles and legends containing events of the years gone by. He died in 1195, beloved and honored, and was mourned as a benefactor even by those who, in his quarrels with Frederick Barbarossa, had felt that he was a tyrant. History makes no record of two such strong contemporary characters. There was only a difference of three years in their ages, and each was alike renowned for energy and ability. Both while quarrelling, were working for the enduring welfare of Germany. The character of Henry the Lion would have shone far brighter except for his differences with Barbarossa, whose greatness was well nigh rivalled by his own.

Upon Henry's grave in the Cathedral at Braunschweig lies a lion. The legend runs that Henry had rescued it from the claws of a dragon, and never after would it leave Henry's side. Together they went through Syria's barren desert; and wherever the Welf went, the lion like a shadow followed his steps. When the duke's eyes closed in death, the lion lay still and sad beside his friend. In vain they took him away, and made him a prisoner behind iron bars; but he would ever return, resting near his master, keeping all away from his grave. At the end of four days they found him dead on his master's tomb. Thus all these centuries there the lion has remained.



Henry VI. took the money gained by the ransom of Richard of England to purchase the assistance of Geneva and Pisa in annexing Sicily to his own dominion. He also desired France as a dependency, and tried to appropriate Spain. He had great ambition for a universal Empire, and desired to make all of these countries into one hereditary monarchy. He conceived the idea of taking Constantinople, and of joining the new Crusade under the auspices of Innocent III.; but he died suddenly at the age of thirty-two years, in 1197, at Messina. Just before his death a legend says that a rider, supposed to be the giant form of Theodoric the Great, on a black war-horse, passed along the banks of the Rhine, presaging, as all thought, trouble to the Empire.

Henry had been a vindictive and often cruel sovereign, treating his enemies with shocking barbarity, so that he was sometimes compared, in the fear and hatred which he engendered, to Nero, the tyrant of Rome.

Again the crown of the Empire fell to a child; for Henry VI. left his wife, Constance of Sicily, with a boy three years old, whose name was Frederick. He had been chosen King of the Romans as soon as he was born, and was called "The Child of Apulia," on account of his adoption by the Pope. The German princes, however, were determined to have no child again on the throne; and so this poor little fellow, although a ward of the Pope, ever since his queen mother died, led a lonely existence in his Sicilian home, never knowing certainly whether he would ever be a sovereign in anything except in his own right. Philip of Swabia, the only surviving son of Barbarossa, had been about to conduct the boy from Italy to be crowned; for the sake of keeping the sovereignty in his own house, however, when he knew that the child could not be chosen, he consented to being

elected Emperor himself. But the enemies of the Hohenstaufen, with the Archbishop of Cologne, resisted him; and a Welf, Otto IV., son of Henry the Lion, was elevated to the throne, his claims being favored by Richard of England and the Pope. Philip was nevertheless crowned in Mülhausen in Thuringia.

Thereupon there was civil war in Germany between the two rival emperors, just as Innocent III., the mightiest of all the Popes next to Gregory VII., was raised to St. Peter's chair. Under his dominion the Papal power became almost supreme. He declared for Otto, placing the ban upon Philip; but the latter fought bravely for his imperial rights. He had the aspiring mind, knightly spirit, handsome figure, and poetic temperament of Barbarossa. Again the cries of Welf and Waibling resounded far and wide. The Hohenstaufen, however, were at last victorious, and Otto defeated. He was acknowledged as emperor nowhere but in Saxony, and Philip's success seemed assured; but in the very hour of triumph he was murdered by Otto of Wittelsbach.

Soon after this, in 1209, Frederick, now a boy of fourteen, who had been acknowledged King of Sicily, and was already married to the beautiful Constance of Aragon, heard that his uncle, Philip of Swabia, had been murdered, that Otto had collected a force at Augsburg, and having made every concession, even agreeing to receive the Empire as a fief, was now marching to Italy to receive the Roman diadem. It is said that Innocent III. wept for joy on being able to crown a Welf as Emperor.

Had Otto continued to abide by his agreement with the Pope, young Frederick, though still a *protégé* of his Holiness, would have been obliged to content himself with his Sicilian kingdom; for Otto, being accepted by the Germans, had made great capital by proceeding against the

murderers of Philip, who had been overtaken at Ratisbon and slain. Afterwards Otto again set out for Italy, and was threatening Frederick's kingdom, when a long struggle commenced between the two rivals for imperial power.

Frederick II. had now arrived at the age of eighteen years, and was much more of an Italian than a German prince; while resembling his grandfather Barbarossa in decision of character, he had also acquired the knowledge and refinements of an Italian court. He understood and spoke six languages fluently; he was a poet and a minstrel, a statesman, and already a leader of men.

Pope Innocent III., having fallen out with Otto, called upon the German princes to recognize Frederick, at the same time sending one Anselm von Justingen, with a detachment of soldiers, to conduct the young prince into Germany. At this time, though scarcely more than a boy, the resources of Frederick's subsequent large and versatile character began to appear. In journeying to Germany from Italy he met with wonderful experiences, the way being filled with danger and treachery on every side; for Otto's men were hiding all about, on land and sea, lying in wait to capture him secretly. As he advanced, Frederick found the German cities so hostile to him that he was obliged to cross the Alps by a secret path, while at the same time he was followed, under the cover of the night, by bands of Otto's men, who were always in close pursuit. When he reached the Brenner Pass the body-guard furnished by the Pope turned back, not daring to enter German territory; and it was here he learned that all the way from Botzen to Innsbruck the mountains were filled with Otto's men, waiting to intercept him, while Otto himself was following closely in his track in order to cut off his retreat. But the dauntless youth thought not of turning back; for "before him lay

the Empire and renown, while behind was only Italy and defeat."

Frederick then pushed forward with only forty knights, by a chamois path over the Alps, through the Grisons to St. Gall. This was in September, the season when the narrow track is often filled in by deep snows coming quick from the autumn blizzards which so early visit the lofty peaks of the Alps. When he arrived at St. Gall, he learned that Otto, with a band of two hundred knights, was coming up from Bregenz, on the other side of the lake, to meet him, and cut him off from Constance. Skirting the right bank, he sent an embassy of bishops in his train ahead, to notify the city to be ready to receive his little band. At the same moment the sentinel, watching from the tower, saw Otto's army hurrying up, while the noise of the cavalcade was heard approaching. The drawbridge was lowered; and in an instant Frederick and his small band of faithful followers clattered through the gates and into the town, through the very streets made famous by the entry of old Barbarossa a quarter of a century before. Constance was won, and with it all of Swabia. Otto came furiously on, but "Constance opens only to the bidding of its rightful lord." Glancing up to the old tower, he saw the Hohenstaufen youth with his retinue; and looking down, he beheld the drawbridge raised. Then, without risking a battle, Otto with his adherents returned to Saxony.

For three years the rivals stood at bay, neither taking up arms against the other, then Otto "rushed on his doom."

The stately bearing of Frederick II., inherited from his grandfather Barbarossa, the charm and refinement of his manners cultivated by his early training, and his generosity to all who were friendly to him, increased greatly

the number of his supporters, and meanwhile he had gained the assistance of Philip of France.

The tide had turned against Otto IV. ; he had been signally defeated in the war with France, and his influence in Germany was at an end. He had also experienced many family troubles ; his second wife, Mary of Brabant, having gambled away great sums of money at dice, for the payment of which he was obliged to sacrifice his family estates.

In 1215 Lorraine and Holland declared for Frederick II., who was that same year crowned with great pomp at Aix-la-Chapelle. Otto lived three years longer, and died poor and unhonored. On his death-bed he sent his crown to Frederick II. Brunswick and Luneburg were inherited by his nephew Otto, who was the ancestor of the house of Brunswick, from which sprung the present ruling family of England. The year of Frederick's coronation was the date of Rudolf of Hapsburg's birth.

Pope Innocent III. died in 1216. The doctrine of transubstantiation was introduced by him, and he also forbade the reading of the Bible without special permission from a bishop. He was the Pope who brought up the troublesome question concerning the withholding of the communion cup from laymen.

As the Church desired to keep separate the German and Italian governments, Innocent III. had made a treaty with Frederick II. before he was crowned, in which the latter had taken his oath that he would content himself with the German dominion, in order that the two sovereignties should never be united under one head. Frederick also agreed to make a Crusade ; but in accordance with the fickleness of the times, he forgot all his promises immediately after the death of Innocent III. ; he had his son Henry crowned as German king, and thereupon he him-

self received the imperial diadem. Some have accused Frederick of turning back from the promised Crusade under the false pretext of being ill; but at that time he had no occasion to seek for Saracen conquests abroad, for the Saracens in Sicily were now in open revolt.

In 1220 he and his wife, Constance of Aragon, were crowned at Rome by the new Pope Honorius, amidst the acclamations of the Roman people; but the union between a Hohenstaufen and a Pope could not endure, neither could any alliance between the Church and government be more than a rope of sand; for Frederick was destined to become the bitterest enemy of the Holy See.

Frederick spent the intervening years, before he finally made his Crusade, in work for his Norman kingdom, and in trying to subject the cities of the Lombard Confederacy, which were still under the influence of Milan, and which up to the present time has been always incorrigible.

In 1228, notwithstanding having been excommunicated by the Pope on account of having given up the Crusade, Frederick II. started out for the East; since for forty years the cry for the recovery of Jerusalem had been agitated. But this crusade was by no means acceptable to Gregory IX., for he regarded it as sacrilegious for an Emperor under the ban of the church to enlist in the service of God; therefore, if he stayed or if he went, and returned, the ban was alike hurled against him. His wife Constance in the meantime had died; and the second marriage he had made with Iolanthe, the daughter of John de Brienne, the exiled king of Jerusalem, had placed Frederick in a new relation to the Holy Land; so he felt that he had the right, which he afterwards assumed, of being crowned King of Jerusalem. He gained the office for which Christendom had striven in vain for forty years, conducting this Crusade with the most brilliant success of any

which had been undertaken since the one which Godfrey had made so many years before. His attempt was not that of a private pilgrim, nor like that of any ordinary Emperor of Christendom, but the action of a king going to take possession of his own throne. He is said to have had less trouble in gaining Jerusalem for himself than some of his predecessors had in acquiring the crown of Rome. He secured for the Christians a truce of ten years, and freed Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Mount Carmel from the hands of the Infidels. Since the Pope had laid the city under the ban which was to last while Frederick was there, no church service and no Holy Communion were held during his visit to the Holy Sepulchre; therefore Frederick was obliged to take the crown of Jerusalem off the altar, and put it upon his own head, a strange proceeding for an excommunicated king.

Soon after this his own faith is said to have given away. Suspicions even of his being a Mohammedan were shared by both sects. Toleration of Mohammedan worship was no doubt one of the conditions by which he obtained possession of the crown. It is certain that Frederick entertained no hatred to any man because of another belief. He liked the Saracens, for many of his best soldiers and a large number of his loyal friends had been of that gentle race; and judging from the fruits of the two religions, that of the Saracens appeared in a more favorable light, especially as the king was at that moment under the persecution of the Christian Church; all the Mohammedan cities also seemed to Frederick, in the arts and sciences, to be greatly superior to any in the Roman Empire. Although he had retaken Jerusalem with so much renown, he was the last to wear its crown.

After his return, the diplomatic monarch reinstated Gregory IX., who had been driven from Rome by the

friends of the Emperor ; whereupon, having the power of spiritual life and death, Gregory IX., according to a previous agreement between them, immediately removed the ban. Although the truce was not permanent, it gave Frederick a few years of quiet in which to attend to work necessary for the good of his southern kingdom. During this time he abolished the feudal system in Southern Italy, and laid the foundation of a representative form of government. He established his court at Naples, and founded a University to which he invited scholars from all parts of his kingdom, one of the greatest of whom was Thomas Aquinas, who turned Aristotle's arguments into teachings of Christian truth. Some one has said that he founded the Italian language and literature ; while also Arabic, Provençal, and German were cultivated, and their songs sung. The fine arts were encouraged, and the barbaric pastimes of former rulers were superseded by a more advanced civilization : but the only service Frederick ever rendered Germany was the fostering care he gave to German literature ; for while he was developing his Italian possessions in the South, his German Empire was taking care of itself. This the German nobles liked ; for the boy Henry ruled for the most part through the bishops, dukes, and princes, whose will became the law of the land.

But as long as the controversy between Church and State continued, there were always conflicts between Emperor and Pope. Innocent III. had passed an edict that all heresy should be punished as a crime. In 1230 Gregory IX. wrote to Henry commanding him to put this edict into execution, whereupon Henry appointed Conrad of Marburg, a monk, Inquisitor of Germany ; and for three years the latter tortured and burned at will.

Conrad of Marburg was a brother-in-law of Elizabeth, Countess of Thuringia, handed down as "Saint Elizabeth



of Hungary." Under the pretext of making a saint of her, Conrad for years inflicted upon her physical torture and sore trials of the soul. His horrible cruelty as an inquisitor at last provoked revenge. He was assassinated on the highway near Marburg; and his death put an end, for the time being, to the Inquisition in Germany.

This was a period of great beauty in everything in Germany, — in poetry, in dress, in buildings, and in art. The Marburg Cathedral was built by this very same Conrad of Thuringia, who, having repented of his cruelty to Elizabeth the Saint, erected in her memory this most exquisite of German Cathedrals.

Elizabeth had been married, when a child, to Ludwig, the brother of the cruel Conrad, under the sanction of her father, the King of Hungary. As a bride she had come to live at the Wartburg Castle; and on account of her saintly character, Ludwig's mother and sisters hated as much as Ludwig loved her. They called her "gypsy" because she was dark, and "nun" because of her piety. They tried to influence her husband, and to make him dislike her on account of her pious and holy ways; and once, when he was angry with her on account of her charities, the good saints, so the story runs, turned the bread in her basket into roses to shield her from his wrath.

In the same Crusade which Frederick II. first undertook, Ludwig, the husband of Elizabeth, went to the Holy Land with Walter Von der Vogelweide and other noble knights. They met with great reverses, and in the heat at Otranto and Brindisi sickness visited the Crusaders. Ludwig, seeing white doves flying around his mast, felt it a sign of death; and before the fleet turned back, as it was finally obliged to do on account of the pestilence, he died. When the news of Ludwig's death had come to

Germany, Conrad, his brother, conniving with his sisters and mother, drove out Elizabeth with her five babes, and seized the government; but the barons and knights restored her little son. Emperor Frederick II. wished to marry her; but, refusing to listen to his messages, she went into a convent, where, on account of the hard discipline enforced, she died when only twenty-four years old.

At a general Diet at Ravenna in 1232, Frederick II. met his son Henry, whom he had not seen since he was a little boy. Henry had been ruling over Germany during the whole time that Frederick had been engaged in the internal dissensions in Italy. On account of jealousy, owing to the disparity in their ages, Frederick being only thirty-seven while Henry was twenty-one years old, the affection between them was lukewarm. Frederick refused to sanction Henry's measures, and a quarrel ensued. Since there was little prospect of independence for Henry, his father still being so young, he refused to comply with the latter's wishes, and rebelling, entered into an alliance with the cities of Lombardy, and sought the aid of the Pope for the purpose of maintaining arbitrary control.

In 1235 Frederick returned to Germany after an absence of fifteen years. In consequence of the weight of his extraordinary character, at his approach all revolts fell to pieces. His son Henry was obliged to surrender; and when it was found that he had been plotting to poison his father, he was banished to Southern Italy, where, after seven years spent in one prison after another, he died.

Iolanthe was dead, and that same summer Frederick contracted a third marriage with Isabel, sister of Henry II. of England. He sent over a splendid embassy to betroth her, and they were married in Worms. The festivals held on this occasion are said to have been more

magnificent than Barbarossa's memorable Diet at Mayence. They were characterized by Oriental splendor, and all sorts of amusements were devised for the noble guests. There were costly trinkets and silver plate from the East, while the bride's gorgeous dresses were the envy of all. The elephants and camels amazed the Germans; and they were electrified by the music-boxes, shaped like skiffs, which commenced to play as soon as the boats were set in motion. All the attendants of the Empress were Saracens and all her appointments Oriental.

Soon after this the decrees of a Diet held at Mayence were read for the first time in the German language. At this Diet, Frederick, at the head of the Waiblingers, became reconciled to Otto of Brunswick, the leader of the Welfs; thus the quarrels of a hundred years' standing came to an end in Germany, but in Italy the war of the "Guelfs and Ghibellines" continued for a long time.

The Emperor now left Germany never to return. This sojourn among the German people was the only interruption of an absence of thirty years. In 1236 Frederick's son Conrad was crowned King of Germany at a Diet at Vienna.

## CHAPTER XVII.

FREDERICK II. CONTINUED. — CONRAD IV. —  
INTERREGNUM.

1240—1273 A. D.

ON returning to Italy, Frederick II. had the same experience with the independent cities that his father had undergone before his time. He also had trouble with Gregory IX., who coveted the Island of Sardinia for the Church; but Frederick had already given it to his son Enzo, and the fiercest quarrels ensued; for it was always a practical question whether the Emperor should be subject to the Pope, or the Pope to the Emperor, "whether the Vicar of Christ or the Imperator of Rome should be the Roman Pontiff."

Frederick of Hohenstaufen was a sceptic, and free from the superstitions of mediæval times, almost a complete counterpart of his namesake Frederick of Prussia, who reigned five centuries later. Some have even said that he contemplated setting up a religion of his own, and that he attempted to make both the ecclesiastical and temporal power subject to him. The Pope published a proclamation declaring that the Emperor had said that Moses, Mohammed, and Christ were three impostors, and that he could set up a better religion than any of them. Frederick replied, "The Apostolic and Athanasian creeds are mine; Moses I consider a friend of God, and Mohammed an arch impostor." He called the Pope "the second Balaam, the great dragon, yea, even the Antichrist."

Gregory IX. summoned a council of the Church of Rome to consider the Emperor's conduct. Thereupon Frederick defied the bishops, priests, abbots, and cardinals, who had met at Nicæa in 1211, and thence had embarked with a fleet of sixty vessels for Rome. Frederick caused them to be seized, his son Enzo intercepting a large number of clerical functionaries and four thousand men, who were carried to Naples, where many died of hunger. The council then had to be abandoned, and immediately after Pope Gregory IX. died of chagrin at the age of one hundred.

After two years of dissensions among the cardinals, Innocent IV. was elected Pope. He had been an intimate of the Emperor, who exclaimed, "I fear that I have lost a friend among the cardinals, and found an enemy in the chair of St. Peter's; no Pope can be Ghibelline. His words were too soon verified. Pope Innocent IV. called another council at Lyons; and since he was now out of Frederick's reach and the bishops could come by land, having things his own way, he excommunicated the Emperor, who was the greatest monarch on the globe, bringing up his offences anew. When Frederick heard of it he said, "Has the Pope deposed me? Bring me my crowns, that I may see of what I am deposed." Seven crowns were brought him, — the royal crown of Germany, the imperial diadem of Rome, the iron circlet of Lombardy, the crowns of Sicily, Burgundy, Sardinia, and Jerusalem. He put them on his head, one after the other, and said, "I have them still, and none shall rob me of them without a hard battle."

Frederick II. was now surrounded by many enemies, and he could not tell whom he could trust; yet he never faltered, nor yielded any of his claims.

In 1246, Conrad having taken to hard drinking and be-

coming unpopular with the people, Henry Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia, brother-in-law of Saint Elizabeth, claimed the crown of Germany; and the Pope supported him with all the wealth of the Church. A battle ensuing, Henry Raspe was wounded in the first encounter, his army defeated, and he died soon after, leaving Conrad still king.

In Italy civil war raged with great bitterness, there being many barbarities on both sides. A plot was formed to assassinate Frederick; when this failed, an attempt was made to poison him. Peter de Vinea, his chancellor and trusted friend for thirty years, was implicated. This is the way the incident occurred. A physician, recommended by the chancellor, having brought the Emperor a poisoned medicine, something in the culprit's manner excited suspicion, and Frederick ordered him to swallow a part of it. In pretending to drink it, he stumbled on purpose, and fell to the ground; the rest of the potion was given to a condemned criminal, who immediately died. The physician was executed, and Peter de Vinea sent to prison, where, overcome by remorse and chagrin, he committed suicide by dashing his head against the wall of his cell.

Enzio, Frederick's beloved son, was taken by the Bolognese; and all the father's offers of ransom being rejected, he was condemned to imprisonment for life. For twenty-two years he lingered in the dungeon, where at last he died. When he was at first incarcerated, there was a plan made to release him, certain friends having contrived to take him from his dungeon in a large empty tun which had been used for wine. As they were going through the last gate of the prison-yard, by the turning of the barrel one of his golden curls was seen through the bung-hole. He was then returned to his cell, and there he spent the remainder of his life.

In 1247 William of Holland had been set up by the Pope as a rival king in Germany; but he failed to maintain himself, and, after this, fortune began to smile upon Frederick. Lombardy and Piacenza espoused his cause; and the Romans, being tired of Innocent IV., began to talk of electing another Pope.

But just as the world in general was favoring Frederick's cause, he expired in the arms of his youngest son, Manfred, in December, 1250, at the age of fifty-six. When Innocent IV. heard that his old friend was dead, he said, "Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad." Frederick II. was buried at Palermo, where his tomb and that of his father Henry VI. furnish most interesting objects to the sightseer of to-day. When the sarcophagus was opened in 1783, his body was still clothed in imperial robes, with the crown of the Roman Empire on his brow.

Frederick II. is said to have been the most accomplished ruler who ever wore a crown. One of the greatest men of his time, he was far the most brilliant of Germany's early Emperors. As a man of culture and learning, he was greatly in advance of his age; as a monarch, he was despotic and violent, and would brook no competitors in authority, but where his sway was undisputed, he was wise and tolerant and not unjust. He spent a great part of his life in trying to crush the Republican Lombard cities, and in his struggle with the Pope he was as advanced in his ideas as the most earnest forerunners of the Reformation. He has been styled by an eminent historian, "the gay, the brave, the wise, the relentless, and the godless Frederick."

Pope Innocent hated Conrad IV., and gave all his support to William of Holland, who gained a victory over Conrad at Oppenheim. The Pope also presented Sicily and Apulia to the second son of Henry III. of England,

but Manfred gained them back for his brother Conrad. The latter tried to be reconciled to the Pope, but found him implacable. He was about to march against William of Holland, when he suddenly died, in 1254, at twenty-seven years of age. It was thought that he was poisoned. Conrad was the Emperor who put a bit in the mouth of the bronze horse in Naples, which stood on a high pedestal in the market-place, thus making it a symbol of the conquered city.

The most noted act of William of Holland's life was the laying, in 1248, of the first stone of the Cologne Cathedral, which was not completed until about 1884. He was called the "Priests' King," and was so unpopular that the men of Cologne set fire to his house. When he claimed a recognition of his sovereignty, his own vassals, the farmers of Friesland, rose against him. It was winter; and when trying to cross on the ice to put down the insurrection, his heavy war-horse broke through, and the peasants surrounded and precipitated him into the water, where he was left to drown. Innocent IV. had expended four hundred thousand marks in supporting William of Holland and Henry Raspe against the Hohenstaufen.

Conrad IV. had a little son named Conrad; but to distinguish him from his father, the Italians called him Conradino (little Conrad), and in German history he is known as Conradin. He was educated by his mother, Queen Elizabeth, and by his uncle, Ludwig II., Duke of Bavaria.

When Conradin was ten years old, the Archbishop of Mainz called a Diet for the purpose of crowning the young prince King of Germany; but the ceremony was prevented by the Pope. Conradin was such a fine scholar, and showed so much fondness for literature and art, that the



followers of the Hohenstaufen thought he was going to be like his grandfather, Frederick II. Manfred, his uncle, still governed Naples and Sicily, and after defeating the Papal power, was crowned king. Manfred ruled gloriously, and was in reality the last King of Italy. His coronation so overcame Innocent IV. that he died soon after. Urban IV., his successor, offered the crown of Southern Italy to Charles of Anjou, "that awkward, ugly, savage, cruel, ignorant, and bigoted" French prince, a complete contrast to Manfred, who was refined and manly, a scholar and poet, a practical man of business, and a magnanimous ruler. In a bloody battle between them in 1266 at Benevento, Manfred was slain; and his body was taken from the chapel where it had been buried, and thrown into a trench. Charles of Anjou imprisoned the wife and children of Manfred for life.

Little Conradin had now grown into a youth of sixteen; and the Italians, who hated the tyranny of Charles of Anjou, invited the boy to come to Sicily and take the crown. Thereupon Conradin determined to avenge his uncle Manfred's death, and pledged his united estates in Swabia for means to cross the Alps and recover his inheritance. His mother sought to dissuade him; but his uncle Ludwig of Bavaria offered to support him, and Frederick of Austria, a youth of nineteen years, insisted on sharing his fortunes. In 1267 Conradin crossed the Alps with ten thousand Swabian and Bavarian troops. He had to wait three months for further supplies, and during this time two-thirds of his men went back; but a revolution against the Church party set in while he was at Pisa, and the Romans declared in his favor. A revolt against the cruel Charles of Anjou broke out in Naples and Sicily; and when Conradin entered Rome in July, 1268, his success seemed certain. He was victorious at first, it is

said, in a battle fought Aug. 22; but his camp was again attacked, and his army completely routed on account of his troops stopping to plunder the enemy.

Conradin and his friend Frederick of Austria fled to Rome and thence to a little port of Asturia to embark for Sicily; but they were arrested by John of Frangipanni, the governor, who, although he had been especially favored by Frederick II., now used his influence against the grandson of the latter, and in favor of Charles of Anjou. Conradin was carried to Naples, where the members of a court of distinguished jurists were called to try him for high treason. All acquitted him with one exception; nevertheless, Charles of Anjou ordered him to be executed. The news was brought to the two friends while they were playing a game of chess, and they were told that they must die. A scaffold was erected before a church, on the shore of the lovely Bay of Naples; and Charles of Anjou delighted his soul by sitting at the window to see the execution of these ingenuous youths. After the reading of the sentence, Conradin spoke a few words in his own justification, and threw down his glove among the people as a declaration of his innocence. He thought of his mother in her beautiful castle among the mountains of Bavaria; and when he had mounted the scaffold, he exclaimed, "O my mother! How grieved thou wilt be to learn thy son's sad fate!" Thus the last heir to the Hohenstaufen throne passed away, while the rest of the family lingered the remainder of their lives in the Sicilian dungeons. Frederick of Austria, the friend of Conradin, with thirteen others, was afterward led to the scaffold.

Since the time when a ruffian had rushed out on the ramparts of Rome, and proclaimed that the throne of the Cæsars would be sold to the highest bidder, there had been nothing so ridiculous as the state of affairs in Ger-

many when the Hohenstaufen line became extinct, and William of Holland had just been murdered by the Dutch peasants. The crown of the great Holy Roman Empire of the Germans had fallen into such discredit that it was put up at auction. Public opinion had become so debased by the quarrels between Church and State that men could not see why the government of the nation should not be disposed of like any commodity.

Two bidders appeared upon the scene, — Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England, and King Alphonso of Castile, surnamed the Wise. Both were successful. Three electors, the Archbishops of Cologne and Mayence, and the Duke of Bavaria, sold their votes for forty thousand marks to Richard of Cornwall, while Alphonso of Castile bought the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Dukedoms of Saxony, and the Mark of Brandenburg for sixty thousand marks. In the case of Alphonso the sale was merely nominal, as he never even visited the realm. Richard of Cornwall was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and came over four times for short visits, lavishly distributing his large revenues for the enthusiastic receptions which his followers continued to give him while his money held out. But he knew that it was useless trying to govern the kingdom, because he understood that the nobles had only given him the title in order that their self-government might be more complete.

This period was named by the people afterwards “the Evil Time when there was no Emperor;” and in spite of the two kings who had paid for their titles, it was called the “Interregnum”; and it was indeed “a time between governments,” a period of change and confusion, when each prince desired to be an independent ruler, and the knights, formerly a type of chivalry, became mere highwaymen, so that merchants could not travel unarmed.

Their goods, packed in wagons and on horses' backs, were carried in large caravans, accompanied by a squad of hired servants acting as a military guard.

From the time of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, the character of the old Roman German Empire was radically changed. The Italian republican cities were now independent; and the various dukedoms, bishoprics, and principalities were becoming difficult to unite.

The Empire which Charlemagne had planned out, which Otto the Great had nearly established, and which Barbarossa might have founded but for his dream of a world-wide sovereignty, had become impossible. It was a thing of the past. From this time and ever after, until it began to consolidate preparatory to its present form of government, it was simply a confederation of states, which for convenience still kept up the name and form of an Empire.

Henry II., on account of needing all available help against the Pope, had confirmed the dukes and bishops in Germany in their rights by what was called a Pragmatic Sanction. In this way the power of the Emperor of Germany had been lessened, and the princes had grown so independent that they dispensed with the help of the common nobles in the choice of their ruler. At the time of the beginning of the Interregnum there were seven Electors, called *Kurfürsten* (great prince), who elected the Emperor. Three of these were the Archbishops of Mayence, of Cologne, and of Trier; the other four were the Dukes of Bavaria and of Saxony, the Pfalzgraf of the Rhine, and the King of Bohemia. In the Diet these sat apart as a separate house.

It has been frequently mentioned that the cities founded by Henry the Fowler had grown very strong, and now governed themselves independently of the nobles, being

subject to the Emperor alone. They held their own councils, and fortified themselves by training their own men in arms. Years before, when it began to be apparent that a state of anarchy was impending, these towns saw that some remedy must be applied, and formed leagues which came to be like a government within a government. One of these was the Rhenish Confederation, founded by Mayence and Worms. It included sixty of the cities, amongst them Cologne, Strasburg, Basle, Nuremberg, Erfurt, Bremen, and many others. The largest of these confederations was formed before the Interregnum, and was called "The Hanseatic League," from Hanse, meaning union. This was the largest of all the leagues, and included the Baltic cities, Lubec, and some towns in Flanders. It had control of the manufactures of Germany, as well as her agriculture, fisheries, and mines.

The cities at this period were walled; and to economize space, the streets were left narrow and dark, while the great market-places, with buildings of fine architectural design, covered each side of these fine squares. Owing partly to the spirit engendered by the Crusades, and notwithstanding the dogmatism of the clergy and the troublous times, education was passing from the monasteries to the people, and universities were fast springing up. The Hohenstaufen had done a great work in developing art, learning, and literature, taking up the undertaking commenced by Charlemagne, which for four centuries had been neglected. Frederick II. and his sons had brought out the higher forms of Roman culture and civilization, which then attained a level, never again even approximately reached during the next three hundred years.

In the thirteenth century a new literature was created by such poets as Walter of the Vogelweide; Godfrey of Strasburg, who wrote of King Arthur's Round Table; and

Wolfram of Eschenbach, who celebrated the search for the Holy Grail. Finally these writings were followed by the *Nibelungen Lied*. The latter was written in the Swabian dialect, commonly called Mediæval High German.

At last, however, the spirit of lost liberties began to revive among the common people; and after an interregnum of twenty-three years, even the princes desired a ruler who could suppress and punish the outrages engendered by the all-pervading anarchy. Therefore, after Richard of Cornwall died, in 1272, there was a general demand for a strong government.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

RUDOLF OF HAPSBURG.—ADOLF OF NASSAU.

1278—1298 A.D.

ACTING on the suggestion of Pope Gregory X., the Electors of Germany, in 1273, chose Count Rudolf of Hapsburg as their Emperor. He was a native of that part of Germany, now Switzerland, where the ruins of the old family castle is one of the most celebrated ancient landmarks to be seen at the present time. His election was confirmed in the great Cathedral at Frankfort, where the nobles assembled to pay him their respects.

When the assembly met, however, it was found that the royal insignia, the sceptre and sword of Charlemagne, had not been brought thither; but Rudolf, always fertile in resources, seized a cross in the Cathedral, saying, "This sign, by which the whole world has been redeemed, I may well use instead of a sceptre."

His coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle was hailed with delight by all the nobles except Ottocar of Bohemia, a powerful ruler of Slavonic descent, who himself aspired to wear the crown, and refused to recognize the "Poor Count" who had fought under him in his wars with the Magyars.

Rudolf's foreign policy was at first in complete contrast to that of the Emperors of Germany who had preceded him. His dominion reached from the Baltic to the Adriatic, and included all the duchies which now comprise Austria and a portion of Hungary; but fulfill-

ing the promises to the Pope, which had been broken by the Hohenstaufen, he entirely rejected any part in the government of Italy. He had been a zealous partisan of Frederick II., and had shared his excommunication. Although his own family was insignificant, his brother-in-law was Count Frederick of Hohenzollern, the Burgrave of Nuremberg, and founder of the House of Hohenzollern, which a century after united with that of Brandenburg. The Burgrave was a strong advocate of Rudolf's election, and assisted him by his influence throughout his reign.

Rudolf adopted his Italian policy because he required all the resources he had at command, both to quell the disorders in his own realm, and to put down the high-handed robbery among the barons which the state of anarchy in the Interregnum had fostered. His ambition was to establish the greatness of the House of Hapsburg, and to avoid weakening the government by wars in Italy, the deplorable effects of which had been so apparent in earlier times. He determined to be at peace with the clergy, who, having become tired of the hydra-headed oligarchy with which they had contended for so many years, were glad of any compromise. In reference to the troubles with the Church, he said, "I see the footsteps of many who went into the lion's den, but of none who came out of it."

By his concessions to the Pope, Rudolf was enabled to meet all the dangers which threatened him in the early part of his reign; and in return for these benefits, Pope Gregory X. promised to crown him Roman Emperor, appointing a day for his coronation; but Rudolf was always busy promoting the prosperity of his kingdom, and, like Henry the Fowler, he never found time to go to Rome.



When Rudolf held his first Diet at Augsburg, ambassadors from the King of Bohemia brought a belligerent protest against the election of what Ottocar termed a "petty nobleman" to rule over such an Empire of world-wide fame. The messenger would have been cut down by one blow from the scimitar of some member of the Diet, had not Rudolf himself interposed. The ban of the Church was no longer hurled against the reigning monarch of Germany, but against the obstreperous King of Bohemia; and the poor, proud Ottocar, deserted by his allies, was obliged to make a most humiliating peace, by the means of which Bohemia lost, and the German Emperor gained, the most of the Austrian dominions.

When Ottocar came before Rudolf to make peace, he was arrayed in complete armor, with jewels and gold ornaments; while Rudolf, according to his custom, was clad in his simple gray suit, which Ottocar had despised and always held in derision. Rudolf said, "The King of Bohemia has often mocked at my gray coat, and now my gray coat shall mock at him." Although Rudolf received the King of Bohemia with courtesy, he made him pass between rows of mailed warriors, in order to inspire him with respect for Germany's military power. At the time, Ottocar received this rebuke for his vain-gloriousness with as much complacency as he could command; but when he went home he found his wife overpowered with indignation on hearing of the truce he had made and the treatment he had received. She told Ottocar if she had been a man she would have swept down upon Rudolf like an eagle, and made him a prisoner. Smarting under the derision which he suffered in his family, it was no wonder that peace was only maintained for a short time.

Soon after this, there was a bloody battle fought, although Rudolf was poorly prepared for war, there being

only five shillings of good money in the treasury, and no standing army. Each side contended with great desperation, the horses being killed under both rulers; but the tide finally turned in favor of Rudolf's forces, and Ottocar was slain.

Rudolf had once said that with four thousand German knights and forty thousand infantry he could march through the world; and at this time he might have entered Italy, burning down the Lombard cities, and subjecting everything on the other side of the Alps to his will; but he held to his promise to Gregory X., although there was now a new Pope, and kept clear of the phantom of universal sovereignty. Notwithstanding he was always called Emperor, he never received the Roman crown.

After spending five years in Austria and in the provinces he had rescued from Ottocar, he returned to Switzerland to settle all differences there, as well as in Swabia and Burgundy, and to enforce the laws. He attacked the robber knights in the strongholds of Thuringia, and razed their castles to the ground. We have seen how these nobles lived, perched on rocks, subsisting by plunder and robbery. If there were disagreements among the chiefs, they sent letters to one another recapitulating the wrongs they had received, each challenging the other and all his kindred; after this, each respectively was free to do the other all the wrong which he desired. It is said that this was the only incentive that the nobles had, at this time, for learning to write,—that they might sign these letters, which were called "feud-briefs." Rudolf slew many of these very knights, twenty-nine being executed in one year. He found that during the Interregnum the nobles had lost their nobility, and had been falling into vices which were making Germany lag behind all the other nations in everything which elevated the race.

Drunkenness was very prevalent, and the culture and learning which were fostered by the Saxons and Hohenstaufen were passing away.

When any one of the nobles petitioned for an amelioration of his punishment, and when about to be put to death asked that he might die in a less ignominious manner, Rudolf replied, "He is no nobleman; the true nobleman honors virtue, loves justice, injures no one, robs no one, practises honor, and defends the helpless."

Although Rudolf's plan all his life had been to render the House of Hapsburg supreme in Germany, he died in 1291 without making the crown hereditary in his family as he had desired. When he ascended the throne, in 1273, he was fifty-five years old, and at his death was seventy-three. He was tall, slender, and pale, very unpretending and temperate. There is a legend that he used to mend his own clothes. At one time when one of his chief officers was trying to keep back some peasants from coming into his presence, he said, "I was not made king to be shut out from mankind." He was a cheerful, humorous man, turning many wearisome circumstances into a jest. He was often seen camping out with his soldiers, sharing their simple fare, frequently refusing to partake of food and water while they were unsupplied. When his dependents complained of the poor fare, he would take a turnip growing in the field, pare it like an apple, and eat it raw, to show them how simple were the real wants of life. He dismissed some knights from his service because he heard them grumbling at the poor rye bread and sour wine which at that very time he was sharing with them.

His going about dressed like any of his subjects gave rise to many amusing incidents. Clad in his gray homespun cloak, he once stopped to warm himself before a

baker's fire. He was mistaken by the baker-woman for an idler who might pilfer her bread, and he heartily enjoyed the mistake of the scolding housewife. She began to abuse the Emperor, saying that all the bakers in town were ruined by him, and to get rid of him she threw a pail of water into the fire to smoke him out. When he sat down to his own dinner, he sent the baker's wife a boar's head and a bottle of wine as a present from the old soldier who had warmed himself at her fire. This made the woman so ashamed that she came before him crying for forgiveness, and it was granted on condition that she tell the whole company all she had said and how she had treated him.

Although the knightly splendor of the Hohenstaufen was wanting in Rudolf's reign, he had a cordiality which made him more popular and efficient as a ruler than any of them. There was an old saying, "He was the best warrior of his day; he was the truest man that ever held the office of judge." He is one of the Emperors who still live in the story of Germany as the German ideal. In his courage and simplicity of living, and in his sternness and decision, as well as in his firmness and integrity, he calls to mind to Americans our President Andrew Jackson.

After the long disturbances resulting from the Interregnum, he founded for the third time the Empire which was well nigh rent asunder. He also laid the foundation of the House of Hapsburg. Out of his large family of three sons and seven daughters, his only remaining son was Albert, chosen King of the Romans in his lifetime; but he was not confirmed by the promised Diet, for Rudolf died on July 15, before that Assembly met.

Under the pretence that it would be unsafe to preserve the royal power in one family, Gerard of Eppenstein, the

Archbishop of Mayence, gained over the Electors, and gave the vote to his kinsman, Adolf of Nassau, who was a poorer count than Rudolf had been, and who lacked every one of his virtues.

To secure his own election, Adolf of Nassau had disposed of many imperial rights; and in order to restore these he was obliged to confiscate the land of various princes, devastating their territory. Thus exciting the hostility of the nobles, he brought about his own speedy fall; and they resolved to depose him in favor of Albert, Rudolf of Hapsburg's son; the latter accordingly was elected at Mayence in 1298.

## CHAPTER XIX.

ALBERT OF HAPSBURG. — REVOLT OF SWISS CANTONS.

1298 - 1308 A.D.

ALBERT led an army against Adolf of Nassau within ten days of his election, meeting him at Gölleheim near Dennersburg. Adolf fought heroically; and when he knew that Albert was in person among the troops, he called him out for single combat, saying, "Here you must yield the Empire to me," at the same time drawing his sword. But Albert replied, "That rests with God;" and he struck Adolph dead.

After this conquest, for fear that the precedent of choosing a rival monarch before the death of a king might lead to future trouble, it was decided that Albert should be again elected before being crowned.

Albert of Hapsburg was a hard, cold man, his single aim in life being the aggrandizement of imperial power in his own house. "Hard as a diamond was his heart," was sung by the bards of Austria as descriptive of his character.

The familiar historical episode of Gessler and William Tell, and the League of Rütli, took place in Albert's reign. Gessler was a governor Albert had placed over the Swiss cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden. He was a tyrant, and under Albert's direction attempted to make the mountaineers of Switzerland subject to the dukedom of Austria. The final outbreak was occasioned by Gessler's setting up his hat in the market-place at Altdorf,

insisting that the peasants should bow down and make obeisance to it.

Before this time the spirit of Swiss liberty had been aroused; and on a day in November three men, Walter Fürst of Uri, Werner Stauffacher of Schwyz, and Arnold von Melchthal of Unterwalden, met at night at Rütli, and laid the foundation of the Swiss Republic. They swore that they would rouse Switzerland to arms against Gessler, each gaining as many confederations as he could. In the same spot where they took the sacred oath which made Switzerland free, three little streams, so the legend runs, gushed out of the mountain-side, and three such rivulets may be seen near Rütli to-day. It is said the streamlets broke forth, rushing down the mountain-side, at daybreak the morning following the night when these three men joined hands in sacred conclave declaring that Switzerland should henceforth be free. A few yards from this spot, on the opposite side, stands "Tell's Chapel." The story is this:—

William Tell was the best marksman of Uri. One day, as he was passing through the streets of Altdorf leading his little boy by the hand, he saw the hat which Gessler had placed there, but went unheeding by. There was a sentinel standing near, who, after vainly attempting to force him to do homage to the hat, at the command of Gessler seized Tell, and told him that having tied his son to a neighboring tree, he must hit an apple placed as a target upon the boy's head. "Point the arrow at it well," he said; "for if thou shouldst not hit it, thy boy's life would be the forfeit." The little fellow, hearing all the talk, exclaimed, "I am not afraid of your arrow, father; I shall not stir nor move even a finger of my hand. You never miss your mark, father, only do not let them tie me to the tree. I will not wince a bit, father,

not I; so take courage and shoot." The strong man trembled, but finding Gessler unmoved in his purpose, prayed to God to show him mercy, since at the hand of man no mercy was vouchsafed. Then, taking two arrows, he put one in his crossbow and hid the other in his bosom.

The sequel of the story is familiar to all. When Tell had accomplished the almost superhuman feat, Gessler, seeing the other arrow fall, asked him for what he had intended it. This drew from Tell the rash reply, "To kill thee, tyrant, had I slain my boy." On account of this answer Tell was bound and placed flat in a boat until a storm came up; then Gessler, being alarmed, released him, and commanded him to guide the boat safely to land. It was at the point where this happened that "Tell's Chapel" is now seen; and just opposite, on the other side of the lake, there is a huge boulder called the "Schiller Rock," in memory of the great German poet who memorialized Tell's deeds. Tell, having been unbound, steered the boat to land and jumped ashore, at the same time pushing the frail bark, which still contained Gessler, out into the eddying waters, leaving it to the mercy of the waves. He himself, climbing up one of the numerous mountains surrounding the lake, descended on the other side. In the meantime the boat was driven ashore by the wind, and stranded on the spot where another chapel, on the Arth Goldau side, now stands. Here Tell met Gessler and, as he landed, slew him unperceived, with the same arrow that he had at first hidden in his bosom.

But the whole story, which has so long been an historical romance to the Swiss, is now spoiled by literary vandals, who say that the account is simply a legend like that of Siegfried and the dragon's blood, and that Tell



himself is only a myth. Critics assert that the story existed two hundred years before Tell's time, and is handed down in different forms, attributed to different people. Norway, Denmark, Holstein, and Iceland had each such a story, the apple sometimes being a nut and sometimes a coin. But, on the other hand, reliable writers relate that in 1388, eighty years after the death of Albert of Hapsburg, one hundred and fourteen men made a formal declaration before the common council of Uri that they had been personally acquainted with Tell.

After slaying Gessler, Tell stirred up his comrades, who surprised several castles, tearing down Gessler's palace, Zwing Uri; and on Jan. 6, 1308, raised the banner of the Swiss Confederation, which has never since been furled.

In May, 1308, Albert of Hapsburg was in Baden raising troops for a new campaign against the Swiss; as he was crossing the river his nephew John and four men, who had purposely left the rest of the retinue on the other side, fell upon Albert and murdered him, the Emperor dying in the arms of a peasant woman who happened to be at hand when they landed, and who lifted his head upon her lap. The Empress had all the relations of the families, who had been engaged in the plot, executed, to the number of one thousand persons, because all the assassins themselves, excepting one, had escaped; this one afterwards met death by being broken on a wheel. John himself was a wanderer for many years, but at last received absolution, and died in a convent.

Albert is said to have had some redeeming qualities. He tried to ameliorate the condition of the serfs, and often, when it did not interfere with his personal interests, manifested a sense of justice. He was a great

help to the Rhine cities, forcing the bishops to lower their heavy tolls; but the bishops were so disaffected by this that Archbishop Gerard told Albert to look out, as he had other kings in his pocket, and needed only to blow his horn to call up as many Emperors as he pleased.

## CHAPTER XX.

## HOUSE OF LUXEMBURG.

HENRY VII.  
GUNTHER.LOUIS V. OF BAVARIA (Wittelsbach).  
CHARLES IV.

1308—1378 A.D.

PHILIP the Fair of France wanted the throne of Germany for his brother Charles of Valois, but the German Electors were only agreed as to who should not be elected. They would have no prince of a powerful family, while among the inferior nobles there were few who were acceptable to the nation. At last, however, Nov. 27, 1308, under a walnut-tree on the Königsstuhl at Rense, Count Henry of Luxemburg was chosen Emperor.

On this spot the blast of a hunting-horn was audible in the dominion of four out of the seven electors. Count Henry was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 6th of January, 1309, as Henry VII. Although his election was a great surprise to himself, he ruled with wisdom, and meted out justice to all.

As a preliminary act, Henry VII. removed the body of Adolph of Nassau, which Albert, out of malice, had placed in a convent, to the Cathedral of Speyer, where it had now become a conventional right to bury all kings. It was to this spot that Rudolf of Hapsburg had turned when the physicians told him he was about to die. He said, "Take me to Speyer, where my great ancestors lie buried." As a consequence, Albert of Hapsburg lay

beside his fierce enemy, Adolph of Nassau, in the very burial-place the former previously denied him.

Henry of Luxemburg sought to be Emperor in the ancient sense of the word, and to stand above all party considerations. The four sons of Albert came to Henry, asking for the hereditary domain of their father. He in turn advised them not to meddle with Austria, as it had been already fatal to five kings; but when they admonished him not to be the sixth, he gave it up to them, either through a superstitious fear or out of regard to justice.

Henry of Carinthia had become King of the Bohemians after the death of Albert's son Rudolf; he had proved to be a tyrant, and the people of Bohemia hated him, he having imprisoned Elizabeth, the youngest sister of Wenzel III. in a castle; but the princes had rescued her, and now offered her in marriage to John, son of Henry VII., with the idea of making John himself King of Bohemia. Prince John was a graceful and gentle prince, only fourteen years old, while his bride was twenty-two, rough and uncultivated; and as he was never happy with her after his father had driven out Henry of Carinthia from her domain, he left her much of the time to rule in her own right, while he joined any warlike expedition that came in his way.

Although justice was the distinguishing feature of Henry VII.'s reign, he pursued a treacherous course towards the archbishops with regard to the tolls on the Rhine. He also pacified the princes by bestowing on them many worn-out privileges of the crown; and in 1312, assisted by the Colonna family, he went to Rome and was crowned. While the service of coronation was going on in St. John in Lateran, Henry's enemies, occupying the Vatican, shot into the church arrows, which fell on the altar.

Having driven out Robert of Naples, the Pope excommunicated Henry VII. Before the ban reached him, however, Henry died, in 1313, in a monastery at Siena, having been poisoned by a Dominican monk in the sacramental cup, from which he was partaking as a part of the consecrating service in honor of his coronation. When Henry discovered what had been done, he said, "In the cup of life thou hast offered me death; fly before my people can take thee." He had fought bravely and ruled wisely for five years.

His death was lamented both in Germany and Italy, since much had been expected from his noble qualities and breadth of character. He lived in Dante's time, and the Divine poet is said to have hailed him as the saviour of Italy. History makes record of few purer or nobler rulers than he, it being affirmed that even his enemies found no blot on his character.

The Austrian House of Hapsburg still regarded itself as having the first claim to the German throne, while the House of Luxemburg, which Henry VII. had founded, had equal pretensions; but since King John of Bohemia, Henry's son, was now only seventeen years old, the Luxemburg party could hardly hope to set him upon the throne. Therefore they turned their attention to the Ducal House of Bavaria, which had originated with Otto of Wittelsbach. The office of Count Palatine connected with this house had been founded before by Frederick II. for the dukes of Franconia; and it had been given to his own son Rudolf by Louis the Severe, Frederick II.'s grandson, who had married the daughter of Rudolf of Hapsburg, while Bavaria was left to Louis, another son. The two brothers were now enemies.

When the Electors came together at Frankfort in 1314, four of them chose this same Louis of Bavaria, who has-

tened to Aix-la-Chapelle and was crowned, the minority of the electoral board, however, declaring in favor of Frederick the Fair of Austria, son of Albert of Hapsburg, as Emperor. The two men were both grandsons of Rudolf of Hapsburg, and up to this time they had been bosom friends; but as a result of the election of the two young men there was a civil war, which lasted eight years without a decisive battle. The combination favoring Frederick consisted of Austria, Hungary, the Palatinate of the Rhine, the Archbishopric of Cologne, and Louis' brother Rudolf. On the side of Louis were Bavaria, Bohemia, Thuringia, the free cities, and the people.

Louis confirmed the freedom of the Swiss cantons, which Henry VII. had maintained, as one of his first acts; but Leopold, the brother of Frederick of Austria, on trying to subjugate them, suffered an overwhelming defeat at Morgarten, in 1315. The Austrian force was nine thousand, while the brave Swiss only numbered thirteen hundred. The Swiss lost only fifteen men; but there were fifteen hundred of the Austrians slain, besides six hundred and forty knights. Although the Swiss were often afterwards disturbed by the Austrians, from that day their freedom was secured.

Pope John XXII., who ruled at Avignon, declared that he alone could decide between the rival kings, and he did all in his power to assist Frederick; but the question was finally settled by a decisive battle at Müldorf, where Frederick, a fine-looking man, presented himself in a gilt armor; on the other hand, to avoid attention, Louis of Bavaria was wise enough to appear in a common suit of mail, and to fight in the ranks. Seifur of Schwepperman and Frederick IV. of Hohenzollern turned the tide of battle in favor of Louis, who thought at one time that he was beaten by Frederick the Fair, who fought heroically:

the latter, however, mistaking the troops of Louis under Schwepperman for those coming to his own aid, on account of their plain appearance, was surrounded and taken prisoner with four hundred knights. His brother Leopold had failed to come up with the re-enforcements, and this was the occasion of his defeat. This battle was the Waterloo of those days. At the close of the contest, Louis saluted Frederick with these words: "We are glad to see you, cousin;" nevertheless, he shut him up in the strong castle of Trausnitz for four years.

Louis was so pleased with old General Schwepperman that he kept him through everything at his right hand. At one of their meals there was nothing to eat but a dish of eggs. In counting them Louis said, "One apiece, and one over; no, none over, for Schwepperman has done the most work, and deserves double share." "If I sleep in my camp to-night it is owing to Schwepperman." The words last quoted were graven on Schwepperman's tomb, and an egg blazoned on the family shield.

During the captivity of Frederick of Austria his beautiful blond hair turned gray, and his wife, the daughter of the King of Aragon, wept herself blind. In the meantime Leopold was growing feeble in health, pining because in the battle of Müldorf he had not come up in time; but he kept on fighting for his brother, and by promising the crown of Germany obtained the aid of the King of France.

Louis was now in great straits, for he had provoked the anger of Pope John XXII. by sending aid to the Ghibellines in Italy. The Pope declared in favor of the King of France, and laid the ban not only upon Louis himself, but had it include all Germany.

This ban, or "Interdict" as it was called, had formerly been a measure which created great dismay among the

people, for it prohibited all priestly offices in the land. The churches then were closed, the bells were silent, no honors were paid to the dead, and it even ordered that marriages should take place nowhere but in the graveyards. But the day of the Reformation was drawing nearer, and the whole tone of Germany had changed, so that the priests, who heeded the ban at first, were compelled to go on with their religious duties or leave the country. Therefore the Franciscan monks fled to Louis for support against the Pope, while he himself was so much in trouble with the latter that he resorted to Frederick of Austria, against whom he had never felt any personal enmity, since he had been the dear friend of his youth. He induced him to intercede with Leopold his brother, who was still plotting with the King of France, aided by the Pope. Not succeeding in gaining over Leopold, Frederick gave himself up again to Louis, who treated him magnanimously, sharing with him his table and home. He found him mourning in solitude at Trausnitz, and said, "I have come to set thee free. Let us share one crown, as when lads we used to share one table and one bed." The Pope did not like any union that signified strength, and therefore tried to dissolve the treaty; but they arranged that Frederick should reign in Germany, and Louis should be King of the Romans. Accordingly Louis, in 1327, went to Italy, and in 1328 was crowned in Milan. Under the influence of the Colonnas he received the imperial crown in Rome from the hands of two excommunicated bishops.

In 1330 Frederick of Austria died; and Louis, finding himself sole Emperor, called a Diet at Rense, after the death of Leopold, and asked to have his rights defined. The princes declared the Roman Emperor to be the highest power on earth, and that he owed his election



only to the elective princes of Germany. But he was so arrogant under his assumption of power that he divorced Margaret, heir of the Tyrol, from the second son of John of Bohemia, Henry VII.'s grandson, and gave her to his own son Louis, whom he had made Margrave of Brandenburg, he having added this Mark to his kingdom. He gave up the Palatinate of the Rhine to his brothers Rupert and Rudolf, and the Castle of Heidelberg became the residence for a long time of the Wittelsbachs of the Rhine.

This arrogance rendered him very unpopular, and still more so when he made his second son, William, Count of Holland. He also vacillated in his dealings with Edward III. of England, betraying him to the French king. Finally, when he taxed his Italian subjects in order to keep up the imperial state, they turned against him. After all these perplexities, his character, which was always weak, became entirely unsettled, and he began to be afraid that if he did not become reconciled to the Pope he should lose his soul. The Hohenstaufen had borne easily the Papal excommunications so often pronounced upon them, but they weighed heavily on Louis' mind on account of a future purgatory; so he negotiated with the Pope, making the greatest concessions, even consenting to his own abdication; but this so favored the King of France, who had always had his eye on the German crown, that the Electors, when they learned of all his vacillations, would not bear it.

The Electors now dethroned Louis, selecting Charles of Bohemia, the grandson of Henry VII., and son of John of Bohemia of the Luxemburg House; but the cities and the temporal princes stood faithfully by Louis, and Charles could gain no advantage, and was never, until Louis' death, king except in name.

When the blind John of Bohemia, the father of Charles IV., was dying in 1346, he had his attendants strap him to his saddle, and so he led his troops into the thickest of the fight; thus he fell. His motto, *Ich dien* (I serve), was engraved on his shield. When Edward the Black Prince, the hero of Crecy, against whom he fought, was informed of his heroism, he assumed the motto; and this, with three ostrich plumes, became his crest, and they are to-day the motto and crest of the Prince of Wales.

After his father's death Charles became King of Bohemia. He then began to make vigorous preparations to assume the German crown; but the danger from this source of further disaster to the nation was prevented by the sudden death of Louis, who was seized with apoplexy at a bear-hunt near Munich, where he fell dead from his horse, it was said from the effects of poison. He was sixty-three years old, and had ruled thirty-three years.

The only service Louis of Bavaria performed for Germany was his protection of the free cities. These increased during his reign to one hundred and fifty in number, and thenceforth constituted a separate power in the Empire. The cities did much in the way of encouraging literature, and made travel more secure on account of the desire for safety to their commerce; they protected the guilds, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries advanced the progress of Germany more than all the spiritual and temporal rulers had ever done.

Charles IV. bought his election from the archbishop with promises and bribes, but he was never crowned until a year after the death of Louis of Bavaria. He agreed to depose all the German bishops whom Louis had appointed, and never to claim any territory in Italy or elsewhere which was considered the property of the Church. Although the German princes had determined that no

other Wittelsbach should sit upon the German throne, they were no better pleased with the Luxemburg House. Louis of Brandenburg, the late king's son, united with Saxony, Mainz, and the Palatinate of the Rhine in offering the Empire to Edward III. of England; but Edward had already had enough of the treachery of the German princes, and refused it. Therefore they chose Ernest of Meissen, who sold his claim to Charles IV. for ten thousand marks.

There was a noble knight by the name of Gunther of Schwartzburg, for whom two of the Electors had voted years before, when Louis was first chosen. The opposition now took up this gallant and popular prince, who seemed about to succeed, when, after a wasting sickness, he died suddenly about a year after Louis of Bavaria's death. He is supposed to have been poisoned by a draught administered by a physician at the instigation of Charles IV., who was immediately after the funeral crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Charles IV. was an accomplished scholar, speaking and writing Bohemian, German, French, Italian, and Latin. In his diplomacy he resembled Rudolf of Hapsburg; but he lacked the simple habits of the latter, for he was fond of pomp and show, and, unlike Rudolf, was cold, calculating, and cunning. The University of Prague, which became most celebrated through its students and professors, was founded by Charles IV.; he also fortified the city, adorning it with a cathedral, monasteries, bridges, and towers. Scholars and specialists in architecture, agriculture, and in every branch of trade, were introduced by him. He made a new criminal code, and sat often in the market-place to enforce the laws. His own people, for whom he accomplished a great deal, respected him greatly. His father had been a German; but his mother

was that rough Bohemian princess whom his father, John of Bohemia, had at first despised. He cared little for Germany and nothing for Italy; consequently, when the Pope had crowned him, and made him promise to leave Rome the next day, he troubled Italy no more. The reign of Charles IV. was as great a disappointment to Petrarch as the untimely death of Henry VII., his grandfather, had been to Dante.

Charles IV. had arrested the patriot Rienzi, the last tribune of Rome, and kept him a long time imprisoned in Prague; and it was not until he sent Rienzi back to Rome that the Pope allowed Charles to be crowned. Maximilian said of him, referring to the locusts, earthquake, and Black Death, visitations to Germany in his reign, "Germany never suffered such a pestilential plague as Charles IV." The one act for which he is held in grateful remembrance by the Germans is his "Golden Bull," which remained a law in Germany until the Empire came to an end four hundred and fifty years afterwards.

This Golden Bull confirmed the former custom of having seven chief Electors, who ranked next to the Emperor. The Archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne were among the number; the King of Bohemia was Arch-Cup-bearer; Count Palatine of the Rhine was Arch-Steward; Duke of Saxony was Arch-Marshal; and the Margrave of Brandenburg was Arch-Chamberlain. The last four received full authority over their territories. The elections were to take place at Frankfort, the coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle. The electoral rank was made hereditary. They had the right to coin money, work mines, and impose taxes, all formerly functions of the Emperor.

The effect of this new constitution was to strengthen the power of the four Electors, and to encourage the other princes to imitate them. It did not remedy the weakness

of the state ; for while it made the princes stronger, the government grew weaker. On account of it the spirit of the Middle Ages was maintained longer in Germany than in other countries.

At a Diet held by Charles IV. in Nuremberg, the edict was written down and signed by the seven Electors, and the large imperial seal was pressed in wax upon it. This seal was then placed in a golden ball, or "bullæ," and from this was called the "Golden Bull." The occasion was celebrated by a feast in which the princes acted in their several capacities, — the King of Bohemia brought wine in a golden flagon ; the Pfalzgraf of the Rhine served up the dishes ; the Archbishops, as Archchancellors, had seals hanging around their necks ; the Duke of Saxony, with a vessel containing oats, came as Master of Horse ; and the Margrave of Brandenburg, with a basin and ewer of gold, as Grand Chamberlain. After the dinner the Margrave of Misnia and the Count of Schwarzenburg, as Grand-Huntsmen, sounding their horns, called up the hounds, and killed a bear and stag in the presence of the Emperor.

Notwithstanding the large estates of Charles IV., he was once arrested by his butcher for debt. He died in 1378, at the age of sixty-three years. His health had been gradually failing, and he knew that life would soon be over. In his last years he had his son made King of Bohemia ; and having stopped to receive the crown of Burgundy and Arles, he set out for Rome, where his fourth wife was proclaimed Empress. When he arrived in the city, in order to conciliate the Pope, he led the latter's mule from the Castle of St. Angelo to the Vatican. On his return to Germany he violated his own Golden Bull by having his son Wenzel crowned as his successor, giving each of the Electors one hundred thousand florins for

his vote. According to the Golden Bull, the sovereignty was not to be transmitted by the laws of descent; but, notwithstanding this, for ten years Charles had been strengthening his house by purchasing influence and giving bribes.

Always Bohemian rather than German in his tastes, he preferred Prague to any other residence. Maximilian said of him a century later, "He was a genuine father to Bohemia, but only a stepfather to the rest of Germany." To Wenzel he left Silesia, the Kingdom of Bohemia, and the Upper Palatinate; to Sigismund, the Mark of Brandenburg, which through him became the starting-point of the House of Hohenzollern; and to his third son he left that part of Lusatia next to Silesia.

From this time the Germans for the most part ceased to care for Italian rule. It was in Charles IV.'s reign that the Hanseatic League was commenced. In the year after the pestilence, earthquake, and famine, a society of self-scourgers, known as the "Flagellants," was formed. They spent their time wandering through the streets, wailing, singing, and scourging each other publicly; as they approached the towns the bells were rung, and all the people wept. There is a picture by a celebrated artist representing the scene.

Gunpowder was invented in the reign of Charles IV. by a monk named Berthold Schwarz. It soon superseded the bow and arrow, while battle-axes and steel and iron armor went out of use. Paper was first made from rags in this Emperor's reign.

Charles IV. was fond of practical jokes. Once he sent word to his major-domo, whom he valued as a faithful retainer, that he, with a famishing hunting-party, would be at the castle to dine, and that his steward must be well prepared for their appetites. Charles knew that this

Dietrich Kagelwit was not looking for him, and consequently expected that he would have an empty larder, since there was no messenger to despatch for provisions; but what was his surprise when one most appetizing dish after another was brought forward. Kagelwit had had all the pigs' ears on the premises cut off, and thus served up from them these diversified and savory dishes. The king was delighted with the repast, and indulged in a hearty laugh when he was let into the secret. "Thou art too clever," said he, "to be intrusted with only one castle; henceforth thou shalt take care of a bishop's see." Then he made him Bishop of Minden.

## CHAPTER XXI.

WENZEL. — RUPERT. — HOUSE OF LUXEMBURG CONTINUED. — JOBST. — SIGISMUND.

1378 — 1438 A.D.

WENZEL was only seventeen years old when his father died. His mind had been forced into an unnatural growth, so that he had enjoyed no real childhood. When he came to the throne his rude and coarse nature was so developed that he reminds us of the old Roman Emperors, Tiberius, Caligula, and Caracalla, who became mad through vice and self-indulgence.

At his court in Prague, he invited the great nobles to an entertainment where there were three tents pitched, black, white, and red. Wenzel was in the black tent, and as each came in he was asked what crown lands he held. If the noble was willing to yield them up he went into the white tent, where he found a sumptuous feast; but if he declared he had a right to them, he was taken to the red tent and beheaded. At another entertainment, before his guests sat down he showed each of them the executioner leaning on his axe, and said to the latter, "After dinner you will have work enough to do." No wonder Wenzel got whatever he demanded of men thus terrorized.

He kept a pack of bloodhounds about his table and in his bedchamber. If any one crossed him in the slightest degree, he had the person instantly beheaded. His wife led a miserable, scared life. Her confessor, John of Nepomuk, was thrown into the river Moldau because he



would not betray the confidence the queen had reposed in him at confessional. Wenzel, after trying to wring the secret from the priest by torture, bound him hand and foot, and threw him from the bridge which still bears his name at Prague, and where his statue may be seen. For as his corpse was washed up it was borne to the Cathedral, where the people and clergy flocked to see and touch it as the body of a saint. A legend says, "His body, floating in the Moldau, was taken up to heaven by angels." In any case, he was canonized, and is known to this day as Saint Nepomuk.

Leopold of Austria had been appointed by Wenzel as governor of several of the free cities, and he took the opportunity to restore the authority of the Hapsburgs over the Swiss cantons. In 1386 Leopold invaded these cantons with an army of four thousand Austrians and also some of the Swabian knights. It was the flower of the Austrian and Swabian nobility. The Swiss collected one thousand three hundred farmers, fishermen, and herdsmen, armed with halberds and battle-axes, and met Leopold at Sempach on July 9. The four thousand knights dismounted, and presented themselves like a steel wall bristling with spears. The peasants knelt for a moment in prayer, and then came on at full speed, but wavered before the iron bulwark of knights, unable to break through. An Unterwalden farmer, Arnold von Winkelried, so an ancient legend asserts, when he saw that the Swiss lances shivered like glass against the armor of the Austrians, said, "My faithful comrades, take care of my wife and children, and I will make you way." Then he gathered as many spears as he could grasp in a sheaf with both arms, and threw himself forward upon them. "Make way for liberty," he cried; "make way for liberty!" — and died. The Swiss sprang into the gap over his dead body;

and the knights, hampered by their armor, fell on all sides under the tremendous blows from the clubs and swords of the peasants. Duke Leopold and nearly seven hundred of his followers perished, and the rest were scattered. It was one of the most remarkable triumphs in history. All the castles of the South German nobles were filled with mourning.

Two years after, another victory was won over the same enemy at Nafels, April 9, 1388. After this the Swiss Confederation was feared far and wide, while the warlike spirit of Austria was broken, and the brave Swiss were left unmolested in their strongholds.

Wenzel had been growing more savage and tyrannical in his disposition, until his oppression and injustice had made a large section of Bavarian nobles his bitter enemies. He became so like a madman that he was taken prisoner; but his brother Sigismund released him, and Wenzel made the latter Vice-Regent of the Empire. After Wenzel had tried to depose Bonifacius IX., that pope deposed Wenzel, and elected Count Palatine Rupert, a Wittelsbach, who had to be crowned at Cologne, as the doors of Aix-la-Chapelle were shut against him. Rupert tried to strengthen his cause in Italy, but failed; and Wenzel might have gained power had he not quarrelled with his brother.

There was great confusion and anarchy in the State, and the nation seemed about to be rent asunder. The princes, with John of Nassau, tried to run the government under the form of a union called the Merbach League, founded in 1408. Finally Rupert died in May, 1410; and the nation, considering Wenzel not even a figure-head, elected Sigismund, the latter voting for himself as one of the Electors, saying there was no one whose good qualities he knew so well as his own.

During that year there were three Popes, — Gregory XII. in Rome, Benedict XIII. in Avignon, and Alexander V., elected at Pisa. Wenzel and Sigismund claimed the name of Emperor as well as Jobst of Moravia, who was crowned. Jobst died the next year. He was considered by some a great man; but a certain critic said of him, “There was nothing great about him but his beard.”

At last Wenzel was persuaded to give up his opposition, and Sigismund was generally recognized as Emperor, in 1411. He had received the Mark of Brandenburg from his father, and through his wife he obtained the crown of Hungary; he also claimed Bosnia and Dalmatia.

Sigismund had fought the Turks on the Danube, and was distinguished for his courage and knightly bearing. Strikingly handsome, he was unlike his brother Wenzel in all his features, having blond hair and blue eyes. He was a cultivated linguist, cheerful and popular with all classes, but fickle, profligate, and lavish. Sometimes he was obliged to accept the bounty of the princes; and in 1415, when in great straits, he bartered away, for four hundred thousand guldens, the Mark of Brandenburg to his friend Frederick, Burgrave of Nuremberg, and Count of Hohenzollern. He had received it from his father as a part of his inheritance; but it passed into the family of Hohenzollern on account of his financial embarrassment, and afterwards became Prussia.

From this union and at this point the records of the present German nation commence. Beginning with this date of 1415, the zealous student of German history derives more profit in following up this Hohenzollern line of princes than in trying to keep alive past issues with reference to the old Roman German Empire, which in reality had passed away centuries before. Frederick of Nuremberg governed the country at that time with great

success, and it is his descendants who now occupy the German throne. This transaction, arising from Sigismund's poverty, and the Hussite war, which followed the martyrdom of Huss, were the two striking events in Sigismund's reign.

Long before this time a depraved condition of the Catholic clergy, especially in Italy, had permeated every branch of the Church. This was the reaction from its ascetic attitude in the time of Gregory VII., when all the convents and monasteries were scenes of fasting and self-abasement too depressing for humanity to bear. Since that time the demoralization of the Church had been rapid, on account of its arrogance and despotic power.

As early as 1360, preachers had arisen advocating the principles of the gospel, and admonishing their hearers to live simply and righteously. Although persecuted by the priests, these men found many followers, and their influence was always widening; for at the same time Wycliffe was stirring up the people of England, and the excitement in Prague was growing stronger on account of Wycliffe's writings, which were read by the learned scholars there.

John Huss, who had studied at the University of Prague, afterwards a professor there, was the leader of the movement in Bohemia. In 1398 he defended Wycliffe's doctrine among the professors; and four years later, in spite of opposition, he was made Rector of the University. With him was associated Jerome of Prague, a young Bohemian nobleman who had studied at Oxford, and was imbued with Wycliffe's spirit. The learning and lofty character of both gave them great influence; for the Bohemian people were crying out against the Pope's claim to be universal bishop, and against the refusal of the Church to give the cup in the Holy Communion to the

laity ; they also denounced the edict given by the Pope, that those who went on Crusades and pilgrimages should be freed from a certain number of years of purgatory. It was even at this date whispered that indulgences remitting a part of this fiery punishment might be had for money, which was supposed to be spent in alms, but in fact went to the needs, real or imaginary, of the cardinals and Pope. Huss preached against all these abuses, and also against the worship of saints and images.

The consequence of this excitement was a division between the Bohemians and Germans in the University of Prague ; the Germans taking the part of Rome, and their professors going to Leipsic, where they founded a new University. When, in 1415, these dissensions were reported to the Pope, he excommunicated Huss. The pope, John XXIII., at this time offered pardon and indulgences for crime to those who would take up arms with him against the King of Naples. Huss and Jerome preached against this abomination, and burned the Pope's bull in the streets of Prague. The Emperor Sigismund was bent on holding a council to set all this discussion to rights. Huss himself wanted an assembly of the Church ; all Christendom also desired it, for they felt that the corruption caused by the three rival Popes could no longer be endured.

Sigismund brought together a motley crowd at Constance, which he called a Council, consisting of one Pope (John XXIII.), three patriarchs, thirty-three cardinals, forty-seven archbishops, two hundred and twenty-four abbots, one thousand eight hundred priests, and seven hundred and fifty doctors of theology, followed by a strange lot of all kinds of people, — squires and friars, knights, peddlers, merchants, mountebanks, beggars, and jugglers, so that the city seemed like a big fair. But though the

assembly was imposing, there was one man in dark attire among the gayly decked cardinals. His bearing was firm but unobtrusive. Isolated, except for a few trusty friends, he still stood calm, though knowing that he was surrounded by enemies whom he could not trust; for John Huss had in his pocket a letter from the Emperor which was a "safe conduct;" this insured his life. The Emperor had signed it, and the great imperial seal was upon it; therefore Huss felt safe.

In opening the Council, when one of the cardinals took him up for his grammar, which was not quite correct, the vain Sigismund is reported to have said, "I am King of the Romans and Lord of the Latin grammar." The assembly began by deposing John XXIII., who sought safety in flight. But since Frederick of Austria did not dare to protect him, he was given up as prisoner to the sovereigns of Europe. The Council next turned to Huss, and asked him to defend his belief. "My doctrines are those of my Saviour, and I preach only that which stands in Holy Writ." The Council called him a blasphemer, and forbade him to continue his teachings on pain of death. Every time he attempted to speak, the outcries of the bishops and priests drowned his voice. He would not promise silence, and so he was condemned to be burned. He showed the king's "safe conduct;" but Sigismund, when he saw his own document, said, "No faith is to be kept with heretics;" and so Huss was thrown into a dungeon, only coming forth to answer the charges against him before his final sentence.

Two miles outside of the city of Constance, surrounded by beautiful country landscape, may be seen to-day a rough granite boulder, the centre of which has been smoothed; and on it this inscription appears: "Here died John Huss, July 6, 1415, burned as a heretic." The

name of Jerome of Prague, who died the year after, May 30, 1416, is inscribed on the same boulder.

On that fatal July day, as Huss was led before the congregation, a bishop read the charges; but only once did he raise his voice to demand a fair hearing, which had been promised him, and to obtain which he had accepted the Emperor's protection. When the sacramental cup was placed by some friend in his hand, it was instantly snatched from him with the words, "Thou accursed Judas, we take from thee this cup, wherein the blood of Christ is offered up for the forgiveness of sin;" to which Huss replied, "I trust that to-day I shall drink of this cup in the kingdom of God." Then kneeling and praying fervently, he said, "I commend my soul to my Lord." Again, being offered a chance to retract, he replied in a loud voice that he would seal by his death the truths he had taught. At this the common people began to doubt his being a heretic; but the authorities stripped him of every article of his priestly dress, and his soul was commended by them to the devil. As the fire began to envelop him, he prayed with a loud voice, and sung the "*Christi eleison*" (Jesus have mercy) until he was suffocated by the rising flames. His ashes were collected, and cast into the lake.

The fate of Huss and Jerome created such a fever of excitement in Bohemia that four or five hundred nobles signed a document proclaiming that the doctrines of Huss must be freely taught, and that no "Interdict" of the Church could be enforced.

The Hussites, having organized with four thousand men, assembled on a mountain, and chose a nobleman, surnamed Ziska "the one-eyed," as leader. They formed a procession, and marched through Prague, carrying the sacramental cup at their head, and took possession of the town by force. They broke into the City Hall, and flung

the Burgomaster and his officers upon the upheld spears of those below. The Hussites were already divided into the Calixtines and the Taborites, the Taborites being always the more moderate party.

Ziska had been a friend of Huss; he was now an old man, broad-shouldered, bald-headed, with deep furrows across his brow. When he marched through Prague, storming the council-chamber and murdering the clergy, Wenzel, who had indorsed the Hussite views after his dethronement, had, on account of the prevailing excitement, a return of the madness which had at times affected him all his life, and fell dead in a fit. This was in 1419.

Ziska continued his march through Bohemia at the head of an army of both sexes and of every age, waving a banner with the chalice inscribed upon it. This army committed every conceivable depredation under the guise of religion. After Ziska had lost his other eye by means of an arrow sent by an enemy from one of the towns they were storming, the very name of the blind warrior became a terror throughout the land. He used a horrible iron mace with which he beat down all before him. Afterwards he introduced "thunder-guns," and in the crusades now organized, sent them out against the enemy. In these encounters the Hussites were always victorious. Sigismund and the Duke of Austria were defeated at the head of ten thousand men in one of these raids, and came very near falling into their hands. Finally all Bohemia and parts of Germany stood in awe of these wild fanatics, who burned and butchered in the name of God. During one of these campaigns they destroyed five hundred and thirty convents and monasteries. "Believe in Huss or we give you no quarter," was their watchword while scouring the country, burning villages, and slaughtering thousands of innocent victims. This was called the "Hussite War,"



and lasted sixteen years, until the Electors and even the king himself became so tired out that at last they always yielded without a battle. Finally Sigismund retired in disgust to Hungary to fight the Turks, and left the other German states to finish the war without him.

Ziska died of the plague in 1424; but Procop Holy succeeded him, and was equally successful in leading the hosts on to battle; but he used the same kind of tactics, murdering and plundering indiscriminately the "enemies of God." Some critic has said that both Ziska and Procop Holy equalled in their military tactics the greatest generals, not only of their times, but of any age.

At last all parties in the kingdom grew weary of so much turmoil and bloodshed, and were now ready for a compromise on almost any basis. A council was held at Basle, and concessions made which satisfied the Taborites, the administration of the Holy Eucharist in full being allowed the laity, who were permitted to keep the property of which they had robbed the priests. The ultra faction of the Hussites held out some time; but it was finally defeated, and the whole sect, after it had done its work among the people and prepared the nation for future reform, disappeared.

Emperor Sigismund entered Prague in 1436, after signing a general amnesty. He had been unfortunate in his marriage, and a conspiracy was formed against him in which his wife was implicated. On account of her agency with reference to the plot, concerning which he had been warned by his son, he left Prague for Hungary; but on reaching the capital of Moravia, he felt death approaching, and naming Albert of Austria his successor, he put on the royal robes, and seated himself in the chair of state, thus exhibiting the innate vanity of his character. He died the 9th of December, 1437. He had once said

to Pope Eugene IV., "There are three points of difference between thee and me. Thou risest early, I sleep late; thou drinkest water, I prefer wine; thou art driving the Church to destruction, I the Empire!"

The Luxemburg dynasty passed away with Sigismund, after having been a source of weakness to Germany for almost a century.

## CHAPTER XXII.

## THE HOUSE OF HAPSBURG.

## ALBERT II. FREDERICK III.

1438—1493 A.D.

ALBERT II. became Emperor, March 18, 1438 and with him commenced regularly the Hapsburg dynasty, which had so long coveted the undivided imperial power. For a period of over three hundred and fifty years the Hapsburg house held the government, until 1806, when Francis II. relinquished the title of Emperor of Germany and the Empire came to an end.

Albert II. was chosen King of Hungary and of Bohemia, as well as of Germany. He was Sigismund's son-in-law, a man of strong character, honest, upright, and wise. He only reigned a year and a half; and during this time he was obliged to give his attention to keeping back the Ottoman Turks, who were already threatening Constantinople on one side and Hungary on the other. For the most part he left the Empire in the hands of his chancellor, Schlick, a man in sympathy with him, but of a weak character; consequently little that was beneficial to Germany was accomplished in his reign. Albert died in Hungary, in 1439, in his forty-second year. His illness was brought on by exposure while camping with his army in the unhealthy marshes in Hungary, and he was obliged to turn back. His physician urged him to stop at Baden, but he said he should be well if he could only see Vienna and his wife

again; accordingly they carried him forward on a litter to a small village, where he died. He left two little girls, and a son, Ladislas, a few days old.

After much discussion, the Electors met, March 18, 1438, and chose the cousin of Albert II., Frederick of Styria and Carinthia, who was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle as Frederick III. He was so indolent and eccentric that the people nicknamed him the "nightcap king," and he was such a mere wooden ruler that he promised to be all that the princes required. He was abject in his obedience to the Papal power; and his secretary, Æneas Sylvius, ruled him entirely in the interest of the Church.

The Council of Basle, which had met just before the election of Albert II., had issued decrees which put an end to the Hussite war. Albert II. had accepted these reformatory enactments, and it seemed probable that the abuses which had kept Christendom in a ferment for a score of years were about to be brought to an end. Pope Eugene IV. had been deposed in favor of Felix V.; and the former, in order to be reinstated, was about to yield to the princes in giving entire freedom to the Church in Germany; but Frederick III. on his accession offered aid to Eugene IV., so that in 1448 he signed the Concordat of Aschaffenburg, by which the very evils were perpetuated from which the Church had been trying to rid itself so long. After the matter was settled, the princes easily fell back into the old rut; and thus the chance for a reformation, which might have come about easily, was lost, and the great upheaval, which could without difficulty have been averted, happened three quarters of a century later. This for the time was an inevitable disaster to the nation, though the result was religious emancipation.

Frederick III. was always dabbling in alchemy, trying to make gold, of which he was so fond, out of the baser

metals. He used to rise in the night, and try to predict, by the course of the stars, what destiny would bring to him. He believed in magic, and wondered why that which he neglected through indolence did not come about in a miraculous way. Singularly enough, in the course of his reign of fifty-three years, it did seem that the mills of God "ground measurably fine" for such a shiftless king.

Frederick III. did not receive the crown of Hungary or Bohemia, and Austria he shared with his brother Albert. The people of Hungary had desired Ladislas of Poland for their king; but when he was ready to receive the badge of sovereignty, the Holy Crown of St. Stephen could not be found. Elizabeth, the wife of Albert II., appeared, leading her little son, and produced the crown, which had been hidden in the child's cradle; it had been placed on the infant's head when the child was only twelve weeks old. But the King of Poland, who afterwards died fighting the Turks, was chosen by the people; and the diadem was again lost, being secreted by Frederick III. The boy was kept under the care of the latter until 1457, at the time of the great festivities in Rome. Then Frederick married the beautiful Eleanor of Portugal, and Austria, with Hungary and Bohemia, were made over to Ladislas; but the same year the lad, who was sixteen years old, died; and Matthew Corvinus, son of General Hunyadi, who had defended the Hungarians against the Turks, was elected king; for the Turks had been more dangerous than ever to Hungary since the taking of Constantinople in 1453.

In 1452 Frederick III. had made the title of the heir to the throne of Austria "Archduke." He was the last Emperor crowned at Rome, and the last, excepting one, crowned by the Pope. Notwithstanding he was such a sluggard king, many startling events happened in the

great world in his long reign. As mentioned, the Turks had taken Constantinople, and had broken up the Eastern Empire, which, as the Byzantine Empire, had lasted a thousand years, although for many centuries it had only included Constantinople and the small adjacent districts.

Printing was also invented by Gutenberg in Frederick III.'s reign. This opened a new era in literature and learning.

Many new universities were founded in this reign, public libraries were established, education among the people became widespread, and, notwithstanding the Emperor's dogmatic views with relation to the Church, a lively interest in religion sprang up, and was disseminated among the people by the printed Word of God. A quarter of a century later the fires of the Reformation burst forth; the fuse which the martyrdom of Huss and the Hussite war had lighted was nearly spent, and the people were ready for the coming avalanche of truth. Twenty years after Frederick III.'s death, Luther nailed his ninety-five Theses to the doors of the University of Wittenberg; and in two years after the death of the former, public sentiment had become so enlightened that people and princes, desiring the establishment of laws for the government of the people, cried out for a constitution; consequently a Diet was called at Worms, and the movement, which was begun in this reign, resulted in a proclamation of a "Perpetual National Peace," called the "Land-peace."

The Swiss also made their last desperate struggle for independence in the reign of Frederick III. In the year 1444, at St. Jacob, near Basle, sixteen hundred devoted Swiss fought against thirty thousand French soldiers, loaned to the Emperor for the purpose of reconquering the Hapsburg possessions in Switzerland. Every man of the sixteen hundred lay dead on the field of St. Jacob,

which to-day is pointed out to strangers as the "battle-field ;" while a fine national monument on the outskirts of Basle, a mile or two from the scene of the memorable engagement, is crowned with an Helvetia,—a majestic goddess of Liberty. Four men sit at its massive corners with the same agony in their faces which men saw that day, and in their hands the battle-axes and war-clubs which scattered the thirty thousand soldiers of the enemy, and banished forever the idea that the House of Austria could claim the allegiance of the old Hapsburghers in Switzerland. But so softening is the influence of time on men's minds, that only a few years since the old castle of Hapsburg in Switzerland is said to have been offered as a toy to the heir of the Austrian Empire.

While the three or four hundred bishops, dukes, counts, abbots, barons, and cities were fighting or at peace as suited them, Frederick III. was hunting in his rose-garden for caterpillars, or quarrelling with his brother Albert, who was then alive and intriguing to get possession of the kingdom of Bohemia and Hungary, which Matthew Corvinus and George Podiebrand held.

The Duchy of Burgundy, during the century, had grown to be a kingdom in size, and was now able to throw off its dependence to both France and Germany. Philip the Bold had so extended his influence by marriage and power that in the time of his grandson, Philip the Good, the kingdom embraced all of Holland and Belgium, and extended from the Rhine to the North Sea.

In 1467 Philip the Good died; and Charles the Bold, who was rash, vindictive, and inordinately ambitious, desired to extend his domains from the Alps to the Mediterranean, and to own Alsace and Lorraine. This would make Burgundy almost the same in extent of territory as the lands given to Lothair in 843 at the "Treaty of Ver-

dun." Frederick III. fell in with this diplomacy, and went to visit the Duke of Burgundy for the purpose of arranging a marriage between the king's daughter, Mary of Burgundy, and his own son Maximilian. But the splendor at Treves, and his jealousy because he could not compete with the duke in display, affected him so much that he left suddenly without an adieu.

In order to secure the alliance of the Swiss against Burgundy, Frederick now concluded a "Perpetual Peace," relinquishing forever the claims of Hapsburg. Sigismund of the Tyrol had an interest in Baden and Alsace, and when Charles the Bold of Burgundy refused to give up Alsace and Lorraine, war was declared. But Charles of Burgundy settled it himself, again offering his daughter's hand to Maximilian, the son of Frederick, conceding a truce of nine years to Louis XI. of France. In this truce Frederick III. treacherously gave up Switzerland and Lorraine, which he had persuaded to become his allies, to Charles the Bold; the latter seized Lorraine, transferred his capital to Nancy, crossed the river, and appeared before the town of Granson on the Lake of Neufchâtel.

As was their custom, before the battle the Swiss fell upon their knees in prayer. Noticing this, Charles said, "See, they are begging for mercy; but not one of them shall escape." But no Swiss ever begged mercy of a tyrant. The battle raged fiercely for hours, until the warriors of Uri and the heroes of Unterwalden were heard approaching. When they joined their brethren, a panic seized the Burgundians, who fled after a short struggle, leaving all their camp-equipage, cannon, and such enormous treasure in the hands of the Swiss, that the latter divided the money by hatfuls, and distributed the rich spoils. This was May 3, 1476. In 1477 a



final battle was fought before Nancy. After this defeat the body of Charles the Bold was found frozen in the mud, so disfigured that it could scarcely be recognized.

Mary of Burgundy was beset by Louis XI., who wished to marry her to his son. Her own subjects, having become turbulent and factious, put her father's trusty councillor to death. In her distress she sent her ring to the Prince Maximilian, and he, hastening to her aid, married her at once. For three years they were most happy together; but in 1482 she was killed by a fall from her horse. She left two little children, Philip and Margarethe. Although after many years Maximilian married again, he seems never to have loved any one as he had loved his early bride.

Austria was finally secured to the House of Hapsburg by the death of Matthew Corvinus.

Maximilian got into trouble with Charles VIII., son of Louis XI. of France, in 1482. The Frenchman was betrothed to Anne of Brittany, and had been married to her by proxy, while his own daughter, Margarethe, the child of Mary of Burgundy, was plighted to the King of France. But seeing danger to his kingdom from the alliance, the King of France sent back Maximilian's daughter, and married Anne of Brittany himself. Maximilian then made war upon France; but by a treaty of peace, in 1493, Burgundy was given back to the latter.

Although Frederick III. was seventy-eight years old, and had for some time left the care of the kingdom to his son Maximilian, he might have lived some time longer but for the amputation of his foot, which he injured in a fit of anger. He died from the effects of the surgical operation in August, 1493, having reigned fifty-three years, the longest of any sovereign except Augustus and Queen Victoria. All his books were stamped with the vowels

“A E I O U,” which meant “*Alles Erdreich ist Oesterreich unterthan.*” (All the earth is subject to Austria.) Thus it is seen that the old German Empire was really dead, and the House of Hapsburg, from this time until Prussia became full fledged, was the reigning power of Europe.

Frederick III. was the last Emperor who amused the Roman people by leading the Pope’s mule, and by stooping to kiss the sacred foot of “His Holiness.”

The art of printing, spoken of before in this chapter, was first suggested by the manufacture and use of playing-cards, which were cut in blocks, and then struck off. Wood-engraving had already been practised; and as early as 1420 entire books were produced, each page in a single block. But John Gensfleisch, or Gutenberg as he called himself, originated in 1436 a plan of casting movable type, setting them together to form words. For some time the difficulty of finding a suitable metal and ink, which would give a clear impression, was felt. As Gutenberg was a poor man, he went to a rich goldsmith, John Füst of Mayence, and to Peter Schöffer, to obtain assistance. Schöffer was to design the letters, and Füst was to furnish capital. In 1440 the first printing-press was completed. Schöffer discovered the right combination for type-metal as well as good ink. The earliest work printed was a Latin singing-book, which appeared in 1457. In 1461 the first Latin Bible was printed; in 1463 German Bibles were sold from thirty to sixty *gulden*s (twelve to twenty-four dollars). This was one-tenth of the cost of the same text copied by the monks.

Gutenberg was treated very badly by Füst; for as soon as the latter had the secret, and saw that the experiment was going to be a success, he asked the former to pay him back the money he had advanced; and when Gutenberg was unable to do this, he seized his printing-press and

blocks. After he had driven Gutenberg out of Mayence, Füst and Schöffer finished printing the Bible without him. They kept the art a profound secret for a long time; and the people thought that the books were produced by magic, because they multiplied so rapidly, were sold so cheap, and each copy resembled so exactly the other. It was soon reported that Füst was in league with the Devil. Thus the story of "John Faust," who sold himself to the Devil, came about, which was used by Goethe as the foundation of his great poem, "Faust."

When Adolf of Nassau (not the Emperor), in 1462, took Mayence, the invention of printing was brought to light, and printing-presses were set up in Holland, Italy, and England. The monks would have suppressed the art if they could; for it spoiled their trade of copying, and enlightened the people in branches which they had previously not understood. This discovery was the dawn of the Renaissance.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

MAXIMILIAN I. — POETS, PAINTERS, AND CUSTOMS OF HIS DAY.

1493 — 1519 A.D.

MAXIMILIAN had held the reins of government already for so many years that there was no revulsion of feeling in the nation when he took the nominal control. He was called in history "The last of the knights." He was a man of fascinating manners, graceful and tall, with remarkably handsome features, clear blue eyes, and blond hair falling upon his shoulders, — in every sense a brilliant man. He had studied all the arts and sciences and all the languages then known. He was very simple in his habits and tastes, making long marches with his soldiers, and carrying his own lance. It is said that he could forge his own armor, and temper his own sword. He was endowed with a bold, adventurous spirit, his body being developed by constant exercise, and he was one of the boldest, bravest, and most skilful knights of his day. Some powerful feats of his daring have been handed down in history. Once in a den of lions he bravely defended himself until help came, and it was one of his pastimes to stand on the highest point of cathedral spires with one foot hanging over; he did this once on the pinnacle of the great Ulm Cathedral.

The story of Maximilian falling down a precipice, and being caught on a shelving rock, while chasing the

chamois, in some of his mountain climbing, is a familiar historical incident. The legend runs thus: While wandering among the mountains of the Tyrol, he found himself on a ledge of the loftiest peak of the Martinsward, whence there was no way up or down. He was discovered and seen by the populace in this perilous situation with no hope of rescue; whereupon he threw down a stone wrapped in a piece of paper on which he had written the request that mass might be celebrated below, and that a shot might be fired to let him know when the elevation of the host took place. He is supposed to have been miraculously saved, as a shepherd-boy came leading him through a passage in the cleft of the mountain which has never been seen since that time. The shepherd-boy was by the Tyrolese believed to be an angel, as he was never heard of again.

There is a legend about a tournament in Worms organized by Emperor Maximilian which brought together the knights of the country. All went on as usual, until a giant with strong weapons and an immense sword appeared. His horse is said to have been "seven yards long and four yards tall." The giant inspired all the knights with fear, for he was frightful to behold. He came and took up his quarters in the best inn, placing his shining shield in the window. Then he called out boldly, "I will serve whomsoever conquers me, but he whom I overcome must be my slave." At the end of the first week no one had dared to compete for the honor at the risk of his own life. The Emperor called upon his men to take the field, for such cowardly delay troubled his knightly soul. A second week passed by, and no one had yet offered to contend. Then there rode forth from the Emperor's castle a knight who called out, "Up, comrade! to the spear and sword; now the chance is given to

earn perennial fame." The giant, seizing his weapons, rode to the field, while all the folk from far and near went forth to watch the fight. They meet; their horses fall; but both seize swords and meet once more. The giant is bearing down upon his antagonist with a terrible blow; but the latter springs aside, and with one great stroke cuts off the giant's right hand. A shout arises far over the plain; rises and ever rises again; for when the unknown knight lifts his visor, behold! it is the Emperor Maximilian.

Maximilian loved the dear old cities of Nuremberg and Augsburg, and doted on their artistic belongings, their quaint houses with histories of ancient ancestors painted on the outside. The oriole windows pleased him, full of lovely maidens surrounded with flowers, who were always smiling on the gracious Emperor as he sought their laughing faces each time he passed. In climbing the turrets, the pastime in which he so often indulged, he could look far into the country, and dream of the things which he afterwards wove into the poetry that gave him a reputation as one of the literary men of the time of which the poet Melchior wrote, "When Kaiser Maximilian sung." It was one of the most celebrated eras of culture the world ever knew, and the fine arts flourished in Germany mainly through the Emperor's influence.

There are some famous letters still existing which compose a correspondence between himself and his remarkable daughter, Margarethe, one of the children of Mary of Burgundy, his cherished wife. Margarethe of Burgundy was a very clever woman; for besides bringing up the children of her brother Philip, who were the grandchildren of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, she used to negotiate treaties between nations, and once almost pulled out the hair of the minister of Louis XII. of

France because he did not agree with her in the policy in regard to the Venetian Republic.

It would be pleasant to leave out the mixed traits of Maximilian's character, which critics have pronounced visionary and unpractical. To be a knight, and practise the old chivalry by bountiful hospitality and generosity toward all about him, suited him better than toning down his impulses into wisdom.

All his life Maximilian was in the habit of originating great schemes, and for want of money and the support of the princes suddenly breaking down in them. By this means he lost the respect to a large degree of his subjects and the confidence of the world at large. When Julius II. died Maximilian tried to make himself Pope, thinking thus to reform the Church according to his own ideas; but Pope Leo X. was chosen in his stead.

The "Perpetual Peace" recommended by the Diet of Worms, already referred to, was very hard to carry out. It had been agreed that this Diet should meet annually, and remain in session one month in order to enforce its decrees; one of these was concerning a tax, which was first imposed at the time of the Hussite war; but Maximilian had found it very difficult to collect such a tribute. It was to support the Imperial Court, and was called the "common penny." A proposition, however, to appoint an Imperial Council of State of twenty members, equivalent to a "Ministry," which should have power in certain cases to act in the Emperor's name, was rejected by Maximilian as an invasion of his personal rights.

The Diet agreed to furnish the Emperor with nine thousand men, to be employed against the French and afterwards against the Turks, who, since the taking of Constantinople, were growing more dangerous every year. Maximilian could never arouse sufficient public spirit to

fight the Turks efficiently, although he appealed to the superstitions of the Germans by setting up a large meteoric stone in one of the churches, saying it was a thunderbolt sent down to show the wrath of heaven, which was to be visited upon them on account of their effeminacy in letting the Turks overrun their land. It has truly been said that the German nation could have repelled the Ottoman invasion, and saved Turkey to Christendom, if a quarter of the zeal expended on one of the Crusades had been used against them.

After having vainly tried to bring the Swiss within the jurisdiction of the Imperial Council, with the loss of twenty thousand lives and two thousand castles and villages, the Emperor was obliged formally to acknowledge the independence of Switzerland, in a treaty at Basle in 1499.

An alliance called the "Holy League" had been formed against France, but Louis XII. succeeded in dissolving it by marrying a sister of Henry VIII. of England. He gave up Navarre and Naples to Spain, offering money to Switzerland, and proposing a marriage to the Emperor which gave Milan to the Hapsburg House. By giving Navarre and Naples to Spain, it really insured them to the Hapsburg line; since Maximilian's son Philip had recently married Johanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. This marriage proved most disastrous to Germany; for Charles V., afterwards Emperor of Germany, was Philip's son.

Maximilian always entertained selfish projects for the aggrandizement of his house; and this gave rise to another cause of disorder in the continual disobedience of the princes, who through the feudal period had always been trying to rule in their own right. Maximilian once said, "The King of France reigns over asses, for they



will bear any burden he pleases to give them; the King of Spain is a king of men, for they only submit to reason; the King of England is a king of angels, who do willing, faithful service; but the Emperor of Germany reigns over kings, who only obey him when they choose."

Notwithstanding some weaknesses, Maximilian managed, out of the chaos of the government of that time, to get things ready for a more peaceful future solution, by dividing the Empire into the districts of Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia, Austria, Westphalia, Burgundy, Upper and Lower Saxony, and the Upper and Lower Rhine, a governor being placed over each province. This division of Germany, although it looked like a politic arrangement, did but little good at first, because the states had for so long had their own way that the execution of the laws regulating the government of these territories was hard to maintain.

The feudal system, though nominally enforced, was also breaking up; for the obligation to give military service, which had always been a part of it, was now no longer binding. Muskets and cannon had come into general use, and therefore heavy armor for man and horse had become useless. Now it was courage, it was brains, and not physical strength, that won victories; and, as a result, knighthood was departing with the conditions which had rendered it necessary and had been the main-spring of its life.

Another element of the later Middle Ages became extinct when Frederick of Hohenzollern began to use artillery against the castles of the nobles. Then the days of plunder ceased, and it became more and more evident in Maximilian's reign that new times had come.

Ever since Henry the Fowler, hunting in the Hartz Mountains, complained to the men who had come to an-

nounce his election as king, that they would spoil his "catch of birds," the civil classes in the towns had been growing to be more a power in the land. Now the strength of Germany lay chiefly in these cities, which had always encouraged all forms of industry, and created a class of learned men independent of the clergy.

Hans Sachs, the "Cobbler of Nuremberg," was the father of the Meistersingers, who laid down many rules for writing verse. He wrote numerous poems while he was making shoes. His house is one of the sights of Nuremberg, and in the museum there is a pair of boots which he made. He did not always use the rules of the Meistersingers when he wrote his best poems while he was working over his lasts, but his genius and wit found ample scope. He and his artisan companions are strikingly memorialized in Longfellow's verse:—

"Through these streets, so broad and stately, these obscure and dismal lanes,  
Walked of yore the Mastersingers, chanting rude poetic strains.

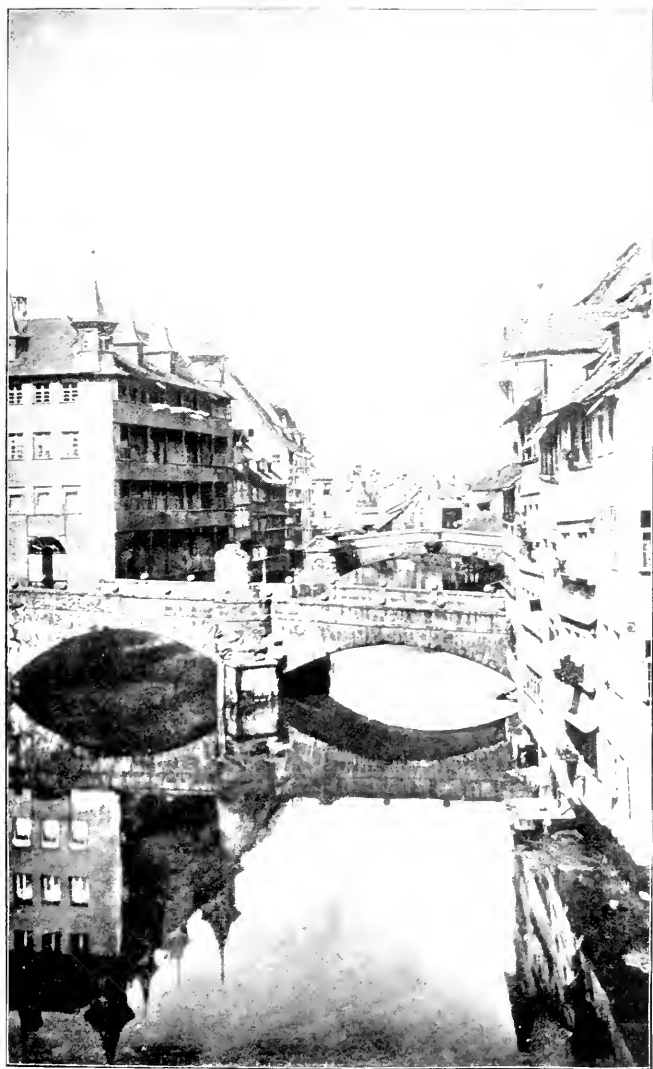
Here Hans Sachs, the cobbler-poet, laureate of the gentle craft,  
Wisest of the Twelve Wise Masters, in huge folios sang and laughed."

The composer Richard Wagner also honored him by an opera called, "*Die Meistersänger von Nurnberg.*"

Michael Wohlgemuth was the father of German oil-painting. He was the master of that wonderful painter and poet, Albert Dürer, whose works are the pride of Nuremberg to this day. The house of Dürer is still seen there, where several of his paintings are kept. Longfellow also paid effective tribute to the gifted bard of Nuremberg when he wrote:—

"Not thy Councils, not thy Kaisers, win for thee the world's regard;  
But thy painter, Albrecht Dürer, and Hans Sachs, thy cobbler-bard.

Here, when Art was still religion, with a simple, reverent heart,  
Lived and labored Albrecht Dürer, the Evangelist of Art."



THE KING'S BRIDGE AT NUREMBERG.

*(From a photograph)*



No one who visits that quaint old city fails to seek out with much pains the "Iron Ring" in the network of the *Schöner Brunnen*, a beautiful fountain in the market-place not far from the *Frauenkirche*.

The legend runs that Dürer's wife was jealous of his art, and hindered him at his painting all she could; but he loved her, and always bore her persecutions patiently. After nursing her fondly through many weary days, when she had died he was seized with remorse, and wept himself to sleep because he thought he had failed to make her happy. The women who cared for the remains of his wife declared they saw an angel pass into the room where Dürer was, and speak to him. At any rate, he had a dream, in which a ministering spirit came to console him, and held up the wedding-ring before him, which had just been taken from the hand of the dead wife, saying, "This has not been a pledge of love and affection to thee, poor Dürer, and I have come to remove it from thee. I will turn it to iron as an emblem of the chain thou hadst to wear, and it shall be inserted in the most beautiful fountain of this town as a memorial of thy life and works and an imperishable honor to its citizens." Thereupon the angel vanished, carrying off the ring; and when Dürer awoke, the token could not be found. Then the news spread that there had been a miracle performed. Soon after the iron ring seen there to-day was noticed inserted in the railing of the fountain in the market-place; and no one knew who put it there, no opening in the ring ever having been discovered. The good people of Nuremberg, even up to the present time, have always considered it a miracle, though the guilds regard it as an emblem of the workman's craft.

Since the knighthood of the Hohenstaufen had passed away, the cities had become centres of wealth and intel-

ligence. Splendid architectural buildings now rose in their streets, and the verses of the poets were printed, so that the lowly homes of the peasant were rejoiced by them. Sculptors wrought for the eyes of the subject as well as for those of the lord. A new element had sprung up, never heard of in the Carlovingian days. It was the Middle Class. The life in the town was much gayer and more brilliant even than it is now. Æneas Sylvius, the secretary of Frederick III., afterwards Pope Pius II., wrote, "One may veritably say that no people in Europe live in cleaner, more cheerful cities than the Germans. By their commerce they amass great wealth. There is no banquet at which the people do not drink from silver cups, no dame who does not wear golden ornaments. Moreover, the citizens are also soldiers, each one having a sort of arsenal in his own house. The boys in this country can ride before they can talk, and sit firmly in the saddle when the horses are at full speed. The men move in their armor without feeling its weight. Verily you Germans might be masters of the world, as formerly, but for your multitude of rulers."

In the early part of the fifteenth century, the people tried to put a stop to violence by establishing a new tribunal for dealing with crime. The offender, wherever he might hide, was forcibly dragged to light and mercilessly condemned. These tribunals were called the "*Vehm*," (punishment). The people called it the "Holy *Vehm*," the object of it being to enforce impartial justice among all classes. It held open court for ordinary offences, but graver crimes were tried in secret by night. The chiefs were called "Free Counts." The headquarters of the *Vehm* or *Vehmgerichte* (secret punishment) was in Westphalia, but it had branches all over Germany. It often happened that a private conversation at a festive

board, where wine had loosened men's tongues, was disclosed to the *Vehm* by some ill-natured guest, and led to betrayal and death. A man to-day might enjoy happiness and honor, to-morrow he was gone — nobody knew where. He had been carried off in the night, never to return. The *Vehm* grew so powerful in Frederick III.'s time that it even summoned that monarch before its tribunal. The fear of it had induced Maximilian and the princes to reorganize the Empire; for as order and justice prevailed, the need of such an institution ceased. It had become, in the severity of its methods and the cruelty of its action, very much such an organization as the Vigilance Committees among the early settlers of our Western country. In about a century the *Vehm* ceased to hold its meetings in the cities, but it continued in Westphalia as an association similar to the Freemasons.

The times were getting more and more modern. Among the radical improvements Maximilian introduced was the postal system and the police service; he also devoted much time to artillery, and new forms of cannon were devised by him which to-day may be seen in the museums of Vienna.

The people of Germany had so many internal interests which had been neglected, and they were now so in earnest about reconstructing the government, that they had not given much attention to the event which proved to be so supremely important to us, — the discovery of America in 1492. This was a part of the modern inclination to research and inquiry which came with the Renaissance. The same enterprising spirit led to the discovery of a new route to India by the Cape of Good Hope in 1498.

Notwithstanding the new splendors which lay in reach of the Hapsburg dynasty, the energy of Maximilian began

to decline. He was not yet an old man, and his intelligence was unimpaired; but his life had lost its keenest zest. As people say nowadays, he had grown nervous under the weight of his many and great schemes. His financial difficulties, such troubles as are unknown to sovereigns to-day, had harassed him so much that he once hired out in the capacity of a private knight for one hundred crowns a day, to help Henry VIII. and Julius II. drive the French out of Italy.

In later years Maximilian had among his possessions a queer-looking chest, which after his death proved to be a coffin. This showed more than anything else how morbid his mind had become under his troubles and disappointments, which at the end were numerous and cruel.

In 1515 his younger grandson, Ferdinand, married the King of Bohemia's daughter, and thus became heir to Hungary and Bohemia. In 1516 Charles, his eldest grandson, became King of Spain, Sicily, and Naples, as well as of Burgundy and Flanders, which he already held in his right as the great-grandson of Charles the Bold. These sons were two of the children whom Margarethe of Burgundy had brought up because of the insanity of their mother Johanna, who had been crazed by the death of her husband Philip. Johanna, before her husband Philip was buried, thought him still alive, and waited around his casket, hoping that he would awake.

At the Diet at Augsburg, in 1518, Maximilian tried to force the election of his grandson Charles as his successor; but the Pope objected, and he failed; for the Pope and Francis I. of France carried heavy bribes in their pockets, which had wonderful influence in the Diet at that time.

Depressed in spirits, the Emperor left the assembly and went to Innsbruck, where he could not be entertained



because he had not paid a debt to the city which he had owed for a long time; and some say the magistrates of Innsbruck would not receive his court because it was known to be dissolute and baleful in its influence over those with whom it came in contact.

Maximilian now felt himself physically failing, and hastened to the little Tyrolean resort of Wells. Here this remarkable man died, January 11, 1519, at the age of fifty-nine. He had lived in the Austrian Tyrol two years and a half before his death, and requested that he might be buried at Neustadt by the side of his brilliant mother, Eleanora of Portugal.

Louis XI., who was a bitter foe to Maximilian, once said, "You fool, to scoff at Max; do you know that when the 'Burgomaster' pulls the bell, all Germany springs to arms?" for Maximilian was called by the people, "The Burgomaster of Augsburg."

When Maximilian left Augsburg for the last time, after the disappointing Diet held there, he said, "Farewell, beloved Augsburg! May the blessing of God rest upon thee and all thy pious burghers! Many a pleasant hour have I passed within thy walls; now I shall behold thee no more." Scarcely had he left the town, when Luther, the great Reformer, entered it for his famous interview with Cardinal Cajetan. Two of Maximilian's last acts were to give Luther a safe conduct, and to request the cardinal to "be gentle with the learned monk of Wittenberg."

## CHAPTER XXIV.

CHARLES V. — LUTHER AND THE REFORMATION.

1519 — 1521 A.D.

THIS “Monk of Wittenberg” was a greater potentate than any who had sat on the imperial throne, and he accomplished a mightier work than any political ruler had ever done. This man, who defeated the Church of Rome and feared no monarch in the world, was the chosen leader of the German people. He had sprung from the lowest ranks, and had begged for his daily bread from door to door. His father was a wood-cutter who lived on the edge of the Hartz Mountains in Eisleben of Thuringia.

This same Martin Luther was born in the village of Eisleben, the 10th of November, 1483; and after picking up what little education he could in his native town, his father had sent him to the Franciscan school at Eisenach. Thence he went to Erfurt, and struggled in the University until he became a monk. Here he was obliged, for the purpose of discipline, to ask alms even at the door of his companions and friends. He had done the same thing from necessity at Eisenach, and it was there that Frau Cotta found the poor boy begging and singing in the streets. Becoming interested in him, on account of his melodious voice, she invited him to live with her. Frau Cotta’s house is still to be seen at Eisenach, and there visitors may see the room which Luther occupied.

When Frederick the Wise, the good Elector of Saxony, founded the University at Wittenberg, Martin Luther

became one of its professors. During this time John Tetzel came to the neighborhood selling indulgences. He recommended their purchase in such a blasphemous way, that Martin Luther's soul was stirred. He determined to protest; and on the 31st of October, 1517, he nailed to the door of the University at Wittenberg a paper called the "Ninety-five Theses," in which he challenged the whole system on which the sale of indulgences was founded.

The great excitement in reference to the sale of these indulgences had come about in this way. Seven years before, Luther had visited Rome, and seen the corruption of the Church in the lives of the monks and nuns, as well as in that of the Pope and cardinals; so, when he had turned from the deplorable conception of his own sins to the atonement offered in the sacrifice of Christ, he determined that his life should be spent only for the glory of God and the good of his fellow-men.

Pope Leo X., who was famous for his luxurious habits and love of art, found that his income was in itself insufficient for his wants and expenses, and the Church also needed money with which to go on with the building of the Cathedral of St. Peter's in Rome. Therefore, he determined to enrich the treasury by issuing a series of absolutions for all forms of crime, including murder, perjury, etc., in its list. The cost of these indulgences was graduated to the nature of the crime. They sold these absolutions, as publishers oftentimes dispose of their books, by means of agents, or as inventors sell royalties. The Archbishop of Mayence bought the right of selling indulgences in Germany, and appointed as his agent this Tetzel, a Dominican monk. Tetzel went through the country like any peddler, offering for sale the pardons of the Roman Church for every offence, from that of the or-

dinary sneak-thief to that of the deepest crime. He did a thorough business, and men even bought forgiveness in advance for crimes they intended to commit when they could make it convenient and profitable to themselves. Tetzel imposed upon the credulity of the people to such a degree that he palmed off a feather in his possession as one coming from the Angel Gabriel's wing.

The last hours of this poor criminal were heart-rending in the extreme. When on his death-bed he was offered consolation by his brethren, he turned his face to the wall, only saying, "God have mercy upon me a sinner." At last a knock at the door announced that a messenger had brought a letter from Luther. In it the great Reformer spoke only words of comfort, and pardon through Jesus Christ. Then Tetzel's eyes were opened, and he saw the gospel in its true light; and with his last breath exclaiming, "The night is gone, the morning breaks," this ignorant and deluded man passed into the presence of his God.

This was the reason that the "Theses" were printed, and nailed up over the door of the University (or as some say the palace-church doors). Copies of it were spread all over Germany, so that there began to be a great controversy in every part of the land. Maximilian, who was then alive, took some interest in it; but the internal disturbances of the kingdom, and the effort to save the Empire from destruction, had occupied much of the time of the rulers, and latterly the Emperor's desire for the succession of his grandson had caused these religious matters to be secondary in his mind.

But the times were now ripe for Luther's work. The religious persecutions in France, in Savoy, and the works of the disciples of Wycliffe in England, and still more the burning of Huss and Jerome, together with the white

heat of the people at the time of the Hussite war, had brought the spirit of the Reformation home to the hearts of the masses, and had made their hopes and feelings in sympathy with the conception that the Bible was the highest authority and the only source of religious truth.

One day as Luther was looking over some books in the University library at Erfurt, he had come upon a volume he had never before seen. It was chained to a pillar, and was written in Latin, and he was surprised to find that what he had already read of the Gospels and Epistles was only a small part of the Scriptures; the work he had then found was the entire Bible, which up to that time had been carefully kept from the eyes of the people. A little later, however, Erasmus published the whole of the New Testament in Greek, with a Commentary; and Reuchlin soon wrote a Hebrew grammar, by which the study of the Bible was greatly facilitated. On account of this, and the progress of letters during the fifteenth century, and the increased dissemination of the ancient languages through the discovery and use of the art of printing, the Book was in a short time placed in the hands of the common people. All this had prepared their hearts to receive the truth.

Luther was styled a heretic, and threatened with the fate of Huss. He wrote a defence, and scattered it abroad in the form of pamphlets, which were eagerly read by the populace, so that his followers increased rapidly, and Leo X. summoned him to Rome; though afterwards Leo consented that, instead of this, Luther should be present at Augsburg before the Papal Legate, Cardinal Cajetan. The latter demanded that Luther should retract; but Luther for the first time publicly declared, "The command of the Pope can only be openly respected as the voice of God when it is not in conflict with the Holy Scriptures."

The cardinal, after examining him, said, "I will have no more to do with that German beast with the deep eyes and whimsical speculation in his head." And Luther said of the cardinal, "He knows no more about the Word than a donkey knows of harp-playing."

The people at this Diet, remembering how treacherously Huss had been dealt with, were afraid for Luther's life. The Vicar-General of the "Augustines," who was still Luther's friend, fearing that he would be seized, led him out of the assembly through a small door, and at daybreak gave him a horse, and bade him God-speed. When Luther reached Wittenberg, Frederick the Wise, having been ordered to give him up, began to waver; for the Pope declared that Luther was assailing the doctrines of the Church, and that he must be stopped. Then Melanchthon, Justus Jonas, and other distinguished men connected with the University, exerted their influence, and the Elector refused the demand. For the times were advanced. It was now a hundred years since the fires were kindled which the memory of the martyrdom of Huss and the printed pages illuminated by his spirit had kept ever burning brightly.

This was near the close of Maximilian's life; and, as has been mentioned, that monarch had sent a letter to the Pope proposing to arrange the difficulty. Leo X. then asked his legate, a Saxon nobleman named Karl von Melnitz, to meet Luther. The legate afterwards said that he would not undertake to remove Luther from Germany, even with the help of ten thousand soldiers; for he had found ten men for him where one was for the Pope. In fact, all the ruling parties began to be afraid of Luther; he was too strong and men's minds at last were ready for the truth; therefore the legate prayed Luther to pause, as he was destroying the peace of the Church. It is said,

on doubtful authority, that Luther finally promised to keep silent provided the Pope remained silent also. In any case, he no doubt knew that what followed was sure to happen; that is, the antagonists could not keep still. They soon challenged Luther to discussion in Leipsic, where he declared his views even more clearly than before.

By this time the struggle had affected all Germany; the middle classes and smaller nobles being on Luther's side, while the priests and reigning princes were against him. He now wrote other pamphlets to defend himself from the misrepresentations, which were read by tens of thousands. Leo X. ordered all of Luther's writings to be burned; he excommunicated all who believed his doctrine, and again summoned Luther to Rome.

The popular excitement reached its highest pitch on the 10th of December, 1520, when a company of professors and students of the University kindled outside the gates of Wittenberg a fire, into which Luther himself threw all the books of canonical law, numerous writings in defence of the Pope, and the Papal Bull itself, with the words, "As thou hast tormented the Lord and his saints, so may eternal flames torment and consume thee."

The poet laureate at Maximilian's court, Ulric of Hutten, now openly declared for Luther; and Baron Franz Sickingen offered him his castle in which to hide. Frederick the Wise no longer hesitated, and Luther's faith in the steadfastness and uprightness of his cause became firmer and purer.

Francis I. of France, and Charles, "Don Carlos," King of Spain, Sicily, and the Spanish possessions, were present at the election of a new Emperor to succeed Maximilian. Charles, who was the grandson of the deceased Emperor and Archduke of Austria, was heir to Burgundy, and to the Netherlands also; consequently he had the

prestige which the authority over all these kingdoms gave him, while Francis I. had only the influence which the golden bribes he sent throughout Germany brought him.

The Electors were distrustful of both of the candidates, and voted for Frederick the Wise of Saxony. Understanding the burdens which the rule at such a time would bring, the latter refused the crown. Thinking, however, that Charles of Spain was the most suitable candidate, on account of his other royal possessions, and also because he was the hereditary heir, Frederick the Wise cast his vote for him, although he had previously refused any portion of the bribes, which amounted to twelve million thalers. Finally the election of Charles was secured, and the next year he was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle as Charles V. He reigned thirty-six years, but remained always a Spanish gentleman, never learning to speak the German language fluently. It is said the country did not recover from the crime of electing Charles V. for three hundred years.

Luther seems to have been a man of worldly wisdom with all the rest; for as soon as he heard that Charles had been elected Emperor he wrote to him, and asked for his support, begging that he might be heard. In reply, Charles sent Luther a formal invitation to be present at the Diet of Worms, which had been called to arrange the Imperial Court in the ten districts, and also to institute measures for driving the French out of Lombardy, which Francis I. had seized. At the same time the Emperor gave Luther a "safe conduct," as Sigismund had done for Huss a century before. Luther thought it a call from God, and contrary to the expectation of Charles, who did not understand the invincible courage of the great man, decided to go. His journey to Worms was a triumph.



Wherever he passed on his way from Wittenberg, the people flocked to see him as though he were some royal personage or a most eminent statesman. A soldier came up to him saying, "Are you the man who is to overthrow Popedom? How do you expect to do it?" Luther replied, "I rely on Almighty God." The soldier answered, "I serve the Emperor Charles, but your Master is greater than mine."

As he came near to Worms, he was continually urged by his friends, who remembered so well the fate of Huss, to turn back. "You are going to the stake," they said; to which Luther replied, "Though there were as many devils in the city as tiles on the roofs, yet would I go." In an open wagon he entered the city, dressed as a monk.

On the appointed day, the 17th of April, 1521, as Luther entered the hall of the Diet, he started back at the sight of the imposing assembly, the splendid costumes, and the malignant glances turned towards him. At this moment the old veteran, General Freudsburg, touched his shoulder, and said, "Little monk, little monk, you are marching to a battle such as myself and many a leader in the most desperate conflict have never experienced. But if you know you are right, and your thoughts are just, and if you are sure of your cause, go forward in God's name, and be of good cheer; he will never forsake you." It is a singular circumstance that this very Freudsburg afterwards died in the service of the Emperor.

When Luther finally entered the hall, Charles V., looking at him at a distance, said, "That monk will never make a heretic of me."

That was a wonderful scene at the Assembly of Worms, when this bashful young monk confronted the splendid

Imperial Court and the most powerful monarch of the globe. Beside the Emperor was his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, who finally became his successor. Grouped around these were the scowling cardinals, Alexander and Colonna, representing the Pope, and the Archbishop of Mayence, who, with Tetzl, had sold the indulgences. The old Duke of Alva was there, and his little son, afterwards the cruel Alva, then a boy of eleven years. There were six German Electoral princes, twenty-eight dukes, eleven margraves, four counts, and thirty bishops. The hall was crowded to overflowing. There were also in the Diet some friends of Luther, among them his protector, Frederick the Wise of Saxony, and Philip of Hesse. Around the building there were five thousand persons, who threatened a revolutionary outbreak, among them Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sickingen. Both of the latter were bold champions of political and religious liberty.

This poor monk, who had been saved from starvation by Frau Cotta in the streets of Eisenach, and had afterwards determined to break the chain of the Bible which he had found in the University library at Erfurt, was now called upon to explain the grounds of his belief. Many thought he would retract; some were convinced that by his impetuosity he would counteract the effect of his great faith; no one was prepared for his calm dignity and the firmness of his demeanor. He explained the grounds of his belief both in Latin and German, and closed with these words: "Unless I should be confuted by the testimony of the Holy Scriptures and by clear and convincing reason, I cannot, and will not retract, because there is neither wisdom nor safety in acting against conscience. Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise. God help me. Amen." To the people a recantation had

seemed the only way to escape the fate of Huss. The Emperor had hoped that this Diet would terminate the contemptible religious quarrel; but instead of retraction, Luther had made an irrevocable reiteration. This most powerful sovereign thought he had entered into a controversy with the weakest of his subjects, but he had been overcome. One of our historians has said "Luther was not before the Diet, the Diet was before Luther."

## CHAPTER XXV.

LUTHER AT THE WARTBURG — PROGRESS OF THE  
REFORMATION.

1521 — 1534 A.D.

CHARLES demanded without discussion that Luther should be prosecuted as a heretic as soon as the twenty-one days of his "safe conduct" had expired. He was urged by his partisans in Rome not to respect his promise; but he answered, "I do not mean to blush like Sigismund." The Emperor at twenty-one had not lost all sense of honor, but in his false and superstitious old age he was sorry for this one of the few acts of his life which had sprung from an honorable motive.

When Luther left the Diet, his friends were confirmed in their confidence by his sincerity and the noble stand he had taken. Frederick the Wise and Landgraf Philip of Hesse, who afterwards suffered such humiliation at Charles V.'s hands, walked at his side. Eric of Brunswick sent him a jug of beer.

The last act of the Diet of Worms was to issue an edict forbidding any further propagation of the new doctrine. Having little confidence in the promises of the opposing party, Luther's friends formed a plot to make a false arrest, capturing him in the Thuringian forest. This was carried out on a spot near the place where a sapling now stands, beside the trunk of an old beech-tree; it is called "Luther's Buche." A monument marks the spot, an inscription on which tells of his capture, which was

effected by four knights in disguise. He was placed upon a horse, and carried away to the Wartburg Castle. He remained in security on this beautiful mountain-top overlooking Eisenach, where he went by the name of "Junker George" (Squire George). The room in which he lived here is kept much as he left it. It is bare and uninviting; but sightseers visit it to-day with a keener interest than that with which they enter the palaces of kings. Here he undertook his translation of the Bible, and gave to the world the pure German language; for he wrote it in the High German dialect, since called *Hoch Deutsch*.

The news went through Germany that Luther had been murdered, and for more than a year the outside world never heard of him again; but no one regarded the proclamation that his writings should not be read, and that all his pamphlets should be burned.

Charles V. transferred the government of Germany to his brother Ferdinand, and occupied himself with his other possessions, and in carrying on various wars with foreign nations.

In the spring of 1522, in his seclusion, Luther heard that a new doctrine was being preached at Wittenberg, and that the enemies of the Reformation were pointing to a fanatical sect called the Anabaptists as a natural outcome of his doctrines. He left the Wartburg, and rode alone in disguise, as a man-at-arms, to Wittenberg, where even his fellow-worker Melanchthon did not recognize him. The latter had wavered because he did not quite understand what this movement indicated; and he had waited for Luther, declaring that he alone could discern whether the spirits of the new prophets were good or evil. Luther at first had regarded Melanchthon rather disparagingly, for the latter was small and personally un-

prepossessing ; but as the finer qualities of Melancthon became more apparent, an intimate friendship ensued.

Luther began immediately to preach with great eloquence against the fanaticism, and in a few days the sect had lost ground.

In 1523 Saxony, Hesse, Brunswick, and the cities of Frankfort, Strasburg, Nuremberg, Magdeburg, the Augustine Order of Monks, some of the Franciscans, and a great many priests adopted Luther's doctrine. Through the deleterious influence of the Anabaptists the Peasants' War broke out. The spirit of revolution was aroused among the common people ; and they demanded privileges which were really their rights, but which for centuries they never obtained. They expected Luther would support them ; but although he pitied them, he thought too much of the great enterprise in which he was engaged to encourage a spirit of revolt ; for it was the lifelong desire of his soul to keep separate the cause of God and the political intrigues of the State.

In 1525 the war became dreadful in its operations, and very much like the strife which went on after the martyrdom of Huss, frightful barbarities being committed. This shocking movement extended through Central Germany to Westphalia and into some parts of Thuringia. The old castle on Mount Staufen in Swabia was levelled to the ground, and the whole province laid waste ; ten thousand of men, women, and children were put to the sword, and the progress of the Reformation was hindered many scores of years. Hundreds of castles and convents were burned, and the greater part of Germany was literally in flames. The emblem of their banner was the fragment of a plough and one of the shoes (Bundschuh) usually worn by the peasants. Even Luther urged the princes to try to stamp them out in self-defence.

Towards the close of the year 1525 the Peasants' War was ended by the battle of Frankenhausen, and the death of their leader, Thomas Münzer. Hundreds of those who had been engaged in it were beheaded; the roads were lined with wretched victims dying on gibbets. One hundred and fifty thousand peasants had died in battle; and many of the principal citizens, who had joined the rebellion, were put to death. The condition of the peasants was now worse than before.

The stand Luther took against the revolution intensified the friendship of those who had favored him before; but he did not mean by this attitude to try to strengthen himself against Papal power, neither did he curry the favor of the Emperor himself. Several years after this, in 1534, he brought his translation of the Bible to a completion, assisted by Melanchthon and one or two other eminent men. In translating the Old Testament, he took great pains to find words as simple and strong as those of the Hebrew writers. He frequented the market-places and all merry festivities, the houses of birth, marriages, and death, to learn how the common people expressed themselves. He enlisted his friends, asking them to do the same thing, and to make a note of any characteristic phrase; "for," he said, "I cannot use words heard in castles and courts in a book that all people have the privilege of reading for themselves." In 1530 he wrote: "I have exerted myself in translating to give pure and clear German. And it has verily happened that we have sought and questioned a fortnight, and even three or four weeks, for a single word, and yet it was not always found. In Job we so labored, Philip Melanchthon, Aurogallus, and I, that in four days we sometimes barely finished three lines." By all this pains he not only served Christianity, but created a new German tongue.

Frederick the Wise died before the battle of Frankenhäusen, the Peasants' War having sadly clouded his last days. He was a steady protector of Luther to the end. On his death-bed he sent for the latter; but Luther was among the Hartz mountains, trying to soften the horrors of the peasant insurrection. In his closing moments Frederick the Wise declared that he had no hope except in the Son of God. The people of Saxony wept, and said, "God have mercy on us; we have lost our father."

Charles V. in these days left Luther alone. He realized his influence with the resolute German people, and perhaps at this early period of his reign he remembered his pledge to the Electors, not to encroach on German liberty, to reform church abuses, to put no one under the ban without a hearing, and to declare no laws without the Electors' consent. He has been praised for his considerate treatment of Luther at this time; but the course he pursued in the Netherlands, where fifty thousand "heretics" are estimated to have perished, shows that his wonderful consideration for Luther was brought about through fear of his power.

Pope Leo X. died by poison he had prepared for another, in less than two years after Luther's appearance at the Diet of Worms. The Church was so corrupt in his time, just before the Reformation, that it was said the priests could not perform their duties at the altar without laughing in each other's faces. Pope Leo even said, "We know how useful the fable of Christ has been to us." He had ruled nine years, having squandered immense treasures, and he left enormous debts. Leo X.'s court was the centre of art and science; Michael Angelo and Raphael did some of their best work in his time. His reign was called "The Golden Age of Italian Art and Literature"—"The Golden Age of Leo X." The historian Ranke said



of him, "Nothing was permitted to disturb the current of Leo's enjoyments." But after his death the Roman population insulted his body as it was borne to the grave.

Leo X. was followed by Hadrian VI., who had been the tutor of Charles V. in his youth. Hadrian VI. was the most perfect model of virtue ever seen in the Papal chair. He tried to reform some of the corruptions of the Church, and cried out against the abominations which had found their way there. He died in less than two years of a broken heart, discouraged by his vain efforts at reform.

Hadrian VI. was followed by Clement VII., a nephew of Leo X. At the very beginning he tried to repress Luther's doctrines. Notwithstanding the dogmatism of the Pope, Philip of Hesse, Albert of Brandenburg, the Duke of Brunswick and Mecklenburg, the Counts of Mansfeld and Anhalt, and the city of Magdeburg, formed an alliance at Torgau in 1526. At the Diet held in Speyer the same year, the party of the Reformation, supported by the alliance just mentioned, was so strong that no decree could be passed against them, because the hearts and minds of the people were ready for the support of the cause; it was like the ripening of full-grown fruit when the sun of heaven shines bright and clear upon it. Accordingly the organization of the Christian Church, which had already been adopted in Saxony, spread over all of Northern Germany, and included the abolition of the Monastic Order.

The celibacy of the priests was abolished, divine service was celebrated in the language of the country, and the communion was given entire to the people. The instruction of adults and children in the truths of Christianity became obligatory, and the former possessions of the Church were given up to the State. Luther desired, while Melancthon opposed, the union of episcopal au-

thority with political power in the person of the reigning princes.

Luther set the example of giving up celibacy by marrying Katherine von Bora, one of the nuns who had been taken from the convent in an empty beer-barrel. The sanctity of marriage had been among his strongest convictions, and he had long urged his friends to take this step. About the year 1523 a number of nuns had fled from their solitary life, persuaded of its unnatural character; and being rejected by their own families, they came to Luther for aid and guidance. He found them homes, and sought husbands for the deserving. Among these nuns was Katherine von Bora, of a noble family in Meissen. Luther had made repeated efforts to secure her hand for some friend of his; but after one or two failures, on inquiring the reason, he learned that she would not entertain the thought of marrying, unless it were the Wittenberg preacher, Nicholas of Amsdorf, or the great Dr. Luther himself. Luther did not hesitate an hour, but went with the painter Cranach to Katherine, plighted her his troth, and invited his friends to the marriage feast. Although there had long been a rumor that Luther was warmly disposed towards the fugitive, he said of the occurrence, "I am not in love, or governed by passion; but I am fond of her." He was rewarded by twenty-one years of uninterrupted happiness.

Meanwhile Charles V. had been absent from Germany, having retired after declaring Luther a heretic at the Diet of Worms. War and contention with other nations, with opposition from many of the Popes, had been his almost constant occupation. Pope Clement VII. feared more and more the increasing power of Charles in Italy. It was then that the old General Freudsburg, who had electrified Luther as he entered the Worms Assembly,

enlisted on the Emperor's side. He, with the Emperor's united forces, marched upon Rome. But Freudsburg never reached the Eternal City. A mutiny broke out in his army; the men clamored for pay; and their wild behavior gave Freudsburg a fit of apoplexy, of which he died.

Rome, having been stormed by the forces of Charles V., suffered more than through the sacking of the Goths at the time of Alaric, or afterwards, when, having been destroyed by the Vandals, so many of its works of art perished. The Pope was taken prisoner, though Charles finally liberated him. Six thousand men were massacred, the city plundered, and many valuable manuscripts, documents, letters, that could never be replaced, were destroyed, and a large part of the town was burned to the ground. The officers, with shouts of triumph, took possession of the Vatican, and lighted their watch-fires in the gilded halls. The soldiers clothed themselves in the Pope's robes, strutting about the town in the scarlet mantles and hats of the cardinals, while one of them even put on the Pope's crown. Out of derision they held a meeting, and elected Luther as a new Pope.

After this Emperor and Pope came to a full understanding; a truce called the "Ladies' Peace" being arranged by the mother of the King of France, and by Margarethe, Charles V.'s aunt. Later, in 1530, Charles was crowned King of Lombardy and Emperor of Rome at Bologna. Charles met the Pope after the coronation at a feast, and there betrothed his daughter to the Pope's son. Thereupon Charles bound himself to uproot Luther's doctrine in Germany; for he had all his life labored under a fear of Papal authority; and besides, on account of the duplicity of his character, he did not understand that the simplicity of the gospel, as brought out in Luther's

doctrine, was calculated to purge and build up a nation; neither did he comprehend that this perfect rule of life, being adapted to the wants of the multitude, was sure to make a government reliable and prosperous.

In Austria, Würtemberg, and Bavaria the persecutions agreed upon by Charles and the Pope had already commenced; many persons had been hung and burned at the stake for professing the new doctrine. Ferdinand, the brother of Charles and King of Bohemia, who had always held the government under the Emperor, called a Diet at Speyer to consider the old troublesome question of warding off the Turks. At this Diet the Catholics were out in full force, and passed the same decree which originated with Emperor and Pope, outlawing Luther and his doctrines as they had done once before at the Diet of Worms. But the forces of the Reformation were now stronger among the princes; and headed by Saxony, Brandenburg, Hesse, and fifteen imperial cities, they joined in a solemn "Protest" against this measure, asserting that the point in dispute could only be settled by a universal Council called for that purpose. From that day the name of "Protestant" was given to both the followers of Luther and the Swiss Reformers under Zwingli, the latter being closely connected with the Reformation in Switzerland. Zwingli, born in St. Gall, Switzerland, in 1484, resembled Luther in undaunted courage and in familiarity with the Bible, the only difference in their doctrine being on the unimportant point of administering the Eucharist.

Philip of Hesse, an ardent supporter of the Reformation, was anxious that the Swiss and German branches of the Protestant party should unite so that they might encounter together any new dangers. Luther, however, was too much alarmed lest the religious struggle should get into politics, and he felt that by joining with Zwingli

he might become involved in the League of Protestant princes at Torgau. He was now busy preparing a Catechism and hymns for the worship which would be necessary when the organization of the Protestant Church was completed; therefore he felt that he had no time to attend to other work.

Meanwhile things in Germany had not been standing still, as Charles V. found, when, in 1530, after nine years' absence, he established his court at Innsbruck, and called a Diet to meet at Augsburg the 20th of June. Luther, being under the ban, could not be present; but Melancthon was there, with many professors and clergymen of the Protestant Church. Luther established himself at Coburg, and there wrote his immortal hymn, "*Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*" (A mighty fortress is our God).

Charles V. at last consented to the reading of a Confession of Faith which had been drawn up by the Protestant princes and cities, the import of which was the same as the Protestant creed of to-day, the chief idea being "Christ our only Saviour, and justification by faith."

The general impression was favorable to Protestantism, and the princes who had signed the Confession determined to maintain it at every risk. It was the "Augsburg Confession," and was the foundation of the Lutheran Church. Charles had only permitted the reading of the Confession in the morning in the Bishop's Chapel, for he was not willing that the assembly in the great hall should be influenced by the effect it might produce; but the windows being open, the people all over the building, and the crowd of thousands outside, could hear it read. It was a great concession on the part of the proud ruler, and a significant comment on the advance Protestantism had made since he was in Germany nine years before. Charles had commanded that the Latin copy alone should be read;

but the Elector, John of Saxony, remarked, "We are in Germany on German soil. We hope your Imperial Majesty will not prohibit our using our own language." Charles was obliged to yield. After the Confession had been read, persons were heard to say, "It is reasonable that the abuses of the Church should be corrected; the Lutherans are right, for our spiritual authorities have carried it with too high a hand."

The Emperor ordered a refutation of the doctrine to be prepared by the theologians of the Church, at the same time forbidding the Protestants to see it, or to make a reply, because, he said, the abuses of the Roman Church would be corrected by the Pope and himself; and he declared that the Protestants must return instantly into the fold. Many Protestant princes left the Diet before it adjourned, among them Philip of Hesse, who had long been prepared for war. This seriously alarmed the Catholic party, and they prevailed upon Charles to attempt a reconciliation.

More than half of Germany had seceded from the Church of Rome; and, when Charles V. procured the election, as King of Germany, of his ever-dutiful brother Ferdinand, who was favorable to the Reformation, Bavaria also joined the Protestant princes; but the Imperial Courts in the ten districts were still in the hands of the Catholics, and they were instructed to suppress Protestant worship. From this arose the "Smalkaldic League," which met at the town of Smalkalden in Thuringia, March 29, 1531, and took an oath to suppress for six months the decree concerning Protestant worship. The Emperor declared the ban against the League, and made preparations to put it into effect. Luther, however, still declared, "I rely on Almighty God." When Charles was about to settle the question by force, a new terror

seized the Germans. The Turks had reappeared in Hungary; the Sultan was marching upon Vienna with an immense army. Charles could not fight the Turks and the Protestants at the same time; and he became so alarmed that he concluded a League of Peace.

In this invasion the Protestants furnished a quota of troops which amounted to eighty thousand men. The Turks were defeated, the siege of Vienna raised, and all of Hungary would have been reconquered but for the unpopularity of Ferdinand among the Catholic princes. The war ended greatly to the advantage of Charles, who had penetrated into France so far that Paris trembled and Francis I. was afraid. The latter made a treaty to assist the Emperor against the Turks and against the Protestants as well. This was a critical time for the Reformation; for Charles would then, no doubt, have carried out extreme measures against the Lutherans had not Pope Clement VII., although he hated the Protestants, refused to support the Emperor, being afraid that a victory over them would strengthen too much Charles's cause. He feared the Reformation less than the Emperor's power.

The Religious Peace, made at the time of the opening of the late invasion, had favored the spread of the Reformation; and cities and principalities were continually joining the Smalkaldic League. In 1534 Würtemberg was conquered by Philip of Hesse, and added to the League; the exiled Duke Ulric, who was reinstated, became a Protestant. The new faith continued to spread in Denmark, Sweden, and Holland, as well as in Germany; and the antagonistic princes in many of these countries were succeeded on their death by their Protestant sons. The League, which had done so much for the cause, was renewed for another ten years.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

LUTHER'S DEATH. — CLOSE OF THE REFORMATION. —  
 ABDICATION OF CHARLES V.

1546—1556 A.D.

CHARLES V. had too much to do in his wars with the Barbary States and with France to circumvent the foundation of the Protestant Church, and it became an established institution throughout Germany for all time.

A Diet met at Nuremberg, and assured equal rights to the Protestants in the Imperial Courts, promising that they should be let alone altogether until a meeting of the free Council of the Church. In 1544 Francis I. gave up his claim in Lombardy, Naples, Flanders, and Artois. The Emperor made a treaty with him, relinquishing a part of Burgundy, on condition that Francis should unite with him against the Protestants and Turks. But Charles, wishing to preserve a semblance of fidelity to his recent treaty with the Protestants, asked Pope Paul III. to call an Ecumenical Council — that is a council of the whole Church. One hundred and thirty years before the Catholic Church itself had begun to consider reform, but meanwhile the Protestant Reformation had grown so powerful that only a conciliatory course could settle the difficulty.

Luther's wise leadership in the Reformation was acknowledged by all, and he was consulted by princes and clergymen, by scholars and jurists, and by the common people at large. He was always for peace — peace among



the Protestant princes, and between them and the Catholics; but now it began to be impressed on his mind that peace was impossible with the existing government and the present arrogant Emperor. He prayed that it might last while he lived; for he felt himself gradually breaking down under his labors and anxieties, although at the beginning his constitution had been very strong. He had much bodily suffering and mental depression; but his faith was buoyed up when he saw the great work accomplished for God, and he knew that the achievement was his. He felt that he had been chosen of God, and in accordance with his rigid doctrine, he believed he was known in heaven and in hell.

In January, 1546, he was called to Eisleben to adjust a dispute about an inheritance; and it was there, after settling the controversy, and preaching a few times to the people of his native town, that he was suddenly taken ill. From hour to hour he grew weaker, but spent his time repeating passages from the Bible in German and Latin. After midnight, his two sons, Doctor Jonas, his fellow-laborer, and the Countess of Mansfeld being present, Dr. Jonas asked him if he acknowledged Christ as the Son of God and his Redeemer; for it used to be considered necessary to know the state of mind of the dying at the last moment, in order to understand the final destiny of the soul. Luther answered in a strong, clear voice, "Yes." Then he folded his hands, and with a sigh breathed his last. This was the 18th of February, 1546.

The body of Luther was carried to Wittenberg, starting out with a procession led by the Count of Mansfeld and a body of fifty horsemen. It was joined by numbers of princes, counts, townspeople, and peasants, ready to do honor to the greatest man who had been upon the stage

since the Holy Roman Empire commenced. As the *cortège* passed, the bells were tolled in every village; and the population, consisting of matrons, maidens, and little children, all clothed in mourning, bewailed the great Reformer with cries and lamentations as their friend and benefactor. Funeral chants were sung, and sometimes the verses Luther himself had written and taught; among them were "*Ein feste Burg*" and "*Mit Fried und Freud Ich fahr dahin*" (With peace and joy I journey hence). In Halle, when they tried to sing, *De Profundis*, an eye-witness says, "It was rather wept than sung," so great was the grief of all. On the 22d of February, Luther was buried at Wittenberg, the scene of so much of his labor and so many of his trials. They laid him away with all the honors of a conqueror, the authorities and managers of the University sparing no pains to show him respect.

No idea of the treachery and selfishness of Charles V. had been entertained in Luther's lifetime. The latter's death temporarily crippled the Protestant supporters, and removed the fear with which his great character had inspired the enemy. It was, also, the darkest time for the Reformation, because the Emperor, relieved of his foreign wars, had more time to devote to the Church.

The great Council of Trent declared against the Protestants, who now had forty thousand troops in the field; and John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse hesitated. Just after this, Maurice, Duke of Saxony, went over to Charles V., and seemed to desert the Protestants. Thus Maurice obtained possession of the Electoral Dukedom of Saxony belonging to John Frederick, who, although he defeated Maurice, was, himself, obliged to yield to the Emperor. The Protestant troops, in this battle were seized with a panic, and broke into flight. The infantry

threw away their muskets as they fled. All were cut down without mercy by the instigation of Alva, so that the road was covered with dead bodies. Among the prisoners was John Frederick, who alone out of the Protestant force had resisted heroically. Alva said, "Had the whole army fought as well, the day would have ended differently." John Frederick was so indignant at the cowardice of his soldiers, that he said, "I am richer than my Lord Jesus. He had at table with him only one traitor, but I have had many." Charles V. appointed the Duke of Alva as president of a court which tried the captive Elector, and condemned him to death. The other German princes protested so earnestly against this sentence that it was never carried out; but Charles is said to have treated him very brutally, sometimes leading him round in his train as an example of shame and humiliation, and when he asked for mercy, telling him to get out of his sight. John Frederick was finally obliged to give up the most of Saxony to Maurice. He refused, however, to submit to the decrees of the Council of Trent, preferring rather to remain firm in his Protestant faith, though kept a prisoner for five years.

Charles V. was urged by the contemptible Alva to burn Luther's body, and scatter his ashes; but he replied, "I war with the living, and not with the dead." He seemed always to have had a certain respect as well as fear for Luther; and in spite of his cruelty and duplicity, there were evidences that, while Luther lived, a better nature existed within.

Philip of Hesse, who had been so noble in his conduct during Luther's life, now, under the influence of his son-in-law Maurice, begged Charles's forgiveness, agreeing to destroy all his fortresses except Cassel, and to pay a fine of one hundred and fifty thousand guldens in order

to keep his rights as a prince. Charles made this stipulation; but he gave his word to Maurice that on such conditions Philip should not suffer imprisonment or punishment of any kind; that, on the contrary, he would pardon him voluntarily, and that he could depend on his verbal promise to that effect. Nevertheless, Philip, having been invited to supper by Alva, after the repast, was arrested while engaged in a game of chess. He was kept in close confinement for many years, and, as was the case with John Frederick of Saxony, was dragged around in the Emperor's train as a triumph over German liberty. Philip exclaimed, "Is it possible that God can so deeply degrade princes?"

The Emperor now had Northern Germany, except Magdeburg, under his control. But when he returned to Bavaria, Maurice laid siege to that factious city. Charles V. was the arbitrary ruler of Germany, assisted by the Dukes of Alva and Granvelle. Twenty years after, it was Granvelle who was the real governing power in the Netherlands, and who, as the instrument of Philip II. of Spain, so cruelly oppressed the Netherlanders and crushed the masses, calling them "that mischievous animal, the people."

Charles had violated every pledge in dealing with the princes; and, contrary to the laws of the Diet, he had subjected them by means of foreign soldiers. Everything was now Spanish, — his court, his commanders, his prelates, all of whom, as they marched through their land, insulted the German inhabitants.

Although very indignant at the sacrifice of the Emperor's pledges and the treatment of his father-in-law, Philip of Hesse, Maurice refused to break with the Emperor up to this time; Charles, indeed, had solemnly declared that he was not aiming at the destruction of the

Protestants, although circumstances soon occurred which showed that these assurances were not true.

In May, 1548, the Emperor proclaimed the "Augsburg Interim." This edict required obedience from the entire Empire, confirmed all the Catholic dogmas, and restored the absolute authority of the Roman Church. To save appearances, however, it allowed the people the communion in both forms and the marriage of the priests. The acceptance of the Interim was resisted by both Catholics and Protestants, — by the former on account of the two concessions. The Diet was called the "Armed Diet," because Charles was obliged to use persuasion, threats, and violence in compelling obedience. He believed the Council of Trent would adopt the Interim; but when the document was read, a dead silence was the only answer of the astounded assembly. The Elector-Bishop of Mayence, one of Charles's tools, rose in his place, and promising absolute obedience, hailed the Interim as a masterpiece of wisdom and a mark of the Emperor's mercy. Charles received the speech as if coming from the whole assembly, and the Interim was immediately proclaimed as a law of the Empire, though it succeeded only for a little time.

The Emperor offered John Frederick his freedom if he would give his public sanction to the Interim; but the latter replied, "I am ready to die, but I will never violate the dictates of my conscience nor deny my religious faith."

The thoughts of Charles V. were now all centred on having his son Philip chosen by the Diet as his successor, although his brother Ferdinand had been elected King of Germany in 1530; but the Electors would not comply with his request.

Just at this time Maurice, who was besieging Magdeburg, turned traitor to the Emperor, as he was thought

to have done to the Protestant Church. He marched against Charles with his army. He had signed a secret treaty with Henry II. of France, to whom he promised Toul, Verdun, and Metz, in return for the latter's assistance. Maurice seized the mountain passes, and hemmed the Emperor in at Innsbruck. Nothing but a speedy flight across the Alps saved Charles's life. This escape was a great relief to Maurice, as he said he had not "a cage for so great a bird." The Emperor was helpless, for now a resolute soldier had the will and power to enforce obedience. He applied to the Catholic Electors, and they replied they could do nothing without a Council, which Charles resolved immediately to call; but prelates and laymen, upper and lower classes, fled in a great panic. Thereupon he turned to Ferdinand, who remarked with truth that the Turks were advancing into Hungary, and he could not spare a single soldier. Next he bethought himself of his daughter, wife of Ferdinand's son Maximilian, but she at once requested the payment of her dowry, three thousand ducats. The Emperor then asked a loan from the banking-house of Augsburg. They regretted that they were unable to oblige him. On the eastern frontier the Sultan threatened the whole Empire, and from the west came news that France had declared war. The Emperor perceived that all his movements were at a standstill.

After the Council of Trent broke up, Philip of Hesse and John Frederick of Saxony were released from their long confinement; and the Protestants, having gained all the ground they had lost, for the present had nothing more to fear. The reception of John Frederick by his family and friends after a five years' imprisonment was beyond description. He died two years later, singing his favorite hymn, "What pleases God, pleases me also."

At the Diet of Passau, which Maurice and Ferdinand of Austria had called, the Emperor was obliged to consent to a treaty which gave each German state a right to regulate its own affairs; it also provided for universal amnesty, a perpetual peace between Catholics and Protestants, whatever might be the decision of future Diets. In ratifying the treaty, although sorely pressed on account of his helplessness, since Ferdinand reminded him that the Turks were advancing, Charles guaranteed the religious freedom only to the next Diet, and the Perpetual Peace he rejected altogether.

Supported by a million ducats, which Philip had sent him from Spain, the Emperor now marched upon Metz with troops which the princes had supplied him, his position being strengthened by a union with Albert of Brandenburg; but he was obliged to abandon the siege the next January, thus giving up all hope of regaining the fortresses handed over to Henry II. by Maurice a year before. It was four years before the quarrel with France came to an end. The Protestant states had nothing to fear during that time.

Margrave Albert of Brandenburg was a ruffian, whose weapons were not only the sword, but fire and plunder. He was an old comrade of Maurice. and when sober had proved a good soldier and a genial companion; but he was willing to make his fortune in the service of any party. He always supported his armies from the spoils of the territory which he subjected. His appearance on these raids was like that of a formidable brigand. He carried a short musket, with pistols at his side; his countenance was covered with freckles, and the lower part of his face overgrown with a heavy red beard; his long hair fell on his shoulders, and he rolled his eyes fiercely about. On account of his personal bearing, he was sur-

named "The Wild." With his own hand he lighted the torch which kindled the fires and consumed the castles, palaces, villages, and forests of the enemy. It was said that no whirlwind, lightning nor thunder ever left behind such a trail of desolation. He was sometimes in the service of the Protestants, who, strange to say, since Luther was dead, did not gainsay his right to attack and plunder.

Albert of Brandenburg committed shocking barbarities in Saxony and Franconia, in the service of the Emperor, whose cause he continued to maintain, even after the latter had broken all the promises made to him. But he was overwhelmingly defeated by Maurice in July, 1553, at the battle of Sievershausen; Maurice, however, fell in the thickest of the fight. The greater part of Saxony belongs to the descendants of Maurice to this day; while the older line, then represented by Frederick the Wise of Saxony and John Frederick, now hold only the little province of Thuringia.

The death of Maurice encouraged Albert to make another attempt against the insurgents, but he was defeated; he then fled to France, and his estates were confiscated. In 1557 he returned to Germany broken-hearted, and died in the Castle of Pforzheim, Baden, at the age of thirty-five. Just before he died he repented of his violent deeds, and became a true follower of Christ. He considered his early death a just judgment of God for his sins. In his last sickness he wrote several hymns which are now sung in German and Swiss churches.

The strength of the Emperor had failed rapidly ever since he had escaped in the rain over the Brenner Pass to Villach in Carinthia; his plans and his ambitions were also weakening. He left Germany with chagrin and disappointment, having installed Ferdinand as his succes-



sor. The latter had always been a dutiful brother; and at the Emperor's instigation he called a Diet, which met at Augsburg the 25th of September, 1555. The Diet concluded a treaty of Religious Peace, which is known in history as the false peace of Augsburg, but for the time it gave rest to Germany. Those Protestants who followed the Augsburg Confession, and they alone, received religious freedom and perfect equality before the law, also the possession of church property, which had fallen into their hands. Although their position was not equal to that of the Catholics, they now had the sanction of the Empire. The followers of Calvin and Zwingli, however, had no recognized rights; so they were always making disturbances, and were quarrelling with both Catholics and Lutherans, until finally their privileges were assured. The last clause in the Peace of Augsburg, determining that the people should follow the religion of the reigning sovereign, afterwards caused much trouble, and gave it the name of the "false peace."

The Pope condemned the religious peace; but the German Catholics rejoiced in harmony at any price, and they hailed it with gladness. They were especially satisfied with the arrangement, because the Jesuits, or "Society of Jesus," founded in 1540 by the Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola, were rapidly increasing. Originally the object of the Jesuit was the conversion of the heathen; but they soon devoted themselves to resisting the Reformation, and the Catholics feared they would finally also overthrow the Church.

After Charles had abdicated in Germany, in 1556, he left Spain and the Sicilies, as well as the Netherlands, to his son Philip II. He immediately sailed to Spain, and retired to a monastery called St. Justus, where he lived for two years as an imperial monk, spending his time in

his garden, in prayers, and in making mechanical inventions. He died in 1558.

It is related that Charles was often embarrassed financially, and was obliged to borrow extensively of Fugger the Jew. At one time when he paid Fugger a visit, the latter, in honor of the occasion, built a fire out of different delicately scented woods. Charles remarked that it was the most expensive fire a monarch had ever enjoyed. Fugger replied, "I will render it more memorable still in its costliness." Whereupon he threw into the flames the bonds for several millions of guldens, which signified the amount of the Emperor's indebtedness to him.

Charles V., who is known also as "Don Carlos I. of Spain," was the greatest monarch of his time. He made Spain the leading nation of the world. In his youth he was the "mightiest, wealthiest, and most powerful prince in the universe." It used to be his boast that the sun never set on his dominion. His boundless ambition, unparalleled energy, and cold, calculating brain again and again served him, when it seemed that circumstances were all fighting against his success; but his ambition was entirely selfish, aiming at the aggrandizement of the House of Hapsburg, as well as the enlargement of all his dominions. It has been said of him that he was too cunning to rule a world, and that by burying himself in double-dealing and intrigue, his great natural advantages were overlooked. This was proved at the end of his reign, when his deeply laid plans broke to pieces, and at his death the two great objects of his life had not been accomplished. The first had been the uniting of all Christendom under the Pope; the second the union of Germany with the Spanish Empire. The German people, following such leaders as Luther and Melancthon, defeated the first ambition; the princes, who came to regard

him as a despot, thwarted the second. His wars with Francis I. of France, four in number, which had for their object, on the part of Francis, the keeping of the balance of power, and hindering the entire overshadowing and final absorption of the French nation by the House of Austria, was the cause of a bitter rivalry, which created a continual unrest until 1547, the year when the Emperor's two great rivals, Francis I. and Henry VIII., were buried.

The bigotry of Charles V. crippled the workings of the Reformation, and was one of the remote causes of the Thirty Years' War. Luther said of him in his youth, "He will never succeed; for he has openly rejected truth, and Germany will be implicated in his want of success."

## CHAPTER XXVII.

## ABDICATION OF CHARLES V. TO THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

1556—1618 A.D.

WHEN the Diet met at Frankfort, in March, 1558, two years after the abdication of Charles V., Ferdinand of Austria was elected and crowned Emperor. He had always protected the Protestants against the extreme measures of his brother Charles; and, in accordance with this attitude, he observed faithfully the agreement made at the last "Diet of Augsburg." He allowed them their own form of the sacrament in Austria and the marriage of the priests.

Five years after the Augsburg Peace, and four years after the abdication of Charles, Philip Melancthon died, in April, 1560. He had lived to see the great work of his own and Luther's life crowned with success; he had been a participant or observer in all the important events of Charles V.'s reign. His mind had been affected more or less by the Italian wars, the sack of Rome, the battle of Mühlberg, the utter prostration at times of the Protestant cause, the career of Maurice, the ludicrous flight of Charles, and afterwards by the Treaties of Passau and Augsburg, which confirmed the Protestants in their rights and future security. Above all, he had reason to rejoice at the final abdication of the monarch who had done nothing but hinder the great cause. He had, during his useful life, seen students and professors, nobles, princes, and large audiences numbering several thousand, sitting

at his feet listening to his entreaties to become the true followers of Christ. He "welcomed death," he said, "because it would deliver him from sin, and bring him into the light of Eternity, into the sight of God and his Son, and into the mysteries of faith, which we cannot understand in this life." When dying he was asked if he desired anything; and he replied, "Nothing but heaven."

In December, 1563, the Council of Trent finally adjourned. It had been in session eighteen years. It closed with anathemas against the Protestants, which were accepted by Spain, Italy, and Poland; but the Catholics in France and Germany were more liberal, and never tried to carry out the articles agreed upon by it; for although this Council of Trent had a majority of Catholics in the Diet, the German people had become Protestant, and in many parts of Germany very few Catholic congregations were left.

The reign of Charles V. had weakened rather than strengthened the German Empire. Ferdinand had to give half of Hungary to Sultan Solyman, and was obliged to make an annual payment of three hundred thousand ducats in order to keep the rest.

Ferdinand died in 1564, and was immediately succeeded by his eldest son, Maximilian II. He was a gentle prince, and the Protestants cherished great hopes that he would join them openly. He was in the prime of life and already popular; for his goodness of heart, his engaging manners, and his moderation and justice, were known to all. Although branded by the Catholics as a Protestant in disguise, much to the disappointment of the Protestants, he refused to leave the Catholic Church, sending his son Rudolf to be educated in Spain under the bigoted influence of Philip II., the son of his great-

uncle Charles V. Maximilian, whose daughter had married Charles IX. of France, when he heard of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, said, "Would to God that my son-in-law had asked counsel of me! I would so faithfully have persuaded him as a father that he certainly never would have done this thing."

After a reign of twelve years, on the 12th of October, 1576, Maximilian fell dead at a Diet, at the moment he was declaring his religious policy, which was the following closely in the line of the Treaty of Augsburg of March, 1555.

One hundred and forty years the Empire had been kept in the hands of the Hapsburgs, and the Electors immediately chose Maximilian's son, Rudolf II., who, having been educated among the Spanish Jesuits, avowed himself an enemy of the Protestants. Wishing to make Austria wholly Catholic, he abolished the guaranty of religious freedom which his father had pledged; and this led to revolts in Hungary, so that when the Turks saw his subjects requiring his attention they came down in full force.

Rudolf II., like his great-uncle Charles V. and his remote cousin Philip II., was cold, despotic, gloomy, unsocial, and superstitious; and, like all the Hapsburgs, he looked after the interests of Austria rather than the good of the Empire. He loved the study of alchemy and astrology, and spent much time consulting the stars. These pursuits finally turned his head; for finding, as he thought, a prognostication that a murderer of the next generation would kill him, he permitted no marriage in the family in order to prevent a murderer being born. He encouraged Kepler and Tycho Brahe, a Swede, and to some extent advanced the research in astronomy which was being agitated at that time. But the course of the

Hapsburg dynasty, in God's providence, was ruining the old Empire, and making a way for the Houses of Brandenburg and Hohenzollern, which two centuries later were to become the foundation of the German Nation as we see it to-day.

The dissension in religion and politics engendered in Rudolf's time was the means of bringing on the "Thirty Years' War." When he took away the right of worship his father had insured to Austria, closed the churches of the Protestants, burned their Bibles, and removed them from all the offices which they held, he quoted from the last Treaty of Augsburg, that whoever ruled a people should determine their religious faith. But the country was quiet, and no particular event of importance in the German Empire happened after Rudolf's accession until the century closed.

Spain was still busy with the Netherlands, Henry of Navarre was fighting the Duke of Guise, Hungary and Austria were left to check the advance of the Turks, and Germany enjoyed peace for fifty years. During this time wealth increased, the inhabitants in the cities lived more luxuriously, but failed more and more to keep the moral law. The arts and sciences flourished, and people grew cultured; but the spirit of the Reformation was dying out. The laws presented in the gospel of Jesus Christ had become mixed up with superstition and bigotry; and although civilization seemed to be advancing, barbarism still existed in men's souls.

Duke Ferdinand of Styria, who would succeed his cousin Rudolf II., as the next heir to the throne, opened a new strife. Styria, his own country, was ultra Protestant, and refused to change its creed; but Ferdinand declared that it was better to rule over a desert than a land of heretics; so he closed their churches, introduced mass everywhere,

and without ceremony banished all who did not believe in the Catholic religion. In May, 1608, the Protestants of Southern Germany, mostly of the Reformed Church, formed a "Union," under Frederick IV. of the Palatinate, for mutual protection, relying on Henry IV. of France. At this same time there was also a Catholic League, which Maximilian of Bavaria had founded with the assistance of Spain. Both of the organizations were finally united on the question of the "Succession of Cleves." The two leagues were alike opposed to John Sigismund, the Elector of Brandenburg, and Duke Wolfgang of Neuburg of the Bavarian Palatinate, both of whom claimed the dukedoms of Julich, Cleve, and Berg, together with the counties of Mark and Ravensburg. This was a very large territory, and it was a great question whether it would fall into Catholic or Protestant hands; but it was feared that the Emperor was about to seize it for the crown. In order to hinder this, the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Neuburg met at Dortmund, and agreed to unite in the claim against the Emperor and the Catholic League. Henry IV., having been murdered by the assassin Ra-vaillac, and Frederick of the Palatinate having died, the Union and League united; for Maximilian of Bavaria feared that otherwise the land would come under the power of the Hapsburgs.

The feud continued until the convention of Zanten, Nov. 12, 1614. When Cleves, Mark, and Ravensburg were given to Brandenburg, and Julich and Berg to Neuburg.

The Emperor Rudolf II. had inherited a gloomy disposition from his great-grandmother, Johanna, the wife of Philip I. of Spain, and mother of Charles V. This melancholy had now become a monomania, and was affecting his mind to such an extent that he seldom went out on account of his fear of assassination. In the meantime



everything in the country had got into such a deplorable state that a civil war was impending, and there were unmistakable signs of the coming of a great strife which was to plunge the country into woe and disaster.

Rudolf's health was now failing, and in his great strait he put forth a "Royal Letter" which kept the nation in a continual ferment during the next ten or fifteen years. It granted to the Hussites and Protestants freedom of worship, and rights like those which the Catholics enjoyed. Although Rudolf issued this Royal Charter, he still kept up his old relations with the Catholics, allowing the Bishop of Passau to raise an army to re-establish that faith. This duplicity of action, with many other causes, brought his whimsical character before the public, so that the princes called upon Matthias, Rudolf's brother, to take the rule into his own hands, declaring the Emperor incapable of governing.

Matthias had such a hard time in maintaining his position, and was obliged to accept so much help from the Protestant nobility, that he was forced to grant religious freedom to all.

The government had still allowed Rudolf to keep his palace at Prague, where he continued to go on with his experiments under the great though superstitious Tycho Brahe. This kept his mind up to a high nervous pitch, almost amounting to insanity. Rudolf thought the great comet in 1608 a special dispensation on his own account, and his fear of assassination increased accordingly. He not only stopped going out in public, but he no longer went to church. Nevertheless, his love for fine horses kept up his interest in the Royal Stables; and in the passage which he had built to these he had oblique windows set deep in the solid wall to prevent all danger of being shot, and the entire gallery was lined with black polished

marble to reflect any assassin approaching. None of his ministers could get a hearing unless they disguised themselves as grooms, and when Rudolf found out the deception his melancholy fury knew no bounds.

The Bohemians became so tired of the Emperor's whims that they called Matthias to help them dispose of him, and Rudolf was removed from his favorite palace in Prague. As he left the city he cried, "May the vengeance of God overtake thee, and my curse light on thee and all Bohemia!" A few months after, in January, 1612, he died; and in the years following Bohemia realized that this dire curse was indeed a prophecy.

After Rudolf's death, Matthias was officially made Emperor. The Catholics were in the ascendancy in the Diet, although in the nation they were in the minority. But since Matthias had ever shown a tolerant spirit to the Protestants in Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia, they also helped to confirm him in his right to the throne. He always exhibited a desire to settle existing differences, but with the Catholic majority in some places he found this no easy task. Many complications arising, he grew so tired of the care of the government that he appointed his cousin, Ferdinand of Styria, as his successor, in the year 1617.

Ferdinand of Styria has been noticed in his dealings with his own countrymen as a man of great energy, but at the same time stern and cruel. He was the son of Maximilian II.'s younger brother Charles. After the Bohemians had helped Matthias to succeed, the latter made Ferdinand their king. For the sake of policy he granted them religious freedom; but soon after, when he with Matthias went to arrange the succession in Hungary, they left the Protestants in Bohemia to the mercy of a bigoted Catholic Council determined upon mischief.

The Catholic bishops, left in power, destroyed three Protestant churches; and when the Protestant nobles appealed to Matthias, instead of protecting them, he threatened them in a letter as disturbers of the peace. Matthias was now under the influence of Ferdinand, who when he became King of Bohemia, taking the advice of the wily Jesuits, had adroitly seemed to respect the rights of the Protestants, but was in reality himself a Jesuit; and, before he took his oath, he had visited the Holy Shrine at Loretto, in Italy, on the Adriatic coast, and made a vow that he would build up the Holy Catholic Church and put down Protestantism. He had done this in Styria, and he was bound to do the same in Bohemia.

As Ferdinand had hoped, he was elected King of Hungary, and was soon to be made presumptive heir to the imperial throne under the title of King of the Romans.

When Matthias and Ferdinand had left Bohemia for Hungary, they had placed as regents two zealous Catholic members of the Council, Slavata and Martinitz, who were afterwards suspected of having influenced Matthias in his menacing letter. On the opposite side was Count Thurm, a strong Lutheran, who was determined to destroy the Hapsburg rule. On the 23d of May, 1618, when the Council had assembled in the Royal Palace at Prague, a troop of Hussite and Lutheran armed nobles, under Count Thurm, entered the Council Chamber where Martinitz and Slavata were sitting. They reproached the two regents with being in league with the Emperor in his arbitrary attitude in the letter answering their complaints. When asked if they had prompted the Emperor's action, the regents replied that they had. On receiving this answer, in spite of their prayers for a priest and the sacrament, the mob, according to an old custom, pitched them through the window out-of-doors, a distance of eighty feet.

Strange to say they arose and walked away uninjured. When they had fallen, the mob had cried out, "Now let their Mary save them." Directly under the window there was a pile of refuse paper, which broke their fall; and though several shots were fired after them, they were entirely unharmed. When the crowd saw them get up unhurt, some of the superstitious ones cried, "Their Mary has saved them."

The Bohemians called this the act of "Defenestration;" it was the real beginning of the Thirty Years' War. The Catholics regarded the event as a miracle, and declared that the escape was due to the help of angels, who had saved Martinitz and Slavata from the effects of their fall. The King of Bohemia asserted that, in the persons of the councillors, the sovereigns themselves had virtually partaken of the violence of the deed. This was the opening act of the long struggle filled with violence and slaughter, which was continued throughout the Thirty Years' War,—a war that kept a whole generation in fear of bands of un pitying marauders, made Germany a desert, and stopped all progress. The unprotected inhabitants were obliged to support armies of trained hirelings, who fought on the basis of no moral principle, but simply for the spoils.

The act of "Defenestration" was followed by a great revolution; the imperial forces were beaten, and the Jesuits driven out of Prague. Matthias, whose health was fast failing, was anxious to conciliate the victorious insurgents in Bohemia; for he dreaded their influence over Austria and Hungary. But the Catholic priests and princes were resolved to make one more effort to gain the supremacy.

Ferdinand congratulated the Emperor on an event which would justify him in the eyes of all nations in using the

severest measures against the Protestant sect. The Emperor did not indorse his views; but, unequipped, he did not dare to offer the rebels overtures of peace, for all Bohemia had already sprung to arms. With the assistance of Spain, Matthias was soon able to get in readiness a small army with which to take the field; but before he proceeded to action, he tried to make an amicable adjustment, by the publication of a manifesto in which he assured the Bohemians that he held sacred the "Royal Letter" which Rudolf had issued some years before. He told them that he was not inimical to their religion, and that, as soon as the Bohemians laid down their arms, he would disband his own troops.

The leaders of the insurrection tried by every device to keep the good intention of the Emperor from the people, spurring on the deluded populace, and terrifying them with visions of another St. Bartholomew, as a fate that would soon be their own. The Protestants were influenced in their actions by a firm faith in their own strength. The preceding year they had celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the Reformation; they found that they constituted three-fourths of the population, and they could not believe that there was force enough in the opposition to put them down. Their purposes were further strengthened when Moravia espoused their cause. Just at this juncture, also, an intrepid defender arose.

Peter Ernest, Count Mansfeld, a brilliant young commander, the son of an Austrian officer of the same name, followed the fortunes of the Protestants to the end of his life. He had already been connected with the Evangelical Union, which from the earliest day had always supported the insurgents. The Silesian States also sent assistance; and had the Protestants concentrated their forces, and prepared themselves for action on the usual

solid basis of war, by systematizing their methods, and arranging to clothe, feed, and pay their army, instead of being simply rebels, they might have become the successful victors in a revolution, and decided the fate of a nation without the subsequent agonizing struggle.

After several battles, the Emperor died, as he was about to enter into negotiations for peace.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

## FIRST PERIOD.

REVOLT OF BOHEMIA.      FREDERICK V. OF THE PALATINATE.  
MANSFELD, CHRISTIAN OF BRUNSWICK, TILLY.

1618—1625 A.D.

THE affairs of the government were in a very unpromising condition, and the moment which seemed to be bringing the fulfilment of Ferdinand's hopes also threatened to deprive him of his last chance. But he did not lose a day in taking the power into his own hands. Austria threatened revolution; Hungary joined Bohemia; the Protestant princes did not want him to be Emperor, and Bohemia had no faith in his promise to renew the "Royal Letter." Bethlen Gabor held an intimidating position in Hungary, and Count Thurm had marched to the doors of Vienna, threatening to shut Ferdinand in. The Emperor sent his wife and children to the Tyrol, and, with three hundred men, prepared to stand his ground. The Protestants who wished to join the Bohemians were a majority in the city, and some were even then going over to the hostile ranks. In the country they had begun to levy troops against him, and had it not been for the irresolution of the enemy outside he would have been forced to yield to a deputation of sixteen Austrian Protestant princes who had entered his palace, one of them seizing him by the button of his coat, insisting that he should sign

a charter which would insure the united rights of themselves and Bohemians, and which would in truth make them too strong for his future reforms. The Bohemian bullets were already falling on his palace. He saw the chasm widening, and already imagined himself shut in a monastery, and his children brought up by Protestants.

One of the deputation demanded, "Ferdinand! wilt thou sign?" Ferdinand maintained the dignity of a Roman Emperor. While there seemed nothing left to him but the submission which his friends urged and the priests besought, he knew that if he abandoned the city it would fall into the enemy's hands; with Vienna, Austria would be lost, and with Austria his own throne. It is said that he threw himself upon his knees, and prayed for help to stand firm against what his conscience forbade, and that he thought he heard the reply, "Fear not, I will never forsake thee." Almost as if his prayers were at that moment answered, a sound of trumpets was heard in the palace square. A new terror took possession of all present, and one deputy after another disappeared. Many citizens were so frightened that they fled for refuge to the camp of Count Thurm.

The sudden change had taken place because Archduke Albert, with re-enforcement, had gained admittance by the gate left unguarded by Thurm, and in consequence Ferdinand was rescued. He hastened to Frankfort to see that his election as Emperor was confirmed, and on September 9, 1619, he was crowned as Ferdinand II. He had been chosen by the ballot of all the Electors, even receiving the vote of the three Protestants in the Diet, who, for some unknown reason, had sustained him, even while knowing his character and intentions concerning the Catholic Faith. There was suspicion entertained that they had been influenced by bribery.



During the festivities of the occasion, tidings came that the Protestants of Bohemia had rejected Ferdinand as their king, and had called a general Diet at Prague, August 17, 1619. At this Diet they proclaimed the Emperor an enemy to the Bohemian religion, declaring that he had alienated the affection of the late Emperor from them; that he had made their country a prey to foreigners; and that he had bequeathed the crown by secret compact to Spain. In view of these transactions, they affirmed that he had forfeited his title to their crown, and proceeded to a new election.

Since the Elector Palatine, Frederick V., was esteemed by the people of Bohemia more than any one else, they elected him as their king, hoping by this means to gain over the Union.

Frederick was a weak prince, who, having married the daughter of James I. of England, was entirely under her control. His father-in-law entreated him to desist from so dangerous a step, telling him that he could not depend upon English aid in establishing a precedent where an old law of nations was at stake. Frederick's aged mother also tried to dissuade him; and, full of grief at parting when he went to accept the crown, she cried out, "Now the Palatinate is going to Bohemia." But his wife, the handsome Elizabeth, always having desired a crown, taunted him with not having the spirit of a king, although he had been so fortunate as to marry a king's daughter. She said, "I would rather eat bread at a king's table than feast at an Electoral board."

Frederick was crowned with great pomp, November 4, 1619. The opening of his reign was most auspicious; the adoration of the people of Bohemia knew no bounds; the ladies sent Elizabeth sacks of cakes, and an ebony cradle inlaid with silver for her infant son Rupert.

Frederick idled away his time the first winter, while Ferdinand II. was making every preparation to put him down. Seeing his want of discipline and that he was losing so much time, the Jesuits said, "This Frederick will only be a Winter King;" and when the spring came and he lost his crown, and was also finally driven from his beautiful home in Heidelberg Castle, where the buildings are all named for him and his family, he went ever after by the name of "The Winter King."

Before this took place Frederick had alienated all parties by his indiscretions. The Hussites had always held to their old methods, keeping up the Catholic form of religious service, and letting the ornaments remain in the churches. With his radical Calvinistic views, this seemed a sin; accordingly he quarrelled with that faction, and, ignoring Count Thurm, gave the command of his army to his closest adviser, Prince Christian of Anhalt. One hope after another vanished, one friend after another withdrew, and in a few months the fair prospects which first flattered him passed away. His ill-timed zeal for the Calvinists irritated the Lutherans, his attacks on the illuminated altars and images exasperated the Papists, while his oppressive taxation estranged all his subjects. The Bohemian nobles, when they saw there was no foreign aid, grew cold in their attachment to him. Meanwhile Frederick was wasting his precious time in amusement, enjoying the idea of wearing a crown instead of making it secure. On the other hand, while Frederick was injuring his cause, Ferdinand II. was at every turn improving his unfavorable outlook. When the leaders of the Union, who had retired from Frederick's service at the time the Catholic League took the field, again marshalled an army, the Emperor and the League did the same thing. The moment seemed decisive.

At this juncture France, fearing the power of the Calvinists and the influence of their example on the Huguenots, intervened, and effected a treaty between the Union and the League, by which the Union agreed to confine its aid in behalf of Frederick exclusively to his Palatinate domain. The Elector of Saxony was in alliance with Ferdinand, who gained over all the German princes, while the Lutherans, in opposition to Frederick on theological grounds, remained neutral.

The Bohemians retired under the walls of Prague; while Tilly leading the Austrians and the Duke of Bavaria with an army of his own people, camped above the town. The famous battle of White Mountain was fought on Sunday, the 8th of November, 1620.

In the beginning, some advantage was gained by Duke Anhalt; but Count Mansfeld, to avoid fighting under him, had stayed away, and the whole of Frederick's army did not amount to thirty thousand men. His entire artillery, consisting of ten cannon, was taken at the first assault, and four thousand Bohemians fell on the field. On the other side, only a few hundred were killed. In less than an hour the decisive action was over.

When Anhalt hurried bare-headed into the town to tell Frederick that his army was cut to pieces, his men flying, and that all was lost, he found him seated at the dinner-table feasting with his friends. Having mounted the wall of the town, and witnessing the frightful scene, Frederick asked for a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, but only eight hours were given him.

The city might have been saved had Frederick not abandoned it; since Mansfeld and Bethlen Gabor, by taking the offensive, would have called off the Emperor's army to the Hungarian frontier. The Bohemians also were likely to rally; and the weather, becoming inclement,

would soon have discouraged the siege. But Frederick fearing that the Bohemians, to appease the Emperor, would surrender him in person to the enemy, fled from the capital by night with his chief officers, taking with him his wife Elizabeth, and Rupert, his little boy, whom he hid under the carriage-seat. In the hurried departure he left behind his crown, and Prince Anhalt left his most valuable papers.

To his friends, who tried to comfort him, Frederick said, "I know not what I am. There are virtues which misfortune only can teach, and it is in adversity alone that princes learn to know themselves." He fled to Breslau, and then to the Court of Brandenburg, and finally took shelter in Holland.

Prague surrendered the next day. The Bohemians were at the mercy of the Catholic League under Tilly and Maximilian of Bavaria. The whole country was ravaged; and many of the nobles expired on the scaffold, their estates being confiscated, and all the property of the rebels seized. Toleration of the Protestant religion in the kingdom was revoked. The old "Royal Letter," which had caused Ferdinand so much trouble, he tore up with his own hands, and burned the seal. The Hussite churches were given to the Catholics; and before the end of this reign the Hussite and Lutheran doctrines had been trampled down in Bohemia.

Frederick was put under the ban of the Empire; and, in his place, Maximilian of Bavaria was made Elector. Had Frederick been willing to give up his title as King of Bohemia, he might have saved the Palatinate. The Protestant Union did not wish to lose their Elector; therefore they maintained their allegiance to Frederick, and Mansfeld for a time held two Bohemian towns for him, living by robbery and by ravaging the land.

Elizabeth, the wife of Frederick, grew so charming that the young princes became ever more ardent in her cause. Christian of Brunswick, a dashing young general, and brother of the duke, called himself her knight, and wore her glove on his helmet, with the inscription, "For God and for her." In order to obtain money for his troops, Christian used to plunder the bishoprics, and force the cities and villages to pay him heavy contributions. When he saw the silver statues of the apostles around the altar in the Cathedral at Paderborn, he cried out to them, "Why are you here idle, when you are ordered to go forth into the world and do your Master's work? But I will send you." Thereupon he had them melted, and coined into dollars, and stamped them with the words, "Friend of God, foe of the priest." Afterwards he adopted this as a name for himself, although he was called by the soldiers, "Mad Christian."

Tilly was a fierce and inhuman Thuringian peasant. He had been educated by the Jesuits for a priest, but afterwards entered the Bavarian service under Maximilian. He was a small, lean man, with a face noted for its ugliness; his nose was like a parrot's beak, his brow was furrowed with deep wrinkles, and he had high cheekbones, with eyes sunken deep in their sockets. He went to battle in a green slashed coat, and slouch hat adorned with a red feather, and riding a small gray mare. He was brutal to his soldiers, and unmerciful to the enemy. This Thirty Years' War was the most terrible ever known. The generals, maintaining their forces by pillage, wore out the enemy by ruining their country and scattering misery and sorrow everywhere.

Tilly, after being checked by the forces of Mansfeld and Prince Christian of Brunswick, rallied and cut them to pieces, sending them back to Alsatia. Both armies

went on burning and plundering on the respective banks of the Rhine. Tilly destroyed Mannheim, and sent the great library of the University of Heidelberg to Pope Gregory XV. at Rome, where it remained until 1815, when a part of it was returned by way of Paris.

Frederick V. could get no support from the Protestant princes, and finally tried to negotiate with the Emperor for the recovery of the Palatinate; but all his humiliations were in vain. Ferdinand gave his rival's lands and titles to Maximilian of Bavaria; and although in direct opposition to usage and the laws of German princes, a Diet at Ratisbon confirmed the deed. Frederick never regained his courage, but continued to make efforts to get back the Palatinate until the time of Gustavus Adolphus. He died in Mayence in 1632.

Germany was now in a worse condition than ever. The Protestants were no better than the Catholics. Slaughter and robbery were practised on both sides, and neither kept faith with its own party. The Protestant countries, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and England, were dismayed. At this time the real ruler of France, Cardinal Richelieu, was willing to sacrifice his Catholic prejudices for the sake of curtailing the power of Ferdinand. England and Holland came to the aid of Prince Christian by advancing money, and in 1625 Brunswick, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen formed a Union for mutual defence, choosing for their leader the great King Christian IV. of Denmark. This ruler had broken the power of the Hanseatic League on the Baltic; although he had no sympathy with the North German States, he was willing now to join them to enlarge his domain. He therefore offered to unite with England and Holland; and they were soon in the field against Tilly, and compelled him to call off his forces.

At the beginning of the year 1625 affairs stood thus: Ferdinand found the power of Bavaria increasing, and he feared more and more the growing influence of the Catholic League. He was afraid of his own power being overshadowed, and coveted entire independence of outside forces, earnestly desiring that it should be acknowledged that he had crushed Protestantism, and brought the whole German nation under his control. Tilly, as his only great general, was growing too strong for him; and when in this last emergency, he looked about and saw that a man of unbounded influence as a general had arisen, he did not hesitate for a moment, but gave into his hands unlimited power. Thus began the second period of the Thirty Years' War.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

THIRTY YEARS' WAR CONTINUED.

SECOND PERIOD.

WALLENSTEIN.

1625 — 1630 A.D.

IT was a terrible bargain Emperor Ferdinand II. made with that man of destiny, Wallenstein, when he granted him power to plunder, murder, and commit outrages alike upon friend and foe.

Ferdinand, on account of his despotism, found himself deserted by the German princes, who were alarmed because the House of Hapsburg was gaining too much ground. The sovereigns of Europe were afraid of a united Germany. Richelieu, the great minister of Louis XIII., was just coming upon the scene, and disapproved of Ferdinand's aims. Holland dreaded the influence of Catholicism. James I. was preparing to restore his son-in-law to the Palatinate. The King of Denmark, who was the Duke of Holstein, feared that his religion might be suppressed, and uniting with England and Holland in the declaration of war against the Empire, marched to help the Protestant princes, the Duke of Brunswick and Count Mansfeld.

Had not the Protestant princes been guilty of the error they avoided as long as Luther lived, of allowing their forces to become divided, they might, at this juncture, have triumphed over Ferdinand II. and the Catholic



League. As it was, the element that came to the surface, and helped to dispel the gloom which was settling upon the Emperor's mind, was the appearance of Wallenstein.

Ferdinand now desired to become independent of Duke Maximilian and the Catholic League. The officer who had distinguished himself in the war against Bethlen Gabor and the Turks, and had fought in Italy against Venice and at the battle of White Mountain, and who now came to the Emperor's relief, was this same Wallenstein. Enriched by presents from the Emperor, he had been made Duke of Friedland. By the skilful purchase of confiscated Protestant lands he had greatly increased his patrimony; and now his aim was glory. He was an astrologer, and what he thought the stars portended for him were high honors and great fame. The latter is his for all posterity; the former he trampled in the dust and degraded.

Ferdinand made this bold adventurer a prince, and gave him the right to raise and maintain an army with the absolute command. Wallenstein, although able himself to support the troops, never meant to pay the soldiers from his private fortune; hence the bargain he entered into with the Emperor.

Albert of Waldstein, or Wallenstein as he is generally known, was born at Prague, in 1583. He was the greatest of all the bandit warriors who ravaged Germany during those terrible years. He was tall and thin in person, and, like Tilly, wore in his hat a blood-red plume; his eyes were dark and fiery, and his complexion yellow. He never smiled, and his words were few and stern. There was something mysterious in his character that made a deep and awful impression on all who came in contact with him. His soldiers feared his power, believing him invulnerable, and in league with evil spirits.

Wallenstein soon raised an army of thirty thousand men from disbanded Protestant forces; but during the winter of 1626 the troops of Christian IV. and Mansfeld, and those of Tilly and Wallenstein, were encamped against each other, each army laying waste the territory about it alike, whether that of friend or foe. This method of supporting soldiers in the field by a system of plunder was practised by all parties until Gustavus Adolphus appeared with his well-equipped legions.

In the spring of 1626 Mansfeld marched against Wallenstein to prevent him from uniting with Tilly. The two armies fought desperately on the Elbe at the bridge of Dessau, April 25, 1626. Mansfeld was defeated, and retired into Brandenburg, fighting as he went. Here he obtained re-enforcements, and was about to join Bethlen Gabor in Hungary, when he heard that the latter was trying to make peace with Austria. Then Mansfeld dispersed his army, and was soon to have embarked for England, by way of Venice, when he died, in November, 1626. Although only forty-five years of age, he was already worn out by the hardships of his rough campaigning life. Within a few months Prince Christian of Brunswick also passed away, and the cause of the Protestants was left without a German leader.

In August of the same year Tilly had defeated Christian IV. at Lutter, the army of the latter being cut entirely to pieces. Tilly after this pushed forward to the North Sea, while Christian IV. retreated to Holstein; but this was soon taken from the Danes, together with Silesia and Jutland, by Wallenstein, with a new army of forty thousand men. The Emperor rewarded this prowess by making Wallenstein Duke of Mecklenburg, and giving him the title of "Admiral of the Baltic and the Ocean." A plan was drawn up in 1628 for creating a

navy out of the vessels of the old Hanseatic League and the Spanish fleet, with which to conquer Holland, and, united to Holland, to crush Sweden, the last Protestant power in the North.

All this might have been accomplished had not the little Hanseatic town of Stralsund closed its gates against Wallenstein. Hamburg and Lübeck had surrendered at Wallenstein's approach; but the citizens of this little city took a solemn oath to defend their faith, and fight for their independence to the last. Although they held out so bravely, Wallenstein declared, "If Stralsund were chained to heaven with adamant, I would tear the city down." At the first assault he lost a thousand men, at the second double that number, and after this the citizens harassed his army, inflicting deadly blows. The Kings of Sweden and Denmark sent the city aid, and obliged Wallenstein to raise the siege. The Danes, with a fleet of two hundred vessels, took possession of the port of Wolgast in Mecklenburg.

Christian IV. had abandoned the cause of German Protestantism by a treaty of peace at Lübeck, May 12, and Ferdinand II., notwithstanding Wallenstein's reverse of fortune at Stralsund, considered that his absolute power was established over Germany, and determined to give Protestantism its death-blow. Perhaps he remembered the vow he had made at Loretto with the Holy Virgin to extend the Catholic worship even at the risk of his crown and life. Accordingly, on March 6, 1629, he issued his famous Edict of Restitution. By this ordinance all the lands of the Roman Catholics which had been confiscated by the Protestants since the Convention of Passau were to be restored to the original proprietors. This decree deprived the Protestants of two archbishoprics and twelve bishoprics. A large num-

ber of monasteries and churches, which had been suppressed a century before, were to be re-established; also in conformity to one of the articles in the last Treaty of Augsburg, called the "Augsburg decree," declaring that the religion of the ruler should become that of the people, Ferdinand ordered that in all such territory no Protestants should be tolerated except those who had accepted the Augsburg Confession, and this excluded Calvinists. According to this doctrine, the people in the Palatinate of the Rhine were compelled to be alternately Catholic and Protestant four times.

In order to enforce this Edict of Restitution, Ferdinand was obliged to keep armies in the field; and in carrying out its terms, the soldiers were in the habit of using the most brutal methods. In Franconia, Würtemberg, and Baden the estates of six thousand nobles were seized, and the officers under the Emperor went so far as to attack the property of reigning princes; the portion not reverting to the Church went to enrich the Emperor's family. Young Leopold, Ferdinand's son, a boy of fifteen years, received the Archbishoprics of Bremen and Magdeburg: but the Protestant lands did not always satisfy Ferdinand, and when the Catholics saw that they also were soon to suffer, the smaller states became alarmed, and prepared for action. The Emperor had at this time thought that he saw a prospect of such power as Charles V. had coveted, but had lost in the Smalkaldic war; also at the very same time that the states were aroused, Wallenstein became so arrogant and despotic that he urged the Emperor to do away with the National Diet, saying that the German Emperor did not need the states, but that he ought to be as absolute a ruler as the King of France or Spain.

At the moment Wallenstein was urging the Emperor

to assume more unlimited authority, he himself was making plans to become a ruler independent and unrestrained by royal prerogatives. The Catholics and Protestants were now alike aroused, and demanded a Diet to restrict such despotism, and to do away with so much absolute power. Ferdinand would have refused, had he not seen that foreign nations — Holland, Sweden, and France, as well as Denmark — were ready at a moment's notice to open hostilities against him.

The Diet met on the 5th of June, 1630, at Ratisbon, and, headed by Maximilian of Bavaria, demanded Wallenstein's removal. The Protestants testified to his having wasted their lands, and that he had burned and murdered indiscriminately. The Catholics complained that the enormous wealth which he had unjustly accumulated enabled him to live in the most princely magnificence.

Ferdinand was obliged to listen to the terms of the Diet; for at this very time he was negotiating with the Electors to have his son crowned King of the Romans, and he knew that he could only gain the favor of the princes by Wallenstein's dismissal.

When the messengers went to inform Wallenstein of the decision of the Diet, they feared him so much that they scarcely dared mention their business. The coolness and dignity with which he received the news surprised them. He pointed to a sheet of paper covered with astrological characters, and told them he knew all about it beforehand, and that he understood how the Elector of Bavaria was misleading the Emperor; but he said his highest duty was to obey. He then entertained the messengers at a magnificent banquet, and after loading them with gifts, sent them away,

He soon after returned to Prague, where he lived like an independent sovereign. Six gates led to the palace

which Wallenstein inhabited, a hundred houses having been pulled down to make room for his grounds. His other estates had similar palaces. Gentlemen of the nobility vied with each other as if he were a sovereign for places of service in his house. Chamberlains under the Emperor often resigned their positions to serve him. He kept about him sixty pages, whom he caused to be instructed by the most efficient masters in order to fit them for his suite. He had his chamber guarded by fifty armed men. His table was never laid with less than a hundred covers, and his butler was a person of high rank. When he travelled, one hundred six-horse wagons accompanied him to transport his baggage; and his court followed in sixty carriages, attended by fifty horses led by grooms. A patrol of twelve officers guarded his palace in Prague, which he compelled to be kept free from disturbances of every kind. So averse was he to the noise of vehicles, that the streets leading to his grounds were blockaded with chains.

He was liberal in his gifts; and it is said he was much more lavish in the latter than with his words, which were harsh and imperious. He was so afraid of his secrets being known that the most of his correspondence was managed by himself, and written by his own hand.

In this stately silence and apparent obscurity, Wallenstein awaited the decrees of fate.

Meanwhile Tilly was appointed commander-in-chief of the imperial army. The Protestants in the twelve years of this dreadful warfare had decreased in number over one-half; they were broken in spirit, and seemed facing the utter ruin of their country and religion. But hope, in the person of a great commander, was at hand.

CHAPTER XXX.

THIRD PERIOD OF THIRTY YEARS' WAR. — GUSTAVUS  
ADOLPHUS.

1630—1632 A.D.

ON the 4th of July, 1630, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, landed on the coast of Pomerania with sixteen thousand men. He was the grandson of Gustavus Vasa, and the hero of his age. He is said to have been the only prince in Europe at that time to whom oppressed liberty could look for protection.

Gustavus Adolphus had not completed his seventeenth year when the throne became vacant by the death of his father, Charles IX. His grandfather, Gustavus Vasa, had rescued Sweden from its vassalage to Denmark, and had reformed it by wise laws. He had lived at the beginning of the Reformation, and was a Protestant in his doctrine. He had moulded his country in the straight line of religion and truth, and had formed a rather incomplete outline for the government of the nation, which Gustavus Adolphus was about to fill in by a career which began and ended in success.

Before Gustavus Adolphus had set out to cross the Baltic, his preparations were made with the greatest prudence and deliberation. Oxenstiern, his minister, advised waiting, and meeting the enemy on Swedish ground; but Gustavus had overruled this advice, saying the sea was too wide and the coast-line too long to defend. He had taken all precautionary measures to assure himself

that the King of Denmark was friendly; he also saw that his Russian frontier was well guarded, and felt that when he arrived in Germany he could hold Poland in check. Lübeck and Hamburg agreed to advance him money, accepting Swedish copper in return. His regiments were increased to their full strength. transports were provided, a fleet fitted out, and military stores laid in. His army was admirable in every point of discipline; and, though small, it was the nucleus of greater forces if success should seem about to be his.

The internal affairs of the Swedish kingdom were provided for with equal care. Gustavus is said to have set his house in order like a dying man. The government was intrusted to the Council of State, and the finances to his brother-in-law, Palatine John Casimir. On the 20th of May, 1630, the king appeared in the Diet of Stockholm for the purpose of asking the representatives to swear fealty to his daughter Christina, a child of four years, whom he held in his arms. He then bade the members of the Council a solemn farewell. His words were so touching that the whole assembly burst into tears. He said, "Not wantonly do I involve myself and you in this dangerous war. God is my witness that I do not fight to gratify my own ambition. But the Emperor has wronged me in the person of my ambassador. He has supported my enemies, trampled my religion, and stretched his hand against my crown. The oppressed states of Germany call for aid, which by God's help we will give them. I am fully sensible of the dangers to which my life will be exposed. Hitherto Providence has wonderfully protected me, but I shall at last fall in defence of my country. I commend you to the protection of Heaven. Be just and act uprightly, and we shall meet in eternity. I bid you all a sincere, it may be an eternal, farewell."



When Gustavus Adolphus stepped on the shores of the Baltic, he knelt in the presence of all his soldiers, and prayed that God would assist him in this venture, which he had undertaken for the right. Some of his officers were moved to tears by his devotion, whereupon he said, "Weep not, friends, but pray; for prayer is half victory."

Gustavus Adolphus was at this time thirty-four years old; his lofty character was written in his commanding face. Gigantic in his proportions, with his light hair, large gray eyes, and aquiline nose, he offered a striking contrast to the haggard and wrinkled Tilly and the silent and mysterious Wallenstein. The noblest man as well as the best soldier of his age, he was as great in statesmanship as in war. A patron of art, science, and learning, he was a ready orator, deeply versed in theology, speaking four languages with ease. He was descended from the Goths, and therefore a countryman of those he came to serve.

When Ferdinand II. heard that the King of Sweden had landed, he called him the "Snow King," saying that he would melt away in the spring; but the common people named him "The Lion of the North." He had landed on the Island of Wolfin, and upon his approach the imperial garrison abandoned their intrenchments and fled. He advanced rapidly to Stettin, but to the weak Duke of Pomerania, Bogeslaw XIV., the appearance of his deliverer was only an occasion of fear; however, when the duke appeared in the camp of Gustavus, the latter said to him, "I come to you, not as enemy, but as a friend. I wage no war against Pomerania nor the German Empire, but against the enemies of both."

The Protestant princes were jealous of the King of Sweden, and Stettin for a long time shut the gates of the city against him. George William, the Elector of Bran-

denburg, and John George of Saxony, held aloof from him; but when the people saw how well disciplined his army was, and that he would allow no plunder nor violence, and that he fed, clothed, and lodged his army so well, and gave them chaplains to care for their souls, they welcomed him wherever he marched.

Before the end of the year Gustavus had driven the imperial troops from Pomerania, he had taken Frankfort-on-the-Main, and asked of the Elector of Brandenburg the use of the fortress of Spandau until he could relieve Magdeburg, which was now being besieged by Tilly and Pappenheim, because it had so furiously resisted the Edict of Restitution the year before. Gustavus was hastening to relieve the fortress, and asked permission to march through the Elector of Saxony's land; but he was refused. On account of all this delay, although Magdeburg held out a month, Tilly, with General Pappenheim, took it by storm on the 10th of May, 1631, and a scene of horror commenced which no language can describe. Infants were stabbed at their mothers' breasts, and the soldiers amused themselves by throwing young children into the flames. Nothing was sacred in the eyes of the enemy. Some of the officers of the League, who in comparison with Tilly's soldiers seemed humane, were horror-stricken, and reminded Tilly that he had it in his power to stop the carnage. "In an hour I will see what I can do; the soldiers must have some reward for their danger and toil." Tilly wrote to the Emperor: "Since the fall of Troy and Jerusalem such a victory has never been seen. I am sincerely sorry that the ladies of your imperial family could not have been present as spectators." In less than twelve hours this most populous city was reduced to ashes, with the exception of a few houses and two churches. Out of forty thousand inhabitants, only eight

hundred remained alive. After the flames subsided, Tilly and his men went back into the city to renew the pillage amidst the dying and a few of the living who were crawling out from amidst the dead bodies of the slain.

When George William of Brandenburg ordered Gustavus to give up Spandau, which he had temporarily loaned him, telling him to leave his territory, the king planted his cannon before Berlin, threatening that he would lay the city in ashes if the Elector did not agree to have this fortress used by the Swedes, and promise to contribute thirty thousand thalers a month for the expenses of the war — a thaler being seventy-three cents, or about three shillings. Had Gustavus done this at first, the horrors of Magdeburg would have been spared.

The noble-hearted Landgrave William of Hesse-Cassel, worthy of his ancestor who a century before had defended the freedom of Germany against Charles V., was the first Protestant prince who allied himself with the King of Sweden; John George was the next; for when Tilly had invaded and wasted his territory, he laid aside his arrogance, and was so anxious to join Gustavus that he was willing to agree to the most servile terms. After this so many recruits flocked to the Swedish standard that the imperial troops were soon driven out of Mecklenburg, and Tilly's attack on the camp of Gustavus was repulsed.

On the 7th of September these two great generals met. Gustavus, with an army of thirty thousand, opposed Tilly near Leipsic. In this stupendous battle the Swedes were without armor, and musketeers were distributed amongst the cavalry. The army of Tilly, supported by Pappenheim, was drawn up in a long line, the troops wearing cuirasses and helmets. Pappenheim commanded the left. Gustavus, wearing a white hat with a green feather, mounted on a white horse, rode up and

down the line encouraging the men. The motto of the Swedes was "God with us," that of the Catholics, "Jesu Maria." The Saxons gave way before Tilly for a moment; but the Swedes repelled the seven charges of Pappenheim's cavalry, captured the cannon, and turned them against Tilly. The imperial army fled in disorder; but the Swedes pursued them, and cut them to pieces until night put an end to the slaughter. Tilly, severely wounded, reached Halle with only a few hundred men.

Amidst the dead and wounded, Gustavus Adolphus threw himself upon his knees in fervent prayer of thanksgiving. He then ordered his cavalry to pursue the enemy as long as the daylight would permit. At nightfall he encamped with his army between the battlefield and Leipsic, and did not attempt to take the city until the next day. Tilly felt that all former conquests were nothing, since he had failed in this, which should have crowned them all. From this time he never regained his cheerfulness, and his former good fortune waned.

The splendid victory restored the hopes of the Protestants. Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, who in zeal, honesty, and bravery, resembled the king, became the chief reliance of Gustavus as a military leader. John George of Saxony marched into Bohemia, and the Swedish army took their course through central Germany to the Rhine. Before Tilly's wounds were healed, he gathered together the scattered imperial forces, and tried in vain to check Gustavus's march; but the latter, after taking Würzburg, entered Frankfort in triumph, and went into winter quarters, allowing his Swedish troops time to rest. The country of the Catholic princes through which he passed had not been plundered or laid waste; he never avenged the barbarities against the Protestants, but proclaimed everywhere religious freedom for all. "With the sword in one

hand and mercy in the other he traversed Germany as a conqueror, a lawgiver, and a judge; the keys of towns and fortresses were delivered to him as if to a native sovereign. No stronghold was inaccessible, no river checked his victorious career. He conquered by the very terror of his name." His influence spread so rapidly that he soon found himself respected by friend and foe.

Some unfriendly critics have said that he conceived at this time the idea of becoming Emperor of Germany, and that this was the natural consequence in the case of a foreign sovereign who had carried success with him from the very start.

Eleanor, the wife of Gustavus, now came over from Sweden to join him. Meeting and embracing him, she said, "You are my prisoner, Gustavus the Great!" He held a splendid court at Frankfort, where all the German princes were required to acknowledge themselves as his dependants. This winter was given up to diplomacy on all sides. Richelieu, who had aided Gustavus with money, began to be jealous of his increasing power, and schemed secretly with Maximilian of Bavaria; while at the same time the latter was writing to Gustavus, who soon saw that no arrangement could be made with him. It is said that Gustavus would have restored Frederick V. to the Palatinate had the latter been willing to give the same equal rights to the Lutherans that he had to the Calvinists. This Frederick refused to do.

Gustavus now came into Bavaria, and was received with great joy in Nuremberg. Even he himself was astonished to find that he had pushed his way into the very heart of Germany. Next he advanced to Donauwörth, where the first trouble of the Thirty Years' War had arisen. Here he restored Protestant worship.

Tilly meanwhile was fortifying himself on the river Lech, between Augsburg and the Danube. Gustavus marched against him, and having fired upon him for three days from the opposite bank, he finally said, "Have we crossed the Baltic and so many great rivers of Germany, and shall we now be checked by a brook like the Lech?" At this point, where the Lech forms an angle, he caused three batteries to be erected, and maintained a cross-fire upon the enemy. A thick smoke concealed the progress of his work, and the noise of the cannon drowned the sound of his axes. He kept alive the courage of his troops by his own example, discharging sixty cannon with his own hand. On this dreadful day, Tilly also did everything in his power to encourage his troops, and nothing in the danger of the situation could drive him from the bank. At last a cannon-ball found him out, completely shattering his leg. Seeing Tilly's dangerous wound, and that he was no longer able to command them, the Bavarians gave way; and, advised by the dying commander, Maximilian gave up the impregnable position for lost. That same night, before a single soldier of the Swedish troops had crossed the Lech, Maximilian broke up his camp, and retreated to Ingolstadt. Tilly died a few days afterwards, at the age of seventy-three.

The next day, when Gustavus completed the passage of the river, he beheld with astonishment the enemy's camp. He was more surprised than ever at the Elector of Bavaria's flight, when he saw how strong the position had been. He said, "Had I been the Bavarian, if a cannon-ball had carried away my beard and chin, I would never have abandoned a position like this, and laid open my territory to the enemy."

Augsburg opened its gates to the Swedes, and Munich surrendered; but Gustavus accepted a tribute, and took

the cannon, one hundred and forty in number, from under the arsenal. One piece was found to contain thirty thousand gold ducats which the King considered a considerable prize. The Elector of Bavaria had transported all his treasures, except these cannon, to Werfen. The magnificence of the buildings in Munich astonished Gustavus, and he asked the guide who showed him the apartments of the palace who the architect was. The guide replied, "No other than Maximilian himself." — "I wish," said the king, "I had this architect to send to Stockholm." The guide answered, "The architect will take care to prevent that."

Maximilian of Bavaria now desired peace. John George of Saxony was again growing jealous of Gustavus; was all the time very much afraid of Emperor Ferdinand II. On account of his timidity and weakness he remained inactive, and lost many opportunities to gain power for Gustavus.

The Emperor had long since ceased to call Gustavus a "Snow King." He had now lost Bavaria, and since the Saxons and King of Sweden were marching into Austria, he did not know what to do. All his friends were either faithless or disheartened by disaster; the resources of the country had already been exhausted by the brutal warfare of Tilly and Wallenstein, and all supplies and magazines of war had been taken by Gustavus in his march through the land. The Emperor saw himself on the brink of an unfathomable abyss; for he knew that the Austrian strength was weakening; he recognized the fact that the chief cause of the superiority of the Swedes in the field was the unlimited power of their leader and king, and that Gustavus Adolphus, as the highest authority in his army, could take advantage of every favorable chance, and bring everything to bear for the accomplishment of

his purpose. Ever since Wallenstein's removal and Tilly's failure and death, he had been hampered by the generals of the League, who wanted perfect liberty of action, whether it accomplished the best ends or not. Now the Emperor saw that there must be concentrated effort, and he understood that, in order to have efficient work, Wallenstein must be recalled.



## CHAPTER XXXI.

WALLENSTEIN RECALLED. — BATTLE OF LÜTZEN. — DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. — ASSASSINATION OF WALLENSTEIN.

1632 — 1634 A.D.

**D**URING his retirement the Duke of Friedland had grown more arrogant than ever; he now required the unlimited command of all the German forces, and of those of Austria and Spain, with absolute power to punish or reward. The Emperor ventured to propose that the archduke, afterwards Ferdinand III., should nominally be placed at the head of the imperial forces. Wallenstein replied, "Serve under Ferdinand? No! I would not serve under God himself." The King of Hungary and the Emperor were never to appear in his army. The latter was to have no authority, was to give no commission, grant no pensions, nor assume any control without Wallenstein's approval. Every Austrian province was to be opened to the latter for refuge. As his reward, the Duchies of Mecklenburg were to be given him, and the promise of one of the Hapsburg states; furthermore, he was to have the disposal of all the confiscated lands. In a word, he was to be the sovereign, and the Emperor dependent upon him. The whole arrangement was based on treason; for there was already a law which condemned to death any one who should try to impose conditions on the reigning monarch. Notwithstanding the oppression contained in the terms, Ferdinand agreed to them all, and the imperial army again had a commander-in-chief.

By offering high wages and abundant plunder, Wallenstein soon raised forty thousand men, many of them disaffected Protestants. Immediately after, with these troops, he retook Prague, which John George had vacated at his approach. Maximilian of Bavaria soon gave him command of his forces, and with eighty thousand men he proceeded against Gustavus Adolphus, who still held Nuremberg. For nine weeks both armies lay encamped near together, watching the best chance to make the attack. At last the King of Sweden, tired of the inactivity, marched out of Nuremberg, intending to go to the aid of John George of Saxony, since Wallenstein had sent some of his troops thither, burning and plundering as they went.

On the 27th of October, 1632, Gustavus reached Erfurt, where he took leave of Queen Eleanor, who never again beheld him, except as he lay in state. In their sorrowful adieus there was a foreshadowing that this was the last.

On the way through Weimar on the 1st of November, the country people flocked in crowds to look upon the hero, the great king, who just a year before had appeared among them like a guardian angel. They knelt and struggled for the honor of touching the sheath of his sword and the hem of his garment.

Wallenstein now determined to secure winter quarters in Saxony. He had been so inactive before Nuremberg that it had occasioned much comment; and although he was not yet ready to match his strength with this world-renowned conqueror, he did not wish to seem to avoid a battle. His astrologer, Seni, had read in the stars that the good fortune of the Swedish King would wane in November, and since the situation also favored him, he determined to give battle; but before he could assume the offensive, Gustavus had taken possession of Naum-

burg, a place near Lützen, and Wallenstein was obliged to await the attack. But since Gustavus seemed to be intrenching himself at this point, apparently for some months, Wallenstein decided to send away General Pappenheim, and go into winter quarters. As soon as Gustavus heard of this move, he determined to attack Wallenstein's army.

On both sides the troops had been arranged with great military skill. During the war, no two generals so equally matched had been ready in the field to face each other. Now Europe was about to see who was the greater. Both had been invincible, one now must acknowledge the other a victor. It would soon be seen whether Gustavus's victory at Leipsic and the Lech were on account of his superior skill as a general, or the weakness of his opponents; whether he had before been the great general Europe had acknowledged him to be, or whether circumstances had gained his laurels.

At last dawned the morning of the 6th of November, 1632. Wallenstein's forces numbered twenty-five thousand, those of Gustavus twenty thousand. The King of Sweden made an eloquent address to his men, and as he knelt in prayer, the whole army united in singing Luther's hymn, "A mighty fortress is our God." For hours the battle raged fiercely. Gustavus rode along the ranks, animating and stimulating the troops by his presence. In the excitement of the moment, just as he had dismounted in order to encourage the division which he was commanding to pass the trenches and take the enemy's battery, Gustavus was forced into the opponent's ranks. A corporal, noticing that the soldiers made way for him, ordered a musketeer to take aim at the officer. "Fire yonder!" he said, "that must be a man of consequence." The king's left arm was shattered; the soldiers, seeing their

beloved commander bleeding from his wounds, exclaimed, "The king is shot!" Observing the horror occasioned by this cry in the ranks, Gustavus cried, "It is nothing, follow me;" but seeing his strength failing, he requested the Duke of Lauenburg to lead him unobserved from the tumult. In the circuitous route taken in order to elude the notice of his men, he was shot three times in the back. Seeing that he was dying, he said to the duke, "Brother, it is enough; look out for your own life." A brave boy, a corporal in his service, was asked by one of the enemy who the wounded prince was; and upon the noble youth's refusing to reply, they struck him dead; but Gustavus is said to have answered, "I am the King of Sweden." At the same moment he fell, pierced by several shots. Abandoned by all his men, he breathed his last amidst the plundering Croats. His charger, covered with blood, flying riderless back to the Swedish ranks, told the officers of the cavalry the tragic fate of their beloved sovereign. They rushed forward to save the sacred remains, but in the conflict, his body was buried deep in a heap of the slain.

When the mournful tidings were carried through the Swedish army, instead of destroying the courage of the brave soldiers, it fanned it into a fiercer flame. Death had no terrors for the followers since the great chief was slain. All the regiments rushed like untamed lions upon the enemy, who were beaten and driven from the field. The Duke of Saxe-Weimar proved a noble leader to the bereaved Swedes, and the same spirit of the great Gustavus continued to lead his troops to victory.

At this juncture, Pappenheim, having heard the great straits to which Wallenstein's army was brought, arrived on the field, and it looked as if the battle must be fought over again; for his appearance revived the sinking spirits

of the Imperialists. Wallenstein, riding through his ranks amid showers of balls, some of which even cut through his garments, assisted the distressed, and encouraged the valiant with praise, and stimulated the wavering by the fearful glance of his eye.

Pappenheim, whose name had become such a byword for robbery and murder that the Germans to this day perpetuate his notoriety in the expression, "I know my Pappenheimers," was the bravest soldier of the Church and of all Austria. He had earnestly desired to meet the King of Sweden in person, and with this hope he had advanced into the thickest of the fight. Gustavus had also wished to meet Pappenheim, and death at the same hour brought these two men together. Two musket-balls pierced the breast of Pappenheim, and he was carried from the field. While they were conveying him away, he heard the rumor that Gustavus was dead. When he learned that it was true, his dying eyes lit up with a gleam of joy. "Tell the Duke of Friedland," said he, "that I lie without hope of life, but that I die happy, since I know the implacable enemy of my religion has fallen on the same day."

In Pappenheim, the good fortune of the Imperialists vanished. Though the Swedish army profited by the enemy's confusion, both sides fought on until night and darkness put an end to the contest. Then they separated, the trumpet sounded, and Wallenstein's men left the Swedish artillery in possession of the field. The Duke of Friedland retreated to Leipsic, leaving his colors behind.

The body of Gustavus Adolphus was found after a long search stripped of all its ornaments, mutilated by horses' hoofs, and hardly recognizable. The place where he fell was near the great stone which had stood between Lützen and Canal; it still bears the name, "Stone of the

Swedes." His generals were stupefied by the unexpected blow, and stood speechless around his bier. It is said by critics friendly to Ferdinand II., that at sight of Gustavus's mantle stained with blood, the former said, "Willingly would I have granted to the unfortunate prince a longer life, and a safe return to his kingdom, had Germany been at peace." History has generally inclined to the suspicion that Gustavus Adolphus did not die a victim to the ordinary chances of war, but that, at the instigation of the Emperor, he was murdered in the ranks by Francis Albert, Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, the man who carried him dying from the field. Lauenburg's intimacy with the king permitted a free access to his person, and the green sash which Gustavus wore, not only pointed him out to the enemy, but insured Lauenburg's own safety amidst the fierceness of the fight. Nevertheless, it has generally been conceded that the noblest and greatest man of this terrible war passed away providentially at the very zenith of his glory, and thereby not only saved his illustrious name from calumny, but rendered an essential service to the liberties of Germany by insuring the Protestant rights, and forcing the states to more noble exertions for their own religious privileges.

After the death of Gustavus, Bernard of Weimar became the military leader of the Protestants, while the Swedish minister, Oxenstiern, took charge of the State and the negotiations with foreign powers. Some affirm that the Duke of Friedland even now meditated treason, and others say that, being affronted at the interference of the Emperor, he was determined at whatever cost to gain absolute power. In any case, he was so demoralized that he retired to Bohemia, where he remained idle, in spite of the Emperor's entreating him to take the field. The Protestants were successful everywhere, but Wallenstein

seemed not to care so long as his personal power was secure. Finally he marched with great pomp into Silesia; but there, instead of routing the mixed army of Swedes, Saxons, and Brandenburgers under Count Thurm, he made a truce with the Protestant general, Arnheim, with whom he afterwards entered into secret negotiations, and also with the French ambassador. The treaty was, that in return for Wallenstein's alliance with the Protestants, he should receive the sovereignty of Bohemia; and it is said on good authority that he aspired to the German imperial crown. Bernard of Saxe-Weimar and Oxenstiern refused to have any negotiations with him.

Ferdinand and Maximilian implored Wallenstein to come back again to the North, march against Ratisbon, and send six thousand men to the Spanish army, which Ferdinand had been obliged to summon to his aid from Italy. On Wallenstein's refusal, the Emperor was anxious to rid himself of him, and to put his own son, the King of Hungary, in his place. Wallenstein had already been accused of being a traitor to the imperial cause, and he now decided to take steps which would separate him from that cause for all time.

On the 11th of January, 1634, Wallenstein called a council of war, and in an adroitly framed speech, complained of Ferdinand's ingratitude, declaring that he would instantly resign. The officers saw their own pay and plunder, as well as glory, departing; and the next day, at a great banquet, forty-two of them signed a document pledging their fidelity to him. General Piccolomini, one of the signers, betrayed all this, twelve days after, to the Emperor, who appointed another commander-in-chief. At the same time he ordered the seizure, dead or alive, of Wallenstein and his brother-in-law Tersky, Illo, and one or two others of Wallenstein's friends.

Wallenstein openly revolted, and endeavored to treat with the Swedes, as he had endeavored to do with Gustavus Adolphus some years before. His own army deserted him; and the army of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, and the troops still left to Wallenstein, were drawing near each other in the vicinity of Eger.

On the 24th of February, 1634, Wallenstein reached this little town on the Bohemian frontier. Only two or three more days would be required to carry out his plans.

In a small narrow street in Eger, off the public square, may be seen the burgermaster's house where the ghastly assassination of Wallenstein took place. The surroundings of the market-place even now are suggestive of foul deeds. One almost shudders while an old croning guide points to the winding staircase in the narrow, dark passage, leading from the court beneath to the fatal chamber where the man of Napoleonic ambition met the reward of treachery. In this rude chamber hang pictures of the deed and mementoes of the man. On that doleful night, in a castle overlooking the town, with towers of the Barbarossa time, more murder was committed. The only four loyal men out of the forty-two who had pledged fealty to Wallenstein were Illo, Terzky, Kinsky, and Neumann. They, with others, had accepted an invitation to a banquet in this citadel, while Wallenstein remained in his quarters in the burgermaster's house. At a signal, Gordon and Leslie put out the lights, and the dragoons, entering the banquet-hall, murdered the victims in cold blood. Wallenstein had been a benefactor to both of these men.

While these tragic events were transpiring in the castle, Wallenstein had been occupied in reading the stars with Seni. "The danger is not yet over," said the astrologer. "It is," said the Duke, who would even dictate to heaven, "that thou, friend Seni, thyself soon shall be thrown into





THE DEATH OF WALLENSTEIN.



prison ; that also is written in the stars." The astrologer had taken his leave, and Wallenstein had retired to his couch, when Captain Devereux appeared with thirty armed ruffians, on pretence of bearing important despatches. Cutting down Wallenstein's servant, he entered the room where the general lay, exclaiming, "Are you the villain who would betray our Emperor?" Wallenstein, recognizing that his hour had come, like Cæsar, made no resistance, but opening his arms wide, received the death-blow.

The old citadel still stands, a dismantled fortress ; but the castle has never been used since that day, and the burgermaster's house has remained a deserted place.

The day after the assassination an express arrived from the Duke of Lauenburg announcing his approach. The messenger was secured, and another in Wallenstein's livery was despatched to the duke to decoy him to Eger. The strategy succeeded, and Lauenburg fell into the Emperor's hands. Duke Bernard of Weimar, as we have seen, was also on the march towards Eger, and came near being surprised. Fortunately, however, he heard of Wallenstein's death in time to save himself by retreat.

There are those who declare that Ferdinand neither instigated nor desired Wallenstein's death ; for when he received the news of the murder he shed tears, and ordered three thousand masses to be said for the dead man's soul ; nevertheless, he did not fail to reward the assassins. He divided Wallenstein's vast estates amongst the officers who had sworn to support him on that fatal night when the council of war was held, and the document was signed which Piccolomini betrayed to the Emperor.

Thus, at the age of fifty years, the career of this great general came to an end. He owed his greatness to ambition, and by it he received his fall. He had the merits

both of a commander and a hero, — wisdom, justice, firmness, and courage ; but the virtues of tenderness and pity which render rulers beloved, he lacked. Fear was his weapon, since he was equally lavish with punishments and rewards. Submission among the soldiers is said to have been more important to him than bravery. With a comprehensive glance he always took in the entire situation, having seen through the whole false religious system by which Ferdinand was governed. The Jesuits never forgave him for his disrespect to the Church in regarding the Pope as nothing more than a bishop of Rome. Under the Empire, the fortunes of no one were propitious who quarrelled with the Church, and Wallenstein was no exception. He lost the command of the army the first time at Ratisbon through the intrigues of the ecclesiastics, and it was through the agency of the clergy that Ferdinand consented to the sacrifice of Wallenstein's life. Schiller declares that it was through the influence of the monks that his honorable name and good repute have been lost to posterity. The same historian gives the opinion that Wallenstein fell not because he was a rebel, but that he became a rebel because he fell.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

DEATH OF FERDINAND II. — FERDINAND III. — END OF THIRTY YEARS' WAR. — PEACE OF WESTPHALIA. — ITS RESULTS AND ITS PROVISIONS. — STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

1635 — 1648 A.D.

THE death of Wallenstein, preceded by that of so many brilliant leaders, put an end to the fiercest fighting of the Thirty Years' War. Though it was fourteen years before the Peace of Westphalia, all parties now began to desire a cessation of hostilities.

The Emperor made his son Ferdinand, already King of Hungary, nominally commander of Wallenstein's troops, but in reality Count Gallas continued to act as the real commander-in-chief. The latter soon forced the garrison at Ratisbon to surrender, before Bernard of Saxe-Weimar could reach the place. There was a fierce battle at Nördlingen, in which the Protestants were defeated, and Duke Bernard barely escaped with his life.

The war now received an impetus from Cardinal Richelieu, who was an enemy of the Protestants in France; nevertheless, in order to weaken Austria, he helped Germany by furnishing French troops in return for the promise of more territory in Alsace and Lorraine. He had kept himself out of sight while Gustavus Adolphus lived, but Duke Bernard of Weimar depended greatly upon his aid in carrying on the war.

John George was enabled to make a separate treaty at Prague, in 1635, by which the Emperor gave up the Edict

of Restitution as far as Saxony was concerned. Ferdinand, however, made no concession to the Protestants in any other part of the land. Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Brunswick, and Anhalt followed the example of Saxony; but the Emperor excepted Baden, the Palatinate, and Würtemberg, refusing to grant religious freedom to Austria. He made a provision fatal to them all, that they should raise an army and place it at his disposal. This caused a new schism in the Protestant Church, which added another twelve years to the eighteen years of war.

The Duke of Saxe-Weimar refused to be a party to the contract for furnishing troops to the Emperor. John George was pronounced a traitor by the Protestants; and the Emperor was branded with the same name by the extreme Catholics, because he had conceded rights to the Protestants. Ferdinand was so weary of the turmoil that he offered the Swedes three and a half millions of florins, and Duke Bernard a principality in Franconia, provided they would accept the Treaty of Prague. Although this was the most gloomy period of the war, both offers were refused.

During the years 1636 and 1637, Germany was wasted by the opposing armies, and famine and disease carried off the most of the population which the sword had spared. Duke Bernard went to Paris to procure additional aid. He obtained from France a subsidy to pay a force of eighteen thousand men. This number he easily raised in Germany, since the hope of the Protestants was now centred in him. Soon after this he gained possession of Alsace, routing the Imperialists in a body.

On the 15th of February, 1637, Emperor Ferdinand II. died at the age of fifty-nine years. His stern policy towards the Protestants, and his bondage to the Church, is said to have caused the loss of ten million human

beings. He indeed thought, as he had at first declared, that it was better to reign over a desert than over a nation of Protestants. His confessor said of him, "The voice of a monk was to Ferdinand II. the voice of God. Nothing on earth was more sacred in his eyes than a priest." He also declared that "if a 'Regular' were to meet him at the same time and place with an angel, the former would receive his first and the latter his second obeisance."

During the reign of eighteen years, Ferdinand had never once laid aside the sword nor experienced the blessings of peace. He was endowed with many of the virtues of a good sovereign. He was amiable in his domestic life, gaining the love of his Catholic subjects, while he earned the execrations of the Protestants. Schiller says of him, "History exhibits many and greater despots than Ferdinand II., yet he alone has had the unfortunate celebrity of kindling a thirty years' war."

Ferdinand III., already King of the Romans, inherited "his throne, his principles, and the war which he caused." But having seen the suffering of the period, he earnestly desired peace. He was less influenced by the Jesuits, and more tolerant towards the religious views of others; thus, by listening to the voice of reason, harmony was restored in his reign.

A little more than two years after Ferdinand III. had succeeded to the throne, Duke Bernard of Weimar suddenly expired, on the 18th of July, 1639. He died at the age of thirty-six. It was generally believed that he had been poisoned by an agent of France, since there had been a rupture between that nation and Bernard on account of the taking of Breisach, the key of Alsace, by the latter. This belief is strengthened by the fact that the French immediately marched into Alsace, and held the country.

The nine years after Bernard's death, until the close of

the Thirty Years' War, formed an epoch of real interest all over Europe. After the Treaty of Prague the Swedes felt themselves unencumbered by obligations to any of the German principalities, and from that time carried on war with a desperate hand. Banner, one of the first generals of the day, led them for two years, and sent as trophies to Sweden six hundred standards taken from the enemy's hands. He had burned eighty castles and hundreds of villages, while eighty thousand men had fallen in the numerous battles which he fought.

Banner was followed by Torstensohn, whose "enterprises had wings, while his body was held by the most frightful fetters." Although an invalid, and carried to his battles on a litter, this general surpassed all his opponents in activity. He carried the war into Austria and Silesia, and fed his armies from these fat fields.

Wrangel followed Torstensohn, and proved himself no unworthy successor of these two pupils of Sweden's idolized king. The war at this time was prosecuted only for the purpose of furnishing food and employment to the troops. The Swedes had now as a nation made themselves feared by all Europe. The army of the Emperor had been exhausted until it only numbered twelve thousand men; and when Ferdinand III. saw the Swedish battalions at the doors of Vienna, the very place in which at the moment of his father's accession to the throne the first fighting force of the war had appeared, he was glad to ask for quarter, and to acknowledge the Swedes victorious.

At Jancowitz, on the 24th February, 1645, the Emperor lost his last army, and the whole Austrian territory was exposed to the enemy. From this time until the close of the war, still nearly three years, nothing was thought of by all the provinces of Germany, but peace.



Meanwhile many interesting historical events in Europe had transpired. Richelieu had died in 1642, Louis XIII. had also passed away, and the "Grand Monarch" Louis XIV. had begun his infamous reign. The great Elector, Frederick William of Brandenburg, had come upon the scene, and as his first act had signed the treaty of neutrality with the Swedes. Maximilian of Bavaria, who for twenty-eight years had stood unshaken, began to waver. The strong tie which bound him to the House of Austria had been severed when Ferdinand II. died, and now he determined to lay down his arms. Denmark had been compelled to make peace, and Saxony consented to a truce, while negotiations for a final settlement had been going on ever since 1640. Representatives of the three governments, Austria, France, and Bavaria, met to talk over the question, the 14th of March, 1645; and afterwards they agreed upon two places of meeting, Osnabrück and Münster. Two localities were necessary, because the Swedish ambassadors would not enter any congress in which the Pope was represented, and neither France nor Sweden would yield a point of etiquette as to their comparative rank. The Emperor therefore conducted negotiations with Sweden and with the Protestants at Osnabrück, and then with France and other foreign powers at Münster. The Council was in session three years before all parties would agree, yet events in the nation were working toward the same end.

On the 24th of October, 1648, when the Swedish army was drawn up before the walls of Prague just where, in the beginning, the famous battle of White Mountain had been fought by Wallenstein and Tilly against the Palatinate and Frederick V., the intelligence was brought that a treaty had been signed at Münster called "The Peace of Westphalia." The colossal work of bringing

about this object, the endless obstacles in its way, and the contending interests it was necessary to reconcile, were not recognized fully at the time, but the results are still apparent.

By the Peace of Westphalia, the principle was established for all time that men should not be persecuted for their religious belief. Although this treaty surrendered the most valuable frontier lands of Germany, it fixed for the most part the political relations of Europe for nearly one hundred and fifty years. The conditions were these: France received Lorraine and the cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun; also Southern Alsace and the fortress of Breisach, which had cost Bernard of Weimar his life; also the right of appointing ten governors in Alsace, thus giving France practically the control of that province.

Sweden received the northern half of Pomerania with the cities of Stettin, Wismar, and the coast between Bremen and Hamburg, with an indemnity of five million thalers a year. Her share is said to have exceeded the greatest expectations of Gustavus Adolphus when he set out to engage in the war. It gave Sweden the command of the Baltic, the North Sea, and control of the mouth of the Oder, Elbe, and Weser Rivers. Unlike France, Sweden kept her possessions in the country, and became a member of the Imperial Union.

Brandenburg received the other half of Pomerania, the archbishopric of Magdeburg, the bishoprics of Minden, Halberstadt, and some other territory which had belonged to the Roman Church.

Saxony received Lusatia and a part of the province of Magdeburg. Additions were made to Mecklenburg, Brunswick, and Hesse-Cassel, and the latter was allowed an indemnity of six hundred thousand thalers.

Bavaria received the Upper Palatinate and Baden.

Württemberg and Nassau were restored to their banished rulers, and the Electorate was given back to the House of Frederick V., to whom the Palatinate had been restored earlier by Oxenstiern.

Switzerland and the Netherlands were now recognized for the first time as independent governments. Other petty states were confirmed in their rights, and the Catholics kept all the advantages gained in Bohemia and other territories belonging to the House of Hapsburg. In matters of religion The Peace of Augsburg was re-established, so that, in the State, Catholics and Protestants had equal rights.

Although the Peace of Westphalia yielded little more to the Protestants than the religious peace granted by Charles V. in 1555, the Pope declared the treaty null and void, and issued a bull against its observance, but after a century of struggle the Church of Rome was obliged to give up the conflict; the bull was not published in Germany, because in all parts of the country except Austria, Styria, and the Tyrol, the Catholics had suffered as much as the Protestants, and were satisfied with any peace that left their religion free.

By the war, German civilization had been retarded more than two hundred years. All branches of industry had declined, and commerce had almost entirely ceased. Literature and the arts were suppressed, and the modern High German, which Luther had made the classic tongue, had almost died out. Spanish and Italian had been brought in by the Catholics, Swedish and French by the Protestants; and the country was full of foreign words. This soon began to be an affectation with the nobility. Wallenstein's letters to the Emperor are said to have been a curious mixture of German, French, Spanish, Italian, and Latin. A hundred years afterwards Fred-

erick the Great gave himself up almost entirely to French in literature. He boasted at that time that he had never read a German book during his youth, and that he could not speak his own language well in manhood.

During the last ten or twelve years of the war, the soldiers were nothing but highway robbers who resorted to every means to force the country people to give up the remnant of their property. By mutilation and torture the inhabitants were driven into the mountains, where they lived as half savages, or died tragic deaths. When the war closed, the armies were still quartered on the people, and finally divided into bands of plunderers, who destroyed whatever was left in the land. All the provinces of Germany had been laid waste to such an extent that from the original millions the inhabitants could be counted after the war by thousands.

Saxony had lost nine hundred thousand lives in two years. Augsburg had diminished from eighty thousand to eighteen thousand, Würtemberg from five hundred thousand to forty-eight thousand. Berlin at the close of the war is said to have contained only three hundred citizens, the Palatinate of the Rhine but two hundred farmers. Thousands of villages in all parts of the country had but four or five families left. Franconia was so depopulated that an assembly in Nuremberg ordered the Catholic priests to marry, and permitted all other men to have two wives; for the whole Empire was reduced from thirty million to twelve million inhabitants. It then embraced two hundred and three states, fifty-one imperial cities, twenty-four Catholic principalities, twenty-four princes with seats in the Diet, sixty-two counts, nine electorates, and one thousand knights.

The livestock in many districts was exterminated, and grain could not be obtained in sufficient quantities to

sow, large tracts of land having deteriorated into pasturage; wherever the army had passed, the vineyards and orchards had been destroyed. In 1637, the year that Ferdinand died, want was so great that men devoured each other, hunting down human beings like deer or rabbits. Suicide was common in some of the islands; and poor creatures were often found with their mouths full of grass, while others tried to sustain life by kneading bread from earth. The prosperity which existed at the beginning of the war, in 1618, was never restored until 1848.

During the whole conflict, only two commanders, Gustavus Adolphus and Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, preserved discipline among the troops, or tried to prevent their plundering and laying waste the land. The records of history show that Rome, under its worst Emperors, the persecution of the Christians in the reign of Nero and Diocletian, the invasion of the Huns, the long struggle of Guelfs and Ghibellines, — all together caused no such desolation. All this time the nobles and instigators of the war were living in luxury, and the sound of revelry was heard each night in their dwellings.

The power of the Holy German Empire was now nothing but a shadow, although it was composed of many separate states. The ambition of the Hapsburgs, together with other debilitating causes, had brought it low. Each little state had become an independent nation; and the petty princes vied with each other in imitating Louis XIV. by setting up a court of their own, the nobility composing their suite.

The first signs of revival in political life was the organizing of guards against the bandits into which the soldiers had developed during the war. Then people began to return to their desolate homes; immigrants came to settle

and reclaim lost land, and the rabble in general brought the proceeds of their plunder, and gradually new communities were formed on the ruins of the old.

In the year 1650, for the first time the people, the most of whom had been born in these years of disaster, realized that the time of trouble and despair was a thing of the past. But it was long before the barbarism, which the influence of the army had engendered, gave place to systematic labor and civic life.

The cities had shared in the general demoralization; and when peace came, that independence which had been conspicuous in former years was found to have passed away.

German traffic was also destroyed. The changed relation of things had set the tide of commerce in another direction; for now, since France and Sweden held the first places in Europe, and controlled it to a great degree, the coast trade was distributed more widely in that direction. Since their freedom, the Netherlands and England were on a commercial equality, and the Hanseatic League, so long the pride of the Northern Seas, sank into insignificance.

It was not the peasants alone who had felt the reverses of the war; knighthood, which had been gradually vanishing, now passed away.

In a word, with the imperial unity of the nation, German life was dead. It was Voltaire who said a century later that the Holy Roman Empire had become neither holy nor Roman nor an Empire.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

GENEALOGY OF THE BRANDENBURG AND HOHENZOLLERN UNITED HOUSES. — FREDERICK WILLIAM, THE GREAT ELECTOR. — LEOPOLD I. (EMPEROR). — AGGRESSIVE WARS OF LOUIS XIV. — DEATH OF GREAT ELECTOR.

1648—1688 A. D.

THE territory of Brandenburg was the home of the Suevi in Cæsar's time. Afterwards, when Charlemagne was fortifying Germany against the Slavonic tribes, among other frontier districts he formed a Saxon Mark which was the germ from which Brandenburg sprung.

In 928 A. D., during the reign of Henry the Fowler, that sovereign reconquered the Havelii, and marching on the ice, took the fortified city of Brennabor (Brandenburg).

When Lothair, in 1125, was elected to succeed Henry V., he made his son-in-law Duke of Saxony; but the northern part, called North Mark, he set apart, and gave to his friend Albert the Bear. It was Albert who first assumed the title Margrave of Brandenburg. All these events have been noticed earlier in their order.

It has been mentioned also that, in 1411, Emperor Sigismund, being in need of ready money, borrowed one hundred thousand florins of Frederick of Hohenzollern, the Burgrave of Nuremberg; and that in the time of Rudolf of Hapsburg, another Frederick, Burgrave of Nuremberg, the founder of the House of Hohenzollern, had also appeared. The latter was the brother-in-law of Rudolf of Hapsburg, and advocated his election when he received

the vote which made him Emperor. But the Hohenzollern House took its rise before the time of Charlemagne, in the small principality of Hohenzollern, which is almost enclosed in the kingdom of Würtemberg. The ruins of the old castle, which was the residence of the counts of Zollern even before the age of Charlemagne, still stand upon the summit of a steep mountain called Zollerberg. On account of its height the name became Hohenzollern; though some critic declares it was by reason of the high duties, *Zoll* being the word in German for "duty."

In 1415 Emperor Sigismund, never having cancelled the debt of one hundred thousand florins mentioned above, offered to sell Brandenburg to the Burgrave of Nuremberg of that time for an additional sum of three hundred thousand florins. The terms were accepted; and Frederick, the Burgrave, having settled in the little state, ruled efficiently the united houses of Brandenburg and Hohenzollern. In 1440 he was followed by Frederick II.

- 1415-1440. FREDERICK I. (Burgrave of Nuremberg.)  
 1440-1470. FREDERICK II. (The Man of Iron.)  
 1470-1486. ALBERT ACHILLES.  
 (All three distinguished themselves by daring deeds.)  
 1486-1499. JOHN CICERO. (There is said never to have been a  
 worthless Hohenzollern.)  
 1499-1535. JOACHIM I.  
 1535-1571. JOACHIM II. (He was one of the first princes to  
 espouse the Reformation.)  
 1571-1598. JOHN GEORGE.  
 1598-1608. JOACHIM FREDERICK.  
 1608-1619. JOHN SIGISMUND.  
 1619-1640. GEORGE WILLIAM (of Thirty Years' War fame).  
 1640-1688. FREDERICK WILLIAM. (The Great Elector.)

In 1614 Cleves fell to the House of Brandenburg, and in 1618, through the wife of John Sigismund, Prussia



also became a part of that province. Prussia was formerly land belonging to the German order of Teutonic knights, comprising the territory on the Baltic, now East and West Prussia. At the time of the Crusades it was inhabited by a heathen tribe called the Borussi (hence the name Prussia). It was after the Crusades that the Teutonic knights, then a powerful and corrupt order, conquered the Borussi, and for a while ruled over a wide territory. Their capital was Marienburg near Dantzic, where a stately castle still perpetuates their memory. In the fifteenth century the people of this district were involved in a war with Poland which wrested from them a part of their land, the latter allowing them to hold the remainder only as a fief. At the time the Great Elector succeeded his father, the Duchy of Prussia was still subject to Poland, the latter having extorted from the Elector the most arbitrary conditions before it could be restored even as a fief.

Brandenburg was so large when George William took it, and he was so much influenced by his Catholic adviser Schwarzenburg, that he was always wavering during the Thirty Years' War; therefore his lands were despoiled by Mansfeld and Wallenstein in turn, and finally by the Swedes; so that when the Great Elector took it he found it in ruins, and altogether in a degraded state. It was a desert, and for a distance of fifty miles not a single village was to be seen. He had an army, to be sure; but it was small, demoralized, and mutinous. His territory extended east of Berlin four hundred English miles; but Pomerania and a considerable part of the Mark of Brandenburg had been seized by the Swedes, and was governed as a Swedish province. The Cleve lands had been taken by Holland, and were still claimed by the Count Palatine Wolfgang of Neuburg.

George William had abandoned the throne in despair, and his extensive estates lay uncultivated and unclaimed; for the proprietors, with their entire families, had oftentimes during the Thirty Years' War been annihilated. Crowds without homes wandered over the territory in search of food, and George William had left his treasury empty.

When his father died, Frederick William I., afterwards the Great Elector, was only twenty years of age. Born two years after the war began, his boyhood had been spent within the sound of war and din of battle; and with his family, he had been hurried from one castle to another, to escape the horrors which visited prince and peasant alike.

His greatest enemy was the Jesuit Schwarzenburg, who was continually rebuked by the boy's nobility of soul. On account of this antipathy he was fortunately removed from his father's court, and thus escaped the evil influences prevailing there at this time. Part of his youth was spent with his Christian mother in old lonely castles among silent, solitary forests, studying earnestly, and thinking his own thoughts, while he heard the tumult of armies only at a distance. In such an atmosphere of religion and virtue, the foundation of a Christian character was laid, which also was fortified against temptation at the court of Holland, where his father sent him when a boy. In Holland he had become familiar with the workings of the little state and its wise, new laws. He had found out the secrets of ocean commerce, and caught the spirit of good government and order which religion and civil freedom give. The lessons the young man learned here he never forgot throughout his prosperous reign. Sometimes he accompanied his father on journeys, studying the seacoasts and the sandy marshes,

until the large views he imbibed through these varied experiences made him familiar with the resources of his kingdom, and broadened him into the great man he finally became.

When he first became Elector, Frederick William had concluded an armistice with Oxenstiern which lasted to the end of the war. By this means he both relieved his land from foreign soldiery, and made himself independent of the Hapsburg House. At the age of twenty-six he had married Louisa Henrietta, the great-granddaughter of the illustrious William of Orange. This proved a happy matrimonial union, as well as a wise political alliance, and through the marriage he added to the blessing of a devout mother, a Christian wife. The life of Louisa Henrietta was one labor for charity, and her clear mind kept her husband from the mortifying entanglements in which he was inveigled after her death. Among her charitable deeds was the founding of the Oranienburger Orphan Asylum in Berlin; and one of her hymns, "Jesus my Trust" (*Jesus meine Zuversicht*), has perhaps been more frequently sung in Germany during the last two hundred years than any other.

During the reactions from the troublous times which had tried men by the fervent heat of disaster, when France had gained the foremost place among the nations of Europe, and Sweden held the second, the German princes were spending their time imitating the vanity and splendor of the court of Louis XIV. at Versailles. On the other hand, the Great Elector was trying to restore order, and lighten the burden of his afflicted subjects.

He now proved himself the worthy successor of Frederick Hohenzollern. By his system of taxation he increased the income of the State from two hundred and eighty thousand to more than a million thalers, and by

the best possible economy he enlarged his army to twenty-seven thousand men. Agriculture increased, the land improved, and crowds of immigrants from Bohemia, Savoy, France, and other lands came in, glad to be governed by a Christian prince. Post-roads were built, trades flourished, and villages made the landscape smile. Where Tilly and Wallenstein had burned and pillaged, old soldiers now beat out ploughs, and shod the farmer's horse. The earliest Prussian school dates from the Great Elector; and he built a canal connecting the Havel, Spree, and Oder, which bears his name. When he saw the first boat pass the old Schloss of Berlin from Breslau to Hamburg, all the people shared his pleasure and delight.

The Great Elector was piqued when at the Peace of Westphalia he obtained only Upper Pomerania, since Bogislaw XIV. at his death, in 1637, had given him the whole. Although what he received as an equivalent was fine territory, he earnestly desired Stettin and the Baltic coast. The Great Elector wielded the sceptre nearly fifty years, during which time there was scarcely a diplomatic act in his government which was not connected with Louis XIV. At this time Leopold I., who reigned nearly fifty years, had just become German Emperor.

In 1654 Queen Christina of Sweden abdicated, and her cousin, Charles X., ascended the throne. John Casimer, the King of Poland, refused to acknowledge Charles X.; and war was declared by the two powers on each side of the Elector's domain.

The Great Elector fought with the Swedes at Warsaw, and won the day. Afterwards Charles X., by the Treaty of Labian, which was important in its results, gave Prussia to Brandenburg, including the bishopric of Ermeland. The King of Poland was obliged to accede to the same terms in a treaty at Wechlau. The Elector

then formed an alliance with the Emperor Leopold in 1637; and the former, in spite of the machinations of France, helped to make Leopold secure in his place on the throne. This act on the part of the Elector was afterwards rewarded by base ingratitude on the part of Leopold.

Charles X. showed splendid military genius when attacked by the Danes. He expelled them from Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland, and in 1658 crossed over into Zealand, and obliged the Danes to make a treaty with him. The Great Elector assisted him in taking these places in the battle of Nyberg, 1659. At the death of Charles X., February 23, 1660, a peace was accepted by the regency; and Poland confirmed the Elector in his rights to Prussia, where he already reigned as sovereign, though until the treaties of Labian and Wechlen he had nominally been subject to that kingdom.

After twelve years of peace, the Elector espoused the cause of Holland against Louis XIV. Austria behaved so badly towards him at this time that, on being attacked by Louis XIV. at Cleves and in Westphalia, he was obliged to accept a treaty of neutrality in 1673. The Great Elector did not then know that Leopold had made a secret truce with France, and that he was being betrayed by him.

In 1675 the Great Elector, with only seven thousand men, overthrew the Swedes at Fehrbellin, and by this victory laid the foundation of Prussia's greatness. The current of success changed three or four times in this battle, and several of the noblest Brandenburg officers fell at the moment when most needed. All seemed lost when the Elector cried, "The divine power makes us victorious through Jesus Christ;" and at the head of the nearest regiment, whose officer had fallen, he placed himself, shouting, "Courage, brave soldiers! I will be your

captain; follow me to victory, or I will die with you." Then the Elector rode into the midst of the enemy until he was completely surrounded. His death seemed certain; but nine dragoons cut their way to their commander, and he was rescued by Emanuel Froben, who sacrificed his life by the deed. The fame of this achievement gained the Great Elector splendid renown in Europe, and Brandenburg was ever after recognized as an independent power.

This was the first time the Swedes had been defeated since Gustavus Adolphus brought his army into Germany. By this victory the Great Elector delivered his country from every foreign foe, and in seven days not an enemy was to be seen in the marches. Together with Denmark, in 1676, he conquered Lower Pomerania, took Griefswald, and even the doughty Stralsund yielded; so that, since Gustavus Adolphus set out, the Swedes for the first time owned no land in the Empire. But in the Elector's temporary absence, the Swedes and the forces of Louis XIV. overran Prussia. They were beaten again, however; and had not the allies deserted him, the Great Elector would have still held all the land he had gained. At this time the conduct of Louis XIV., which resulted in the Peace of Nymwegen in 1678, was marked by unparalleled insolence. The people made a pun on the word *Nym-wegen*, and called it the "peace of take-away;" for the representatives of Holland, France, Spain, Sweden, and the Empire had concluded this peace at Nymwegen without regard to Brandenburg. The treaty stipulated that all the territory awarded to Sweden by the Treaty of Westphalia, just regained by the sword of the Elector, should be surrendered to Sweden, while at the same time a large French force advanced to the Weser for the purpose of protecting the Swedes in the rights guaranteed.

The emotions of the Elector at the conclusion of this treaty can hardly be imagined. Flushed with victory, and at the head of a large army, he considered for some time the question of defending his rights by the sword; but on further reflection he decided to sign at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, the treaty which concluded the war. It was a surrender of the most glorious conquest of his life. As he put his name to the document, he quoted aloud the lines of Virgil, "*Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor*" (An avenger will some day arise from our bones). Although his enemies had torn from him his well-won conquests, they could not take away his glory, the esteem of his army and subjects, nor the respect which was felt for him all over Europe.

Louis XIV. caused a colossal statue of himself to be erected standing on the necks of four slaves, representing the Emperor, the Elector of Brandenburg, Spain, and Holland; and although the German rulers resented his treatment, they were at this time almost entirely in his hands.

In less than a year after the Treaty of Nymwegen, the Elector took the most far-reaching step of his life. He concluded a secret Treaty of Alliance with Louis XIV., in which the latter guaranteed the possessions the former had gained for ten years, agreeing also to pay one hundred thousand francs a year. The treaty was signed October, 1679, and the consequence of it soon began to appear.

In the autumn of 1681, when nearly all the merchants in Strasburg were attending a fair at Frankfort, Louis XIV., encouraged by his alliance with the Great Elector, suddenly appeared before the town with an army collected in secret. Three of the magistrates had obtained possession of the city by bribery, and the force Louis had

outside obliged it to surrender, so that on the 23d of October the French army entered in triumph. The account of the plot by means of which Strasburg was given up is as follows: Louvois, the French Minister of War, one day summoned a man by the name of Chamilly and said, "Start this evening for Basle. On the fourth day from this, punctually at two o'clock, station yourself on the old Rhine bridge with note-book in hand; mark down everything you see going on for two hours. At four o'clock return, travelling night and day without intermission." At the day and hour appointed, Chamilly established himself on the bridge, and noted down the following: First he saw a market-wagon drive by, then an old woman with a basket of fruit, and following, an urchin trundling his hoop; next an old gentleman in blue coat jogs past on a gray mare. Three o'clock chimes from the Cathedral tower, and at the last stroke a tall fellow in yellow waistcoat and breeches saunters up, goes to the middle of the bridge, lounges over, looks at the water, then strikes three hearty blows with his stick on the parapet. Chamilly writes it all down, and at four o'clock jumps into his carriage and at midnight two days after, having travelled incessantly, presents himself before the minister in Paris, ashamed of having such trifles to record. When Louvois' eye caught the mention of the man in yellow array a gleam of joy flashed across his face. He rushed to the king, aroused him from his sleep, spoke with him a moment in private, immediately after which, couriers were despatched with sealed orders. Eight days after Strasburg surrendered to the French, capitulating the 3d of September 1681. The three strokes of the stick given by the fellow in yellow breeches was the signal that the magistrates were ready to deliver up the town to the French.



The great Cathedral, which had for many years been held by the Protestants, was given up to the bishop, who said when he saw Louis XIV., "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." All the Protestants were deprived of their offices, and the clergymen were driven from the city. French names were given to the streets, and the inhabitants were commanded to lay aside their German dress and adopt French costumes.

Soon after this the Elector saw his mistake in allowing his naturally fiery temper to get the better of his Christian principles; and when Louis XIV. stirred up the Hungarians, who were already incensed against Leopold, he offered troops to help ward off the Turks, but Leopold, fearing treachery, refused to accept. The Hungarians were angered because Leopold had sent two hundred and fifty of their Protestant pastors to row as galley slaves in Naples; and spurred on by Louis, they revolted, and called in the Sultan Mohammed IV., who sent his Grand Vizier to invade Austria at the head of two hundred thousand men. Leopold fled with his family, leaving Vienna to its fate.

For two months Count Starenburg and Bishop Kolonitsch, with a brave garrison of six thousand soldiers and seven thousand armed citizens, held the fortifications against the overwhelming force of the enemy. The Austrian army was outside, and the Duke of Lorraine, with whom were the young Prince Eugene of Savoy, the Elector of Saxony with forces of his own, and John Sobiesky, Poland's great king. All these, with twenty thousand Poles, arrived in Vienna just in time for the decisive battle, which was fought on the 12th of September, 1683. On the night previous, Starenburg, becoming discouraged, thought they could not hold out another day; accordingly he sent up a volley of rockets from the tower

of the Cathedral, and to his surprise it was answered by five return volleys from Kohlenberg hill. He knew by this that help was at hand, and immediately sent a messenger to swim across the the Danube by night with a letter to the Duke of Lorraine, saying, "No time to be lost. No time indeed to be lost." Lorraine and Sobiesky, with their united forces, burst upon the enemy; and when the Turks saw that there was no more hope, they murdered all the captives, and all their own women who could not be carried away, but left five hundred poor babies, whom the good Bishop Kolonitsch baptized and brought up at his own expense. The Turkish camp, with its rich booty, was taken, and among many other things, so much coffee that it became a common drink; and the first coffee-house in Europe was opened by the man who swam across the Danube with the letter saying that no time was to be lost.

Among the spoils a plan of Louis XIV.'s was found for conducting the siege. Sobiesky rode into Vienna, where the people were so glad and thankful at their deliverance that they kissed his horse and sword, and called him their father. Leopold, who had run away at the first danger, was too jealous to thank his benefactors; and he even treated Sobiesky and the Poles with coldness and incivility. After all was over, he came into Vienna barefoot, with a taper in his hand, and went straight to the Cathedral for prayers; but he would not allow the sick and wounded among the Poles to be brought into the city, nor the dead to be buried in its graveyards.

Then Leopold I. took vengeance on the Hungarian nobles, setting up a tribunal at Eperies, where there were so many nobles executed by an Italian named Carraffa that the court was called "The Shambles of Eperies."

After this, in 1685, fearing Brandenburg no longer, and influenced by Madame Maintenon, who was an instrument of the Jesuits, and whom he had recently married, Louis XIV. perpetrated his crowning act of infamy by revoking the Edict of Nantes. Henry IV. of France, more than eighty years before, in 1598, had decreed this edict, by which the Protestants had enjoyed liberty of conscience, peace, and equal religious rights with the Catholics. These rights were now taken away, the Protestant places of worship closed, and in order to coerce the Protestants back into the Roman Church, a system of terror commenced, while at the same time they were forbidden to emigrate. The French Protestants, or Huguenots as they were called, were the most enterprising artisans and manufacturers in the kingdom, but much to the detriment of France were forced by persecution to seek refuge in England and Holland and America, where they received homes, and helped to build up the industrial prosperity of these nations. The Great Elector generously opened his lands to them, and Brandenburg received all who sought shelter there, fifteen or twenty thousand refugees, who brought with them their manufacturing art and skill.

As the Great Elector came nearer and nearer the unseen world, he more and more felt ashamed of the *rôle* he had been playing with Louis XIV., and his anger towards Leopold I. began to abate. Among the many acts of duplicity committed by Emperor Leopold was the attitude he had assumed when he bestowed the Silesian Duchies, whose conquest afterwards caused so much trouble, upon a Roman Catholic prince. The Great Elector now sought a reconciliation with him, accepting an insufficient indemnification by receiving the Schwiebus district, a small territory adjoining Brandenburg, in place

of the Duchies. Finally the Emperor was so harassed that he was obliged to accept eight thousand of the Elector's army, who distinguished themselves by courage and discipline, and rendered him great service in fighting the insurgent Hungarians as well as the Turks. As security for the debt thus incurred, Leopold gave the Elector Emden and Gretsyl, and from these places the latter sent vessels out to colonies which he had established on the African gold coast, where he built a fortress called "Great Fredericksburg." He also purchased from the Danes St. Thomas in the West Indies; but neither of these colonies prospered, and after the Great Elector died they, for a time, were given up.

Almost the last generous act of the Great Elector was assisting William III. of Orange in deposing and succeeding his father-in-law, James II. of England, who was a Catholic, thus increasing the animosity of Louis XIV., since James II. was under the control of the latter.

Just at this moment the Great Elector died, at the age of sixty-eight years, and thus all his schemes in connection with the mighty sovereign of France came to an end. On the 7th of May, 1688, he assembled for the last time his council at the old palace at Potsdam. He spoke to those assembled around his dying bed, and expressed his satisfaction in being able to surrender to his successor, as a well-governed, united, and prosperous land, the country which was so devastated when he came into power. To the last he left no duty as a sovereign unfulfilled. On the 7th he gave to his guards as their parole the word "Amsterdam;" on the 8th "London;" on the 9th, having taken leave of his family, in the calm possession of his intellect, he uttered the words, "I know that my Redeemer liveth." This was the parole for the ninth day, and with it on his lips, he entered the gates of heaven.

The Great Elector was the only distinguished ruler of Brandenburg of the seventeenth century. By the Peace of Westphalia the German Empire had been rent asunder; and after this the princes became sovereigns in their own domains, and on the wreck of the Empire, Brandenburg built up a new power. The Great Elector kept any single sovereign from overshadowing Germany; and while he lived, the vast designs of Louis XIV. were for the most part checked, since with few exceptions he gave him no quarter. In his dealings with foreign nations, and in his own internal affairs, he was careful that no extravagance was committed. He was sparing in his personal expenses, and used the resources so well, that although the people were taxed heavily, they always prospered. His mind was far-reaching, and his court imposing, magnificent, and even ceremonious; but he was simple and ingenious in his own home. A skilful diplomat, he was not unacquainted with the cunning, and the unprincipled statesmanship of his time. Yet he was so natural in his tastes that he loved to water his flowers in the garden at Berlin, and nothing pleased him better than to fish in the Carp Pool at Potsdam. While he was a distinguished warrior, and spent his strength in founding a great kingdom, he delighted in buying pets in the market-place, and carrying them home in his own arms. Though judged by the political standards of to-day, he has been criticised for many too diplomatic acts, yet in his heart he was a man of genuine piety. At his death, in 1688, after a reign of forty-eight years, he left a kingdom which reached from its capital, Königsberg, to the Rhine, and which received its title under his son.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

ELECTOR FREDERICK III. BECOMES FREDERICK I. OF PRUSSIA. — WAR OF SPANISH SUCCESSION. — LAST PERIOD OF LOUIS XIV.'S ASSOCIATION WITH GERMAN HISTORY. — DEATH OF LEOPOLD I. — JOSEPH I. — CHARLES VI.

1686 — 1715 A.D.

THE Elector Palatine, the grandson of the "Winter King," had died in 1605. Since the latter had left no children, Louis XIV. hoped that Elizabeth, the sister of the Elector Palatine and wife of the Duke of Orleans, his brother, would inherit a great part of the Palatinate. Louis claimed as her right various fortresses which would let the French into the heart of the country. But the claim was refused by Leopold; and, in 1686, to defend himself, he made an alliance with Holland, Spain, Sweden, and the princes of the Empire against the aggressions of France. But as no agreement could be made, Louis XIV., since he had little hope of conquering it, decided to despoil the Rhine territory. He immediately sent his marshal, Duras, to invade the country, with orders to destroy what he could not seize.

No more wanton and barbarous deed was ever perpetrated than the "Great Monarch" was guilty of when he tore up the beautiful vines for which the Palatinate was celebrated, and uprooted the fruit-trees, burning the villages to the ground. Four hundred thousand persons were made beggars, and many were slain in their own homes. That most splendid monument of the Middle

Ages, the Castle of Heidelberg, was blown up with gunpowder. The ruins are seen to-day, much as he left them; and all the towers, especially the "Blown-up Tower," are pointed out to the traveller, the most of them still retaining the Wittelsbach family names. The memory of the French general, Melac, by this act has been rendered odious for all time. The people of Mannheim were compelled to level their fortifications, and the city was burned. Speyer, with its grand Cathedral in which so many monarchs reposed, was razed to the ground. The silver coffins of the old sovereigns were plundered, their bodies taken up, and their sacred dust scattered to the wind. The soldiers are said to have played ball with the skulls of the old Emperors, those of Rudolf of Hapsburg and Henry IV. being among the number.

After the attack of Louis XIV. on the Palatinate, the German Empire raised an army of sixty thousand men to make war on France. The Empire also had other wars on her hands; for there was fighting with the Turks, and in Southern Germany and Flanders. At the same time there were battles in Spain and Savoy, and sea-fights in the British Channel, but no decisive encounter occurred. All parties were exhausted; and the turmoil subsided at the Treaty of Ryswick, concluded on the 20th of September, 1697. By its provisions France kept Strasburg and the most of Alsace, but had to surrender Freiburg and the other territory Louis XIV. had seized east of the Rhine. Lorraine was not given up until some years afterwards, when Leszczyński ceded it to France. Although it was given to him at first to pacify him for the loss of Poland, soon it became practically under French control. The most unsatisfactory clause in this treaty was that which ordered that the districts which had been made Catholic by force were to remain so. This was called

the Ryswick clause, and is said to have been put in by the Emperor Leopold.

In 1697, after the death of John Sobiesky, Augustus II. of Saxony, called the Strong, purchased his election as King of Poland by changing his religion to the Catholic faith, and by enormous bribes to the Electors. He was one of the most distinguished men of his time; affable, attractive, and brave in battle. Carlyle said of him that "he lived in this world regardless of expense." He surpassed in extravagance his predecessor, John George II., who squandered all his land in banquets and in the collection of curiosities. Augustus the Strong also had a mania for collecting; for through him the present gallery at Dresden was endowed with some of its choicest pictures, and the city with other artistic objects. To finish his education, his father had given him the benefits of travel; and visiting all the courts of Europe, including Rome, he ransacked Italy to obtain for Dresden its gems of art. His son Augustus afterwards completed the collection, which at the present time ranks among the very finest in the world.

In compliance with the demands of Charles XII. of Sweden, Augustus II. was afterwards obliged to resign the sovereignty of Poland to Stanislaus Leszczyński; but by his alliance with Peter the Great, he expelled Leszczyński and recovered the crown.

From the time of the last decade of the seventeenth century, the National German Diet, being no longer attended by the Emperor and ruling princes, but by their representatives, became useless. The Emperor cared so little for the rest of the Empire, except Austria, that his title was merely nominal. It brought him only thirteen thousand florins (\$5,000) annually. The Electors, however, had now become nine in number.



In the last half of the seventeenth century, although there was considerable progress in culture in the other parts of the world, in Germany learning, literature, and the arts received little attention. No writer had distinguished himself for nearly half a century except Leibnitz, and he was reckoned as the only intellectual man of the time. The lower classes were so oppressed by the nobility that they had made little advancement since the close of the Thirty Years' War.

Charles II. of Spain had for a long time been in failing health; and since he had no heir, it was becoming the great question in Europe what should become of his throne. There was no male heir in the family; but there had been two sisters, the eldest of whom, wife of Louis XIV., had resigned the right to the Spanish crown. The younger, Margaret, first wife of Emperor Leopold I., had left a daughter, now married to the Elector of Bavaria, whose son was Ferdinand. The mothers of Leopold and Louis XIV. had also been Spanish princesses; but France was the most powerful nation at this time, and in order to preserve the balance of power, the sovereigns of Europe opposed a French prince's accession to the Spanish throne, especially as the heir was only a child, and the real ruler would be Louis XIV. The matter was made all right for a time by the first will of Charles II. of Spain, in accordance with which the crown was to descend to Margaret's grandson, Ferdinand of Bavaria; he died, however, shortly after, it was thought by poison administered either at the instigation of the French or Austrian rulers, who were both equally interested in the result. Emperor Leopold, being of Spanish descent through his mother, desired the crown of Spain for his son, Archduke Charles; and afterwards, in order to bring about his succession, he offered to make the Electorates of Branden-

burg and Saxony kingdoms, in exchange for their help in carrying on the war of the Spanish Succession.

When Charles II. died, in 1700, he again apparently settled the important question concerning his heir, by appointing Philip of Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV., to succeed to his throne.

The beginning of the eighteenth century opened for Europe with a lowery sky. Charles XII. of Sweden and Peter the Great of Russia were fighting for the "Balance of Power." Leopold I. declared war against France, still hoping to gain the succession for his son. England and Holland made an alliance with him, and also most of the German states. Thus it will be seen that the eighteenth century began and ended in strife and bloodshed.

In the beginning of the war of the Spanish Succession, two men of the greatest military genius appear, — Prince Eugene of Savoy, and John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. These great generals, while fighting over this question which was moving all Europe, kept themselves in harmony for many years.

When the will of Charles II. was acknowledged, Louis XIV. sent his grandson off to take possession of Spain. At the same time Emperor Leopold despatched Prince Eugene over the Alps to drive the French out of Northern Italy. The latter was victorious in this brilliant campaign, which was as daring and hazardous as those of Napoleon in the same country a century later. In this case, Eugene of Savoy was obliged to transport cannon and supplies through paths only known to chamois hunters.

Prince Eugene of Savoy was a little thin man, who in his battles wore a blue coat with brass buttons, and an enormous cocked hat. When he applied to Louis XIV. for an appointment in the army, the latter derided him, and called him "the little abbot." Prince Eugene was

brave, wise, and conscientious, and a great general, whose career was long and brilliant. In the latter respect he was unlike Marlborough, who had two glaring faults, — avarice and duplicity. But Marlborough was masterly in the management of his army, in battle cool and self-possessed, and in diplomacy he had the art of bringing all to his views. He added to the characteristics of a distinguished and careful commander, a stately bearing and a winning address.

When Louis XIV. refused to give Eugene of Savoy a regiment, and the latter entered into the service of Austria, he rose to distinction in fighting the Turks. After this Louis would have been glad to receive him, and made him flattering offers, which he refused. He and the Duke of Marlborough joined their forces, in 1704, against the French and Bavarian armies in Southern Germany; and on August 13, defeated the French general, Tallard, at the frightful battle of Blenheim (Hockstadt), which was won after great slaughter, and added much glory to the cause of the allies. In 1700 England and Holland, as well as Brandenburg and Saxony, had also joined Leopold.

Frederick III. of Brandenburg had succeeded his father, the Great Elector, in 1688. He was a prince of moderate diplomatic ability, but he carried out his father's policy, protecting religious freedom and defending the Protestant cause. When Leopold I. offered to make a kingdom of his possessions in exchange for his influence in the war of the Spanish Succession, Frederick was delighted. But the Golden Bull of Charles IV. permitted only one sovereign, the King of Bohemia, to be a member of the Electoral College. Therefore Frederick was obliged to take the name of his independent Duchy of Prussia, and thereby he became "Frederick I.

of Prussia." Thus the name of Prussia and Prussians, which had originated in Borussia, a small tribe of Slavonic descent, became the appellation for all the lands which afterwards comprised the kingdom of this name. Prince Eugene, in speaking of the treaty which made the Elector king, said, "The Emperor in his own interest ought to have hanged the minister who counselled him to make this concession to the Elector of Brandenburg."

On January 18, 1701, Frederick and his wife were crowned with great pomp at Königsberg, as King and Queen of Prussia. Although the importance of the step was not fully realized at the time, Frederick the Great held that his grandfather had said to his successor by that act, "I have attained a title for you; show yourselves worthy of it. I have laid the foundation of your greatness; you must finish the work."

King Frederick I. had the prevailing taste for display, and surrounded the new title with royal splendor. He was chiefly remarkable as the first King of Prussia. He also made himself conspicuous by wasting the resources of the kingdom which the Great Elector, his father, had husbanded. He erected the Palace of Charlottenburg, and commenced to rebuild the royal palace in which all the old Electors had taken a hand. This palace has a very interesting history; it is one of the royal residences which a legend declares is haunted by a spectre called "The White Lady," who periodically appears to portend the death of a member of the House of Hohenzollern. Tradition says it is the ghost of the Countess Agnes of Orlamunde, who murdered her two children in order that she might marry the Burgrave Albert of Nuremberg.

On account of the extravagance of Frederick I., the people were burdened by taxes, and the finances went to

ruin. The king's last years were saddened by this, as well as by sickness and disappointment. He died February 25, 1713. Frederick the Great afterwards said of his grandfather, "He was great in small things, but little in great things."

Meanwhile Marlborough and Prince Eugene had gained so much renown on the field of Blenheim, where the French left fourteen thousand men and lost thirteen thousand prisoners, that Marlborough was given a dukedom by Queen Anne of England, and both he and Eugene were made princes of the German Empire. All Europe rang with songs celebrating this victory; among them "Marlborough Goes to the War." In this song they called him "Malbrook."

In the year 1705 Leopold I. died. It was said of him also that he could not do great things, but that he could do little things very well. He played the violin so beautifully that his music-teacher once said to him, "What a pity your Majesty is not a fiddler!"

Joseph I., Leopold's son, succeeded him. Instead of trying to spy out what Prince Eugene was doing, and criticising his method, as his father had done, he at once made him his counsellor. This same year Prince Eugene, with twenty-four thousand men, went to Italy to assist the Austrian garrison at Turin, the capital of Savoy. He gained a great victory over the French, literally destroying them. He took two hundred and eleven cannon and eighty thousand barrels of powder, besides many horses and provisions. He was re-enforced by Victor Amadeus of Savoy, with thirteen thousand men. The Prussian troops distinguished themselves in this siege under Frederick of Dessau. By this victory Eugene became a hero to the German people, and many songs in his honor are sung to this day. At one time he conquered the entire

kingdom of Naples; and for some time the allies, Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Holland, and England, held Italy.

In 1706 the Duke of Marlborough defeated the French at Ramillies in the Netherlands; and in 1708 the two great generals joined their forces to prosecute the war together. Their first victory was at Oudenard; and in 1709, at Malplaquet, they defeated the French general, Villars. They soon had possession of the Spanish Netherlands, and Paris was opened to them.

France was now utterly worn out. Misery and famine had taken the place, for the most part, of the old-time French splendor. Ever since the year 1708 Louis XIV. had been negotiating for peace. All his Spanish possessions, except Naples and Sardinia, he was ready to give up, and also to restore his conquests in Alsace and Lorraine to the German Empire. But the allies, under the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, required that the old monarch should drive his grandson, Philip V., from the Spanish throne. Finally he even agreed to the latter proposition, and also to give a million livres a month to defray the expenses of the war, which would, under the circumstances, become unavoidable.

Joseph I. seems to posterity a madman when he refused to consider this offer; but he was puffed up with the idea that his brother, Archduke Charles, was gaining great victories in Spain, the former having already made a triumphal entry into Madrid. Yet there was no further advantage to be gained by prolonging the war, and the opportunity of making advantageous terms was lost for all time, while the recovery of Alsace and Lorraine was postponed a century and a half. The ministry changed in England, and Marlborough was recalled. England secretly began negotiations with France, thus breaking up the combination against Louis XIV.

In April, 1711, Joseph I. died of small-pox, or, as some say, by poison. He had no sons; and his brother Charles VI., who had been the Austrian candidate for the Spanish throne, succeeded him. Since Charles VI. at his accession possessed all of Austria, he would rule over as great an Empire as that of Charles V. in case he acquired Spain. The allies did not wish to build up such a power; and England opened negotiations which led to the Peace of Utrecht, April 2, 1713. The treaty was between England, Holland, Portugal, Prussia, on the one side, and France and Spain on the other. It recognized Louis XIV.'s grandson Philip as King of Spain, on condition of his renouncing all claims to the crown of France for himself and his descendants. Thus the Bourbon dynasty was established in Spain, and remained allied to France through the eighteenth century. Charles VI. refused to recognize Philip V. as King of Spain, and rejected the Treaty of Utrecht. But Eugene continued to fight along the Rhine.

Louis XIV. was now so old and infirm that he was willing to treat for peace even with Austria alone, and on March 7, 1714, signed the Treaty of Rastatt, which ended the war of the Spanish Succession. Austria received the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, Milan, Mantua, and the Island of Sardinia. Freiburg, Old Breisach, and Kehl were restored to Germany. France retained Landau, Alsace, and Strasburg. The recovery of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany, which might have been effected by Joseph I. in 1710, was lost until 1870.

By the war of the Spanish Succession, France lost the ascendancy in Europe. It was now that the "balance of power," which has been a controlling object in diplomacy, was first established.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

FREDERICK WILLIAM I. — AN ABSOLUTE MONARCH. — THE  
DECLINE OF AUSTRIA. — CHARLES VI. — THE WAR OF  
THE POLISH SUCCESSION.

1714 — 1740 A.D.

THE events of the last chapter bring the history of Germany up to the time of Frederick William I.

Charles XII. of Sweden had been banished; and nothing more was heard of him until 1714, when after the Peace of Utrecht he suddenly appeared in Stralsund, having escaped from his long exile by travelling night and day on horseback from the coast of the Black Sea. Prussia and Hanover, being eager to absorb his kingdom, united against this once powerful monarch; for everything showed that he had lost his military strength, and that the nation no longer held the prestige kept by the Swedish rulers ever since Gustavus Adolphus first took the field. After the death of Charles XII. at Frederickshall, where he was assassinated in 1718, Sweden was compelled to make a humiliating peace. There were treaties made at Stockholm in 1719 and 1720, by which Prussia received Stettin, all Pomerania, and some islands, besides Stralsund, agreeing to pay two million thalers to Sweden. By this treaty Hanover acquired Bremen and Verdun, and paid one million thalers; Denmark received Schleswig; and Russia, now the rising power of Europe, kept all she had gained by conquest except Finland.

During all these conflicts of the Empire with foreign



powers, Frederick William I. was looking after the interests of his kingdom with keen foresight and practical skill. The war of the Spanish Succession had ended when he came to the throne, and it was only in a contention with Sweden in the last days of Charles XII. that he took any considerable part. The campaign by which he acquired Pomerania was the only war which he waged on his own account, although afterwards he assisted the Emperor in behalf of Augustus III. of Saxony, in gaining the crown of Poland. The only human trait he ever exhibited came out in a correspondence with his minister just as he was about setting out to prosecute this war. He wrote, "Why will the very king whom I most respect compel me to be his enemy?" He then went on, "My wife shall be told of all things, and her counsel heeded. As I am a man, and likely to be shot, I commit Fritz to the care of all of you, and God shall reward you. But I give you all, wife to begin with, my curse, and hope that God may punish you in time and eternity, if you do not, after my death, bury me in the vault of the Palace Church at Berlin. And I command that you shall make no grand parade on the occasion. under penalty of your lives, — no festivals nor ceremonials, except that the regiments, one after the other, fire a volley over me. I am assured that you will manage everything with the greatest possible exactness during my absence with the army, for which I shall ever zealously, as long as I live, be your friend."

This no doubt was written like all of his state documents, which Carlyle said "resembled the scratches of a wild beast, and in tone were like the growling of a bear; but withal there was practical sense running through every line."

Frederick William I. was the reverse in character of

his father, the spendthrift king. He was much more like his grandfather, the Great Elector, especially in the organization and management of his army, which was the business of his life.

When Frederick William mounted the throne, his subjects were appalled by the arbitrary changes which he made. All the lavish expenditures in which his father had indulged were curtailed, and the numerous articles of luxury which had been collected in the latter's reign were sold or burned. Opera singers, actors, artists, and poets were dismissed, or their salaries cut down. Frederick William made a clean sweep of all the honorary officials, from the highest chamberlain to the humblest page. Eight servers only were retained at six shillings a week, and out of one thousand saddle-horses he kept only thirty, and continued only three out of the thirty pages formerly employed. He goaded the whole kingdom into industry, compelling even the apple-women to knit at the stalls. This was, undoubtedly, the origin of the present custom observed so generally by the German women; for they now knit in all public conveyances, at concerts, and even in social gatherings; and the serving-class are always seen knitting when going on errands, and with the children in the parks.

Frederick William tried to make himself all that his father had not been. He despised French in every form; he hated the French politeness of the day to such an extent that he treated his family with great brutality on account of their love of French manners and ideas; and he made the greatest effort to be himself in every respect unlike that seductive nation.

The age of Louis XIV. was an age of extravagant expenditure all over Europe. As related farther back, Augustus II., the Strong, set an example of terrible ex-

travagance in his city of Dresden, spending on one single entertainment of six months' duration six million thalers. Austria supported forty thousand officials, half of Vienna being fed from kitchens stocked from the revenues of the State. When Frederic William's father was crowned at Königsberg, eighteen hundred carriages with thirty thousand post-horses conveyed the court to the scene of the coronation, the carriages moving like an army in three divisions of six hundred each. On this occasion the king's diamond sleeve-buttons cost seventy-five hundred dollars apiece. At that time Frederick William was twelve years old, and this was the beginning of his contempt for court show. But, for all that, when he himself was married to Sophia Dorothea, daughter of George I. of Hanover, he was obliged to submit to court etiquette, which required that on her journey to Berlin at each post in Hanover a relay of five hundred and twenty fresh horses should be employed; and when her retinue reached the Prussian frontier, a deputation of three hundred and fifty horses came out to receive them.

Frederick William I. despised all this pomp and extravagance so much that he determined to save the money which such splendor cost, not only in building up his army, but in educating the common people of his State. He only allowed the queen one waiting-woman, while the Empress of Austria had several hundred. With the money he saved from the expenses of the royal household, he established four hundred schools among the people. Having the highest idea of the rights and duties of a king, he aimed to increase the wealth, dignity, and strength of Prussia; and by his practical sense in carrying on the government and increasing his army, he laid the foundation which enabled Frederick the Great to sustain himself during his long struggle, thus making

Prussia great in his day, and the German Empire the power it now is in the world.

All the officers under Frederick William I. were famous men, but they were as simple and abrupt, conscientious and practical, as himself. Although he was the friend of education, he did not encourage the sciences nor the arts unless he saw some practical use to which they could be put. He made his kingdom an asylum for persecuted Protestants, furnishing them with lands until they could found new homes. He was the forerunner of protectionists, and gained much of the money for the support of his army from the duties imposed upon foreign articles which were consumed at home; for he preferred this method of raising money to direct taxation, which he thought was hard upon the lower classes. He himself wore homespun clothes, and encouraged the people to do the same. If Frederick William I. heard of a bed-curtain made of calico from abroad, or saw any article of foreign manufacture composing the dress of any lady, even in the street, he had her immediately arrested, and the article confiscated on the spot. Once, when he was a little boy, some one presented him with a tiny dressing-gown of gold-embroidered silk. He looked at it a moment with disgust, and then disdainfully tossed it into the fire. He did the same thing with a gorgeous brocaded dressing-gown belonging to his son Frederick the Great some years after, to the dismay and chagrin of the latter.

The costly *fêtes* in which his father had tried to compete with Louis XIV. immediately disappeared, and the Royal Smoking Parliament took their place. This "Tobacco Parliament" was Frederick William's evening recreation. Here he met his ministers, generals, foreign ambassadors, and friends, who were invited to smoke

and drink beer with him in a plain room; and contrary to his usual parsimony with respect to food, he had a long table stocked with cold meats, rounds of beef, and sandwiches, all of which were garnished with jugs of beer, bottles of champagne, and pipes and tobacco to the crowd. He entertained them sitting on a three-legged stool, while these important functionaries sat before him on wooden benches. He required that every one should, at least, appear to smoke. All the affairs of the government were discussed at these meetings, no one being required to rise when the king entered the room; indeed, it was forbidden. On one occasion, near the close of Frederick William's life, he arose from his bed and called this Parliament together, as it proved for the last time. They were all enjoying the session uproariously, when Frederick the Great came in, and, forgetting themselves, the members all rose in a body. This was too much for the feeble old king; and he was so incensed, partly from jealousy on account of the attention paid his son, and partly, because the rules of his Parliament had been broken, that, ringing violently for his servants, he had himself rolled in his chair from the room.

Up to this time the Parliament had always preserved a perfect good humor; the king, however, when walking on the streets of Berlin and Potsdam, was often irritated on account of the habits of shiftless people whom he met. In these walks he carried a heavy cane, which he applied to the shoulders of any one who seemed to have nothing to do.

Frederick William was a born soldier, judging every person and event with a hard, iron heart, and from a military point of view. From the first he contracted the whole routine of service, and introduced economy into every branch of the government as well as into his own

private affairs. He also made himself acquainted with the minutest details of the service. Access to the king was very easy to obtain, since any letter addressed simply "To the King" came under his immediate notice, and was read by himself.

The affection he always showed for his "blue children" and "long fellows" was the ruling passion of his life; for as soon as he had increased the number of soldiers from thirty-eight thousand to eighty-four thousand, he commenced forming a corps of giant soldiers, which was a mania all his life. When his son Frederick was fourteen years of age, he made him captain of this regiment, calling it the Potsdam Grenadier Guard, or the Giant Guard. In recruiting for this curious company, he despatched officers all over the world to hunt for tall men. He kidnapped them into his service by such devices that to be a tall man was a reason for great personal fear. One Irish fellow, seven feet in height, was induced to enlist by a bounty equivalent to six thousand two hundred dollars; for another fellow he paid nine thousand; while forty-three others cost him a thousand apiece. The members of this guard were also called "Blue Boys," from the color of their uniforms. Travelers were stopped on post-coaches, in fields and villages, and tall peasants and burghers taken by brute force. "The time when giants were the terror of other men had gone by, and instead of mankind being their victims, they became the victims of mankind." Frederick William spent his leisure hours painting likenesses of these giants, and when the portraits failed to resemble the original, he painted the giants to look like the portraits.

A gentleman once went into a joiner's shop, the owner of which was six feet three inches in height. The stranger ordered a chest to be constructed three inches longer than

the height of the joiner himself. When he returned, he brought with him several servants by whom the cumbrous article was to be taken away. When the man saw the chest he did not seem satisfied with the size, declaring that it was not as long as the mechanic was tall. The latter, to convince him, jumped into the chest, stretching himself out at full length; then the stranger shut down the lid, fastening it securely, and hurried away with it for the purpose of presenting the man to the Blue Guards of Potsdam. On opening the chest, however, the joiner was found dead, having perished through rage and suffocation. The man who was responsible for this farce-tragedy was Baron Hombesch, and when tried for murder was condemned to death; but the king, considering that the end justified the means, commuted the sentence. The joiner just mentioned was rather a small giant, for the tallest were almost nine feet in height. The Russian Emperor, Peter, used also to make the king a present of giants, and the latter would reciprocate the courtesy by transporting some Prussian sword-cutlers for his Russian Majesty's service.

From this it is plain to all that Frederick William had a touch of insanity in his character, or was at least eccentric to an alarming degree. It is almost laughable to think of this uncultivated man of one idea, keeping up an army of almost a hundred thousand soldiers in a kind of showcase for the admiration of Europe, while he entertained a strong prejudice against crippling, by real warfare, his well-drilled battalion, on whom he had lavished so much pains.

Leopold of Dessau, called the "Old Desauer," was the instructor of the soldiers in tactics and discipline. He was the great general who assisted in the siege of Turin with Prince Eugene, and laid the foundation of

the respect which Europe ever afterwards entertained for Prussian valor. He introduced the bayonet into the army, and taught the soldiers to form lines on the field with great dexterity. Dessau also used metallic ramrods for the first time. He was brutal in his discipline, kicking and beating his men, recruited from various lands, into the art of war.

In Frederick William's reign absolute monarchy was brought to the highest point; but except in the management of his son and daughter, he generally manifested a keen sense of justice. He seemed to despise both his son Frederick and his daughter Wilhelmina, treating them worse than any street vagabond. He used the former so badly that at last the prince decided to run away, and when he and his friend and tutor, Katte, tried to escape, they were served as deserters. Katte was shot, and Frederick was forced to stand by and see his friend die. The petition this brilliant young officer made to the hard-hearted old king to save him from his terrible doom was enough to melt a heart of stone. Frederick also told his father he would renounce all his rights to the throne if his friend could be saved, but it was all in vain. As Katte was led by the window of the prison in which Frederick was confined, the latter cried out, "Oh! that this should be the reward of all your kindness to me! Pardon me, my dear Katte." A smile flitted across Katte's pallid face as he replied, "Death is sweet for a prince I love so well." For a long time it was doubtful to those who knew the unrelenting character of Frederick William, whether his son would not also be shot; but the court before which Frederick was tried for treason decided that Colonel Fritz also was guilty, but that they had no jurisdiction to condemn the Crown Prince; also the rulers of the other governments took it into their hands, and intimidated the King;



Charles VI., the Emperor, wrote with his own hand, earnestly interceding for the Crown Prince. His father finally relented, and they were at last reconciled; but Frederick was kept in prison until the marriage of his favorite sister, Wilhelmina, when he was discovered with the servants, still deprived of any decoration signifying his royalty. The same evening his father dragged him out, presenting him to the boy's mother with these words, "Here, Madam, our Fritz is back again." At last, however, by the most abject submission on the part of Fritz, harmony was established between them, the old king dying in his son's arms.

One reason for the constant friction between father and son was Frederick William's extreme orthodox views—Frederick's ideas on all religious matters being entirely at variance with them. These sentiments influenced Frederick William at his very accession, when he expelled the free-thinker Wolf, and forced him to leave the kingdom within twenty-four hours on penalty of being hung. His orthodoxy is also illustrated by a little anecdote. A valet having been one evening called in to read prayers, instead of repeating the words of the text, "The Lord bless thee," read, "The Lord bless your Majesty." The king interrupted him, saying, "You rascal, read it as it is in the book. Before God I am just such a poor miserable sinner as you are." Although so devout, it seems, however, never to have occurred to this strait-laced despot, that the fruits of the spirit are "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness, and temperance," as well as faith; for his character showed no suspicion of any one of these attributes. Drunkenness was his habitual condition; the most of his eccentricities and bad disposition and cruel treatment of others no doubt sprung from this vice; and on account of this habit,

although so strict in the dogmas of religion, he failed utterly to exemplify in any act of his life the teachings of the gospel of Christ.

One of the great disappointments of Frederick William's life was his treatment by Charles VI., to whom he had been intensely loyal. The Emperor had rewarded all his devotion with so much ingratitude and duplicity that at last the king gave him up, and at the end of his life prayed that his son might be his avenger against the Hapsburg House.

As his life drew to a close, Frederick William I. became broken down in mind and body, but he was fully aware that his days were nearly at an end. It being beautiful weather, he decided to leave Berlin for Potsdam, saying, "I am going to die in Potsdam. Fare thee well, then, Berlin!" Soon after this he sent for three clergymen, in order to prepare for the final judgment. They were very faithful with him, reminding him of his many acts of violence and tyranny, — of his having hung Baron Schlubhut without a trial, of his shooting young Katte, and his cruelty to his son. Then they brought up the hatred he had always felt towards his brother-in-law George II., the King of England, which was the most implacable passion he had ever entertained. They said, "Can you forgive your brother ruler? If you do not do this, how can you ask to be forgiven?" He seemed quite troubled, and after a moment he said, "Well, I will do it." Then turning to his wife, he said, "After I am dead, write to your brother and tell him that I forgave him, and died at peace with him." The clergymen suggested that he ought to do it at once. "No," said the king peremptorily; "write after I am dead; that will be safer."

The king still hung to life; but growing worse on the 26th of May word was sent to the Crown Prince at

Rheinsberg that his father was dying, and that he must hasten to Potsdam or he would never see him again. Rising before dawn, he hastened to the death-bed of his father. As he entered the town and turned the corner of the palace, he saw at a little distance a crowd gathered around some one; and to his unutterable astonishment he beheld his father dressed and in his wheeled chair out-of-doors, giving directions about laying the foundation of a house he had undertaken to build. The interview between them was very affecting, and prostrated the weak old man, who was taken back to his bed, and realizing that he must now die, gave directions about his burial. He conjured those about him to observe simplicity, but directed that he should be carried by eight captains of his regiment to the funeral car. He desired that the drums should beat the funeral march, and the hautboys should play the anthem, "O blessed head, covered with blood and wounds!" and that there should be twelve volleys fired over his remains; but that the funeral sermon should be postponed two weeks, when it should be delivered in all the churches from the text, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith." Then he ordered that there should be a festival in the evening in the great room in the garden, and that a cask of hock preserved in the cellar for that purpose should be opened, and he commanded that nothing but good wine should be drunk on the occasion.

He died May 31, 1740, leaving an army of one hundred thousand men, nine million thalers in the treasury, and a territory of sixty-four thousand miles, with a population of two million and a half. He had increased the revenues from a little over two million to seven million thalers, and at the time of his death Berlin had a population of one hundred thousand.

Although Frederick William's methods of government were rude, they had been so systematic and vigorous that while almost everywhere else in Germany the people were descending in the social scale, the Brandenburger and Hohenzollern states were growing all the time hardier and more upright, and were becoming the basis of the kingdom which soon gained the ascendancy in Germany.

After the Treaty of Rastatt there was peace for nineteen years. Then the "Pragmatic Sanction," which Charles VI. was agitating in the interests of the succession of his daughter, induced him to co-operate with Russia for placing Augustus III. of Saxony on the Polish throne.

Frederick William I. was only to a small degree drawn into the war of the Polish Succession. Louis XV., the great-grandson of Louis XIV., had succeeded to the throne of France, and married the daughter of Stanislaus Leszczyński, the Polish King; therefore the influence of Louis weighed with the majority, and Stanislaus, reaching Warsaw disguised as a commercial traveller, was crowned in 1733. The Russian army then entered Poland in the interests of Augustus III., while France, assisted by Spain and Sardinia, declared war against Germany on the side of Stanislaus, a part of the French army occupying Kehl. Prince Eugene, now seventy years old, made his last campaign fighting on the Rhine, and was about to enter Lorraine to free it from France, the rest of Germany withdrawing from the war. Frederick William reluctantly sent two thousand of his well-disciplined troops. But just at the moment when everything looked discouraging for the other nations, Leszczyński, frightened at the appearance of the Russians in Poland, fled in the disguise of a cattle-trader. Soon after, Louis asked for negotiations, and the war of the Polish Succession closed, in October, 1733, by giving up Lorraine, with the consent of Charles VI., to

Leszczyński, on condition that it should finally revert to France. Francis of Lorraine was made Grand-Duke of Tuscany, and in 1736 married Maria Theresa, the daughter of Charles VI. Austria was obliged to bear all the losses incident to this war in order that Charles VI. might receive a recognition of his "Pragmatic Sanction." Frederick William, enraged at the ingratitude of Austria in giving him nothing when he expected Julich and Berg, the old disputed possessions, entered into secret negotiations with France.

In 1736 Prince Eugene of Savoy died, worn out by a life of assiduous labor and peril. The next year the Emperor of Austria was inveigled into hostilities with the Turks. In this war he lost Belgrade, which Prince Eugene had won so bravely in 1716, and which resulted in the Peace of Passarowitz.

Charles VI. died on the 24th of October, 1740. He was the last of the sixteen Emperors of the Hapsburg dynasty. There were two others, Rudolf of Hapsburg and Albert I., who are usually reckoned with the mixed line of kings. At the time of the death of the Emperor his army was disorganized, and the people so weakened by the luxury and oppression of the government, that for an entire century they lost all heart. Although the pomp of the Empire continued, it was plain to see, by all political observers, that Prussia was, even at this date, the rising power of Europe.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

## FREDERICK THE GREAT'S YOUTH.

1712—1732 A.D.

AFTER the wars of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War, Prussia became the fifth great power of Europe. This was brought about by the eminent statesmanship of Frederick the Great, aided by the large standing army and wealth accumulated in Frederick William's time.

Frederick the Great was born January 24, 1712. He had fair hair, and handsome blue eyes, delicate features, an expressive face, and on the whole was rather good-looking, though inclined to be stout. Although naturally of a loving disposition, on account of fear and suspicion he grew up cold, reserved, and sarcastic; but notwithstanding this, he was full of wit, and with those he sought to please not ungracious in his manners. His mother, Sophia Dorothea of Hanover, a sister of George II. of England, was a mild-tempered woman, who loved her son; but being largely self-centred, she lacked the power to shield him against the cruelty of his father.

Music and French literature were the chief joy of the young boy's life; and these he could only indulge in by stealth; for his father, in his desire to uproot the sickly sentiment so much in vogue, led the poor lad a miserable life. A celebrated music-master from Dresden, by the name of Quantz, was his teacher, secretly instructing the young prince. This was a very hazardous measure; since

the old king might at any hour make his appearance, and no one could tell to what lengths he would go in case of a discovery being made; therefore Lieutenant Katte was stationed to give warning of the king's approach. At one time when he had established this outpost, and put himself in *négligée* costume, enjoying his favorite pastime with great zest, his friend Katte came into the room, and announced that the king was at the door. Katte and Quantz seized the flutes and music-books, and rushed into a little cabinet, quaking with fear. Frederick William, with all his faults, was very orderly and scrupulously neat; and when he saw his son with his hair frizzled all over his head, he flew into a terrible rage. Collecting all the French books, he sent for a bookseller, and ordered him to sell them for what he could get. Although he made a vigorous search for other forbidden luxuries, he did not look into the cabinet, and so the friends of the Crown Prince at that time escaped being terribly beaten, and probably being sent to the scaffold or in their turn shot.

When Frederick was in the tenth year of his age, his father made a curious schedule for the direction of his son's life. First he said, "I wish my son to be impressed with the love and fear of God, for this is the foundation of temporal as well as eternal welfare." Sunday morning Frederick was to rise at seven o'clock, and kneeling at his bedside, he was to commit himself to God. Among other things in the short prayer was the sentence, "Grant that I do nothing this day nor all the days of my life which can divide me from Thee." After this came his toilet, during which time he was to breakfast on tea, the three exercises to occupy just fifteen minutes. Then came the real family worship. At nine he went to church with his father, dining with him at twelve o'clock.

The rest of the day he had to himself; and at half-past nine he bade his father good-night, after washing his hands and saying a prayer and singing a hymn in the presence of the servants. Beginning with Monday he must rise all the rest of the week at six o'clock. A servant was stationed at the bed to see that he didn't rub his eyes nor stretch himself nor turn over in bed, and that he rose the moment he was called. About the same rules were observed until nine o'clock as on Sunday, except that at this early toilet he did not wash his hands with soap. Until eleven o'clock he studied a treatise on the Christian religion, and after washing his hands with soap and water, he repaired to the presence of the king, and stayed until two o'clock, dining at twelve. From two to three he engaged in miscellaneous study. The history of the preceding hundred and fifty years must be taken up in detail, including an account of all the European kingdoms, their weakness and strength, the size, riches, and poverty of the towns. As he grew older he was to take up the plans of the fortifications, the formation of a camp, and all the science of war; and he must be taught that all his desire for glory should be that which can be gained in the profession of arms, and that nothing brings honor and renown like the sword. From three to four Frederick was to study morality; from four to five he must write German letters, to cultivate a good style, and after five, exercise in the open air until evening. On Saturday he reviewed the studies of the week, when if his work had been thorough, he had Saturday afternoon for a holiday; but if the exercises were not well done, he was to perfect them until six o'clock. The teachers were also commanded to see that he dressed and undressed quickly, and did it all without aid. Frederick was in the habit of visiting the famous Tobacco Parliament in the evening



at his father's request. When he failed to do this, he always accompanied the younger children, nine in number, when they came before this august body to bid their father good-night.

Frederick William was so eager that little Fritz should form warlike tastes and habits, and like himself scorn effeminacy, that from very early age he gave him little time for amusement, and stinted him in his food. To a degree he did the same thing with all his household, always, however, giving his son the meanest kind of everything, so that the boy generally went to bed hungry. Wilhelmina writes of this, "He almost caused my brother and myself to die of hunger, always acting as carver himself; if anything nice remained in the dish, he made it look so uninviting that we did not want it; so we mainly lived on coffee, milk, and dried cherries, being nourished chiefly with insults and abuse.

The king was anxious that the boy, while still a mere baby, should be drilled for a soldier; but the child soon tired of the numberless reviews, and showed no fondness for drill exercise, much to the disappointment of his father. He was gentle, affectionate, and fond of books, and clung to his sister Wilhelmina with a tender love. One day with inexpressible delight his father found little Fritz strutting about and beating a drum, with his sister marching beside him. Soon after a miniature company of soldiers was organized, consisting of one hundred lads. They were called the "Crown Prince Cadets," and gradually increased to three hundred. When drilling, Fritz wore a military dress just like his father's, and was provided with an arsenal on the palace grounds of Potsdam, where he had mounted batteries, and practised gunnery with all the equipments then in vogue. This seems to have been the only thing in Frederick's child-

hood which afforded him pleasure, and at the same time accorded with his father's plans and tastes. Even at this early age he showed uncommon capacity for military pursuits, and a general intelligence which augured well for his future greatness.

But this kind of play tactics the king only permitted for a short time. At seven years Frederick was taken from the care of his governess, Madame Recoulé, and other female teachers, whom he loved very much, and who had taught him the French language so well that he spoke it better than his own native tongue; indeed, the latter was so much neglected that he is said never to have learned to spell, and in later years in writing some of the documents which thrilled Europe, and gained his renown, in a half a page eleven words are found misspelled. The tutors under whom he was placed were military officers, had won renown in battle; one of them was Colonel Kalkstein, whom Frederick was accustomed to refer to, years after, as "my master Kalkstein." But the boy's acute though still childish mind revolted from the treadmill to which he was condemned.

In these early years of Frederick's boyhood, his father used to take the whole family to an ancient hunting-lodge called Wüsterhausen, about twenty miles from Berlin. Here there was an old rectangular palace in the midst of a lugubrious swamp, surrounded by a lot of tumble-down outbuildings. Wilhelmina in her usual sarcastic vein describes the gloomy castle, with its abominable ditch which they called a moat, where she says they had an old eagle and black bears for pets; while the different members of the large royal family were stuffed into garrets without room to turn round. Frederick William, however, found the place just suited to his tastes, and kept the family there during the autumn hunting-season.

Although there was a house full of children, besides cousins and sons and daughters of the families connected with the court, Frederick and Wilhelmina cared only for each other. Here this brother and sister were drawn together very closely, and the affection they then cherished developed into the beautiful traits of character, by means of which they were enabled afterwards to encounter the severe trials of life. But the more their hearts were knit together, the more the old king hated and abused and persecuted them.

In Berlin and Potsdam, although the king himself lived in Spartan simplicity, with scarcely any furniture, and a hard camp-bed, he allowed his family to retain much of the magnificence with which his splendor-loving father, Frederick I., had surrounded these palaces. While living in town, Fritz was required to settle down to hard study, which taxed his slender constitution to the utmost. Whenever his father found him reading a French author or playing the flute, he would say; "Fritz is a fiddler and a poet; he will spoil all my labor," and then he would threaten to beat the boy. Frederick told his sister that he never would endure this; but if all the accounts of his father's cruelty are true, he often suffered severer punishment than the force of the tough cane. But "dark as these days were, they led the prince to a crown, and to achievements of whose recital the world will never grow weary." The more his father tried to prevent him, the more eager he became to pursue the branches he so ardently loved, and music became the absorbing passion of his life. These tastes afterwards influenced his action as ruler of the nation: he founded the Berlin Opera, and his French ideas afterwards brought him into sympathy with Voltaire, whom he admired in his youth, and adopted as a friend in later years.

While Frederick was shut up in the fortress of Custrin, after he had been tried and condemned for desertion, in attempting to run away, all his friends were treated by his infuriated father with the greatest severity. A bookseller who had furnished the prince with French books was exiled to the Baltic, and a Count Montholieu almost lost his life on the scaffold. Wilhelmina was also a close prisoner in the palace in Berlin, and was forced to live on the coarsest fare; but she felt herself comfortably situated compared to her brother, who was living the roughest kind of a life at Custrin, with hardly a bed, with only a rickety chest to sit on, with no light and no books to read. Yet Wilhelmina was shut out from her mother's presence, and could only communicate with her brother by stealth.

At the close of this period of imprisonment, when Frederick was twenty years of age, as a condition of release he was forced to marry Princess Elizabeth of Brunswick-Bevern, whom he disliked; and since there was no harmony between them, they lived together but a short time. His mother had desired his marriage with Princess Amelia, his cousin, daughter of George II., whom he loved. The arrangement included a double marriage, whereby Wilhelmina would have wedded the Crown Prince of England, the consummation of the plan rendering England and Prussia almost the same government. This the English politicians and Frederick William I. did not sanction, the latter very much disliking that nation. The piquant letters of Wilhelmina concerning the negotiations connected with this proposed double marriage are very interesting, and not only show what a bright, though down-trodden girl she was, but they let the world into the routine of the stormy domestic life of the palace more than anything else written. She caricatures George I. of England in an account which she gives

of his visit to his daughter, Wilhelmina's mother, relating to the double marriage of his four grandchildren. Looking the young lady over, he said, "Don't you think she is rather large of her age?" Wilhelmina then said, "I was very much embarrassed, and that gave rise to my grandfather asking if I was not of a melancholy turn of mind, when in reality I was almost frightened to death. Madame Sonsfeld told him this, and that it was my respect for him that caused my reserve; but he shook his head incredulously, and said nothing more." Wilhelmina also declared that her grandfather was intolerably proud after he became King of England, and looked down upon the family because their father was only King of Prussia. Notwithstanding this, Frederick William was deeply affected when the former died, and cried like a child, soon after becoming melancholy almost to the extent of hypochondria. He condemned all pleasure, and allowed his family to speak of nothing in his presence but the word of God. Wilhelmina writes, "We had to listen to his sermon with as devout attention as if he had been the Apostle Paul, and my brother and I had all we could do to keep from laughing in his presence, and sometimes we did burst out; and then he would curse us with the anathemas of the Church until we put on a contrite, penitential air." The old king grew so low spirited that he thought of abdicating in favor of Frederick, and retiring to the seclusion of Wüsterhausen, but there was no such good luck in store for his son.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

FREDERICK THE GREAT CONTINUED.—MARIA THERESA.—  
FRANCIS I.—FIRST SILESIAN WAR.

1732—1742 A.D.

AT the time of Frederick's marriage, his father gave him the Castle of Rheinsberg, near Potsdam, which he renovated and made a most charming place. Here he engaged in philosophical studies, enjoying his first experience of a free and independent life. Frederick William kept him so straitened in means that he was obliged to borrow of Russia and England, and the Empress also lent him money; but they knew it would not be relatively long before he would be at the head of the government, and they hoped to gain his favor in this way; therefore they were always glad to furnish him with what funds he needed. At Rheinsberg he did not waste his time, but interested himself in the plans of the government, and in political and military affairs; and while the world thought that he was a mere poet and philosopher, given up to the pleasures of society and to a careless and convivial life, he was really laying the moral foundation of his future greatness. Carlyle says of him at this period, "What mankind have done and been in the world, and what the wisest of men, poetical or other, have thought about mankind and their world, this is what he evidently had the appetite for—appetite insatiable, which lasted him to the very end of his days."

As Frederick the Great's father drew to the end of

life, and his infirmities and sufferings increased, the sympathies of his son had grown more acute. Frederick forgot all his father's cruel treatment, and only remembered his thrift and energy. The thought of his death became very painful to him, and he was depressed at the idea of assuming the cares of State. The king had abdicated at the last moment in favor of his "good son Frederick," in the presence of an assembled company into which he had been carried in his wheeled chair. It was about two o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, May 31, 1740, that he passed away, after a reign of twenty-seven years; and his son Frederick II. inherited his throne. The world then believed that the new reign would usher in a "Golden Age of Peace." They thought the philosophical studies of the latter would make him unpractical in his government, and that he would only think of the happiness of his subjects, and would devote his time to the encouragement of the arts and sciences alone. But Frederick now showed that he meant to govern with the same strong hand with which his father had ruled before him. He was King of Prussia, master of himself—a new phase of life for him. He was absolute monarch over a realm containing two million two hundred and forty thousand souls. He was restrained by no parliament, no constitution, and no laws beyond his own will; and he did not condescend to be crowned, "proudly assuming that the crown was already placed upon his brow by divine power." The first thing he did was to give his ministers to understand that he regarded his own advantage and that of his people as identical; but if the interests of the two should ever clash, the preference would be given to the good of the people.

The kingdom which then fell to Frederick the Great comprised an area of nearly fifty-seven thousand square

miles, and consisted of a collection of duchies, marquises, principalities, and lordships. It was unfortunately not a compact country, and the king was much hampered by being obliged to pass through the territory of other powers in order to reach some parts of his own. The annual revenue amounted to a little over six million; and there was then in the treasury, saved up by his father, seven million dollars. The army consisted of seventy-six thousand men, in the highest state of discipline, and equipped with every requisite of war. The expense of fighting at that time is illustrated by the fact that one of Frederick's earliest campaigns cost but two millions of dollars, and this was then thought to be a very large sum.

Within the first two days of his reign Frederick II. abolished legal torture, having himself experienced the agonies of that system. He also granted complete freedom of the press; for under his father's reign every attempt at journalism had been put down because the latter feared some criticism on his own arbitrary action. Immediately after his accession he ordered that a liberal distribution of the corn which was stored away should be furnished to some famished districts; he also supplied a thousand old women with work for the government, giving them comfortable quarters with good wages. Then he disbanded the old Potsdam Giant Guards on whom his father had spent so much of the revenues of the State. The last occasion on which these Guards had appeared was at his father's funeral. About this time he called Mau-pertuis to the city to take charge of the Berlin Academy, in order to place it on a scientific basis.

The economy of the late reign was in no wise diminished, though Frederick looked out that parsimony should no longer make his court the cause of ridicule among the





MAKERS OF GERMANY.

*Barbarossa.*  
*Frederick the Great.*

*Charlemagne.*

*Luther.*  
*Bismarck.*



princes of Europe. When he set out for Königsberg his court travelled in three carriages only, and the excuse he gave for not being crowned was that he was strong enough without it; he however at once proceeded to strengthen the union between Prussia and Brandenburg.

He took the reins of government into his own hands even more completely than did his father, allowing no minister to counsel him; and he was determined that there should be no nobility, however powerful, that was powerful against the king. His ministers were little more than clerks; and when Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau expressed a wish that his sons might be allowed to keep the "offices and authority they had held in the late reign," he replied that he would continue them in their offices, but he was unconscious of any authority except that which resided in the king. He seems also never to have made any distinction in favor of those who had rendered him the greatest benefits in the early times of his anguish and distress. He has been greatly criticised because on account of his own ambition, and his desire to avenge the ingratitude of Charles VI. to his father, he entirely overlooked the service the Emperor had rendered him, at the time the latter interceded for him when under arrest, and no doubt saved his life.

Frederick the Great was the original "civil service" reformer, almost all his father's ministers being kept in their places. He superintended every department of government himself, carrying this personal supervision, as some think, too far; for no one less strong physically than he could have stood such an immense strain.

Although he was despotic, Frederick allowed unparalleled freedom of speech. The liberty of the press was such in his time that it was no uncommon thing for satires to be published in Berlin which would not have been

tolerated in any other capital in Europe. "My people and I," he said, "have come to an agreement which satisfies us both. They are to say what they please, and I am to do what I please." Both kept up the understanding quite generally throughout his reign. He was able to suffer this state of things to exist, because he knew he had the love and esteem of the greater part of his subjects, and he did not care what his enemies said about him. One day, as he was riding through Berlin, he saw a crowd of people looking at something high up on the wall, and sent his groom to inquire what it was all about. It proved to be a caricature of himself. It occupied so elevated a position that it was difficult to see it or read what was said about the king; so Frederick ordered that it should be placed lower, in order that the people might not tire themselves stretching their necks to look at it. He had hardly given the order when with a shout of joy the crowd pulled down the placard and tore it in pieces, giving the king a hearty cheer as he rode away.

Frederick the Great was a clear-sighted statesman. He had a definite policy, and never allowed himself to drift. When he once made up his mind to act, he executed with vigor, and made few mistakes. Through all the years of his great career he was rarely disheartened by adversity, and not too much elated by success. It was his fortitude and will that enabled him to hold out through the many discouragements of the Seven Years' War. Macaulay said of him, "It was in the midst of difficulty and disgrace that he caught the first ideal glimpse of the precepts of military art."

Although he was sarcastic with reference to the faults of his equals, Frederick never indulged in irony at the expense of his subjects, and he was deservedly very popular with them. He was especially liked by his

soldiers, and as he became more efficient as a general, they were justly proud of him.

The early campaigns of Frederick the Great were full of blunders; and he owed his success, as will be seen, to his father's well-drilled battalions and excellent generals. It was profiting by experience that made him the first commander of his age.

At the time of Frederick's accession, in May, 1740, the political horizon was tolerably clear, and there was no sign in the sky of the coming storm. But on the 25th of October of the same year, the death of Charles VI. was the signal for disturbance throughout Europe. The King of Prussia was sick in bed, suffering from an attack of chills and fever. When he received the tidings, he rose and dressed himself, and his ague disappeared to return no more. He had already revolved the matter in his own mind, and resolved on a course of action whenever the Emperor should pass away, and he immediately summoned his chief ministers to a Council of State. He wrote the next day to Voltaire with reference to the occurrence, saying, "This small event changes the entire system of Europe."

Maria Theresa was in her twenty-fourth year when her father died. She was a woman of heroic character, and felt herself equal to any emergency. This feeling on her part inspired all about her with enthusiasm. She was radiantly beautiful, and most fascinating in her manners. Throughout her life her courage rose in proportion to the difficulties that sprung up around her. She was morally irreproachable, noble-minded, and imbued with deep religious principle, always acting from a stern sense of duty.

She was an able antagonist even for Frederick the Great, her lifelong deadly foe; it is said Frederick would

have married her, had she not loved Francis of Lorraine, to whom she was devoted all her life. Had this marriage taken place, European history would have been changed in its most important bearings. There were also many other sore trials for Maria Theresa; since after Charles VI. died nobody cared anything about his "Pragmatic Sanction," which had used up all his time and energy for a score of years.

The grandmother of Elector Charles of Bavaria belonged to the House of Hapsburg; and his wife was the daughter of Emperor Joseph I., who had made a contract with Charles VI. that his daughters should have the first chance if the succession should ever fall to a female heir. It was, however, in the right of his grandmother that the Duke of Bavaria claimed the crown of Austria, and Louis XV. supported him in that claim. An old will had been found by which Ferdinand I. had bequeathed the crown to his "lawfully begotten descendants," not to his "male descendants." No one knows whether the old will had been tampered with, or whether the copy was correct; but on the strength of it Charles Albert, Duke of Bavaria, was afterwards proclaimed Charles VII.

It was at this juncture of affairs that Frederick the Great saw his opportunity, and determined to strengthen some old claims to four principalities in Silesia which Austria had forcibly acquired.

Silesia lies in the valley of the Oder like a wedge between the Slavonic countries Bohemia and Poland. It reaches on the southeast to Hungary, and is divided from Bohemia by the Riesengebirge on the east, and northeast it is open to Poland. It is thus connected by natural features with Prussia, and cut off from Austria. The southern part, called Upper Silesia, is mountainous, but it is rich in mineral treasures; here the Slavonic popula-

tion in the time of Frederick the Great remained, but in the central and lower part, on the beautiful hills, the German settlers have lived since the thirteenth century, when the country was ravaged by the Mongols; here also occurred some of the bloody scenes of the Hussite war. It was originally like Prussia, outside of the Empire, but later it had been a fief of Bohemia. The old line became extinct in 1675, when Austria seized it, although according to a treaty with Joachim II., about 1540, each family was to be heir to the others' possessions, in case of a failure of issue either in the Silesian or the Brandenburg House; therefore Brandenburg had owned certain provinces by right ever since 1675. The people had embraced Protestantism at the time of the Reformation, and having been persecuted for their religion ever since Ferdinand II.'s reign, they looked upon Frederick as a liberator when his army entered their province, especially as he immediately issued an edict of universal toleration.

Frederick had determined to seize Silesia peacefully if possible, and then send an offer to Maria Theresa to assist her husband in obtaining the crown as a return for the province; also to resign Julich and Berg, and to advance a considerable sum of money. Frederick felt that it required a good deal of courage to present such an offer to the proud queen, and he had but little hope that the terms would be accepted. What he expected followed,—a flat refusal to negotiate with him.

On Tuesday night, the 12th of December, 1740, the King attended a masked ball in Berlin, accompanied by his wife. Though he tried to assume an air of gayety, his Majesty was evidently preoccupied, and he left the ball at a very early hour. The next night, after driving rapidly, he reached Frankfort, a distance of sixty miles. The day after he entered Silesia at the head of twenty-

eight thousand men, declaring that he came with no hostile intentions, but merely to guard his interests in the approaching troublous times.

As he was about to embark in this enterprise, it was proposed to have his banners inscribed with the words "For God and our Country." But Frederick struck out the words "For God," saying it was sacrilegious to introduce the name of the Deity into the quarrels of men, especially since he was about to go to war for conquest and not for religion.

Frederick's invasion of Silesia kindled a general war. Austria manned the fortresses in Silesia with seven thousand men, hoping that in the spring they would be relieved by another of her armies. Although Frederick held all of Silesia except these fortresses, Maria Theresa with her usual energy refused absolutely to treat with him while one of his soldiers remained in her dominion.

In the spring war was resumed in earnest, and the battle of Mollwitz was fought with General Neipperg. Frederick retired from this battle, as Voltaire said, "covered with glory and with flour," for he had sought safety in a mill, remarking as he left the field, "Adieu, messieurs, I am the best mounted." But old Frederick William's steadfast troops retrieved the day, fighting as if drilling in the parade-ground of Potsdam.

Frederick afterwards deplored his lack of military experience at this time, saying that if he had then followed out a proper line of action the whole Austrian army would have been annihilated. As it was, he entered Oppeln not as a conqueror, but as a starving fugitive, being so hungry that he stopped at a little shop on the market-place, where a peasant woman served him with a cup of coffee and a cold fowl. Having heard of the final success of his army, he galloped back to Mollwitz. His



chagrin at his dastardly flight was so great that during the rest of his life he never again referred to it. He afterwards wrote in his "History of My Time:" "The contest between General Neipperg and myself seemed to be which should commit the most blunders." Mollwitz was the school of the king and his troops.

The battle of Mollwitz made a great sensation in Europe; for no one had believed that the Prussian troops, accustomed in the late king's life only to drill exercise, would be able to resist the veterans of Austria in actual warfare. All Lower Silesia was now in the hands of the Prussians. France, Spain, and Saxony united with Bavaria against Austria, and George II., in behalf of the Electorate of Hanover, promised his vote for the Elector of Bavaria; and when the French and Bavarians seized Linz, Carl Albert was proclaimed Archduke of Austria.

Maria Theresa and her court fled to Presburg, where the Hungarian nobles were assembled. On September 11, 1741, she appeared before the Diet in robes of deep mourning, covered with jewels, and with the sacred crown of St. Stephen in her hand; her fair hair fell in rich curls upon her shoulders, and a sword was girded to her waist. With her son in her arms she made an eloquent speech in Latin, setting forth the dangers which beset her, and asking the nobles to support her cause. With one impulse and with one voice, waving their swords in the air, they cried out, "*Moriamur pro rege nostro, Maria Theresa*" ("Let us die for Maria Theresa, our King"). Then she was crowned with the crown of St. Stephen, and putting on the royal breastplate, she mounted her charger and galloped up the king's hill," waving her drawn sword in knightly fashion to the four quarters of the earth.

Meanwhile the allied troops might have taken Vienna

had they been united in one purpose; but they turned aside to the conquest of Bohemia, and, December 19, crowned Charles Albert at Prague. The February following he was crowned at Frankfort as Emperor, under the name of Charles VII. The very day of the latter's coronation, Charles V. of Lorraine, brother of Maria Theresa's husband, invaded Bavaria, and drove out the French army.

Frederick II. entered into a compromise with Austria; but not being satisfied with the agreement, as soon as it seemed convenient he proved recreant to his promise, and marching into Bohemia he defeated Charles of Lorraine near Czaslau, May 17, 1742. He gained an overwhelming victory alone, the French having failed to co-operate; for they had made an offer to Maria Theresa to betray Prussia on condition that she would give up Bohemia to Charles Albert, her rival, the despatch having been sent to Vienna. England had advised Austria all along to make peace with Prussia. But until after the tremendous battle near Czaslau, Maria Theresa would not consent to give up Silesia, which she considered the choicest jewel in her crown. After this the First Silesian War was closed by the Peace of Breslau. It was made without even the knowledge of the French; and when the French Minister at Berlin complained, Frederick handed him the despatch which Fleury at Paris had sent to Maria Theresa betraying Prussia, it having been secretly obtained from Vienna by Frederick. When the diplomat saw the original document which exposed the French treachery, he could only bow and retire. Frederick writing of this incident said, "Each party wished to be more cunning than the other."

By the Peace of Breslau, Frederick gained Upper and Lower Silesia and Glatz, an addition of one million two

hundred thousand inhabitants, one hundred and fifty cities, and five thousand villages. Since the queen could not prolong the war alone, she was forced to submit, although she felt the loss sorely, and blamed George II., who had negotiated the terms of the treaty, for requiring of her so great a sacrifice. It was a great loss to her, since, in the possession of Silesia no army of the allies could penetrate as far as Vienna; on the other hand, it was particularly valuable to Frederick, since without Silesia the Austrian army could at any time without difficulty march into the heart of the Prussian kingdom.

Frederick II. returned to his capital in triumph, where he was received by his people with great enthusiasm. Voltaire covered him with panegyrics, and anticipating the subsequent acclamations of the nation, greeted him as "Frederick the Great." "How glorious is my king, the youngest and the grandest," he said.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

WAR OF AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION CONTINUED. — SECOND SILESIAN WAR. — HABITS OF FREDERICK THE GREAT IN TIMES OF PEACE.

1742 — 1756 A.D.

**A**FTER this England, Hanover, and Holland entered into an alliance to support Maria Theresa; and now having only France and Bavaria to fight, they were able to carry on the war successfully.

Maria Theresa was crowned Queen of Bohemia, May 12, 1743. She was so elated at her successes that she began to think of getting back Alsace and Lorraine from France, and of securing Bavaria as a compensation for the loss of Silesia.

Therefore, as she seemed to be concentrating her forces, although he had learned how unreliable the French were, Frederick, becoming alarmed, joined them the second time in a union for twelve years. He also embraced the cause of Charles VII., who had been driven from his country on account of the alliance between Austria, England, and Sardinia, by which all lands had been guaranteed to Maria Theresa. At this time Frederick, having spent the most of the gold and silver stored away in casks in the cellar of the palaces in Berlin by his father, for the purpose of meeting the further expenses of war, melted down a large portion of silver plate, massive chandeliers, and a solid silver balcony in his ballroom. These, with other solid silver articles, Frederick William had accumulated, thinking them the safest investment for his sur-

plus capital, and good security against the kingdom's future need.

Frederick now led eighty thousand troops into Bohemia, which was meagrely defended. He met with reverses in connection with Charles Lorraine's army. He had already taken Prague; but his army, under Marshal Belleisle, was obliged to retreat; the latter secretly making his way out of the city in the night, with the loss of the colors and cannon.

Maria Theresa considered this a great conquest, and celebrated it by chariot races as nearly like those of the ancient Greeks as possible, introducing one modern feature, — herself participating in it with her sister.

This retreat had been most harrowing, the soldiers almost freezing, and marching through snow, sleet, and mud, thousands perished by the way. The defeat was due to the generalship of Count Traun, and to the error of Frederick in leaving Prague in the hands of Belleisle by the latter's advice, in order to threaten Vienna, when he ought to have strengthened the garrison of the former city. While he was conquering the Duchy of Upper Moldau, Count Traun, with Charles of Lorraine, had returned from Alsace, and forced Frederick to choose between abandoning Prague and losing his communication with Silesia, his retreat through which had been cut off by the Saxons. Thus the campaign ended unfortunately for the King of Prussia. Frederick was so struck with admiration by the generalship of Count Traun that in his "History of My Time," he said that he regarded this campaign as his school in the art of war, and Count Traun as his teacher.

Charles VII. died January 20, 1745; and his son, Max Joseph, gave up his pretension to the imperial crown on condition that he should still hold Bavaria.

On January 8 a Quadruple Alliance was formed at Warsaw between England, Austria, Holland, and Saxony, for the purpose of wresting Silesia from Prussia, of partitioning the kingdom, and reducing it to its original limits as the Mark of Brandenburg. The following May, just as Frederick had found his treasury exhausted, Silesia was invaded by an army of one hundred thousand Austrians and Saxons. On June 4, however, there was a brilliant battle at Hohenfriedberg, where the Austrians were commanded by Charles of Lorraine, who was failing in energy on account of family bereavement, and the spirit of Count Traun no longer animated the troops. Though inferior in numbers, the Prussian cavalry and infantry exhibited great heroism. The Bayreuth regiment captured sixty-seven standards, and ever after carried the number "67" on its cartridge-boxes. There were nine hundred of the enemy dead and wounded, and seven thousand taken as prisoners. Frederick at this time ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung in the churches of Berlin. This last victory produced a great effect throughout Europe, and saved the Prussian army from utter annihilation. England intervened again in favor of peace, and Frederick announced that he only wished to fight long enough to secure Silesia. But Maria Theresa declared that she would sooner part with all the clothes she had in the world than let Silesia go.

After the victory of Hohenfriedberg, Frederick drove the enemy out of Silesia, and invaded Bohemia with eighteen thousand men, not so much with a desire for battle, as to devastate the country so that there would be no support for the enemy's army during the winter. His own resources were nearly exhausted, while Austria depended on English supplies. The expenses of the war were immense; for on making a careful estimate,

Frederick found that he required three hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars a month, and that he could not carry on another campaign with less than four million five hundred thousand dollars, a sum which in our day seems marvellously small. He had been expecting that Louis XV., who was fighting on the Rhine, would send him re-enforcements of sixty thousand troops; but week after week passed, and no help came, for each of the monarchs was willing to sacrifice the other in their own interests. Frederick was now waking up to the idea that Maria Theresa, whom he had despised because a woman, was fully his equal in ability to raise and command armies, as well as in the intrigues of war. On September 13, 1745, her husband was elected Emperor under the name of Francis I.; but his wife, the "Queen Empress," as she was called, really exercised the power, not only in Austria, but all over the land.

September 30, 1745, the enemy, with forty thousand men, surprised the Prussian army at the small village of Sorr, which is near Königgrätz, the scene of the great victory of the latter over the Austrians nearly three-quarters of a century later, in 1866. Although the king's force was small, he handled his cavalry so well that he was victorious, and his renown went through all Europe. Learning that the Austrians with three different armies were secretly planning to march into Brandenburg, he manned all the outposts between Silesia and Bohemia, and after defeating the troops in Saxony, at Hennersdorf, November 30, he cut the Austrian army in two, himself then moving on toward Dresden. Leopold of Dessau at the same time marched up the Elbe from Magdeburg, and at Kesselsdor, near Dresden, December 15, won a hard battle. The great king, arriving on the field at the close of the fight, embraced the old general in sight of all the

army. This was the last time the "Old Dessauer" engaged in active warfare, though he lived a year and a half longer, dying a last of apoplexy. He was called by some "The cast-iron man."

The next day the Prussians entered Dresden. Already letters were on the way from England in the interest of peace; and in ten days the Treaty of Dresden was made, on Christmas, 1745. It confirmed Frederick in the possession of all Silesia and Glatz according to the Peace of Breslau, Frederick agreeing to recognize Francis of Lorraine as Emperor. These fierce encounters ended the Second Silesian War. Frederick was first called "the Great" by the nation and the world on his return to Berlin, where he was received with boundless and tumultuous rejoicing by the populace. He reached the Old Elector's palace midst the shouts of "Long live Frederick the Great." Standing for a moment upon the grand stairway, he surveyed the throngs of people, at the same time taking off his hat and saluting them. After this there was such a burst of applause as had never before been heard in Berlin. In the evening the whole city was illuminated.

From the Emperor Charles Albert, Frederick had obtained East Friedland, a province advantageously situated on the sea. With this he might have carried out the Great Elector's cherished plan of building a navy, had he not always needed all his resources for his army.

After the Peace of Dresden, Prussia enjoyed an exemption from hostilities for eleven years; but the War of the Austrian Succession lasted three years longer, and the field of conflict was shifted to Italy and Flanders. Morris of Saxony, son of Augustus II., conquered the Netherlands for France in 1747. Austria had regained much of her lost territory in Northern Italy. She, how-



ever, formed an alliance with Empress Elizabeth of Russia, who furnished forty thousand troops for carrying on the war.

Louis XV. was obliged to sign a treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle in October, 1748. By it he was obliged to give up all the conquests which France had made during the war. Austria gave up Parma and Piacenza to Spain, and a portion of Lombardy to Sardinia. Maria Theresa was also obliged to confirm Frederick the Great in his possession of Silesia.

Maria Theresa ended the war with great honor, but she could never overcome her grief at the loss of Silesia. Like Mary of England with respect to Calais, some historian has said, "The word Silesia was written on her heart." The people of Austria also regretted the loss; and the bitter feeling about it shaped the policy of her ministers, and resulted finally in the Seven Years' War. Frederick the Great, too, during his whole life entertained the fear of losing Silesia, it being ever uppermost in his mind.

An anecdote illustrates Frederick's constant excitement with respect to Silesia, as well as his fondness for children. He liked to have his grandnephews about him; and one day while he sat at work in his cabinet, the younger of the two, a boy of eight or nine, afterwards Frederick William III., who was playing about the room, knocked his ball once and again into a pile of the king's papers. Frederick flung it back several times, but finally put it in his pocket, and went on with his work. "Please, your Majesty, give it back to me," begged the boy; and again his Majesty took no notice, until at length, in a tone of indignation, came the words, "Will your Majesty give me back my ball, then?" The king looked up, and found the little Hohenzollern planted firm,

“hands on haunches,” and wearing quite a peremptory air. “Thou art a brave little fellow. They won’t get Silesia out of thee!” cried he, laughing, and flinging him his ball.

Through all his long life there was no point in which the greatness of Frederick shone so resplendently as where the welfare of his country was concerned. By personal economy and the good management of his court, he only spent one-sixth of his private income. And through all the dark period of his wars, he devoted the rest of his revenue to the support of his armies, without ever seeming to dream that he was doing a magnanimous thing.

In the last part of the Seven Years’ War, when Frederick’s own heart was breaking, and only his heroic spirit buoyed him up, the people, who had been imbued with his love of country, bore want, privation, taxation, and the recruiting of men with great fortitude, both on account of their seeing the self-abnegation of their king, and because they knew that the final partition of the kingdom meant its extinction.

Frederick the Great called himself “the first employee of the State;” and he left nothing except details to his agents, no other man in Prussia working so hard as he. He made himself acquainted with the affairs of every little village, and took the responsibility upon himself of settling all differences, punishing every infraction of the law, and making necessary changes in its administration.

During the eleven years of peace, after the Second Silesian War, Frederick the Great entered vigorously into the work of repairing the ruins caused by the devastating influences of the struggle. The burned villages of Silesia were rebuilt, the debts of the war paid, agriculture and commerce were encouraged, and the laws revised.

As during the two years of peace after the other Silesian war, he encouraged the fine arts, and sought to make the capital of the nation attractive to all who visited it for pleasure or culture.

It was the king's habit to rise at four o'clock in summer, and keep at his desk until towards evening, examining letters and reports which always came addressed "To the King." As the day drew to a close he would take a little relaxation by playing the flute, making the rooms of the palace cheerful with the sound of this music which he loved so well. He would then stroll in the palace grounds followed by his greyhounds. In his will he directed that he should be buried in the garden of "Sans Souci," beside these animals which had been his companions. It was soon after the close of this war that Frederick the Great built the palace of Sans Souci, since, weary of turmoil, he desired a place in which to be "Free from Care," as its name indicates. The story runs that Frederick was looking over the royal burying-ground near this beautiful palace, when he said to a companion, referring to his own burial, "*Oui, alors je serai sans souci*" (Yes, then I shall be free from care). It was from this remark that this rural residence took its name. The words are written in golden letters on the door-post. It was finished in 1847, Frederick taking possession of it in May of that year; and here he spent the most of his leisure time for the next forty years. He still had his palaces in Berlin and Charlottenburg, about twenty miles distant, which surpassed this in splendor, and which he usually visited on royal festive days. He also built the new palace at Potsdam, about a mile from Sans Souci, which in some respects surpassed in splendor all the rest. He also still held the palace at Rheinsberg, which his father had given him on the occasion of his marriage,

and which he had beautified, and made his home until he ascended the throne.

Writing was Frederick's favorite pastime at Sans Souci. In addition to carrying on an extensive literary correspondence, he was assiduously employed in writing his memoirs. He also spent much of his time in studying up means to develop the resources of his kingdom. Although his country and his people were so dear to him, he despised their language, and sneered at German literature, being never willing to recognize such authors as Lessing, Klopstock, Herder, Goethe, and Schiller, who raised German letters to a glory which has never been eclipsed.

In the military service, all classes were entitled to equal distinction, and promotion was gained through merit alone. A Hanoverian count asked for a position in the army on account of his exalted birth. Frederick replied, "I long ago have forbidden counts to be received as such into my army. The title can be of no use to your son; for counts who have learned nothing are the most ignorant people in the world."

The severity of discipline in the Prussian army was most terrible. Many committed suicide to escape its hardships. The morning drill commenced at four o'clock; at midday they took fresh horses, and repeated the dangerous feats of the morning, in which they were compelled to leap trenches and hedges at the highest possible speed, continuing to charge for miles at a time. Daily some were either killed or wounded. Frequently they would be called from their beds two or three times in a night for practice, but eight minutes being allowed to present themselves on horseback. Frederick considered this the best school for cavalry in the world.

The king was a great snuff-taker. He always carried

two large snuff-boxes in his pocket, besides possessing others which stood upon tables everywhere around his room ready for use, the cheapest of these boxes costing fifteen hundred dollars, and some that he had, studded with gems, cost seven thousand five hundred dollars. At his death there appeared in the inventory of his jewels one hundred and thirty snuff-boxes.

In some respects Frederick the Great was a cold, solitary man; he would take no advice from any one, and was ungallant to ladies. He cared nothing for any of the female sex except his mother and sister Wilhelmina, excluding all women from his court. In describing the gay revels at Sans Souci, Voltaire said, "Neither women nor priests ever entered the palace. In a word, Frederick lived without a court, without a council, and without a religion. The various superstitions of men were treated with ridicule and contempt, although liberty of speech was fully indulged. God was respected, but those who in his name had imposed on mankind were not spared."

The king used to make practical comments on documents sent for his inspection. On a "petition from the merchant Simon of Stettin to be allowed to purchase an estate for forty thousand thalers," he wrote: "Forty thousand thalers invested in commerce will yield eight per cent, in landed property only four per cent, so this man does not understand his own business." On the "petition from the city of Frankfort-on-Oder against quartering troops upon them," he wrote, "Why, it cannot be otherwise. Do they think I can put the regiment into my pocket? But the barracks shall be built." On the "petition of the Chamberlain Baron Müller for leave to visit the baths of Aix-la-Chapelle," he wrote, "What would he do there? He would gamble away the little money he has left, and come back a beggar."

He only allowed his court to spend one hundred thousand dollars a year, while even the petty princes were squandering quadruple that amount.

Religious toleration was the crowning glory of Prussia. Frederick said boastingly, "I mean that every man in my kingdom shall have the right to be saved in his own way." It was this license that made Silesia adapt itself so joyously to the new rule; for although the Protestants were no longer persecuted, the Catholics also had religious liberty. Frederick, although despotic, was not narrow in his despotism, for he always acted in a sensible manner, and for the right; but his government was not without its faults. The education of the masses he considered superfluous; and although he at first sent for Maupertuis to build up the Berlin Academy, he finally let it die out, and in its place promoted the interest of an institution where French theories were discussed and the French language used.

During the years of peace, Frederick the Great increased his army, and kept it under excellent discipline; for even in the early years of this public tranquillity he saw that war-clouds were gathering, and knew that Maria Theresa, having never forgiven him for taking Silesia, would not rest until it was recovered.

It was during this period of peace that the autumn manœuvres, still kept up in Germany, commenced. Sentries were placed around the grounds, and the marshal prohibited any one from ascending the church-tower to see the drill. After the Seven Years' War, however, foreign officers were always permitted to be present; ever since that time these exercises have been growing more and more public, until now they are viewed each year by thousands of people.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

## THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

1756 — 1763 A.D.

AS early as 1753 Frederick the Great had learned that the indefatigable and persevering queen, being more and more unreconciled to the loss of Silesia, was making secret negotiations with Russia by a treaty at Warsaw, which was hostile to the interests of Prussia. That same year England and France came to an issue in regard to the boundaries in America between Canada and the English Colonies; and, as Hanover was still connected with England in the person of George II., Frederick saw that the war would be at his very door.

Count Kaunitz was the prime minister of Austria, and he shared the queen's hatred of Frederick. They both perceived that this trouble between France and England would give them a pretext for war, and that through this they might recover Silesia.

Austria knew that England had always been in favor of peace with Prussia on account of Hanover, therefore Maria Theresa turned her attention to an alliance with her old enemy, France. It is said she even wrote flattering letters to Madame Pompadour, who under Louis XV. was the ruler of France, beginning "My dear Cousin," and "My dear Sister." She also sent her handsome presents. Taken in by these devices, Madame Pompadour was easily induced to espouse the cause of Austria. She did this also on account of her hatred of Frederick the

Great, who had mortally offended her by using against her his favorite weapon, sarcasm, as he had on one occasion done with Elizabeth of Russia.

Young Peter, afterwards Peter III., at this time Grand-Duke, and always an ardent admirer of the king, had informed him by a private letter that Russia and Austria were plotting, and that having made a secret treaty at Warsaw as early as 1753, they would both be ready for action in the spring. Frederick also heard through confidential agents in Dresden all the particulars of the alliance, and that the papers were preserved in the archives of the State. He immediately tried to conclude a peace with England, and in 1756 completed the arrangement. Besides England he had only Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, and Saxe-Gotha to help him. Taking advantage of the information gained concerning Austria's preparation for war, after having received an evasive answer concerning the situation from Maria Theresa, he determined to anticipate her by prompt action.

On August 29, 1756, Frederick the Great led seventy thousand men in three columns into Saxony. The Saxon army consisted of only eighteen thousand soldiers, who intrenched themselves at Pirna, and made an obstinate resistance. A fierce battle at Lobositz, on October 1, where the enemy were beaten at the point of the bayonet, compelled the Saxons to surrender. Frederick now pushed on to Dresden, sending his Scotch general ahead to demand the papers which convicted Austria and Russia of the initiative in the war.

The Queen of Poland, wife of Augustus III., was the daughter of the late Emperor Joseph I. Augustus III. was also the Elector of Saxony; and he had at this time been permitted to flee to his kingdom of Poland, whence he never returned. His wife guarded the archives, and



not only refused to give up the papers revealing the plot against the King of Prussia, but she sat on the box containing them, and only produced them when she was obliged to do so by force.

These victories in Saxony insured the Electorate to the King of Prussia during the Seven Years' War.

In January, 1757, the Austrians found they must put an army into the field. Frederick was placed under the ban of the Empire; and the courts of St. Petersburg, Versailles, and Vienna made a treaty for the partition of Prussia. Silesia, Glatz, and a part of Brandenburg were to go to Austria; Magdeburg, Halle, the Duchy of Halberstadt, to Saxony; the Prussian lands of the Rhine were to go to the Elector Palatine; and Sweden, under the protectorate of France, was to have Pomerania. Austria resuscitated her old obsolete Diet, and declared war against Prussia, and with the allies put four hundred and thirty thousand troops into the field. Frederick the Great could only raise two hundred thousand; but these were picked men, the best in the world. England was able to spare no men, but she sent the Duke of Cumberland, who proved to be worse than no general; and at this time the alliance between the countries was very unsatisfactory.

Just as Frederick was setting out in this new struggle, on January 10, he left the following secret instructions with his minister, Count Finck, "Should my army in Saxony be beaten, send the royal family to Custrin. If the French get possession of Hanover, or the Russians break through at Neumark, remove them to Magdeburg, and save the archives. Always keep garrison and royal family together. In such a case coin all silver and gold plate into money. Should I be taken prisoner, I forbid you to pay the least attention to anything I may command in my place of detention, but obey my brother in

all things. On peril of your life offer no province or ransom for me, for I wish to sacrifice myself for the State. Continue to prosecute the war as if I had never lived." At this time he took leave of his mother, whom he never saw again.

The year 1757 was the most brilliant of Frederick's life. Though he gained his greatest victories, he also suffered his most humiliating defeats; and it was then that his courage failed him for almost the only time in his life.

With his dwindling resources, and the strong alliance of Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, and nearly all the states of the Empire against him, and hardly more than a handful of men, he fought against half of Europe, his strategic skill, in contests where he was victorious, supplying the place of numbers. He wrote, about this time, "How astonished the Great Elector would be, could he see his great-grandson at war at the same time with Russia, Austria, Germany, and France, with a hundred thousand soldiers! I do not know whether it will be disgraceful in me to be overcome, but I am sure there will be no great glory in vanquishing me."

On April 18, 1757, Frederick entered Bohemia with one hundred and seventeen thousand men in four columns. He directed his march to Prague, and there the bloodiest battle was fought since Eugene and Marlborough won the great victory at Malplaquet. The Prussian infantry was mowed down by the fire of the Austrians; and when old Marshal Schwerin saw them wavering, he snatched a standard from a fleeing ensign and shouted, "On, my children!" The same instant he fell. Nearly all of Frederick's generals leaped from their horses, and led their troops sword in hand. Soon after this the heights were taken, and the Austrians driven back into the city

of Prague. The enemy lost twenty-four thousand, the Prussians eighteen thousand, besides Marshal Schwerin, who was equal to ten thousand men. For many years this victory was celebrated in a piece of music called "The March of Prague."

This conquest made the King of Prussia too self-confident, for subsequently the battle of Kollin ended in disaster. In the battle of Kollin, fought January 18, 1757, the Prussian forces attacked the Austrians with only thirty-one thousand men against double their number. A mistake was made in directing the attack; and though at one time the Austrians gave up the battle, the Prussians, who fought with the recklessness of men ready to sacrifice their lives for their king and country, were so much exhausted that they were obliged to retire. The king strove in vain to stem the tide and rally the fugitives, until one of his officers remonstrated, saying, "Does your Majesty mean to fight the battle alone?" As the army was on the retreat, when Frederick, sinking from thirst, burning with heat, and covered with dust, stopped to rest, an old dragoon brought him, in his steel cap, some water which he had drawn from a well near by, saying consolingly, "Never mind, Sire, God Almighty and we will mend this yet. The enemy may get a victory for once, but that doesn't finish us."

That evening Frederick the Great was found seated by himself, drawing figures in the sand with his cane. He wept when he saw the remnant of his guard of one thousand brave men now reduced to four hundred, all of whom he knew personally, — their names, their age, their place of birth, and their history generally. They had fought like heroes, and died for him; and after a long silence, he said, "It is a day of sorrow for us, my children, but have patience, for all will yet be well."

“The defeat at Kollin obliged the King of Prussia to raise the blockade of Prague immediately, and retreat from Bohemia. On returning from Saxony in July, he had only seventy thousand troops left of the one hundred and seventeen thousand with which he entered Bohemia. He found also that his other armies had been defeated by a superior Russian force, and that the useless Duke of Cumberland had surrendered Hanover to France. This was another of the occasions on which Frederick the Great carried a vial of poison. For in all his wars he meant never to be taken alive, nor to survive the ruin of his kingdom. He had at that moment also received news of his beloved mother’s death, and this greatly increased the melancholy of his mind. He wrote to Wilhelmina, “I grieve to announce to you the new sorrow which overwhelms us. We no longer have a mother. All worldly calamities can be remedied, but loss by death is beyond the power of help. This affliction puts the crown on all my sorrows.”

A combined army of French and German troops, consisting of sixty thousand men, under Marshal Soubise, was approaching from the west, ready to take up winter quarters in Berlin. The Prussians numbered only twenty-two thousand men. The French were eager for an attack, but they doubted whether a victory over so small an army would bring them any glory. They thought that the enemy, being so few in number, would try to escape, and they feared that they should lose the chance of fighting with them. The generals discussed the merits of this “Marquis of Brandenburg,” and wondered if he knew what an honor they were conferring upon him by condescending to join in such a battle with him.

Again he writes to his sister, “Since the league of Cambrai there is no example of such a conspiracy as

that infamous triumvirate, Austria, France, and Russia, now forms against me. Happy, my dear sister, is the obscure man who has renounced all sorts of glory."

Rossbach is a little village near Lutzen, the place in which Gustavus Adolphus met his death. To the south is the fatal field of Jena, where half a century later, in 1806, the nation Prussia's great sovereign had built up seemed about to succumb. This victory at Rossbach was the most complete rout for the Austrians of which history makes mention.

Frederick was at dinner on the 5th of November when he received news of the attack. The Prussians quickly formed in line, and fell upon the enemy like a tempest. The French were panic-stricken at the fury of the Prussians, and on the part of the latter the day was more like a rout than a battle. Frederick had only half of his troops in the engagement. Seidlitz burst upon the French with eight thousand cavalry, and their ranks were shattered by the fire of the Prussian guns. The enemy were thrown into confusion, and in an hour and a half from the commencement of the battle were flying in a wild panic from the field. They lost nine generals, three hundred and twenty other officers, and seven thousand men; while the casualties on the Prussian side were only ninety-one dead and two hundred and twenty-four wounded. The French army did not halt until it reached the Rhine, and was so broken up that it never rallied again. This wonderful victory made Frederick the Great the hero of Europe.

Duke Brunswick-Bevern had retreated from Breslau before an Austrian force of eight hundred thousand men under General Daun and Charles of Lorraine. The Austrians took the important fortress of Schweidnitz, profiting by a mistake of the Duke; and he, fearing Frederick's

wrath, allowed himself to be taken prisoner. By means of this surrender, Breslau fell into the hands of the Austrians.

The battle of Leuthen was the greatest of Frederick's engagements. The Austrians played completely into the hands of the Prussians, who made up for the great disparity in numbers by the most adroit tactics; the former lost more in killed, wounded, and prisoners than all of the Prussian army. Had the Austrians been content to stay intrenched in their camp at Breslau, they could hardly have failed to repulse the Prussians; but they felt ashamed to sit still and be attacked by Frederick's small force, his "Potsdam Guard Parade," as they called his army in derision. Frederick said to his soldiers the night after the battle, "My children, this day will send the renown of your name and that of the nation down to the latest posterity." It is the testimony of all military experts that the battle of Leuthen was one of the most extraordinary feats of war. Napoleon, speaking of it after his downfall, said, "This battle was a masterpiece of movements, manœuvres, and of pluck." Voltaire said of the campaign of 1757, "Even Gustavus Adolphus never did such great things. The faults of the man disappear before the glory of the hero." In response to the adulation Frederick received, he replied that he was only a paltry knave in comparison with Alexander, and not worthy to tie the lachets of Cæsar's shoes, and that necessity alone caused him to make all his great moves.

The address just before the battle of Leuthen, which Frederick, contrary to his custom, delivered to his army, had much to do with this great success. He said, "I am about to violate all the rules of military science by attacking an adversary three times as numerous as my own legions. We must beat the enemy or perish before his

batteries. I mean this, and thus I shall act. Remember that you are Prussians; but if any one of you is afraid to share with me the last danger, he may resign to-day without a word of reproach from me." The king gazed round, and read on every glowing face the answer, and then went on, "Any regiment of cavalry which does not at the word of command throw itself upon the foe unhesitatingly shall be sent to garrison duty after the battle. Any battalion of infantry which once falters shall lose its standards and sidearms, and the border shall be cut from its uniform. Farewell, gentlemen. We soon shall have beaten the enemy, or we shall meet no more." In answer they all shouted, "Yes, death or victory." Then the cheer ran along the line, "Good-night, Fritz." It is said no other commander, unless it were Napoleon or Alexander the Great, ever received such love from his soldiers; and this no doubt was one great element of his success.

The king's heroic courage was imparted to his officers and men. At dawn on the 5th of December the troops sang a solemn hymn, after which shouts arose, "It is again the 5th!" and "Rossbach!" Frederick called General Zieten, and said, "I must expose myself to-day more than usual. Should I fall, cover my body with your cloak, and say nothing to any one. The battle must go on, and the enemy must be beaten." By immense strategic ability, notwithstanding his small force, Frederick won the day. After the victory, the whole Prussian army began to sing, a grenadier striking up the grand hymn beginning, "*Nun danket alle Gott*" (Now let all thank God). Frederick ended the campaign that year without loss of territory, and with great honor to himself, the enemy having been driven out of Silesia.

The reputation Frederick the Great had gained by his

victories at Rossbach and Leuthen helped him so much with the English that they granted him a subsidy of four million thalers a year, and allowed him the privilege of appointing a commander for the troops of Hanover and other allied states. Frederick now retook Schweidnitz, April 16, and held all of Silesia; and by the summer of 1758 Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick had driven the French from all Northern Germany.

After this his prosperity seemed to decline. The Austrian General Laudon cut off his communication with Silesia, and forced him to retreat across the frontier. The Russians had conquered the whole of the Duchy of Prussia and overrun Pomerania, where they plundered and laid waste the country in such a frightful manner that Frederick, enraged at the sufferings of his people, forbade giving any quarter to the invaders.

At Zorndorf, August 25, 1758, there was the fiercest and most frightful battle of the war. It has been considered the fiercest engagement in history. General Seidlitz, the finest cavalry officer of his time, repeatedly restored the broken Prussian lines. He finally won the battle by disobeying the king's orders. The latter sent him word that he must answer for his disobedience with his head. Seidlitz replied, "Tell the king he may have my head when the battle is over, but until then I must use it in his service." Late at night the Russians were defeated, and left twenty thousand dead on the field; for the Prussians, enraged at the cruelties of the latter, gave them no quarter. When Frederick finally met Seidlitz, he embraced him, and said, "I owe the victory to you."

All the Prussian army were sleeping soundly at Hochkirch on the 13th of October, when the camp was suddenly attacked by Daun with an overwhelming force. The village was set on fire, and a terrible fight ensued.



Prince Francis of Brunswick, Marshal Keith, and Prince Morris of Dessau were severely wounded. Although the Prussians defended themselves heroically, on the morning of the 14th they were obliged to retreat, leaving all their equipments behind. This was a bad omen for the coming year, and closed the campaign of 1758 with an aspect of gloom.

The fourth day after this dreadful defeat, the king received the tidings of the death of his beloved sister Wilhelmina. It was the heaviest blow in reality he had ever received; for in addition to the early ties that bound them together, Wilhelmina had supported him by her love and sympathy all through the melancholy years of this last terrible war. In a business letter to his brother Henry he said, "Great God! my sister of Bayreuth, my noble Wilhelmina, dead! She was dying during the unfortunate hours of this last fierce fight." He also wrote to Voltaire, "There are some misfortunes which can be made up by constancy and courage; but there are others against which no decision of character can defend one, and all philosophy is vain and useless in offering consolation." The anxiety which Wilhelmina had entertained with reference to the reverses of her brother had worn upon her delicate constitution, and shortened her life.

The Pope was so pleased at General Daun's victory, that he sent him a consecrated hat and sword. Frederick ever after called him "the blessed general with the Papal hat."

The resources of the Prussians were exhausted, and in spite of the English subsidy, the army was in great straits; but Frederick determined if need be to bury himself beneath the ruins of his kingdom. He now tried in vain to negotiate for peace. The French gained possession of Hanover; and the enemy, seventy thousand strong,

marched against the Prussian army, surprising them at Könersdorf, August 12, 1759, the Prussians meeting them with only forty-eight thousand men. Contrary to the advice of Seidlitz, Frederick the Great ordered a charge on the right wing of the enemy, which was so strong that twenty thousand of his troops lay dead upon the field. Seidlitz was severely wounded, and Frederick lost his services for many months. In the king's retreat only three thousand of his soldiers accompanied him. Three bullets passed through his uniform, one crushing a field-glass in his breast pocket. That night he slept on straw in a peasant's hut.

Never was a monarch surrounded by so many foes. Three hundred thousand men extended in a line from the Giant Mountains to the ocean. In the north was Russia, and all the leading Continental powers, — France, Austria, Russia, Sweden, and the German Empire, — all combined against Prussia. England lent Frederick small sums of money, the court co-operating only as far as her interests demanded. No human being ever displayed more fortitude and energy. Frederick now, however, was almost in despair, being unable to decide what to do. He wrote to his minister, Fickenstein, "I have no resources left, and to tell the truth, I hold all for lost. I shall not survive the ruin of my country. Farewell forever." That same night he resigned the command of his army to General Finck.

Prussia was only saved by the disagreement of the allies, since the Russians, on account of fearing the Austrian influence in Germany, were not willing to increase the power of the latter. General Soltikoff was instructed not to advance on Berlin, and he returned to Pomerania; but Dresden was taken by Daun, September 4, and General Finck, with eleven thousand men, capitulated on

November 21 to a force of forty thousand. Thus ended this unfortunate year of 1759. There had been but one encouraging event for the king. Ferdinand of Brunswick had rescued Westphalia, and saved Frederick from being hemmed in between two armies. The latter still held half of Saxony, and kept his army in winter quarters there. All Silesia, except the fortresses, was in the hands of the enemy; and the Austrians, intoxicated by their success, refused all negotiations.

Many men in all nations now desired peace, but there were three women who kept Europe for some time longer deluged in blood. Maria Theresa had ample cause for war; but the reason for the persevering martial activity of Elizabeth of Russia and the Duchess of Pompadour, the ruler of the subjugated Louis XV., was simply personal pique.

In the winter of this great perplexity, Frederick used to visit his soldiers at their watch-fires, and receive their hearty though rough hospitality in return. "Don't forget the wisp of straw, that I may not have to sleep on the ground as last night," he would say to his men. When he returned to spend the night on his bed of straw with them, he would salute them with, "Good-evening, children;" and they would respond, "The same to you, Fritz." He would often ask them what they were cooking, and try a spoonful of their broth. He never smoked, and disliked the habit very much; but when he found the soldiers enjoying this luxury, and about to desist on his approach, he would say, "Smoke away." Of one of these seasons he wrote, "I have passed my winter like a Carthusian monk. I dine alone; I spend my life in reading and writing, and I do not sup. If fortune continues to pursue me, doubtless I shall sink. I escape out of my difficulties by looking at the universe on the great scale,

as from some distant planet. All then seems to me so infinitely small, I could almost pity my enemies for taking so much trouble about so little a thing as myself."

The year 1760 opened no better for Frederick. George II. of England died October 25. The influence of the elder William Pitt, who had sustained Prussia, declined, and another ministry coming in the subsidy was not renewed. It was now very hard to find new soldiers, and all of Frederick's well-drilled men lay dead upon the battlefields. The adventurers who flocked to his army in prosperity deserted him in his straits. Every means was used to muster recruits; but only ninety thousand men could be raised, while the allies had two hundred and eighty thousand. All Silesia, except Breslau, was overrun by the Austrians. Marshal Laudon, who had command of the Austrian troops, effected a junction with Daun, and followed Frederick from Saxony, and on the 15th of August attacked the Prussian troops at Liegnitz with a force of ninety-five thousand; but, Frederick with only thirty-five thousand men, won a splendid victory, so that the Russian army, hearing of it, turned back, and Silesia, excepting the fortress of Glatz, was restored to Prussia. While Frederick was following up his success, the Austrians and Saxons marched upon Berlin; and it surrendered October 9. One million seven hundred thousand thalers were levied by the conquerors. The garrison at Berlin, with General Seidlitz, who was recovering from his wounds, retired to Spandau. Hearing that Frederick was approaching, the army marched out of the city October 12. General Haddick extorted a ransom of one hundred and forty thousand dollars and two dozen pairs of gloves for the Empress Queen. The Berliners declared that they gave him the two dozen all for the left hand.

The bloodiest battle of the Seven Years' War, and the last of the frightful hand to hand assaults, was fought at Torgau, where the Prussian monarchy was saved from utter annihilation. Frederick assaulted the heights, and was wounded. Out of his small force, ten thousand soldiers lay dead upon the field. On account of his wounds he was carried to the village church, thinking his army was beaten. He spent the night in making plans for the morrow. At dawn General Zieten, who held the other half of the army, came to the king, and announced that without knowing it he had been victorious, fighting in the dark, and that the Austrians, as the morning light showed, had retreated, and left the field covered with their slain; whereupon General Zieten cried, "Boys, hurrah for our king! He has won the battle." The men cried out, "Hurrah for Fritz, our king! and hurrah for Father Zieten too!"

The end of 1760 found Frederick the Great in a serious position. He could make no alliance, not even with the Turks. Although there was not a single pitched battle in 1761, it was with great difficulty that Frederick and his brother Prince Henry, with the most skilful tactics, kept the enemy at bay. The 1st of October, General Laudon took Schweidnitz, and strengthened his position in Pomerania.

When the year 1761 drew to a close Frederick's prospects were darker than ever. For more than a year the country had been on the verge of ruin, but the genius of Prussia's great king had shone out more resplendently each time he extricated himself from the difficulties around him; now, however, he seemed powerless to go forward. With four million people he was obliged to fight allied powers numbering eighty millions.

At this critical juncture of affairs, the death of a woman

changed everything. In January, 1762, Empress Elizabeth of Russia died, and was succeeded by Czar Peter III. The latter had always been a devoted friend, and such an admirer of Frederick that he imitated him even in his weaknesses. Peter respected the king's military genius so much that he offended the Russians by wearing a Prussian uniform. The first thing Peter III. did was to send back all Frederick's prisoners, and transfer his own troops in Pomerania and Silesia, who were co-operating with the Austrians, to the Prussian side. Sweden, influenced by the course of Russia, also made peace, and a brighter day dawned.

Fortune did not permit the difficulties to come to an end so speedily. In July, Peter III. was dethroned and murdered, and Catharine II. broke off the alliance with Frederick the Great, and called home her troops. The latter was about to attack the enemy at Burgersdorf when these tidings came like a thunderbolt; but Frederick persuaded the Russian ambassador to conceal the news for three days, and meanwhile he defeated the Austrians; and on the 8th of October Schweidnitz fell.

In looking over her husband's letters, Catharine II. found important documents received from Frederick the Great, in which he advised Peter III., who had always treated her indifferently, to show her more consideration, and to admit her into his plans for the government of the nation. This changed her feelings towards Frederick, and she hastened to take neutral ground with reference to the war. The king had brought about this marriage between Peter III. and his wife. She was the daughter of a Prussian general, Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst, at that time commandant at Stettin. Sophie Frederika was then fifteen years old, handsome, and full of vivacity. Frederick interviewed Peter's aunt, the Czarina Eliza-

beth, saying, "Why should not the kindred of Albert the Bear cease skipping rope on the ramparts of Stettin, and prepare to become Czarina of Russia." And Elizabeth said, "Excellent!" When Sophie embraced the Greek religion she received the name in baptism of Catharine, and became the celebrated and intellectual, though dissolute and intriguing, Queen Catharine II. of Russia.

Prince Henry defeated the Austrians at Freiburg the 1st of November, and Ferdinand of Brunswick drove the French out of Cassel. Frederick marched on to Dresden, and riddled it with his cannon, but he could not take it.

Negotiations were now going on between England and France, and the popular feeling in England compelled a stipulation that the French troops should be withdrawn from Germany. The German Empire concluded an armistice with Prussia at Ratisbon, and before the year closed, Austria was left to carry on the war alone. Maria Theresa was powerless against Frederick the Great, and could only purchase peace by giving up Silesia. On the 15th of February, 1763, a treaty was signed at Hubertsburg, a little hunting-castle near Leipsic, and the Seven Years' War was at an end.

## CHAPTER XL.

FREDERICK THE GREAT'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT. — HIS ARBITRARY RULE. — PARTITION OF POLAND. — DEATH OF MARIA THERESA. — JOSEPH II. — FREDERICK'S LAST YEARS AND DEATH. — PROGRESS OF GERMANY AFTER SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

1763 — 1786 A.D.

THE Peace of Hubertsburg confirmed the treaties of Breslau and Dresden, and left Frederick in possession of Silesia and Glatz. According to his own estimate, this occupation of Silesia had cost eight hundred and fifty-three thousand lives, this number perishing on the field of battle, more than a quarter of whom were Prussians.

Frederick was now universally called "the Great;" and during the next twenty-three years, until the end of his life, he showed himself worthy of the name.

On the evening of the 30th of March, 1763, about nine o'clock, Frederick arrived in Berlin after an absence of six years. As soon as it was known that their great sovereign had reached the town, the city burst into one grand series of illuminations, the streets resounding with the rejoicings of the people.

Frederick again exerted himself to restore the prosperity of his country. The grain which had been saved up for the army he distributed among the farmers, and gave them all the cavalry horses which could be spared. He still kept up the strictest economy in government expenses, and scattered all the rest of the revenue over the



territory which had undergone the most. He found that the nobles on whom he had depended had suffered greatly in their estates, and he did all he could to build up their prosperity again. The coin, which had become so debased, in a little more than a year was restored to its purity. In two years fourteen thousand five hundred houses were built, since in some sections out of thirteen hundred buildings not a vestige remained. There were no police in the towns, and order had given place to anarchy and greed of gain. The rich abbeys of the Roman Catholics were seized, and turned into manufactories for weaving and working of metals, and oil-mills, etc. Frederick doubled his army as soon as he was able, and kept it in working order ready for whatever emergency, in the present unsettled state of all the governments of Europe, was likely at any time to occur. He repaired all his fortresses, and built new ones wherever they were required. Though he still gave five-sixths of his personal income to his people, the latter could hardly bear the necessary taxation still imposed upon them. So he laid a tax on salt, coffee, and tobacco, which he thought they could better bear. He drained marshes, opened canals, and improved the country in every conceivable way. He built churches for Protestants and Catholics alike; for he had no fixed faith himself, and encouraged all kinds of religious doubt. His justice was shown in small as well as in important affairs. He once left a windmill standing on his ground near the palace of Sans Souci, because the miller would not sell it, and did not want to part with it. The windmill stands there to-day, and now belongs to the Prussian government.

There was one thing which Frederick the Great always insisted upon, and that was arbitrary power, and the com-

plete submission of the people to his will; but since every day they saw his desire to promote their welfare illustrated by his personal devotion to them, they trusted him, and were glad to accede to his wishes and demands.

In 1750 Frederick had invited Voltaire to Berlin and Potsdam, where he remained for three years. Voltaire was brutal in many of his actions, and by his intolerance of German habits, and by his arrogance, made many enemies. He finally grew so insupportable by his assumption of power that he quarrelled with the king himself. Voltaire wanted to learn the art of government, and meddled with state affairs; while Frederick thought he could write as good verse as Voltaire and continually sent his poetry to the latter for inspection. Once at dinner Voltaire called a noble young page who was waiting upon him a Pomeranian beast. Soon after the youth, when on a journey, told a crowd of people that the little thin figure, grinning and chattering in the royal carriage, was the king's monkey. And when Voltaire tried to open the doors, they closed them to catch him; and the more he raged, the more he acted like a monkey. There are many reminiscences still of the life Frederick and Voltaire led in the old palace of Sans Souci at Potsdam, where they spent the time together. All through the Seven Years' War, Voltaire was treacherous in his dealings with Frederick, through malice involving him many times with the French nation by falsehood and misrepresentation.

Two years after this prolonged and terrible war, Francis I. suddenly died while the court was at Innsbruck celebrating the festivities of his son Leopold's marriage, August 18, 1765.

Francis was a good man, whom Maria Theresa loved devotedly. His death almost broke her heart, and for

the rest of her life she used to spend many hours beside his coffin in the vault of the chapel of her palace at Vienna. In preparing for his burial, she would let no other hands sew the garments he was to wear.

One of the conditions of the Peace of Hubertsberg was that Frederick the Great should give his Electoral vote for Joseph, the eldest son of Leopold, as "King of the Romans." Joseph II. was twenty-four years old when he was crowned. He was an impetuous and intellectual character, imbued with the progressive ideas of the day and of all the reform movements. He admired Frederick the Great, and would have gladly imitated his devotion to work and his capacity for minute detail; but he did not possess the balance of mind which helped to make up Frederick's greatness. When he tried to introduce reforms into the Empire, he found how fossilized, insignificant, and obsolete its power had become. As a ruler, he had only the care of the military affairs, his mother still keeping the control not only of the government of Austria, but of most of the details which concerned the Empire.

Joseph went to visit Frederick the Great under the name of Count Falkenstein; and he and the King of Prussia were so pleased with each other that the Emperor always spoke of Frederick as "the king, my master," while Frederick kept the walls of his rooms at Sans Souci covered with portraits of Joseph II., as a young man of whom he could not see enough. When they first met, Joseph said, "Now my wishes are fulfilled, since I have the honor to embrace the greatest of kings and soldiers." Frederick replied, "I look upon this day as the fairest of my life, for it will become the epoch of uniting two houses which have been enemies too long."

Joseph II. had imbibed the King of Prussia's free-thinking notions, and his theories took the form of church reformation. He closed more than half of the monasteries in Austria, and devoted the estates connected with them to public instruction. Like Frederick, he issued an Edict of Toleration by which the Protestants secured civil rights and freedom of worship. Pope Pius VI. visited Vienna in March, 1782, when Joseph II. received him respectfully, but would not let the Austrian clergy interview him. He even walled up the back door of his palace with solid masonry, lest his attendants should be bribed, and some of the church party should get in privately.

Frederick the Great persuaded Joseph to take part in the wicked scheme of seizing unhappy Poland, and dividing it between Austria, Russia, and Prussia. It was nine years after the close of the Seven Years' War that the Partition of Poland was effected. It came about in this way; One year after the war had closed, Augustus III., Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, died. The nobles had become so unbridled in their independence, and the country so dismembered generally, that they were easily persuaded by Catharine II. of Russia to elect Prince Poniatowsky as Augustus' successor. This brought on a civil war, since the new king granted equal rights to the Protestants and Catholics.

The suggestion concerning the first partition of Poland was made by Catharine II. to Prince Henry of Prussia one evening at a court gathering. Frederick, on hearing it, seeing the need of Catharine's support, and wishing to pacify her, entered heartily into the plan. He thought it bad policy also to leave such valuable booty to Russia, taking no share to himself.

Maria Theresa finally consented, but said she yielded because so many great and wise men desired it; but that the result of violating all that had been held sacred and just would be apparent long after she was dead. By the partition, Prussia received West or Polish Prussia, and some bishoprics and other territory besides. It gave her an addition of seven hundred thousand inhabitants. Austria received for her portion the most fertile and populous districts, Galicia and Lodomeria. This still left two-thirds of its original territory and one-half of its population to Poland. Although it was only an area of nine thousand four hundred and sixty-five square miles, the Prussian dominion had received what to her was the most advantageous share, because, by this new acquisition, Brandenburg was now united to East Prussia by land belonging to its own domain. The region thus annexed was so desolated by war that thousands lived in the cellars of their demolished houses. Frederick with great energy developed its resources, emigrants were transported, the roads improved, canals dug, and one hundred and eighty-seven schoolmasters sent into the country. Thus by Frederick's almost superhuman efforts a great benefit was rendered this unfortunate country.

Although Joseph II. was so much under the influence of Frederick, they did not agree on the succession of Bavaria. In 1777 Maximilian, the Elector of Bavaria, died, and Joseph II. set up an unjust claim to the most of the Electorate through one of his ancestors descended from Sigismund through the female line. He finally brought the young Elector Charles over into giving it up. Since none of the German principalities wished to see Austria increasing in power, Frederick took up the cause of Charles Theodor, and marched with an army into his

dominion; but he held Joseph II. in such high esteem that he skilfully avoided a battle, saying he had come to teach the young man some of his military tactics. Maria Theresa secretly opened negotiations with the king without the knowledge of her son, telling the former that she could not bear to think of their tearing each other's gray hairs.

When Joseph II. heard that his mother had written secretly to the King of Prussia, he was very indignant, and the treaty was broken off; but Russia and France intervening, there was a peace concluded at Teschen, May 13, 1779, by which Charles Theodor kept Bavaria, and Joseph II. received a strip of land nine hundred miles square between the Danube and the Inn, called the "Innviertel."

The War of the Bavarian Succession has been called in derision "The Potato War," because Frederick remained in Bohemia living on the country, without any fighting, and the men are said to have spent their time roasting potatoes at their watch-fires.

Soon after this Joseph II. showed signs of wishing to conciliate Catharine II., and went to visit her. He travelled in the disguise of a courier, riding on before his suite, ordering the horses and the accommodations for the night. By this means he was enabled to study the habits of the country people, dining on their plain fare, and living for the most part on sausage and beer. In this disguise Joseph did many kind acts. Once he offered to stand godfather to a new-born infant in a poor hut, and astonished the parents when he came to the christening in full state. Another evening he supped with an officer who had ten children of his own besides an adopted orphan, and only a small pension on which to live. After he reached home, they were surprised to

receive a letter from the Emperor of Austria, endowing each of the eleven children with two hundred florins a year.

When Joseph returned from Russia in 1780, he found his mother dying. She passed away the 29th of the following November, in the sixty-fourth year of her age. Maria Theresa left nine out of her sixteen children. She had been a pious and upright queen, and a good woman; and she died beloved by her people, who still worship her memory.

A few days before her death she had herself lowered by ropes and pulleys into the vault where she had spent so much time beside the coffin of her beloved husband, Francis I. When she was drawn up one of the ropes parted, at which the queen exclaimed, "He wishes to keep me with him, and I shall soon come." She wrote in her prayerbook that she had fulfilled her obligations to the church, had tried to do justice to all her subjects, and that she had educated her children in the fear of the Lord; but she felt that she had sinned in making war from motives of pride, and that in her speech she had often had too little charity for others. Since the death of Maximilian II. there had been no sovereign so wise and energetic as Maria Theresa. She sometimes took charge of her armies, riding at the head of her troops, encouraging her soldiers by her presence to win great victories. She left Austria in a state of prosperity such as it had not known for many centuries.

By the death of Maria Theresa, Joseph II. became sole monarch of Austria. When Frederick the Great heard of her death, he said, "Maria Theresa is dead; now there will be a new order of things." He was wrong, however, in believing that Joseph would break away from his mother's policy at once. The latter, however, consoli-

dated Austria into one state, and abolished serfdom, thereby offending the Hungarian nobility. He granted more rights than were demanded of him, and, desiring their advancement, compelled his people to accept such privileges when they were not wise enough to understand how to use them. He also offended the Hungarians by trying to promote the use of the German language in their territory.

Frederick the Great survived Maria Theresa six years. These were the most peaceful of a long life which had been a witness to many stirring events. He lived to see the end of our Revolutionary War, and was the first monarch to acknowledge the independence of our country. He made a treaty with the United States, and as a mark of his regard and respect, sent a sword to Washington with the inscription, "From the oldest general to the greatest."

After Joseph II.'s scheme of absorbing Bavaria failed, Frederick the Great saw the necessity of a check to the growth of the friendship between Austria and Russia, which he thought would soon disturb the "Balance of Power." He then inaugurated the German confederation called "The League of Princes." It was a union of the smaller German States under Prussia to guarantee the security of the Empire. Frederick's minister, Hertzberg, showed great diplomatic skill in arranging the terms of the league, but in the long period at the time of the French Revolution and during Napoleon's wars it became practically obsolete.

Frederick the Great preserved to the last his habits of industry in the supervision of his affairs. He walked out more and more in the streets of Berlin and Potsdam, talking familiarly with any of his people whom he chanced to meet. One day in Potsdam he met a boys'



school, and said in a rough way, "Boys, what are you doing here? Be off to your school!" One of the leaders answered, "Oh, you are king, are you, and don't know that there is no school to-day!" Frederick laughed heartily, and instead of applying his cane, gave the boys a gold piece, so that they might enjoy their holiday better.

The French philosopher D'Alembert wrote of Frederick, "When I spoke to him of the glory which he had acquired, he answered with the greatest simplicity, 'There is an immense discount on said glory. Chance came in for almost the whole of it. I would far rather have written Racine's "Athalie" than have performed all the great deeds of this war.'"

Frederick had been in failing health for many years, but he had kept steadily about his work; his interest in the nation generally, and his army in particular, had never flagged. In August, 1785, he visited Silesia to review his troops. On the third day, from four o'clock in the morning to ten o'clock at night, it rained in torrents; but Frederick paid no attention to it, and when in the evening he returned to his quarters, he was wet to the skin, not having taken the pains to put on his cloak. In a feverish condition he went on with his inspection of the troops, and drove eighty miles to Brieg. After this journey, exhausting for a man in his feeble health, the king returned to Potsdam, and went through a series of State dinners, balls, and illuminations. The night after he awoke with a severe fit of suffocation. But he lived through the winter and summer, and the pain and languor came and went. He often got out, and rode among the ranks of his men, and drilled the various corps, saying frequently, "The time left belongs not to me, but to the State." On the 15th of August, 1786, after

a restless night, he did not wake until eleven in the morning. He summoned his generals, however, and gave his orders as usual. He then called his three clerks, and dictated to them. After this he lingered along until twenty minutes past two on the morning of the 17th of August. For two hours an attendant held the dying king in his arms. One of his dogs sat by his bedside shivering with cold. Frederick made a sign for them to throw a quilt over the dog. After a fit of coughing, the king murmured with difficulty, "The mountain is past; we shall be better now." These were his last words. Frederick the Great had reigned forty-six years, and died at the age of seventy-four. They paid no attention to a clause of his will in which he asked that he might be buried at Sans Souci by the side of his dogs, whose graves at the end of the terrace are still marked by flat stones, on which the name of each is carved. His body was placed in a vault under the pulpit of the Garrison Church at Potsdam, which also contains the remains of his father, Frederick William I., the founder of this church. In the room where he died, in the palace of Sans Souci, the clock, which is said to have stopped the moment he breathed his last, marks "2.20."

In his will, among other things, he said, "After having raised victorious armies and conquered countries, I have restored peace to my kingdom and filled my treasury; after having established a good administration throughout my dominion, and made my enemies tremble, I resign without regret this breath of life to nature."

Frederick the Great left a kingdom of six million inhabitants, an army of two hundred thousand men, and a sum of two hundred thousand thalers in the treasury; he also left the example of patriotism, of personal duty, of order and economy in government, and resistance to

foreign interference. By such an example he had restored the hopes of his people, and made his country one of the great powers of Europe.

The only extravagance Frederick the Great indulged in was his love of building fine edifices. His economy with reference to his own person allowed him scarcely any clothes. He endured his shabby old garments, with the ever-present yellow waistcoat, until there was nothing left of them, he having had but one fine suit after the Seven Years' War. It is even said he was buried in a shirt belonging to his valet, as no decent garment of the kind could be found in his wardrobe.

Marie Antoinette wrote of his character as follows: "He has done us a great deal of ill. He has been king for his own country, but a troubled feast for those about him, always assailing his neighbors, and making them pay the expense. As daughters of Maria Theresa, it is impossible that we can regret him; nor will the court of France give him a funeral oration." Carlyle said of him, "He managed not to be a liar and a charlatan as the rest of his country was."

In 1788 a revolution broke out in the Netherlands, which involved Hungary and Bohemia. The Netherlands had been offended by the innovations of Emperor Joseph; and the instigators stirred up the people, who were already excited by the loss of some of their ancient rights. This disturbance lasted for nearly two years; and as it was about to be put down, Joseph II. suddenly died, at the age of forty-nine, February 20, 1790.

Joseph II. was a man of large views and noble aims. He was unwearied in labor for his people, and, like Frederick, was accessible to every one. The books of Austria and the memory of the people are full of anecdotes about him. At one time he attended a poor sick

woman in the character of a physician; and once, when he found a peasant at work, he took his place and ploughed around the field. After his death he was appreciated and better understood than while living. He had assisted Catharine II. in a war against the Turks, in the autumn of 1788, hoping for some conquests of his own.

The idea of driving the Turks out of Europe, and annexing Constantinople to her Empire, originated with Catharine II. The Czar Nicholas also said a century later, "I know that I or my successor must have Constantinople.

Joseph II., at the head of an army of two hundred thousand men, marched against Belgrade; but he was repelled, and returned to Vienna, with the seeds of a fever which proved fatal. He ordered these words to be engraved on his tombstone, "Here lies a prince who, with the best intentions, had the misfortune of seeing all his plans fail."

It is said to have taken over a hundred years for Germany to recover from the demoralizing example of Louis XIV., and for the nations to recuperate from the debilitating influence of his long reign, which was felt over the whole of the habitable globe. The stern greatness of Frederick's character, after so much effeminacy, was like a tonic to the German nation, and helped to eradicate the germs of decay. Joseph II., too, by his liberalism, promoted the growth in Austria of those democratic ideas which were beginning to permeate, not only the state, but the government and feelings of nations everywhere.

"An Enlightened Despotism" was the goal of every sovereign's ambition. The meaning of this was the exercise of absolute power for the amelioration of the people's lot. It finally came to mean that no sovereign could maintain despotic power and keep himself at the head of a nation. Old ideas and old institutions were being swept

away in a manner that had never happened before. The desire for inalienable rights of which kings had been robbing the people for centuries became the basis of war.

Frederick the Great had built upon the foundation of "an enlightened despotism." He illustrated its power by his example. It was the support of his government by the people of Prussia, and their strong love of country, that, through all its wars, had kept it from annihilation.

But it was our own America which was to rise as the day-star of freedom. Just then she was holding her first Congress; and, by her Constitution, she was to establish the political equality of all men and the right of self-government.

It was also the intellectual development of the last half of the eighteenth century which had given a great impetus to progress of every kind. Charles Augustus of Weimar had called to his court such intellectual giants as Goethe and Schiller, Herder and Wieland. They had been preceded by Klopstock, Kant, Schelling, and Lessing, and followed by the patriots Körner, Kleist, Arndt, and Gleim, two of whom were killed in battle while writing patriotic songs. German literature reached its meridian at the end of the eighteenth century. This also was the era of many musical composers, among them Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, followed by Mendelssohn and Wagner. Electricity dated from this period. New machinery was invented, manufactures flourished, while the crowning achievement of the age was the application of steam to locomotion. This "storm and pressure" period, was to the world of thought what the French Revolution was to the world of politics. This intellectual excitement in Germany was simultaneous with stirring events in other nations, for the world was beginning to feel the agitation that precedes impending upheavals.

## CHAPTER XLI.

FREDERICK WILLIAM II.

RELATION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO GERMANY.

LEOPOLD II. FRANCIS II.

THE BEGINNING OF NAPOLEON'S CAREER IN CONNECTION  
WITH GERMANY.

FREDERICK WILLIAM III. AND QUEEN LOUISE.

1786 — 1804 A.D.

THE reign of Frederick William II. would have been altogether commonplace but for the tragical events occurring elsewhere.

It seems strange that so great a statesman and able a ruler as Frederick the Great should leave to chance the welfare of the kingdom he cherished. It looks like great neglect on his part that his nephew and recognized successor was not trained to the great work of government. It has been said that Frederick, with all his foresight, discerned no sign of the coming tempest in France, the forerunner of a whirlwind which shook all Europe to its foundations; for at last it had been discovered that, during the centuries when the power of princes had been growing great, the rights of the people had been growing small, and now they were determined to have these rights.

When, on the 5th of May, 1789, the *Tiers États* (the third class) set up the National Assembly, the key-note of the French Revolution, which ended in the Reign of Terror, was struck.

The girl and boy, Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI. of

France, had already been married four happy years, when the old voluptuary, Louis XV., worn out by his pleasures, passed away, and they inherited his throne. Kneeling, surrounded by their courtiers, they cried out, weeping: "O God, guide us! Protect us! We are too young to reign!" Too young they proved, and too ingenuous to the end. Their cruel death ushered in the Reign of Terror, which sacrificed so many thousands to the guillotine, and submerged the streets of Paris in blood. There is fire in the Frenchman's veins; and when his blood is excited by oppression or even fancied wrongs, the result has always been the dance of death to millions. Had the wisest heads ruled the states of Germany, and a man of genius been King of France, it is not at all probable that the long smouldering spirit of insurrection could have been quelled without the shedding of much blood.

Neither Leopold II., who was the brother of Joseph II. and had just succeeded him, nor Frederick William II. of Prussia, understood the full import of the act of the National Assembly in disregarding the conditions of the Peace of Westphalia, and trying to seize Alsace and the west bank of the Upper Rhine. Frederick William II. was a weak and dissolute sovereign, who had a sickly sentiment which he called a religious belief. He introduced rigid measures in regard to church worship and the freedom of the press, and by interfering in the grievance of his sister, wife of the Stadtholder of Holland, he had managed to squander all the wealth which Frederick the Great had husbanded. Frederick William was determined to maintain the cause of Louis XVI. and absolutism. At the same time, Leopold II., although he was the brother of Marie Antoinette, was anxious at any cost to preserve peace with the revolutionists.

At the time of the breaking out of the French Revolution, many royalists fled from France, and being well received by the German rulers, afterwards united with foreign armies in an invasion of their own country.

Emperor Leopold II. and King William II. met in the summer of 1791, at Pillnitz, as guests of the Elector of Saxony, to consider what steps were to be taken. The Count of Artois, brother of Louis XVI., afterwards Charles X., joined them, and asked their aid against the French Assembly. Leopold, with his usual caution, would not bind himself to any course of action, and the conflict might have been warded off for some time if the French had not precipitated it. The National Assembly issued a proclamation that the French emigrants, armed against the State, must disperse before March, 1792, or France would declare war. On this very day, Emperor Leopold died. His son succeeded him as Francis II. of Austria, and on July 5 was elected Emperor. The conservatism of Leopold would perhaps finally have proved a good factor in the government of Austria; but his son Francis, though an honest and sincere prince, had no ability which fitted him to rule. As a private gentleman, the latter might have been esteemed and honored. Unfortunately the two great nations which ought to have held France within bounds were governed by pygmies instead of giants.

April 20, 1792, war was declared against Austria on charges presented by Louis XVI. himself. The Girondists still held control of the National Legislative Assembly. This was the last time, until the year 1796, that the controlling element of the Assembly deserved the name of a party. All the factions that came after were furious fanatics, who slaughtered their victims, and then became victims for new fanatics to slaughter. A mob



attacked the Tuileries, August 10, 1792, and cut to pieces the historical "Swiss Guards," who died so bravely in defending the king, Louis XVI. His family were made prisoners; and the monarchy then becoming extinct, France was declared a republic on September 21, 1792.

The Girondists soon fell before the Jacobins under Danton, Robespierre, and Marat, whose followers now ruled the Convention, and sent Louis XVI. and his family to the guillotine. He was executed January 21, 1793. It is said that the proclamations issued about this time by Prussia and Leopold II. threatening the Revolution, and declaring that no quarter would be given to the enemies of Louis XVI., brought the frenzy of the mob to its highest pitch, and hastened the execution of the king.

The Convention lasted until July, 1795, and then, weary of bloodshed, France appointed a "Directory."

While these stirring events and revolutionary movements had been going on in Paris, Austria and Prussia were holding back; and, although they had raised an army, they were keeping outside of the contest as much as they could. Francis II. at his father's death made a communication to the French diplomatists, in which he promised to maintain his father's policy. But before the end of March he issued a proclamation, wherein he demanded that the old French monarchy should be restored. The whole French nation arose with enthusiasm, declaring war against all "the conspirator kings," who wished to destroy their liberties. But none of the nations were prepared for action. France itself was in utter disorder, and Germany was powerless as an Empire; the smaller states united, and asked the enemy to regard them as neutral. Nothing was done until July, when the Prussians, who had always signified their readiness to take up arms in favor of the monarchy, crossed the fron-

tier from Luxemburg, agreeing to meet the Austrians, who were advancing from the Netherlands and the Upper Rhine. Duke Charles of Brunswick, the ablest general of his time, acted with his usual caution; but, instead of advancing, he issued the proclamation to the French, which gave the revolutionary party the impression that he was communicating with the royal family, and this was what hastened the fall of the monarchy and death of the king.

Nothing was done except the taking of Longwy and Verdun, on August 23; then, finding themselves without supplies, and their army rapidly weakening, the allies were obliged to retreat to the Rhine.

The death of Louis XVI. and his family aroused all Europe; and the First Coalition was formed by England, Holland, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Naples, and Spain against France. Catharine II., who wished to carry out her designs in Poland, declined to join the Coalition, otherwise she would have been glad to crush out France.

This Coalition did very little in the end, though at first they retook some of the territory which the French had possession of; but Francis II. and Frederick William II., who were equally vacillating, grew jealous of each other, and became less anxious to crush France than to increase their own territory by conquests in Poland. Already the Coalition was reduced to England, Prussia, and Austria; and on the 5th of April, 1795, Frederick William II. retired from it, and made a treaty with France at Basle, giving up Cleves and some Prussian Rhine territory to the French. Frederick William did this for fear Catharine would absorb all of Poland.

The enthusiasm of the Revolution was expressed by the "*Marseillaise*," the strains of which have ever since led the armies of France on to battle. The French sol-

diers showed such a wild enthusiasm that the troops of other nations were in a panic before them.

In 1793 the Second Partition of Poland between Russia and Prussia had taken place, in which Prussia received the long-desired cities, Dantzic and Thorn, the provinces of Posen, Gnesen, and Kalisch, and other territory, amounting to twenty thousand square miles and one million inhabitants. The nobility had risen in arms because Poland had adopted an hereditary instead of an elective monarchy. When Russia undertook to hold possession of some of the places, Kosciusko, one of the heroes in our war, led four thousand men to resist them. They appointed him Dictator in 1794, and made every effort to save their country from the impending destruction. Frederick William II. marched to Warsaw, and met the Russian army there. There was a long siege, but nothing decisive happened until General Suwarrow arrived and defeated Kosciusko, who was taken prisoner. Warsaw was stormed with terrible slaughter, and with its fall Poland ceased to exist. Austria had taken no part in the contest, but, nevertheless, received one-fourth that remained, against the protest of Prussia which received Warsaw and twenty thousand additional square miles.

Catharine II., victorious over the Turks, and having finished with Poland, now united with Austria and England against France. Russia was to send an army and fleets, and Austria agreed to raise two hundred thousand men. England contributed four million pounds. The opposing armies occupied their respective sides of the Rhine.

The French suddenly crossed the river, taking Düsseldorf and Mannheim, laying waste the country, and treating the people inhumanly. The Austrians rallied, and

repulsed the French, recovering nearly all the western bank of the Rhine. As the Austrians were already tired of the war, an armistice was arranged in 1796. The French, however, found they could still gain advantages by fighting, since the conquered territory was obliged to pay expenses, and they had several ambitious generals whom they wished to bring to the front, among others Bonaparte and General Moreau, who afterwards gained so much credit in his retreat through the Black Forest.

The First Coalition had failed altogether in the object it had sought. The campaign of 1796 had been most disastrous to Austria. The French now placed five armies in the field, two of which were to invade Germany. A third was to make the attack in Italy, and afterwards join the other forces in Austria. One of the armies was lying idle near Nice, when the Directory ordered Napoleon Bonaparte to take the command, March 26, 1796. It was in this campaign that Napoleon entered upon his great career as a general, though he had already been recognized as a very brilliant officer.

Napoleon started out with scarcely thirty thousand men; but by wonderful military strokes of genius, he soon had defeated the Austrians at Piedmontese, and forced them to cede Savoy and Nice to France. His men were hungry and poorly clad; but he promised them Milan in a week, and he kept his word. In this campaign he is said to have put all the tactics in practice which afterwards gave him so much renown. He did not wait to capture all the fortresses in his way, according to the old-time method; but he struck the enemy wherever he found it, before it had a chance to combine its forces.

Napoleon advanced with great rapidity, and crossed the

Po, then captured the bridge over the Adda at Lodi by means of one of his terrible charges. He next subjected the Venetian territory, and out of the Italian Duchies formed new republican states. According to his promise, he took Milan, and overran Lombardy, forcing the Pope, as well as Parma, Modena, and Naples, to purchase peace with their art treasures. It was at this time that he established the custom of despoiling conquered cities in order to enrich Paris; as a consequence of which, the world-renowned picture gallery of the Louvre was founded.

Napoleon now crossed the Alps, and met Archduke Charles, a very able general, and brother of Francis II. The latter had cleared Germany of French troops east of the Rhine, and had driven the French general, Jourdan, back across that river near Metz, besides compelling Moreau to make the famous Black Forest retreat, which, being accomplished in thirty-seven days, gave him more renown than many victories. But Baden, Würtemberg, Franconia, and Bavaria had fallen into the hands of the French, and were made to pay a heavy ransom to their conquerors. Frankfort paid ten million, Nuremberg three million, Bavaria ten million, besides enormous supplies to the French troops. Napoleon, undaunted by the great reputation and exploits of the archduke, boldly attacked him, and forced him to retreat, took Trieste, and made his way through the mountains into Styria, encamping thirty-six hours from Vienna. If Francis II. had encouraged the already excited patriotism of the people, and given them weapons, he perhaps might have cut Napoleon off, as there was no way in which the latter could receive re-enforcements. But Francis was afraid of a revolutionary movement; therefore he negotiated for peace, which, after a summer's discussion, was concluded at Campo Formio in October, 1797.

Francis II. bought peace at the cost of the Empire by giving the left bank of the Rhine to France, also the Duchy of Milan, the Cis-Alpine Republic, and the Netherlands; but he received Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia, the Archbishopric of Salzburg, part of Bavaria, and a promise that Prussia should have no accession of territory. The French were not satisfied with the left bank of the Rhine, but demanded the demolition of the fortresses of Kehl, Mannheim, Cassel, and Ehrenbreitstein; and the latter has been dismantled ever since.

In November, 1797, Frederick William II. died, and was succeeded by his son, Frederick William III., who reigned until 1840. The latter, though weak, was a much better man than his father. He was twenty-seven years of age; endowed with a fine presence and reserved manners, he was not lacking in noble aims; but he had no courage nor executive ability. Having been educated in a narrow way, he still clung to his father's old counsellors, who had done much to lessen the prestige of Prussia's greatness. With the aid of his intelligent and beautiful queen, Louise of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, he tried to establish a court free from the immoral tendencies of the age; but irreproachable as they were in their home life, with their promising children about them, they had but little influence in keeping up an old-time court simplicity.

Louise of Mecklenburg is still the idol of her people. Dying young, a sacrifice to her deep-felt anxiety for her country, she left the sanctity of virtue and youth imprinted on the hearts of an adoring nation. She was the mother of William I., afterwards the Emperor of a united Fatherland. The old king, Frederick William II., used to call her "the Princess of Princesses." Goethe and Jean Paul did homage to her beauty and character in verse, and it was only Napoleon who dared to treat her with incivility.

She died in 1810, just after returning from her family in Königsberg, whither she had fled before Napoleon.

William III. revoked the Edict of Wöllner controlling church services. He began by introducing economy, and trying to improve the financial condition of the state; he was also desirous of promoting science, art, and the education of the people. He built the monumental Brandenburg Gate, and opened public roads throughout the country. Though the army was two hundred thousand strong, yet under his inefficient predecessor it had fallen into a deplorable condition. Though it had been drilled in a pedantic fashion, it had never been subjected to any experience in battle.

The illusion of the German Empire was still kept up, and a Congress of all the states was called at Rastatt to confirm the treaty of Campo Formio. Early in 1799 a Second Coalition against France was formed between England, Russia, Austria, Naples, and Spain; but Prussia did not join it.

The end of 1799 brought great changes to France, which was now the ruling power on the Continent. Prussia observed a timid neutrality; Austria was powerless; the new republics in Holland, Switzerland, and Italy were wholly given up to French influence; while Spain, Denmark, and Russia were friendly to the latter. Therefore, after the overthrow of Pitt's ministry, in 1802, England likewise made peace with Bonaparte.

Bonaparte now returned from Egypt, and established a consulate in place of the Directory, November 10 (18th Brumaire), making himself First Consul and practically Dictator. He proposed peace to the Coalition on the basis of the Treaty of Campo Formio, but this was rejected by England and Austria.

This was the year Frederick William III. ascended

the throne. The Bonapartist policy was to keep Prussia neutral; and, as England only took part by contribution, France had to meet Austria alone in the field. In May, Napoleon led sixty thousand men across the Great St. Bernard into Lombardy. Archduke Charles, hampered by the Court of Vienna, resigned; and Archduke John, a boy of nineteen years, took charge of an army of one hundred thousand men, who were scattered in a line from the Alps to Frankfort. Moreau soon defeated him, and overran Baden and Würtemberg.

Genoa surrendered to the Austrians; but when the latter undertook to turn Napoleon back, they were cut to pieces at Marengo, on the 14th of June, 1800. After an armistice had expired which had been made with Francis II., Moreau attacked the Austrian army of ninety thousand men on the river Inn, and on the 3d of December the French were completely victorious at Hohenlinden. The dreadful battle was fought in a thick snowstorm, so that the soldiers on either side could only see the flash of the muskets of the enemy.

“ And redder yet those fires shall glow  
On Linden's hills of blood-stained snow,  
And darker yet shall be the flow  
Of Iser rolling rapidly.

“ Ah, few shall part where many meet!  
The snow shall be their winding-sheet,  
And every turf beneath their feet  
Shall be a soldier's sepulchre.”

This victory enabled Napoleon to invade the very centre of Austria. He secured the friendship of the fickle Russian, Paul I.; and Austria was forced to accept terms of peace, February 9, 1801, on the basis of the Treaty of Campo Formio. The Adige was made the boundary of Austria and Italy; the Rhine that of France



and Germany. Germany lost twenty-four thousand square miles and three million five hundred thousand inhabitants.

In 1801 Paul I. was assassinated, and Alexander I. ascended the throne of Russia. England, Russia, and Austria united, determined to cripple Napoleon's power; and it was hoped that Prussia would also join the alliance. Emperor Alexander tried to induce Frederick William III., both by threats and by persuasion, to permit the Russian army to pass through his country; but the king, hoping to obtain Hanover, resisted every attempt to violate Prussia's neutrality; he even sent an army to prevent the Russian troops from crossing Prussian territory.

On the 27th of April, 1803, a partition of the Empire was decreed. There were only six free cities left out of fifty-two. Baden was increased to double its size, the most of Franconia, with Würzburg and Bamberg, was added to Bavaria. Baden, Würtemberg, Hesse-Cassel, and Salzburg had the dignity of "Electors;" but they were never called upon to elect another Emperor. The extinction of such a number of petty states, the overthrow of priestly rule, and the abolition of the privileges of a thousand imperial noble families, was in the end a great gain for the country. By this partition Bonaparte, though his motives were selfish, conferred a great benefit upon Germany, and gave the Protestants the preponderance.

## CHAPTER XLII.

NAPOLEON AS EMPEROR. — AUSTERLITZ. — RHENISH CONFEDERATION. — ALEXANDER'S PROFESSED FRIENDSHIP FOR PRUSSIA. — FALL OF THE HOLY ROMAN GERMAN EMPIRE. — JENA AND EYLAU.

1804—1807 A.D.

ON May 18, 1804, Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor of the French. The Pope came to Paris, blessed the crown, which was made hereditary by a popular vote, and Napoleon placed it upon his own head. The Italian republic became the kingdom of Italy; and Napoleon assumed the "Iron Crown of Lombardy," May 26, 1804. He made his stepson, Eugene Beauharnais, Viceroy of Italy, an act displeasing to all the powers. On the 11th of August, 1804, in order to preserve his title against changes he saw would soon take place, Francis II. imitated Napoleon's example, and took the title Emperor of Austria.

In the summer of 1805 a third Coalition was formed by England, Austria, Russia, and Sweden for the purpose of putting down Napoleon. Frederick William III. of Prussia and his ministers refused to listen to the spirited Queen Louise, who urged them to join the Coalition. They clung to their policy of neutrality, and for a long time it was their attitude that decided the success of Napoleon.

Napoleon had collected an army of two hundred thousand men for the invasion of England by sea; but learn-

ing the secret of the allies, he abandoned this project. On the 30th of November, Napoleon's generals entered Vienna, and Francis II. fled with his family to Presburg. Napoleon hastened on as far as the battlefield of Austerlitz and halted. Here he gave battle to the Russians, December 2, 1805. This was called the "Battle of the Three Emperors." He completely defeated the enemy; the allies losing fifteen thousand killed and wounded, twenty thousand prisoners, and two hundred cannon. A few days after, Francis II. met Napoleon in a small hut, and had a very humiliating conference with him. There they decided on a treaty of peace, which was signed at Presburg, December 26. This interview made Francis Napoleon's bitter enemy for life. He was compelled to acknowledge the Dukes of Würtemberg and Bavaria as kings, and to assent to the establishment of a Germanic Confederation under the protection of Napoleon. The treaty cost the House of Hapsburg twenty thousand square miles and two and a half millions of people, and Francis II. was obliged to pay one hundred million francs to France. In July the "Confederation of the Rhine" composed seventeen states; and this formed a third power in Germany, independent of Austria and Prussia.

On the 6th of August, 1806, Francis II. laid down the title of "Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation," which had lasted since the time of Charlemagne. The climax of its greatness was in the time of the Hohenstaufen, and it really perished in the Thirty Years' War. George III. of England declared that the abdication of Francis was impossible, and that as for himself, he must regard the Empire and Emperor as still existing; but neither again ever showed signs of life.

The neutrality of Prussia had been violated by Napoleon's general, Bernadotte, who had passed through the

country, and the offended king almost resolved to join the Coalition. Alexander I. visited Berlin, and formed an intimate friendship with William III. and Queen Louise. He came for the purpose of promising his support to confirm the alliance, and joined hands with the king and queen over the tomb of Frederick the Great at midnight. Before the battle of Austerlitz, Frederick William III. had sent his minister, Haugwitz, to propose a treaty with Napoleon, according to which either the French would leave Germany, or Frederick William would join the Coalition with one hundred and eighty thousand men.

Archduke John was approaching Styria and the Tyrol from Italy; the Russians were before him; the French fleet had just been destroyed by Nelson at Trafalgar; the British had landed in Hanover, and the people of that nation were joining with their forces. Although the situation was critical, Napoleon, as usual, was equal to the emergency. He gained time with Prussia by referring Haugwitz to his minister Talleyrand at Vienna, and then drew the allies on. After the battle of Austerlitz he made a treaty with Prussia by which she was to receive Hanover by giving up Anspach and Bayreuth.

At about this time Napoleon began to give away kingdoms. He made his brother Joseph King of Naples in 1806, and his brother Louis King of Holland. He had already made his stepson Viceroy of Italy, and had given his brother-in-law Murat, Julich and Cleves. Afterwards he created the kingdom of Westphalia from Brunswick, a part of Prussia, and a part of Hanover, giving it to his brother Jerome. This kingdom afterwards went to pieces, and the parts of it resumed their original position. Napoleon also married the niece of Josephine to the son of the Grand-Duke of Baden.

Napoleon was full of double dealing in his treatment of Prussia; and while he was urging Frederick William III. to assume the imperial crown, he was trying to induce the smaller princes to keep aloof from the latter; at the same time he was negotiating to give back Hanover to England, and to cede Prussia and Poland to Russia. The British cabinet informed the authorities at Berlin of this act.

Then Frederick William decided upon war. Queen Louise had long been urging Prussia to bestir herself, to resist Napoleon and his despotic power. The patriots of Germany and the officers of the army who had been in sympathy with her, were so pleased at the prospect of meeting the foe that they whetted their knives on the steps of the French Embassy at Berlin.

But when Prussia finally took the decisive step, she was most unfit for the struggle. Napoleon, with his usual despatch, was on the march with an army of two hundred thousand men before Prussia was properly organized. The latter could gain no assistance except from Saxony and Weimar. A final declaration of war was made October 7. The Prussian troops were commanded by Prince Hohenlohe and the Duke of Brunswick. After some delay, half of the army under the former encamped at Weimar. The Prussians were sleeping soundly in their camps on the morning of October 14, 1806, when aroused by Napoleon's fire. They could not see the enemy, and in every particular were powerless to resist; accordingly "Jena's bloody battle" proved to be a disastrous rout to the Prussians, who fled in wild confusion. On the same morning the main army of the Duke of Brunswick fell in with the French corps under Davoust at Auerstädt, only twelve miles from Jena. Frederick William's troops, being under bad discipline, were defeated. The Duke of Bruns-

wick was mortally wounded. Queen Louise was in her carriage within sound of the guns, and was obliged to drive away without knowing whether her husband was safe. He escaped uninjured, but twenty thousand men lay dead on the field. General Blücher, with the survivors, roamed about the country for three weeks; but finally he was obliged to surrender. The Duke of Brunswick rallied for a time, but was quite blind from his dangerous wound. He addressed a communication to Napoleon, asking to remain undisturbed in the possession of his duchy. Napoleon replied that he recognized no Duchy of Brunswick and no duke of that name. He gave him liberty to retire to England, and forced him to be moved. He was transported as far as Altona, where he died. His son, who fell at Waterloo, raised a regiment in his memory, and had the soldiers dressed in mourning with a skull and cross-bones as their badge; and these Black Brunswickers made it their business to fight the French wherever they could be found. This last Duke of Brunswick was the only prince who was ready in Prussia's sorest need.

Napoleon entered Berlin October 27, took down from the Brandenburg Gate the triumphal chariot (now restored), and sent it, with the sword of Frederick the Great, as a trophy to Paris.

The king, and queen fled to Königsberg, and Frederick William was so humiliated and in such despair that he is said to have consented to become a member of the Rhenish Confederation. On November 8, Magdeburg surrendered. Stettin yielded October 29, Küstrin fell November 1, as did also the fortresses of Hameln and Nienburg near Hanover.

On hearing of the misfortunes of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia sent the king assurances of friendship

and assistance. On the 8th of February, 1807, the Russians joined with the Prussian army, and attacked Napoleon at Eylau. The battle was fierce and bloody, and the Prussians won the victory. This was the first time Napoleon considered them a nation worthy of being recognized, but he still continued to subject them. After this Dantzic made an obstinate defence. Although Silesia showed a vigorous patriotism, she was obliged to surrender the fortresses of Glogau, Brieg, Breslau, and Schweidnitz; but the little fortresses of Kosel and Glatz held out to the end of the war.

In the spring of 1807 Alexander of Russia came to Königsberg, whither Frederick William III. had fled. Full of zeal, he made a great sensation by his show of affection for the king; which, in view of his subsequent behavior, was an ill-timed enthusiasm. At a review of troops he embraced Frederick William, and said, with tears in his eyes, that neither of them should fall alone. He then made a new treaty of alliance with Prussia against Napoleon, each monarch pledging himself not to make peace without the other, and to carry on war until Prussia had gained what it had lost.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

FRIEDLAND. — ALEXANDER'S DISLOYALTY TO PRUSSIA. — TREATY OF TILSIT, AND NAPOLEON'S INTERVIEW WITH QUEEN LOUISE. — REVOLT OF TYROLEAN PEASANTS, AND SCHILL'S HEROISM. — STEIN, SCHARNHORST, BLÜCHER. — DEATH OF QUEEN LOUISE. — WAGRAM. — PEACE OF VIENNA. — PRUSSIA ALMOST BLOTTED OUT.

1807—1812 A.D.

THERE was a truce of several months with Napoleon. But after it had expired, and Frederick William had appointed a new ministry, with Hardenberg at its head, another alliance was formed, taking in England and Sweden. Then hostilities commenced.

On the 14th of June the allies were defeated by Napoleon at Friedland, and driven into Russian territory; but since there was some hope that Austria might join the Coalition, and England and Sweden were starting a project of helping Blücher land in Pomerania, all would not have been lost had not Napoleon won over Alexander. A tent having been put up on a raft in the river Memel, which was neutral ground, there the two Emperors met. Afterwards Frederick William was called to an interview with the two sovereigns, where Napoleon treated the king insultingly. The supple nature of Alexander was so fascinated by Napoleon, that he forgot that he had drawn Frederick William into the war by promising to support him, although it was not quite two years since he had made his secret treaty with the latter.



The next day there was a conference at Tilsit, where a treaty was made. Queen Louise came from Memel to meet Napoleon; for it was thought that an interview with the beautiful queen might induce him to be less merciless in his terms, since he had expressed the wish to see her. Accompanied by a brilliant *cortège*, he dismounted from his splendid Arab horse with his little riding-whip in his hand. The queen received him with her customary tact and peculiar grace, regretting that he should be inconvenienced by meeting her in quarters so humble. He replied, "With such an end in view one is not deterred by any obstacles." She told him that she trusted his health had not suffered from the northern winter; and then she frankly expressed what was on her mind, saying she hoped he would find it in his heart to make better terms of peace for them. Napoleon answered, "But how could you have the idea to begin a war with me?" She replied, "It was natural that the fame of our great Frederick should deceive us as to our strength, if indeed we have been deceived." He then asked her to dine with him. When, after the interview of fifteen minutes, Napoleon appeared moved, Talleyrand, who had been present, said, "Sire, shall posterity learn that your Majesty was persuaded by a handsome queen to relax your hold on one of your greatest conquests?"

When Queen Louise reached the residence of Napoleon, he received her at her carriage door, and placed her at his right at dinner, while Alexander and Frederick William were at his left. At the table he was rather contemptuous, especially to Frederick William. On leaving, the queen told him "she regretted that she had been able to see the all-conquering soldier without meeting the unanimous hero." He then broke a rose from a bush standing near the window, and presented it to her. Accepting

it hesitatingly, she said, "With Magdeburg?" He replied, "No. It is I who give, you who take; I am as waxed cloth to rain." When the interview was over, he said to Talleyrand, "Magdeburg is worth more to me than a hundred queens." But afterwards, at St. Helena, when there was no wily Talleyrand to extinguish the little spark of generosity in his soul, he said, "In spite of my skill, in those interviews she always maintained the upper hand; she did it with such grace and sweetness that one could not be displeased with her." It was before this that Napoleon had mentioned Queen Louise slightly in a war bulletin, and spoken of her on a state occasion in a disrespectful manner. He knew that she had done all she could to lessen his influence in Prussia, and he could not bear to think a woman's voice was potent in the affairs of a kingdom which he desired and intended to govern.

When the king and queen, with their children, were returning from Memel, after their trying interview with Napoleon, William, afterwards King of Prussia, and later Emperor of the new Germany, wove some corn-flowers into a wreath, and presented it to his mother. Queen Louise placed it upon the boy's head, saying despairingly, "There, my dear child, that, I fear, is all the crown you will ever wear." Because of this, the corn-flower has been considered by the nation old Emperor William's flower. It was in this same trying year that Queen Louise spoke these words ever memorable to the nation: "*Meine Hoffnung ruht auf der Verbindung alles dessen was den deutschen Namen trägt*" (My hope lies in the union of all which bears the German name).

The Treaty of Tilsit, which was signed July 7, 1807, took away half of Prussia's territory and half of her population. It included all the country between the Rhine



QUEEN LOUISE AND HER SONS.

*(From the painting by Steffek. The older boy, on the right, was afterwards King Frederick William II.; the boy on the left the Emperor William I.)*



and the Elbe, and all the land taken from Poland since 1772, forming the Duchy of Warsaw and Dantzic. Prussia was obliged to recognize the three brothers of Napoleon as kings, and also to join the Continental System. This "Continental Blockade," as it was called, cut off the trade between the entire Continent and England, and ordered that all the merchandise of England and her colonies should be seized and confiscated wherever found, and even that the ships which touched at English ports should be taken. The design was to injure England; but it also injured France, as well as other countries which profited by English and French trade. This, too, was one of the leading causes of Napoleon's downfall, and it was also one of the immediate sources of the war of 1812 between America and England.

Another stipulation to which Prussia was obliged to assent was to keep up an army of only forty thousand men. She also agreed that the French should retain all her provinces and fortresses until the full payment of the war indemnity, which amounted to one hundred and forty million francs; until this was done Prussia had to maintain upon her territory one hundred and fifty thousand French troops. Napoleon also had possession of all the military roads. The French Emperor declared that he had left the remaining territory to Prussia out of consideration for Alexander I., though in fact his object was to keep up a barrier between Russia and France. At the Treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon's seven years' rule over Prussia began.

After the treaty was completed, Napoleon invited Alexander I. to meet him at what was called the Congress of Erfurt, which lasted from September 27 to October 18. From 1806 to 1813 Erfurt was French territory. Here Napoleon held a court at which all his vassal sovereigns

and princes were present. There were four kings besides Alexander, twenty-seven princes, two grand-dukes, seven dukes, besides counts, marshals, generals, barons, statesmen, poets, and distinguished artists without number. At the *fêtes* Napoleon appeared in great glory. The French theatre was brought from Paris with Talma, who had been the companion of Napoleon in his early days. Napoleon received his old friend, and said, "My dear comrade, you shall now play with only kings for your audience."

Frederick William now began to see that this state of vassalage could not last. He therefore called Stein to the head of his ministry, and encouraged him to introduce reforms for the purpose of strengthening the government and developing the character of the people. Although Napoleon had restricted the standing army to the number of forty-two thousand men, Stein, with Scharnhorst as minister of war, kept up a constant drill exercise; and as fast as this quota was instructed in the modern science of war, they were sent to their homes, and forty-two thousand more men were enlisted as the regular army. They kept this up until they had at least one hundred and fifty thousand trained men, some say over two hundred thousand. In this way they sustained in reality a large standing army; and all the old, superannuated methods, which had stood in the way of Prussia's success, were replaced by the latest war tactics.

Stein was valiant and patriotic, and regarded Napoleon as the embodiment of all that is evil. At first Frederick William rejected the warnings of Stein, since the latter had always been personally repugnant to the king on account of his straightforwardness and strength of character, Hardenberg being much more in harmony with his feelings. In his extremity, however, Frederick William III. learned to honor and trust him, and to en-

courage his spirit of reform. Stein saw that there could be no rescue for the nation from its abject humiliation until the people were morally built up. He freed the serfs from the bondage of their masters, and they soon began to feel that they might become petty landowners themselves. Every man could now choose the calling for which he was best adapted; and any tradesman, if he was rich enough, might buy a baronial estate. Stein even tried to secure a share in public affairs to the people, and to create independence in small communities.

This reconstruction really accomplished more for Prussia than the French Revolution had done for France. Stein's administration was cut short by the jealousy of Napoleon, who intercepted a letter in which he claimed there was evidence that Stein was engendering disorder in the state. Napoleon confiscated his property, and called upon his troops to arrest a "man named Stein," who was fomenting discord in the commonwealth. No one doubted that Frederick William would have been obliged to deliver Stein up; but the latter fled to Austria, where he remained until the Russian war of 1812, after which he was of great service in the diplomatic arrangements between the different nations and the German states.

On the 8th of September, 1808, Frederick William, when he was at the court at Erfurt had, without the knowledge of Stein, signed a treaty granting everything that Napoleon claimed, and making what was left of Prussia tributary to France. The German states had now all joined the Confederation of the Rhine, and their Diet was governed by Napoleon's will. All the princes and nobles, officials and authors, vied with each other in doing homage to his power. The defeats of Jena and Friedland were celebrated by festivals in the capitals of other states. Ninety German authors in the Confedera-

tion dedicated books to Napoleon, and the newspapers were slavish in his praise. As early as 1806 a bookseller of Nuremberg, by the name of Palm, was thought to have published a pamphlet entitled "Germany in its Deep Humiliation." He was seized by Napoleon's order, tried by court-martial, and shot. It was afterwards proved that Palm was not implicated in the publication of the book, and that he did not even know what the volume contained. This act was considered as nothing less than murder, but it showed to what extent the Germans were Napoleon's slaves.

Although Napoleon was at the beginning of the prosperity which lasted more than seven years, underneath all his power a reaction commenced when he exercised such tyranny over Spain. He had invaded the Spanish peninsula under the pretence of guarding the coast against England. He entered Lisbon with his army, and declared that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign. His forces then advanced beyond Madrid, and in dissensions between Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand, Napoleon caused himself to be chosen arbiter; when he lured the two contestants to Bayonne, he set them both aside, and gave the crown of Spain to his brother Joseph. At the same time he bestowed the throne of Naples, made vacant by Joseph's promotion, upon his brother-in-law Murat. All of this constituted one of the most high-handed proceedings in which Napoleon ever took part. It roused the Spanish people to revolt. Wellington came over from England with a large British force, and helped the leaders of the rebellion in Portugal; but Napoleon, with an overwhelming army, established his brother at Madrid, December 2, 1808. The Spanish people, nevertheless, ever after were at enmity with the despot, and kept up a continual guerilla warfare.



Napoleon was called away from Spain by an uprising in Austria; for that power had never been satisfied with the result of the battle of Austerlitz, and had always been resolved to recover her lost territory. Therefore, while Napoleon was occupied in Spain, Austria had raised half a million soldiers under the command of Archduke Charles. The people of Tyrol at the the same time, in 1809, renounced their allegiance to French rule. The leaders were Andreas Hofer and a monk named Haspinger; their troops were peasants who lived in the mountains. Planting themselves upon the ragged heights, as the Bavarian troops entered the mountain passes they picked them off with their rifles, or crushed them by rolling rocks upon them. Hofer captured Innsbruck for Austria; and the people all over the country were so aroused by the daring of the Tyrolese, that they came forward as volunteers, until Archduke Charles had a force of three hundred thousand men. The fate of this brave Tyrolean peasant was very sad. Like all revolutionary leaders, he did not know when to stop. He continued to struggle, with some success, after the conclusion of the peace between Napoleon and Francis II. But after the movement was crushed, he hid in the mountains for two months, until he was betrayed by a monk, who had supplied him with food. He was carried in chains to Mantua, where, after being treated inhumanly, he was tried by a French court-martial, and shot on the 20th of February, 1810. Although he had given his life for his country and king, Francis made no effort to save him.

This movement in the Tyrol was imitated in Prussia by Major Schill, whose heroism had gained him great influence with the people, whom he incited to revolt. The secret association, called Tugendbund, or "League of Virtue," was behind him, and helped him on. He was

received with such enthusiasm in Berlin, after Hofer's success, that he thought he was going to arouse the whole state. He spoke to them with wild enthusiasm, revealing to them his plans, and inspiring them with his spirit. He took Halle, and was victorious in several small battles against the French, but finally was obliged to retreat to Stralsund, where he fell at the storming of the city. But his fame and great sacrifice helped to fire the German heart.

On the 13th of May, Napoleon entered Vienna, and quartered at Maria Theresa's palace of Schönbrunn. Archduke Charles, with an army of seventy-five thousand men, met Napoleon with ninety thousand. On the 21st a desperate battle was fought at Aspern, in which the French were defeated, and were obliged to retire to the island of Lobau, the bridge which Napoleon had thrown across the Danube being destroyed. Notwithstanding his defeat, as was his custom, Napoleon issued flaming bulletins of victory. This deceived the German people, and enabled him to forward troops with greater effect. He constructed six bridges farther down the Danube, crossed with his whole army on July 6, and fought the successful battle of Wagram, in which the Austrians were completely vanquished, and obliged to retreat.

Napoleon kept up his residence in Schönbrunn from May 21 until after the Peace of Vienna, which was signed October 14, 1807. His old quarrel with Pope Pius VII. was brought to an end while he was here. The Pope would not accede to his Continental System, neither would he declare a divorce in favor of Jerome Bonaparte against the American girl Miss Patterson, whom Jerome had married without his brother's consent. Napoleon seized all the ports on the Adriatic, and incorporated the entire Papal territory into the French Em-

pire, fortifying the city of Rome with a body of French. The Pope put Napoleon under the ban, whereupon the latter, sending a military force to the Quirinal Palace, where the Pontiff then resided, had him arrested and conveyed to Grenoble as a prisoner. He then made Rome a part of the French Empire, declaring the Pope's sovereignty at an end, afterwards removing him to the château of Fontainebleau, where he remained a prisoner until Napoleon's downfall. History has given Pius VII. a high place, both on account of his persevering resistance to Napoleon, and his clemency and toleration toward those outside the Church.

There was really no necessity for submission on the part of Austria; since she still had large resources, and might have allied herself with Prussia. But the peace party had the upper hand; and Emperor Francis, becoming frightened because Napoleon threatened to depose him, signed the treaty. By the Peace of Vienna, Austria gave up the whole Adriatic coast and a part of Carinthia. She received only Istria, Dalmatia, Friaul, and gave Western Galicia as an addition to the Duchy of Warsaw. To satisfy Emperor Alexander, Austria had to give Eastern Galicia to Russia. Napoleon also demanded the daughter of Francis, Maria Louisa, for his wife; for he had meanwhile been divorced from the Empress Josephine, on the 14th of December, 1809, in order to further his ambitious plans. He was married to Maria Louise, April 2, 1810.

In these days of misfortune, Prussia improved by her deep humiliation in intellectual and military growth. Men of learning and experience did honor to this period, in the foremost ranks of whom was John Gottlieb Fichte. He was the son of a weaver, and his character was strengthened in his early years by extreme poverty. He

was a follower of Kant, and stimulated the minds of the students to activity. Spies were sent out against him by Napoleon after the battle of Jena, and were present while he delivered in the academy at Berlin his "Words to the German Nation," a series of fourteen lectures, to a company of select scholars, whom he declared to be representatives of the whole German nation. He pointed out to them that only German people had preserved the embers of a free intellectual life, and that should these be lost, there would be no hope for the world.

In the war department, General David Scharnhorst was to the army what Stein was to the state. He was a peasant's son, and from his boyhood was inclined to a martial career. At an early age he distinguished himself in the Hanoverian army in the Netherlands, and, as a result of his writings on the art of war, was invited to the military academy at Berlin as a teacher, and from the first enjoyed the confidence of the king. He was cool and sound in judgment, and devoted to all that was good and great.

Blücher, born in Mecklenburg in 1742, was one of the true heroes who was always in sympathy in the movement of disciplining the people, and hardening them against the emergencies which all statesmen of foresight saw would inevitably occur. He fought in the Swedish army in the Seven Years' War, and was ever after zealous in the Prussian cause. By some deed of rashness, while he was an officer in Poland, he got into trouble with Frederick the Great, and was removed. But in the time of Frederick William II. he entered the army again, and fought in the French Revolution, winning the respect of the foe. The French soldiers called him the "Red King." He was general of cavalry at Auerstädt, and conceived such a hatred of Napoleon that it sometimes amounted almost to madness, so that he would dash at

the flies on the wall and cry, "Napoleon! Napoleon!" He was called "Marshal Forwards," because in the Silesian battle in which he defeated Marshal Macdonald he kept shouting to his men in the crisis of the conflict, "Forwards! forwards!" Napoleon said he was like a bull rushing on to danger with his eyes shut. After Louis XVIII. was placed on the throne, and Blücher went over to England with the "three Emperors," the English were so enthusiastic over him that they are said to have pulled the hairs out of his horse's tail as relics.

For two years after the Treaty of Tilsit, the royal family set the people a beautiful example in a serious, earnest, and religious course of life, which exercised a great influence for good. They lived almost as private citizens at Königsberg, and only returned to Berlin two days before Christmas, 1809. They were already in deep affliction, for the idolized Queen Louise was fast passing away. On July 19, 1810, she died at her early home in Mecklenburg. Just before her death she wrote to her father, "I hope my children will devote their lives to the deliverance of their country." She also said to her two boys, afterwards Frederick William IV. and Emperor William I., "The Prussian state, the Prussian army, the glory of Prussia, have disappeared. Weep, in memory of me, the downfall of our Fatherland. But weeping is not enough. Act! Conquer back from France the darkened glory of your great ancestors! Be men! be heroes!"

Louis, King of Holland, father of Napoleon III., was a good king; but he found the interests of his people so much injured by the narrow French policy, that he gave it only a lukewarm support; and when Napoleon sent an army to occupy the Dutch ports, he resigned. Thereupon Napoleon annexed Holland to the French Empire, declaring that it was his by right, since it had been formed by

the alluvial deposits of French rivers (the Rhine and the Maas).

In 1811 Napoleon was at the height of his power. All Germany had accepted the Continental Blockade as protection to the German Confederation, and he now held all the German states in subjection. His Empire extended from Denmark to Naples, while Austria and Prussia were reduced to one-fourth of their strength. Sweden seemed sure to be Napoleon's ally, since his relative and general, Marshal Bernadotte, had been adopted in 1810 by Charles XIII. of Sweden as Crown Prince. Yet it soon became apparent that Napoleon's fortune was unsubstantial, and that the lustre of his renown was passing away. Already the French were sated with the glory which had ruined their trade, wasted their substance, and spilled the blood of their sons.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN. — WAR OF LIBERATION.

1812—1813 A.D.

ALEXANDER of Russia had by this time lost the effervescence of his regard for Napoleon. He had seen, while visiting the Emperor at Erfurt, that the friendship of the latter was of little value to him; because he recognized the fact that he could not make himself subservient to Napoleon by putting into practice the terms of the Continental System. Napoleon had also exhibited his arrogance in dethroning Alexander's relation, the Duke of Oldenburg; and there had been trouble also when Alexander declined Napoleon's suit for his sister's hand.

After the year 1811, every ruler saw that a great war was approaching. Napoleon's course at this time not only showed his own arrogance, but also the abject condition of Germany. It is related that some one said to him, "Man proposes, but God disposes;" and he replied, "*Moi, je propose, et je dispose aussi.*" (As for me, I propose, and I dispose also). When one of his diplomats told him the inevitable consequences of invading Russia, he replied, "The word 'impossible' is not French." His uncle, Cardinal Faesch, told him that the invasion of Russia "would bring upon him the wrath of man, the fury of the elements, and the judgment of God." Napoleon, going to a window, pointing to the sky, said, "Do you see that star?" — "No, Sire." — "I do: good-night."

Napoleon, more determined than ever to invade Russia,

sought the friendship of Austria, and made an arrangement with her that Marshal Schawarzenberg, with thirty thousand men, should be added to Napoleon's service. He obliged Prussia to furnish twenty thousand soldiers. Frederick William was almost beside himself in being obliged to fight Alexander, whose friendship he had renewed, and whose aid he considered his natural support. He, as well as all the patriots, recognized the fact that Napoleon intended to blot out Prussia from the map, and every one advised that the country should make a desperate struggle against his despotism. Scharnhorst had ready one hundred and twenty-four thousand men, the fortresses were all equipped, and the people, as it afterwards proved, were all ready and in the temper to fight; but it was no use, Napoleon proposed and disposed also. He had three hundred thousand French soldiers of his own, and one hundred and fifty thousand from the Confederation of the Rhine; in all, his army amounted to seven hundred and sixteen thousand infantry, one hundred and fourteen thousand cavalry and artillery, and a guard of thirty-eight thousand, which were stationed in different parts of Europe.

In May, Napoleon and Maria Louisa, having completed the preparation without any formal declaration of war, held a grand Court in Dresden, at which Napoleon commanded the attendance of a large number of sovereigns, allies, and vassals. The Emperor and Empress of Austria were there, King Frederick William of Prussia, the Kings of Naples, Würtemberg, and Westphalia, and all the sovereigns of the inferior German states. Alexander himself had been invited, but the officer who bore the message could not obtain an audience; and when the invitation was sent to the Russian Embassy of Foreign Affairs, it received no answer. Napoleon treated Frederick William



with an indifferent courtesy, but his behavior to Austria was that of ostentatious neglect. Francis was no longer on a level with the other sovereigns, because he had laid aside his title of Emperor of Germany. The ladies of Francis's family were eclipsed by the grandeur of Maria Louisa. Napoleon's court made an interesting spectacle at the Dresden Theatre, he himself being the centre of an audience of kings who occupied the royal box.

In the spring of 1812, the largest army since Attila's time moved through Germany, and at the end of June crossed the river Niemen into Russia. Of the six hundred thousand soldiers two hundred thousand were Germans, nearly all of whom perished in a foreign land, fighting for a cause outside of any interests to themselves. Napoleon attacked the Russians at Smolensk on the 16th of August, where he met with great losses. The French suffered frightfully from hunger and disease. The territory had purposely been laid waste; and the Russians kept retiring farther and farther into the country, luring the enemy on. The plan of Alexander had been to retreat without a battle. The storehouses were to be burned, and all the towns which could afford shelter and provisions were laid in ashes. In this way the military genius of Napoleon would have no opportunity to display itself, and the northern winter would drive him back exhausted and discouraged. The French received no provisions whatever from the Russian peasants, while their own troops were furnished with money and food from all quarters; for every one of the fifty millions of the Russian population hated the invader with a religious hatred.

On the 7th of September the Russian army of one hundred and twenty thousand men met Napoleon in the field of Borodino. Yielding to the clamor of the officers,

who desired an encounter, the most desperate struggle of all Napoleon's wars ensued. Before the assault, Napoleon made one of his fiery appeals. He said, "Soldiers, we have longed for a battle. Here it is at last! Here is the victory which will open the gates of Moscow, and bring us good winter quarters, plenty of provisions, wealth, and glory! Posterity will say of each of you, 'He was in that great battle beneath the walls of Moscow!'" The Russians threw themselves into the fight by hundreds and by thousands, and when swept away, their places were instantly supplied; they were finally obliged to retreat, but did so in good order. At the close of the fight, eighty thousand soldiers, dead and wounded, lay on the field, about an equal number on each side.

On the 14th of September, 1812, Napoleon reached the heights overlooking Moscow. When the soldiers caught the first sight of the "Promised Land," the pledge of victory, and saw its gleaming towers, its battlements, its domes, and the Kremlin, the massive fortress of Moscow, with the palace of the Czars, they cried exultingly, "Moscow! Moscow!" Napoleon noticed one circumstance which he could not understand, and which caused him some anxiety. There was no smoke arising from any chimney. There was no sentinel, no guard, not a soldier, not a child, not a human being. Meanwhile the troops, finding themselves masters of the place, immediately commenced their plunder. Exulting in their security, they explored the gorgeous palaces, they seized the richest objects in the bazaars, they clothed themselves with garments of costly silk and fur, they drank the most expensive wines. It all seemed to them like an enchanted city.

Napoleon had retired to rest, and was dreaming that

he had conquered all the world within his reach, and had commenced a campaign on the Ganges. At midnight he was awakened by the cry of fire ; for the men in the midst of their festivities had found that the city was in flames. All at once the fires burst out in a hundred different places. The truth flashed upon them. Alexander, seeing no other way to deprive the enemy of winter quarters and the means of subsistence, had sacrificed his beautiful capital ; and after four days, fanned by the equinoctial gale, it lay in ashes, and the French legions were consigned to famine and desolation. Men who had been left to feed the flames were found, and, being bound hand and foot, were cast into the fiery furnace. The Kremlin was saved.

Napoleon rode out of the town, through burning streets, under falling beams, and took up his quarters in a suburban palace ; but on the 20th of September he returned to the Kremlin, where he remained until October 19, waiting for answers to his demands for a treaty of peace. The days grew darker and darker, snow began to fall, and the means of subsistence were vanishing. Napoleon commanded his army to retreat, and ordered the Kremlin to be blown up ; but happily his design failed. The day the French marched out, the third part of the unburned city that remained was filled with Russian troops and peasants bringing abundant provisions.

The horrors of the retreat to Napoleon's army no pen can describe. Flying bodies of Cossacks harassed the soldiers, who were starved, many freezing to death and left by the wayside. On November 10, when they halted at Smolensk, where they had ordered provisions, of the one hundred thousand who left Moscow on the retreat, only thirty thousand remained. At one time Napoleon, when out reconnoitring with his officers, encountered a

party of Cossacks, and only escaped by hiding in a sequestered spot by the roadside. There were other portions of his army scattered over Russia, some of whom joined him; but it is said that had not the fear of Napoleon's great name often deterred the Russian officers from attacking him, not one man of the vast throng which passed through the Niemen would ever have entered Germany again.

On December 4 Napoleon left his army, and fled in disguise through Germany and France to Paris. On the 3d of December he had issued his celebrated "Twenty-ninth Bulletin." Before this Europe had received no information of the disaster. In this document it is stated that "the Emperor was safe and well, but the grand army was destroyed by the elements."

According to Russian reports, one hundred thousand were taken prisoners, and in the spring two hundred and forty-three thousand dead bodies were found on the plains; and when the ice melted, forty thousand bodies were taken out of the river at the frightful passage of the Beresina.

Near the end of December, the remnant, one thousand men, entered Prussia in military order, followed by twenty thousand tramp soldiers. Here the whole body dispersed.

It was largely due to Stein, who had been with Alexander, that the latter persevered in making the struggle one of extermination. But the fact that all Europe had suffered so much from Napoleon's despotism, made all the countries feel that this was the time to put him down. For this purpose, Stein went with the patriot and author, Arndt, across the snow-fields to Germany.

When Frederick William had agreed to furnish twenty thousand troops, his best generals, Blücher, Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, and three hundred other officers resigned.

At that time the army and the patriots were so much aroused by Frederick William's continued weakness in yielding to Napoleon's demands, that they thought of removing him from the throne, and of then commencing the "War of Liberation," which really began after Napoleon's disastrous campaign in Russia. When the officers resigned, the command of the twenty thousand Prussian contingent force had been given to General York, who was sent to Riga, and escaped the horrors of the retreat. He immediately entered into negotiations with the Russian general, Diebitch, and had his troops transferred to the Russian side, where they remained neutral until York had time to communicate with Frederick William. He wrote to the king, "I lay my head cheerfully at your Majesty's feet if I have erred, and assure your Majesty that I shall await the ball on the hillock as calmly as on the battlefield, where I have grown gray. But now or never is the moment to embrace freedom, independence, and greatness. In your Majesty's decision lies the fate of the world."

The War of Liberation now commenced. All the people of Europe combined against Napoleon, who knew that the struggle was to be one of life and death. The Russians soon after crossed the frontier of Prussia as the enemies of Napoleon, and they were everywhere received as liberators. Stein joined York at Königsberg, where the Russians were quartered; but the latter had as yet received no command from the king, who, although he wished to break the French yoke, was still afraid of Napoleon's influence, especially as the French were clamoring against York's movement as treason. Frederick William was obliged to declare York superseded; but it was only nominal, since no officer would take his place.

A patriotic enthusiasm started in East Prussia, and

spread like wildfire throughout all Prussia and Germany. The kingdom was impoverished by the long war, and on account of the thoroughfare it had been for the different armies; but the people brought voluntary contributions, and the young men enlisted joyously. The magnitude of the disaster was not known in Berlin until the 20th of December, and then the king authorized York to act as the circumstances demanded. It was immediately after this that the remnant of Napoleon's army began to pass through Prussia in their flight, and the extent of his defeat was known throughout Europe. The German hatred of the French then burst forth with terrible energy, and the people sang as the sacred songsters did over their enemies in old Bible times.

Berlin and Spandau still had French garrisons, and exciting rumors spread that they were about to seize the king and take him to Paris as a hostage; the men of influence persuaded Frederick William to remove his court to Breslau, a town always faithful to him, and accessible to Russia and Austria. On December 22, 1812, the city received him with delight; and on February 3, 1813, he issued an ever-memorable call to the people to rush to arms, and choose between victory and ruin. He had, up to this time, felt bound by his treaties with the French, and would have maintained them, had not the whole people been unanimous in their will to achieve independence, or die with sword in hand. This sentiment had been learned from the patriotic authors of the day. Klopstock had taught them to be proud of their lineage, Schiller that resistance to tyranny was their duty as citizens; and Arndt and Körner had given them patriotic songs, which stirred them more than the sound of drum and trumpet.

Since Frederick William was not yet emancipated from

his fear of Napoleon, the first proclamation was signed by the Minister of State, Hardenberg, who held the same sentiments as Stein. It set forth in a few simple words that the state was in danger, the enemy not being mentioned. The educated young men all flocked to the standard, the universities were closed, the lecture-halls and even the higher class-rooms in preparatory schools were empty, and used for drill parade. The professors followed the students, one of them, by the name of Steffen, turning his lecture to the students on philosophy into a call to arms; Jahn by his influence also handed over his whole class of gymnasts as soldiers for the ranks. The cultivated classes fought by the side of the peasants. Mothers gave their only sons; women who had none to give sent all their jewels to the State Treasurer, and wore iron ornaments instead, while some even disguised themselves, and enlisted as soldiers. In Berlin nine thousand recruits were registered in a day, men and boys volunteering in the same regiments. It is said that this outbreak of enthusiasm was never equalled anywhere except in the United States in 1861. The scenes portrayed above are familiar to those who were then studying in our colleges, where classes of a hundred were reduced to ten, the rules of discipline being suspended, and the routine of study yielding to the demand for volunteers. The similarity of the situation in the two countries is very striking to those who shared in these scenes, and in the monotony of study, when those who were left behind, witnessed with tear-bedimmed eyes the empty benches, while listening to the account of brave deeds in the long days after the "Boys in Blue" went forth to rescue our country, many of them never to return.

Young Körner wrote to his father, "Germany is aroused; the Prussian eagle fires all hearts with the

hope of German freedom. My Muse sighs for her Fatherland, if it be with my blood." Körner joined a regiment called the "Black Huntsmen," and the night before he was killed, wrote on the battlefield his "Sword Song." In the morning his friends gathered around the dying poet, but he never spoke again. His head in death was crowned with oak leaves; and he was buried beneath an oak-tree, near a village called Wöbblen, close by the battlefield.

On February 28 Russia and Prussia made a treaty for the restoration of the independence of Europe. Prussia was to be restored to its status of 1806; Russia was to take possession of Poland, including the part that had belonged to Prussia. Frederick William published an edict exonerating General York. The Kingdom of Prussia had only five hundred thousand people, but it soon had one man out of every twelve in the field.

Alexander became the guest of Frederick William at Breslau, where, on the 10th of March, the people received him with tears of joy and shouts of applause. Alexander said to Frederick William, "Take courage, these are the last tears Napoleon shall draw from thy people." Immediately after this, Frederick William addressed a call "To my people." It ran thus, "Men of Brandenburg, Prussia, Silesia, Pomerania, and Lithuania! you need no account of the causes of the coming war. You know what you have suffered for seven years. You know what your doom will be if the war does not end in success. Remember the Great Elector and Frederick the Great! Even small nations have fought with great energy in such a cause as this. Remember the heroic Swiss and the Netherlanders. This is the last struggle, and we undergo it for our existence and independence. We must win an honorable peace or die a glorious death."



All the German princes who adhered to Napoleon were threatened with the loss of their property. The states of the Rhine Confederacy, except Mecklenburg, still kept their allegiance to France; Saxony and Bavaria were abject in their devotion to Napoleon. Austria remained neutral, and exercised her influence against Prussia. Sweden, with the Crown Prince Bernadotte, who had been a former marshal of Napoleon, and whom at one time Napoleon thought of seizing and putting into prison at Versailles on account of his hostility, joined the movement, but with only a lukewarm zeal.

Four armies were now collected under York in East Prussia, West Prussia, and in Pomerania and Silesia. The French still held the fortresses, and had twenty thousand men in Berlin. In February, 1813, the Cossacks ventured into the town; and on the 4th of March, York entered the city in triumph with eighteen thousand men. The women again came to the rescue, and rivalled each other in gifts of clothing, food, and arms. Brides gave away their wedding-rings, and young girls their beautiful golden hair. They gladly sent their husbands and lovers to the war, considering it a disgrace for any one to stay at home. The Princess of Hesse-Homburg and other royal princesses founded a society for the care of the wounded; and the writers like Arndt, Ruckert, Schenkendorf, by the spirit of their poetry and enthusiastic writings, kept the zeal of the people brightly burning.

Napoleon enforced a relentless conscription, enlisting young boys and very old men, until he had five hundred thousand troops, including those furnished by the Rhine Confederation.

Hamburg and Lubeck were delivered from the French, and Eugene Beauharnais was defeated at Möckern with heavy losses; but the first great battle was fought at

Lützen, May 2, 1813, around the "Stone of the Swedes," where Gustavus Adolphus fell. Ninety-five thousand Prussians and Russians held Napoleon's army of one hundred and twenty thousand in check for a day. Afterwards the allies were obliged to retreat; but they did so in good order, comparatively few men being lost. The valuable general Scharnhorst received wounds which afterwards proved fatal. His death was a great calamity to Prussia, since comparatively few of the generals at this time had risen to the level of the popular enthusiasm for the war.

## CHAPTER XLV.

WAR OF LIBERATION CONTINUED. — BATTLE OF LEIPSIK. —  
ALLIES ENTER PARIS. — NAPOLEON'S ONE HUNDRED  
DAYS AT ELBA.

1813 — 1815 A.D.

SOON after the battle of Lützen, Napoleon occupied Dresden, and Saxony became the seat of war. Frederick Augustus, the king, having fled to Prague, on the 20th and 21st a battle took place at Bautzen, in which the French claimed the day; but the Prussians did not consider it a victory on the part of the former, and when Napoleon asked for an armistice, they reluctantly gave it. The encounter had really resulted in a defeat for the French, who lost fifteen thousand, while the allies lost but ten thousand.

Granting this armistice, which lasted from June 4 to August 23, proved to be the best thing that had happened for the Prussian cause. It gave Prussia an opportunity to recuperate, and it also gained Austria as an ally. Metternich came to Dresden, and had an interview with Napoleon. They met in the large palace at Frederickstadt, now the City Hospital, and walked together in the beautiful garden. Napoleon offered Austria one-half of Prussia if she would remain neutral; but although Francis was not wholly indifferent to his daughter's being on the throne of France, Metternich refused, and said that the allies whom Austria now joined would only make peace on Napoleon's dissolving the Confederation of the

Rhine, and restoring to each European sovereign his territory, thus making the Rhine the frontier of France. Napoleon rejected the offer, saying insultingly, "How much has England paid you to take part against me? Not a village nor a stone shall be taken from the French Empire."

The allies had made a strong coalition, and now had eight hundred thousand men in the field. Napoleon had five hundred and fifty thousand; but he was commander of all his forces, and that strengthened his chance to win. The battle of Dresden, fought on the 27th of August, 1813, was the last great victory Napoleon ever attained. At the same moment Blücher, by his bravery, gained a triumph at Katzbach. After this there were a number of victories achieved by the Prussians; and instead of the shouts of "Lodi, Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland," ringing through Europe, "Moscow, Beresina, Bautzen, Grossbeeren, Culm, Dennewitz," were now heard.

Napoleon's health had commenced to decline, and he showed the loss of moral force. He became low-spirited, and on battle-days ate scarcely any food. The German soldiers of the Rhine Confederation also began to desert, and Bavaria joined the allies. But he still had a formidable army, and might have met his enemies on his own ground after having withdrawn his troops beyond the Rhine. In this way he would have remained sovereign of France, but he determined to fight another battle. He gave up marching upon Berlin, and took up his position in Leipsic, where he arrived the 13th of October. The allies closed in upon him, and here the great conflict took place which decided Napoleon's fate.

On the morning of the 16th three white rockets rose in the sky from the camp where the three allied sover-

eigns had spent the night, and the signal was immediately answered by three red rockets from the camp of Blücher. Frederick William, Francis, and Alexander, with Schwarzenberg, stood together on a hill, now called the *Monarchenhügel* (Hill of the Emperors). Napoleon launched ten thousand of his finest cavalry to break through the centre of the allies, and stormed the hill on which the three sovereigns, with Schwarzenberg, stood. He thought these four prisoners would be a magnificent prize. Schwarzenberg begged the monarchs to retire; then with sword in hand he ordered a general attack which drove back the French. The battle raged all day; and although Napoleon sent a courier to France with news of victory, and had all the bells of Leipsic ring in the evening, it was found that the Prussians, under Blücher, had been victorious. When night closed, the latter broke in the old hymn, "*Nun danket all Gott*;" and then, there being no material at hand to shield them from the fierce wind, they piled up a wall of dead bodies, which sheltered them during the sound sleep of the night. At midnight Napoleon awoke with such a sense of depression that he sent one of the prisoners to Francis offering concessions, but the messenger never returned with a reply.

The next day was Sunday, and both armies rested. The marshals entreated Napoleon to withdraw into France; but he replied, "Never! Never!" On the 18th Bernadotte and all the re-enforcements had arrived, and also the day of retribution for Napoleon. The "moon of Leipsic" is said to have risen the night before; the "sun of Austerlitz" never rose again.

All day the cannonade from thousands of guns was kept up, the earth trembled for miles around, and the flames of a dozen villages heated the air. The number of troops engaged was so large that there were several

battles fought. In the meantime forty thousand Saxons went over to the allies. Many a shot was sent against the windmill where Napoleon himself was stationed. The balls often struck near him, and scattered around him; but he seemed to bear a charmed life. The enemy were rapidly advancing, and the French were seen flying along the road to Leipsic. At four o'clock Napoleon saw that no hope remained, and with composure he gave the necessary orders; then sinking down on his campstool, completely exhausted from so much exposure, he fell asleep. It has been said that this sleep lost him the victory. The battle closed around him; but the marshals dared not wake him, although Murat finally ventured to break to him the news of his defeat. In the evening he gave the final order to retreat.

His general, Poniatowski, said, "Sire, I have but a few men left." Napoleon answered, "Defend Leipsic with those few." To which the former replied, "We are ready to die for your Majesty." And he did give his life for his general, a few days afterwards, being drowned at the blowing up of the bridge over the Elster, when fifteen hundred prisoners, with two hundred cannon were taken, and twenty thousand sick and wounded lost their lives, or fell into the hands of the enemy.

On receiving the news of the victory, the three monarchs on the hill knelt down and offered up thanks to God. A monument now marks the spot, and also an obelisk near the place where the windmill stood from which Napoleon directed the battle. One hundred thousand men lay dead upon the field, the losses being about equal.

On the 19th the allies entered Leipsic, and were received as deliverers. The housetops were covered with people, who were in a frenzy of delight. The three sovereigns

entered Leipsic on foot, amidst the acclamations of the people and the pealing of bells. The son of Frederick William III., afterwards Emperor William I., was present. Germany, from the Baltic to the Alps, was justly elated over the victory. The people felt that it was their triumph; for it was to their bravery that the sovereigns owed the results, and it has always been called "The Battle of the People." After his defeat, Napoleon retreated with ninety thousand men to Erfurt. Neither the generals nor the sovereigns tried at this time to cut off his retreat. He was enabled, therefore, to rest thirty hours in Erfurt. He, however, heard in the morning that the Rhenish Confederation was deserting, and he was afraid that his retreat would be cut off. Until this time he had been calm and collected; but now he saw by the gloomy glances cast upon him that his soldiers were changing in their feelings, and regarded him as the destroyer of their country, instead of the all-conquering hero who was to carry victory in his train.

At Hanau he learned that Maximilian of Bavaria had gone over to the allies, and he found an army under the Bavarian General Wrede drawn up to oppose his advance to the Rhine. He cut his way through these troops, and hastened on to Paris with his army, which, on account of the great number of desertions, was reduced to seventy thousand, out of the three hundred and fifty thousand which he had led into the field six months before.

The battle of Leipsic had been to Napoleon what Austerlitz was to Austria, and Jena had been to Prussia. Jerome Bonaparte fled from his kingdom of Westphalia, and Würtemberg joined the allies. Schwarzenberg marched through Switzerland into Burgundy, hoping to meet Wellington; and Blücher with a third army crossed the Rhine at three points, on the night of the New Year,

1814. The subjection of Germany to France was practically over. But still, although the officers urged an energetic prosecution of the war, Francis II. and Alexander objected. A new offer of peace was made to Napoleon, and the allies would have accepted humiliating terms had not Napoleon still thought himself invincible, and refused all their overtures.

The allied armies were three months advancing into Paris; even then they very nearly surprised Napoleon, since he had not expected an invasion before spring; but he collected an army of one hundred thousand men, and was victorious the 29th of January; but the 1st of February he was compelled to retreat. These advantages on the part of the allies might have been followed up had not the three monarchs stopped to consult, and by their disunited advice and commands hindered the generals in the great work which they had undertaken. This state of things suited Napoleon exactly, and he hurled his troops against the divided forces of the Prussians; and in five battles, from the 10th to the 14th, he overcame and drove them back. On the 18th, also, he defeated Schwarzenberg's army, and compelled the latter to retreat.

It is said Napoleon never showed such brilliancy of genius as in the three months after his disaster at Leipzig, and it is evident he did not lose courage; for when the allies again offered peace, giving to France the boundaries of 1792, including Savoy, Lorraine, and Alsace, he refused. He went on disputing every inch of ground; and had it not been for the bravery of Stein, Blücher, and the German soldiers, the allies at the very eve of victory would have given up. In some respects, however, Napoleon's victories now were defeats, since he had no means of making up the great losses incurred in these numerous battles.



Finally, on the 3d of March, at noon, the three sovereigns made their triumphant entry into Paris; and then, for the first time, they determined to dethrone Napoleon. The last fight had taken place at the very gates of the city, after which, at the head of fifty thousand troops, accompanied by a crowd of princes, ambassadors, and generals, the procession advanced through the thronged streets.

Napoleon was astonished at the rapid advance of the allies upon Paris. When he heard of it, on the 27th of March, he did not believe it; but he hurried on towards Fontainebleau in advance of his army, and reached the château at midnight. He ordered fresh horses, and drove towards Paris, supposing that his presence as usual would change the current of events. When he reached the city, and learned the worst, he immediately retired to rest.

Talleyrand managed the affairs for the Royalists, and procured from Alexander a proclamation declaring that he would not treat with Napoleon or his family. The printer of this document, Michaud, signed his name "Printer to the King." These significant words had not been seen for many years.

Louis XVIII. immediately ascended the throne. Napoleon signed his abdication in favor of his son, the King of Rome.

Alexander had always felt a certain sympathy for him, and on reading his abdication was surprised that he had asked nothing for himself. He said, "I have been his friend, I will now be his advocate. I propose that he shall keep his imperial title, and have six million francs a year, with Elba for his dominion."

On the 11th of April, at Fontainebleau, Napoleon signed his second abdication, being obliged this time to renounce, not only for himself, but for his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy.

On Napoleon's journey to Elba he was attended by a commissioner from each of the allied powers, four in number. He also was to have four hundred and fifty infantry and one hundred and fifty cavalry of the Imperial Guard, all volunteers. In the northern provinces he was respectfully received; but in the south, where he had never been popular, the crowds showed an unfriendly feeling, and at last assumed a threatening attitude. He was obliged to dress himself in an Austrian uniform, and at last reached Frejus dressed as a courier, sitting on the box with the coachman. He was carried to Elba in an English frigate.

A Congress was opened on the 1st of November, 1814, at Vienna, by the Great Powers, to found, ostensibly, a liberal government. But the result of the conference was not calculated to restore the confidence of the people. At a cost of thirty million florins, Francis II. offered a series of splendid entertainments to the members of the Congress, which latter lasted seven months, from November 1, 1814, to June 11, 1815. All the nations were represented by their best statesmen. Besides the Emperors and Kings, the Ministers of State, among them Metternich, the Russian Ambassador, Prince Hardenberg, Prince Talleyrand, William von Humboldt, the Duke of Wellington, and other distinguished statesmen and generals, were present. Stein had not been appointed, but he assisted by his counsel.

The ideas of such men as Humboldt and Stein were only moderately entertained by the Assembly. One of the reformed progressive ideas of these men was that the people should be represented in this very Congress. General Gneisenau wrote concerning the acts of the parliament, "Alexander spoils everything by his magnanimity towards France. The cunning Metternich has no

noble aims." It is said that they treated France as tenderly as if the throwing off the yoke of Napoleon and the invasion of that country had been an outrage on their part. No indemnity was at this time exacted from France, and the works of art stolen from the Italian and German galleries were not then reclaimed. They gave one million francs to ex-Empress Josephine, who died the same year. Maria Louisa received the Duchy of Parma; and the other Bonapartes were allowed to retain the title of prince, for the name of Bonaparte was still influential.

For more than thirty years from this time, Metternich, until he was obliged to flee from the country in the revolution of 1848, was the real Emperor of Austria, and controlled almost the whole of Europe. Talleyrand was very cunning in diplomacy, and before the winter was over had persuaded Austria and England to join France in an alliance against Russia and Prussia, and another war seemed inevitable.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

ESCAPE FROM ELBA. — WATERLOO. — ST. HELENA. — FINAL  
ADJUSTMENT OF THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

1815—1840 A.D.

ALL minor considerations were put aside, when, on the 1st of March, 1815, the startling news arrived that Napoleon had landed in France. Immediately existing jealousies subsided, because all must unite in putting down the common foe. Austria, Russia, and Prussia agreed to furnish one hundred and fifty thousand men, and England five million pounds in money and some of its best generals, but a less number of soldiers. All the small German states also sent troops, and there was so much patriotism that there were more volunteers than could be employed.

Napoleon reached Paris the 20th of March, 1815, and organized a new army. At the same time he tried to make a treaty of peace on the basis so often offered him, that of restoring the boundaries as in 1792. But the terror of his great name had passed away, and no reply was made to his overtures.

The people in France had suffered so much from war, and now were so anxious for peace, that, although Napoleon raised half a million men, his position was not strong, and he had to use many of his troops in preventing outbreaks at home. With his best forces, one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, he marched towards Belgium to meet Wellington and Blücher. The former had one

hundred thousand men, and Blücher one hundred and fifteen thousand, and was rapidly approaching to meet Wellington. Ney had promised Louis XVIII. that he would bring Napoleon to him in an iron cage; but as soon as he came under the influence of the magnetic demigod he went over to his side, and fought with him at Waterloo. He was afterwards executed in the Luxemburg Gardens, having been condemned for treason by Louis XVIII.

Two battles occurred on the 16th of June. Napoleon was afraid that Blücher and Wellington would unite. Therefore he attacked Blücher at Ligny. The horse of Blücher was shot under him, and both rolled under the hoofs of the cuirassiers. Rescued by his faithful adjutant, Blücher did not stop to have his wounds dressed, but collected his scattered army at Wavre. It was from this place that he afterwards went when he re-enforced Wellington at the decisive moment at Waterloo. In the meantime Ney had attacked Wellington with forty thousand men at Quatrebras. The gallant Duke of Brunswick, at the head of the Black Legion of Vengeance, was slain in a cavalry charge. Wellington retired to Waterloo the next day in order to be nearer Blücher, and Napoleon united with Ney and marched against Wellington with seventy-five thousand men, while Grouchy was sent with thirty-six thousand to attack Blücher. On the 17th there was no fighting. In the afternoon Napoleon reached the height of Belle Alliance; and when he saw Wellington's army drawn up for battle, he said, "At last I have these English in my grasp." It was always Napoleon's luck to have a deluge of rain on the evening before a defeat. About noon of the 17th, according to the established precedent, rain began to fall, and the roads were soon nearly under water.

At daybreak on the 18th the heavens had cleared, and the sun arose with great splendor,—the sun of Waterloo. Wellington had exhorted his soldiers to hold their position until Blücher, according to agreement, should arrive. He gave the men this watchword: “The Prussians or the night.” At half-past four everything portended disaster to the allies; and it seemed to Wellington that the moment of destiny had arrived for the Prussians, and the hour of victory to the French. Stationing himself at Mont St. Jean, under an elm commanding a view of the whole field, Wellington gave his orders with his watch in his hand; and as he saw his lines staggering, and his squares about to give way under the heavy fire of the French, he shouted repeatedly, “Would that Blücher or the night would come!” To deceive Grouchy, Blücher left a few troops at Wavre, and pushed forward through the rain, which had commenced, across a marshy country to Wellington’s relief; for if he could come without Grouchy at his rear, Napoleon would be defeated. For two hours the battle hung in suspense, Napoleon hoping that Grouchy would hold Blücher back or beat him on the field. At four o’clock the bugles were heard at the French right, and the noise of an approaching army at a distance. Was it Blücher or Grouchy? The suspense was only momentary, when the cry was heard, running through the broken English line and the wavering ranks of Wellington, “The Prussians are coming!” Napoleon had thought the troops seen at a distance were those of Grouchy; but when he learned the truth, he called out four battalions of his veterans, and then his Old Guard, giving his last orders from his headquarters at a farmhouse near the Belle Alliance. At seven o’clock this most fearless body of horsemen charged upon the English squares; they reeled under the shock, then re-formed and stood

fast; and round these immovable lines the soldiers of the Empire beat with unavailing courage as the cry went up, "The Guard is repulsed!" Bülow's corps soon appeared on the French flank; Blücher's army closed in immediately after; Marshal Ney vainly attempted to stem the tide of destruction, five horses being shot under him. At eight o'clock the French went flying from the field; Blücher and Wellington with their forces pressed forward, and forced the Imperial Guard down the descent at the point of the bayonet.

Mounted on his horse, Napoleon beheld from the Belle Alliance his final destruction and fall. A few Guards pressed around him; and one of them took his rein, and led him toward Charleroi. On taking a carriage, the road was found obstructed by flying troops. The postilions cried, "Way for the Emperor!" The soldiers shouted back, "There is no Emperor." In a few moments some Prussian artillery came upon him, and he had just time to leap upon a horse and fly, leaving his hat, sword, jewels, portfolios, and papers in the carriage.

Blücher and Wellington met at nine o'clock on the same spot on the Belle Alliance where Napoleon had stood directing the battle. Wellington said, "I sleep to-night in Napoleon's headquarters." Blücher answered, "I will see that he gets no other quarters." Gneisenau brought the army together, and bowed his head while the strain of "*Nun danket alle Gott*" rose in the air. Contrary to their methods after the battle of Leipsic, the Prussians pursued, and did everything they could to annihilate the French army. They thought it a duty to destroy it, lest another conflagration should be kindled by the would-be Conqueror of the World. Only a remnant of those engaged in the battle of Waterloo ever met again in arms. The French had lost twenty-five thousand men,

the allies a few thousand less. Blücher wanted to have Napoleon shot in the prison of Vincennes, where the Duke d'Enghien had been murdered. Wellington refused, saying, "I am not an executioner. I am a soldier." It was Prussia that proposed St. Helena.

A new treaty was made between the allied monarchs and the Bourbon dynasty before the Congress of Vienna closed. This time there was not so much tenderness felt towards France; and the treasures of art and learning were restored to Italy and Germany, and an indemnity of seven hundred million francs was required. Savoy was given back to Sardinia; and a strip of territory, including Landau and other fortresses, was added to Germany. Talleyrand, with Alexander I., defeated the attempt of Austria and Prussia to get back Alsace and Lorraine. Poland was left partitioned as before. Although the last battle was fought in Saxony, and the king, Frederick Augustus, was taken prisoner, Prussia's claim to the kingdom was defeated by Austria and England. Holland and Belgium were annexed to Germany, and given to the House of Orange, being called the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Switzerland was allowed to remain a republic. Austria kept whatever territory she had owned before the invasion of Napoleon. Prussia gained the least. She gave up Warsaw to Russia, but kept Posen and recovered Westphalia, the territory on the lower Rhine, and was enlarged by the annexation of Swedish Pomerania, a part of Saxony, and the former archbishoprics of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne. Hanover was made a kingdom, and received from Prussia East Friedland. Weimar, Oldenburg, and the two Mecklenburgs were made Grand Duchies. Bavaria received more territory in Franconia, and all of the Palatinate west of the Rhine. Frankfort, Bremen, and Lubeck remained free cities; the



smaller states gained more or less, but Saxony lost half of her territory. Napoleon in his march had swept away many abuses, and the number of German states was reduced from over three hundred to thirty-nine.

This Congress of Vienna was a great disappointment to the people, since it did not give them any encouragement that the government would be much more progressive or the rulers less selfish in desiring absolute power; but much in the old political constitution had vanished in the wars of Napoleon.

The German states now felt that some form of union was necessary. The people had long dreamed of a nation, and they had never been satisfied since the old Empire died out. They felt the necessity of a stronger form of government which should include all the states.

Three weeks before the battle of Waterloo, a royal decree had been published in Berlin, providing for a National Assembly and a Constitution. On June 8 a Federal Act was adopted, declaring that there should be assemblies in every state. As has been seen, the sovereigns, when the hour of trouble was over, forgot to ratify in the Congress of Vienna any of these promises. It is unpleasant to record it, but Prussia took the lead in this breach of faith; and although Frederick William III. kept promising, and William IV. tried to conciliate the people by many concessions, no step was taken towards forming a constitution until Frederick William IV. was obliged to do so in the Revolution of 1848.

The thirty-three years from the Congress at Vienna to 1848 were made up of a struggle between the people and Metternich. The latter had secured the supremacy of Austria in a scheme of Confederation drawn up just before the battle of Waterloo; and although it left things very much as they were, it presented the appearance of

an advanced organization, and controlled the destinies of Europe for nearly fifty years. It was composed of the Austrian Empire, the kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg and Hanover, all the Grand Duchies and Duchies, Denmark on account of Holstein, The Netherlands, the four free cities, eleven small principalities; in all thirty-nine states. The Act of Union assured equal rights, independent sovereignty, and representation in a General Diet to be held at Frankfort under the presidency of Austria. Altogether the support of an army of three hundred thousand men was guaranteed. One article required that each state should introduce a representative form of government. All religions were made equal before the law, and freedom of the press and the rights of emigration were insured. The representative government unfortunately did not include the right of suffrage, but the carrying out of that provision was left entirely to the rulers of the states.

A serious opposition to the system of Metternich grew up gradually among the smaller states, especially when they came to understand that the whole scheme was only an aggregate of promises. Austria and Prussia, as has been mentioned, never fulfilled the pledge until 1848. Weimar, under Charles Augustus, was the first to confirm it; and in 1818 Nassau, Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Baden followed suit. Hanover, in 1833, established a liberal constitution; but afterwards the Duke of Cumberland, Ernest Augustus, overthrew it. About this same time seven professors, among them the brothers Grimm, were banished from Göttingen.

Alexander I. of Russia persuaded Francis II. and Frederick William IV. to unite in a curious treaty called the "Holy Alliance." By it they agreed to prevent the people from disturbing the peace by groundless revolu-

tion, and to treat each other with brotherly love; to consider all nations as members of one Christian family, and to rule their subjects with justice and kindness. It originated ostensibly in gratitude to God for the deliverance of Europe from Napoleon. Francis hesitated at first about putting his name to it; but Metternich, on reading the document, laughed, and said, "Your Majesty can safely sign. It is all twaddle." All the rulers gave it their signatures except George IV. of England, Louis XVIII., and the Pope; but it was always a "Dead Letter," there being no greater evidences of any more brotherly or fatherly love than before.

No class was so bitterly disappointed in the results of the War of Liberation as the young men. The students in the universities formed societies, fiery speeches were made, songs were sung, and free expression was given to their distrust of the government; they were inspired by two ideas, — Union and Freedom. A young student called Sand assassinated a dramatic author named Kotzebue, in March, 1819; and thereupon all the reigning princes imagined that their lives were in danger, especially as two years before the students had held a convention at the Wartburg, for the purpose of agreeing upon revolutionary measures. A congress of ministers was held at Carlsbad, the freedom of the press was abolished, the formation of societies among students was prohibited, and commissioners were appointed to have supervision over universities, to hear what the professors said in their lectures. Many of the best teachers and authors were deprived of their situations, among them Jahn and the poet Arndt. Hundreds of young men who had committed no act of resistance were thrown into prison, because there was such a cry of alarm lest the scenes of the French Revolution should be repeated.

The thirty years of peace following the War of Liberation were marked by few events of importance. The scars left by the struggle gradually disappeared, and those who did not look into underlying principles had a kind of repose. There was a three days' revolution in France in 1830, which placed Louis Philippe on the throne. This was followed by some popular uprisings in Germany. The Belgians, on account of having been treated by the Dutch as a conquered people, were already in a state of excitement, when the news came that Charles X. had fled, and Louis Philippe had been raised to the throne. In the Grand Opera at Brussels a revolutionary scene in the drama produced an explosion, and the audience rushed into the street and began destroying the government offices. The militia fired on the crowd, but the revolution grew more and more fierce. Other Belgian cities rose; and after heavy fighting Belgium gained its independence, which was guaranteed by the great powers, January 20, 1831.

The best days for Frederick William came after 1815. The people of Prussia were much attached to him, notwithstanding his weak character; and since they did not covet a part of the liberal movements of the times, they continued to endure his internal administration, which was much better than his foreign policy. Inasmuch as Frederick William was closely bound to Russia and Austria by the terms of the Holy Alliance, and the influence of Metternich and the Czar was a hindrance to the development of Prussia, such men as Stein, Gneisenau, and Humboldt fell into the background, and authors like Arndt and Schleiermacher were persecuted and finally banished.

It had been the idea of Stein to place over the German Confederation a Directory consisting of Austria, Prussia,



GERMANY IN LITERATURE, MUSIC, AND ART.

*Schiller.*

*Dürer.*

*Goethe.*

*Wagner.*

*Beethoven.*



Bavaria, and Hanover. This plan went through many modifications, and the result was the celebrated Federal Diet (*Bundestag*) in which each state of the Confederation was represented. In 1821 all the southern states had constitutions, and it was the business of the *Bundestag* to see that they did as little mischief as possible. The *Bundestag* was hated by the nation because it was too reactionary; by Metternich because it was too progressive. Frederick William would have no doubt granted a Constitution had it not been for the influence of Metternich; and as the restrictive measures of the German Diet became more intolerable, Metternich threw the blame more and more upon Prussia.

The most important act of the Prussian Government was the effort to bring about unity of trade and commerce throughout Germany. During the years from 1828 to 1834 all of Germany except Austria united in the *Zoll-Verein* or Customs-Union. This Union produced a common national interest, and Prussia was regarded as the head. It was the first independent act; and it proved to be a momentous one, for it placed Germany on equal terms with other nations in the markets of the world.

The real shadow on the reign of Frederick William was the number of prosecutions and imprisonments of young students and men of moderate views for the expression of indignation and disapproval of acts of oppression.

In June, 1840, the people of Berlin were informed that their king was dying. He had reigned forty-three years; and although he had been narrow, and had failed in not having granted to his people the promised Constitution, he had been a well-disposed sovereign, an upright man, an evangelical Christian, and at the time of his death he was revered and much beloved.

The king was in possession of his faculties until the

last moment. He transacted business, and desired that everything in the city and about his grounds in Charlottenburg, where he died, should go on as usual. He would not allow straw to be laid before his palace, although the street was one of the noisiest; and he insisted that the use of a pump back of his residence should still be kept up. Just before he died he revived; and noticing that the band was not playing as usual opposite his windows, he asked that it might go on. His daughter, the Empress of Russia, arrived in a carriage white with dust, just before the king breathed his last, several post-horses having been driven to death on the road. Bulletins had been issued at short intervals; and at length the crowd, standing in awed silence around the palace, was shocked by the appearance of one with an ominous black border, and the words upon it were repeated with reverence and awe throughout the town: "The King is dead." Dressed in his ordinary uniform, Frederick William III. looked in death the same as seen to-day in the mausoleum at Charlottenburg, where the reclining statues of himself and Queen Louise by Rauch are visited annually by thousands of people. The body was carried to the Great Elector's palace, where it lay in state, and was inspected by an immense crowd.



## CHAPTER XLVII.

FREDERICK WILLIAM IV. — BISMARCK'S FIRST APPEARANCE.  
— REVOLUTION OF 1848. — REVOLT IN HUNGARY. —  
WILLIAM IV. STRICKEN WITH APOPLEXY.

1840 — 1858 A.D.

THE funeral of Frederick William III. was at once followed by the coronation of his eldest son, Frederick William IV., who, besides being distinguished by genius and culture, was regarded as a man most noble and generous. He had been very popular as Crown Prince, and his accession was hailed with joy. All were in the expectation that the measures so long postponed by his father would be immediately adopted, and that the nation would at length have a real representative system. William IV. took no steps, however, towards the adoption of a Constitution, but made a few and unimportant concessions, declaring an amnesty for political offences, and welcoming back to the country such men as Arndt and the brothers Grimm. He attached to himself the scientist, Alexander von Humboldt, as his political adviser. But all his acts showed that he meant to strengthen his throne by the support of the nobility without regard to the claims of his subjects. He interfered in the most arbitrary manner with the system of religious instruction, and made the espionage of the people more severe.

At the time of his coronation there had been a general jubilee, and the whole city was electrified. All the populace were out in bright attire as he and his queen entered

the Brandenburg Gate, passing through the Königstraase to the old Elector's palace, by the bridge where the equestrian statue of the Great Elector stands guard. One hundred and twenty thousand people had assembled to do the king homage; and he was received, when he appeared on the highest steps of the tribune, with a simultaneous outburst of applause. But it was only a few years before the people, tired of waiting for progressive movements and liberal views to develop, grew lukewarm in their regard. Signs of a revolutionary character were apparent as early as 1844, a Catholic priest by the name of Ronge publishing mutinous addresses to the German people.

The idea of forcible resistance to the government continued to spread, and local outbreaks kept occurring up to 1847, when Frederick William IV. tried to silence the increasing opposition by ordering the formation of a Legislative Assembly, February 8, 1847. The Assembly (*Landtag*) was to meet April 11 of the same year; but when it came together, and it was understood that the provinces were represented by the nobility and not by the people, the latter clamored anew for a direct representation and a Constitution.

Frederick William IV. gave the Assembly to understand that he believed that a Constitution was unnecessary, and that a "bit of paper" ought not to intervene between God and the country. The Assembly was much aroused by the reference to the "bit of paper," since from it they saw he never intended to grant a Constitution; they were about to insist, when a young nobleman arose to speak.

It was Bismarck, and this was his first appearance in public as a statesman. He was then thirty-two years old. He told them that they might think he held views belonging to the dark ages, but that he considered their present

form of government better for Prussia than a liberal constitution, since the people were not prepared for political institutions like those of England. Then he referred to the claim that the people of Prussia had fought so bravely in the War of Liberation. He said, "You calumniate them when you say they fought for any other reward than the glory and blessing of victory. Did the people make a bargain with their sovereign, and ask to be paid for breaking their chains?"

Bismarck was interrupted by a storm of cries and hisses which made it impossible for him to proceed. After several attempts to do so, he drew a morning paper from his pocket, and leaning back, commenced to read it, standing thus until order was restored. He thereupon took a stand on the charge made against William IV. that he literally believed in the Gospel. The position he then took on this point he always maintained, although his conservative political views were afterward modified.

A current of unbelief which had been world-wide the House of Hohenzollern had withstood, although many gifted men in Germany had tried to overthrow it. The Great Elector, Frederick William I., Frederick William III., Frederick William IV., and, later, Emperor William I., all were true to their convictions concerning the original Gospel. Bismarck mentioned in the Assembly that he had heard the day before from one of the members that the Christian religion is only a fiction of modern times. He told them he believed it was as old as the Holy Roman Empire, and that no state could exist on any other foundation. "For myself," he added, "I can recognize as the will of God only what is revealed in the Gospels; and I call only that a Christian state, the object of which is to realize the principles of Christianity." Bismarck had a Christian mother, and the influence of Princess Bis-

marck, who was almost a devotee, had strengthened his early orthodox views. After his retirement from politics, he once said that he had no difficulty in believing in Providence, revelation, immortality, and the divinity of Christ; but he did call in question the dogma that Christianity and the Church are identical terms.

Although this Assembly seemed to have done nothing, it had made the people more certain that they needed a representative system; it also enlisted many enlightened men in the cause of reform, and convinced the king that the nation desired a broader representation.

This was the situation in Prussia when the sound of the French Revolution of 1848 reached Germany, and kindled fires which were only quenched by concessions from the throne. Louis Philippe had abdicated, and was flying to England under the name of Mr. Smith. Between the momentous days of February 22 and March 18, 1848, all governments of the smaller German states adopted platforms to suit the democratic tendencies of the times. Only Prussia and Austria remained like bulwarks against the storm.

In Bavaria King Louis, on account of injudicious transactions, was compelled to abdicate in favor of his son, Maximilian II., notwithstanding his long patriotic services. Hanover and Saxony were disturbed in their government by the news from Paris; but their kings resisted until Berlin and Vienna were seized by the mob, and then they thought best to yield. The patriotic party took up the old cry for national unity, with a representation of the people in the Diet of the Confederation.

This disturbance was unlike the Revolution of 1830, and was not so easily put down. March 13, Metternich, who had so long imposed his despotic views upon Europe, having been in power since 1810, was overthrown.

He was obliged to flee from Vienna, and seek an asylum in England.

In Berlin, on the 18th of March, there were scenes which painfully contrasted with those which enlivened the city eight years before at the time of Frederick William's coronation. As then a hundred thousand people thronged the streets, but instead of accommodations for applauding spectators, there were barracks flowing with blood; in place of illuminations in honor of the king, there was the glare of burning houses and the flash of cannon from the troops called out by the king against the people, who, fired by the news from Paris, had risen in revolt. Instead of carriages filled with flowers, Frederick William IV. was forced to witness from his palace windows the bearing away of hundreds of dead and bleeding bodies lifted on planks and transported before the royal grounds.

All the demands of the Revolutionists were thereupon instantly granted. On the following day, Frederick William IV., riding through the streets with the imperial banner, black, red and gold, raised aloft, swore that he would grant the rights demanded by the people. He issued a proclamation which closed thus: "From this day Prussia becomes merged in Germany." The soldiers were then removed from Berlin, and the excitement subsided.

Crown Prince William of Prussia, brother of the king, afterwards Emperor William I., expressed his disapproval of this and other weak conciliatory measures. In order to get rid of his advice, the king ordered him on a mission to England. His departure from the country gave the people reason to think that he had desired to suppress the revolt by force. The hostility against him and the royal faction was such that his palace was taken

possession of by students engaged in the Revolution, and a colossal banner hung out with the inscription, "National Property." On March 18 there appeared to be danger that the palace would be demolished. It was entered by the populace, but protected in a singular way by the students, who lounged out of the windows, and smoked their pipes into the faces of the mob who were crying, "Down with the Prince! and down with the Palace!" When Prince William returned a few months after, it was with great difficulty that he was allowed to speak in the Assembly.

The whole year of 1848 was eventful for Europe, and especially for Germany. There were many complications connected with the attempts to reorganize the government. In Berlin the power was held all summer, until October, by an unintelligent mob that completely eclipsed the Prussian Diet, which the king had early been forced to call to satisfy the demands of the people. One day a band of men entered a shop for the purpose of lynching a glover who was thought to have betrayed the democratic party. The glover himself had fled; but they seized his stock of gloves, and cut them into a thousand pieces, scattering them around on the pavement, together with his account-books, letters, and documents torn into bits. They visited all the shops of the furnishers of the Prince of Prussia, and committed similar outrages.

Vienna was for a time controlled by a body of students and laborers. In the Diet at Vienna the different nations of which the Empire was composed quarrelled. Italy and Hungary repeatedly revolting, until the agitation threatened the Austrian Empire with complete dissolution. The orderly people were horrified by the violence of the Revolution, fearing the destruction of their homes. Later the government increased its armed force, Minister Ra-

detzky putting down the Italian insurrection, and Prince Windischgratz overthrowing the democratic element, but not until the streets had been drenched with rivers of blood.

In 1835 Francis II., after a reign of forty-three years, had died, being succeeded by his son, Ferdinand I., a prince so weak that Austria had ever since his accession in reality been without a head. Finally, on the 2d of December, 1848, the ministry at Vienna persuaded Ferdinand to abdicate in favor of his nephew, Francis Joseph, a youth eighteen years of age, who is Emperor at the present time.

Early in the year the leading statesmen, alarmed at the news of the Revolution of Paris, had met at Heidelberg in a convention called for the purpose of inviting the German people to a provisional assembly which should elect representatives to a great German Parliament. The Assembly met March 13 at Frankfort, and was called the "Fore Parliament." In it the people were represented by six hundred men from almost every class and profession, who desired to form a government in which the public should have a voice. At their first sitting, on March 31, a revolutionist named Struve proposed that the hereditary monarchy should be abolished and a republic take its place; but the Assembly offered another resolution, declaring that it had no right to consider any measure except what had reference to the election of a Parliament with authority to form a Constitution. A committee of fifty was appointed to co-operate with the old Diet (*Bundestag*) in calling a national Parliament, which finally met May 18, 1848, and lasted over a year, until May 18, 1849, and was called the Frankfort Parliament, to distinguish it from one sitting in Berlin and another in Vienna. It was composed of five hundred members.

Terrible riots, originating in Constance, were instigated

about this time by Struve and Hecker, that threatened scenes like those which had just occurred in Paris. These men were defeated, and forced to leave the country. Hecker went to America; but Struve was caught again disturbing the peace, and was taken prisoner.

There were two parties in the Frankfort Assembly, called Little Germany and Great Germany; the former favoring the union of all the states except Austria, while the latter wished Austria to be included. The old Diet was declared abolished by this Assembly, and a provisional Central Government appointed, with Archduke John of Austria as "Imperial Commissioner of the Empire." Archduke John, after a reign of eighteen months, resigned his office into the hands of four central plenipotentiaries.

While the Parliament was sitting in Frankfort, an armed mob stormed the Church of St. Paul where it was held, and two of the Polish members were killed. The disturbance, which was due to the passions excited by the various revolutions, was with difficulty put down; but great harm was done to the national cause, since Prussia and Austria grew more severe in their policy, and there were soon signs of a general reaction among the people against the Revolution.

On March 4, 1849, a new Constitution was decreed by the government, and Austria became a Constitutional Monarchy. Prussia had promulgated a Constitution December 5, 1848, which was quietly accepted by the people.

In the German National Assembly a moderate party triumphed over the revolutionary faction, and succeeded in electing Frederick William IV. Emperor of Germany, April 3, 1849. But he declined; since he did not think the whole Confederation of States unanimous in their desire, and he did not have the backbone to stem the tide of opposition. He declared that to accept the title



under such a Constitution would not give him power enough to fulfil its duties. His decision was a great disappointment to all parties; but had the plan been carried out, self-interest would no doubt have afterwards led Austria to oppose it. At this time Austria was so absorbed in her struggles with Hungary that she would have acceded to almost any plan; but after these difficulties were settled, she grew more arrogant than ever, and less willing to come to terms.

During the spring of 1849, the National Assembly dwindled down, the representatives of the larger states gradually withdrawing, until June 18, 1849, it came to an end.

During the early months of 1849, the Hungarian people, who could never forget that they had once been a great and independent nation, fought to free themselves from the Hapsburg rule. They were led by the Hungarian patriot Kossuth, with whom as Dictator they proclaimed a republic. Had it not been for differences of opinion among themselves, they might have gained complete independence from Austria; since they secured the aid of the Italians, and were at first successful. On April 14, Kossuth was made President with the support of an army of two hundred thousand men. In May the young Emperor Francis Joseph appealed to Czar Nicholas at Warsaw, who sent a vast Russian army into Hungary to support the Austrians; and Görgey, the Hungarian commander to whom Kossuth had given up the government, capitulated two days after receiving the command. Kossuth, with Bem and Dembinski, escaped into exile; but many of the leaders were barbarously put to death as traitors by the brutal Haynau, the commander-in-chief of the Austrian forces, who made his name infamous for all time.

The Schleswig-Holstein war also makes up a sad page in German history. These Duchies were a cause of strife as far back as Charlemagne's time.

In the fifteenth century, during the reign of the first Christian (of Oldenburg), who was the legal heir to Schleswig, there was a "Succession Act," which was in force four hundred years, establishing the union of Schleswig and Holstein. It was stipulated by this Act that the Duchies should never actually be incorporated into the kingdom of Denmark. From that time they belonged in fief, the one to Denmark, the other to Germany, the inhabitants of Holstein being mostly Germans. Hence arose the vexed Schleswig-Holstein question.

In 1773 the Duchies reverted to Denmark, the whole of Schleswig having been under the sovereignty of Denmark all along. At this time Peter III. of Russia, who succeeded to the throne, was also the direct heir to Holstein; but by bartering it away to Denmark, the latter now possessed both, and the Schleswig-Holstein provinces were at peace for three-quarters of a century, during which time they made considerable progress in material prosperity.

In 1846 it appeared that the old Denmark dynasty was about to die out. In this case the German population of the Duchies counted upon an independent sovereignty in the Augustenburg line. Thus they hoped finally to come under the sway of Germany. This same year King Christian VIII. announced by a proclamation that the succession must still remain in the Danish line; and on January 23, 1848, Frederick VII., King Christian's successor, proclaimed a common Constitution for the Duchies and Denmark, with the exception of certain parts of Holstein. Ever since 1848 the Duchies had been emboldened by the revolutionary spirit, and they made a grievance of the

fact that the promised Constitution had been deferred. They then revolted for the purpose of gaining independence from Denmark. The troops of the German Confederation assisted the Duchies; and defeating the Danes at Schleswig, they drove them from the country. England and Russia, however, at this time intervening, Prussia was obliged to give up defending her frontier; and Denmark then declared her coast-line under blockade, and forthwith seized all the Prussian ships.

At this epoch Prussia was unable to cope with Denmark as a naval power, and therefore could offer no resistance; and the matter was settled for the moment by the Treaty of Malmö.

Frederick William IV. had entertained a plan from the beginning of the Revolution of creating a German Confederation outside of Austria. The "League of the Three Kings," or the Prussian Union, consisting of Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover, was formed, and accepted by the Small German party. Seventeen of the smaller German states joined it. This league called a national Parliament at Erfurt in March, 1850, for the purpose of forming a new imperial Constitution; but the whole plan proved abortive, and Saxony and Hanover went over to Austria. Austria had protested against the Erfurt Parliament, and threatened Prussia, declaring that by it she was violating the still obligatory Act of Confederation of 1815.

On the failure of the "Three Kings' League," Austria proposed another called the "Four Kings' League," consisting of Saxony, Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Hanover. It was even suggested that all the countries of the Austrian Empire should be admitted to the German Confederation and to the Zollverein, in which case Austria would have the indisputable ascendancy. It was evident that the nation still aimed to humiliate Prussia. At last

Frederick William was obliged to yield, after both sovereigns had placed armies in the field for the purpose of settling difficulties concerning the Electorate of Hesse, where Austria had usurped power belonging to Prussia, and Count Brandenburg, the Prussian Minister, had failed in his negotiations with the Czar Nicholas of Russia, whom he had met at Warsaw. Nicholas treated Count Brandenburg cruelly, refusing everything that he asked, and granting everything Austria desired. He betrayed Frederick William IV. as Alexander had done with respect to Frederick William III. at Tilsit. When Count Brandenburg returned to Berlin, he was so affected by his disappointment that he is said to have died of a broken heart, and in delirium to have demanded vengeance for the wrongs inflicted upon his sovereign. His successor, Manteuffel, went to Olmütz on November, 29, 1850, and yielded everything to Schwarzenberg. After this the Austrian influence was in the ascendancy, and was used as unscrupulously as Ferdinand II. had used his power. For the time the growth and progress of Prussia, which had been increasing during the reign of Frederick William IV., was interrupted. Although this ruler has been severely criticised for the disgrace of the surrender at Olmütz, it proved at last to have been the best course, and Bismarck in the Chamber openly defended it. Notwithstanding Prussia had been obliged to abandon Schleswig-Holstein and Hesse-Cassel, the cause of Austria's arrogance, Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon had determined that it should only be temporary, and that to yield at the time was the only way to secure final success. It has been said that through the conferences of Olmütz, Dresden, and Warsaw, victory was gained at Königgrätz, Gravelotte, and Sedan.

After this, at a Conference at Dresden, held from De-

ember 23, 1850, to May 15, 1851, the old *Bundestag* was revived, and the Frankfort Parliament abolished by a stroke of Schwarzenberg's pen. During the session of the Conference in April, 1852, the dissolute life of the latter was ended by an apoplectic fit.

About the time of the Treaty of Malmö, the Schleswig-Holstein war had been terminated; but at a Conference in London, May 8, 1852, a new law of succession for the King of Denmark, including Schleswig-Holstein, was declared, according to which Prince Christian IX. was to succeed the childless Frederick VII. Schleswig was separated from Holstein, and the Germans in the Duchies not acquiescing, this produced a revolution in the latter; since the people feared they would soon share the fate of Schleswig, which was annexed irrevocably it seemed to Denmark.

In October, 1857, Frederick William IV. had a stroke of apoplexy, which resulted in softening of the brain. His brother William, Crown Prince of Prussia, assumed the government temporarily as regent; and in October, 1858, he was permanently installed in that office by the Diet.

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

PRINCE WILLIAM AS REGENT. — WAR BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND ITALY. — DEATH OF FREDERICK WILLIAM IV. — WILLIAM I. — BISMARCK'S POLICY. — SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN WAR.

1858 — 1866 A. D.

PRINCE WILLIAM was born March 22, 1797. While a boy he had witnessed the humiliation of the monarchy under Napoleon. His health in early life was feeble; and it was not until the battle of Leipsic that his father, Frederick William III., consented to take him with the army. He won the Order of the Iron Cross at Bar-sur-Aube, and entered Paris with the allies. He advanced rapidly in the army to high military rank, and was made commander-in-chief by Frederick William IV. Since the last humiliation of Prussia at Olmütz, he had lived in retirement at Coblenz.

The Order of the Iron Cross, which is the most coveted war medal in Germany, was founded in the nation's hour of distress. Gneisenau conceived the idea in 1811, when he was called to Berlin for the purpose of giving advice which would save Prussia from the despotism of Napoleon. Gneisenau was superior to Blücher in ability for instigating plans and in fertility of resources. He ranked only second to Stein in the assistance he gave the state, and in the army he held a place beside Scharnhorst. At first the Iron Cross was simply a black and white scarf, or a national cockade, which was to be worn for the re-

mainder of his life by every citizen soldier who had served faithfully in the army. The order had been established March 10, 1813, on the birthday of the late idolized Queen Louise, and Frederick William then wished the decoration to be extended to the whole army for meritorious service; at that time he ordered it to consist of pieces of black and white ribbon, the Prussian colars, sewed on the breast in the form of a cross. On account of the inconvenience of using ribbon, metal was required; and in consequence of the poverty of the nation, the cross was finally made of iron.

As soon as William was made Prince Regent, he dismissed the Manteuffel ministry, and established a new and more liberal government. The hopes of the German people instantly revived when he declared, "Prussia is ready everywhere to protect the right."

In 1859 there arose a dispute between Austria and Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia. At first public sentiment was divided; but when Sardinia made an alliance with Napoleon III., and the French armies crossed the Alps, the danger from French ambition seemed so great that Austria took the field, and tried to drag Prussia, as a vassal state, into the war. Prussia, now fortified by the ability and efforts of Bismarck, Roon, and Moltke, refused to obey. Austria was defeated at Magenta and Solferino, and a cry rang through Germany that the Rhine must be defended. Prussia would have yielded, and made an alliance with Austria against France, had not Napoleon III. instantly concluded a peace with Francis Joseph. In 1860 all the thrones of the petty Italian states fell, and the people united under Victor Emmanuel. Then Prussia was blamed for having left Austria without help in this great crisis.

On January 2, 1861, Frederick William IV. died, and

his brother, up to this time Prince Regent, became king as William I. Ever since his regency, Prussia had been advancing slowly in the right direction. Some attempts had been made to introduce a constitutional form of government, but the people were not yet satisfied. Austria was as determined as ever to keep Prussia from controlling Germany, but the latter was resolved to obtain the leadership. On his accession, the king immediately began a thorough reorganization of the army, and gave it his constant personal supervision. He wished the whole nation to take part in military affairs; and for this purpose he lengthened the time of actual service in the reserve, while that in the *Landwehr* (regular militia) was shortened. He also established the plan, begun with Stein, and still kept up, of enforcing military training without regard to class or profession. Still the Diet objected to this arrangement; it seemed to them that an increase of the army was not necessary, since the cost of a reorganization would be a burden.

Before the coronation of William I., he was claimed by the liberal party as a friend of their principles. When he abolished the ceremony of the *Huldigung* (the oath of fealty), the liberal party hoped that he would also do away with the coronation ceremony as a thing of the past; but the latter took place at Königsberg, October 18, 1861. The king at the time made a speech something as follows: "The sovereigns of Prussia receive their crown from God. I will to-morrow take the crown from the table of the Lord, and place it on my head. It is inviolable. The mission of the representatives is to support the king by their advice. They will advise me, and I will pay due attention to their counsels."

In September, 1862, Baron Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen was recalled from St. Petersburg, where he had



been ambassador, for the purpose of placing him at the head of the government. For some reason the idea of doing this was postponed for a little time, and he was sent as Prussian Minister to Paris. This proved to be an event of great consequence, since Bismarck was thus enabled to understand the character and to see through the plan of Napoleon III. He discerned that the latter meant to annex considerable European territory to France, and to keep Austria and Prussia engaged in quarrels against each other; he also obtained further information which helped him in the coming war.

Bismarck had first become conspicuous in the Federal Diet of 1847; and after he had returned from Venice, Frederick William IV. determined to secure him for his service. The flag of the Revolution at this time was floating over the palaces in Berlin; the government was overthrown; and Bismarck, when he took his seat in the second Diet, April 2, 1848, was pale with emotion. He made a stirring speech, in which he deplored the present disorder, and said, "If you succeed in constructing out of this wreck a legally organized Fatherland, then it will be time to thank the person who shall accomplish the task." Afterwards Bismarck was sent as minister to the Federal Diet at Frankfort, where he learned how to deal with Austria. Schwarzenberg little suspected what kind of a man it was who had taken his seat in this Parliament. It is said Bismarck himself suspected it just as little. Although he entered this Diet in favor of an absolute monarchy, he gradually learned the truth, and openly changed his opinion. He also then perceived that Russia and Austria, with Metternich, had betrayed Prussia.

An amusing anecdote is told about him in connection with this Diet and Count Thun, the President of the Assembly, who alone was bold enough to smoke during the

public sessions. One day, in the presence of the Assembly, Bismarck walked up to Count Thun with a cigar in his hand, and said, "Excellency, may I beg a light?" The president was too much astonished to refuse; and Bismarck, after lighting his cigar, puffed out clouds of smoke as much at ease as though he had been already chancellor of an empire. The fact was reported to all the cabinets of Germany, and after this all the representatives came to their meetings with their pockets full of cigars.

When William I. sent to recall Bismarck to Berlin from Paris, to make him the head of the new Prussian ministry, he found that he had gone to the Pyrenees, and the messenger discovered him on the summit of one of these mountains enjoying a most magnificent view. He had escaped from Louis Napoleon's diplomacy at Biarritz, where the latter had invited him for the purpose of gaining his influence in annexing Belgium to France.

Metternich was not so heartily hated in Germany as Bismarck, particularly when, in 1862, becoming premier, he for a time continued his policy of disregarding the will of the people as they were represented in the Prussian Assembly. By his experience in the Federal Diet and in Paris, he had gained information which presaged war, but concerning which neither the representatives nor the people knew. Therefore the latter, not understanding the danger, did not see the necessity for the new measures taken by the government, especially those involving the expenses of reorganizing and enlarging the army. It was soon after he was called to the ministry that he made the following speech: "We have now time and opportunity to perfect our army. If we neglect it, we are lost. Not by speeches and majorities must the great questions of our time be decided, but by iron and blood."

The Assembly was then disposed to laugh at his earnestness, and called him the "blood-and-iron minister." But Bismarck had determined to place Prussia at the head of United Germany. He regarded it as his mission; and undeterred by any too fine scruples, "having set up a goal, he marched to it by a straight path."

Although the appropriations for the army were persistently refused, the government took the money and went on reorganizing it.

Austria improved the time, while Prussia was distracted by the constitutional conflict, to increase its influence in Germany. Francis Joseph summoned a Congress of German princes to meet in Frankfort in August, 1863, in order to accept an Act of Reform. By it, in addition to a House of Lords, there was to be a Chamber of Deputies selected by the legislative bodies of the several states, one-third by the upper house, and two-thirds by the house in which the people were represented. The executive power was to be in the hands of a directorate of princes under the presidency of Austria. This plot failed, however; since Prussia refused to attend, declaring that the first step towards reform must be a Parliament elected by the people.

Bismarck declared afterwards that at this time he stood between the penitentiary on one side and the scaffold on the other. But he bore his unpopularity as he had borne the hisses in the first Assembly in which he spoke. He made himself still more disliked by helping to suppress an insurrection in Russian Poland, in respect to which the sympathy of the German people was largely in favor of the insurrection. But he felt that this was political wisdom; since had he done otherwise he would have made an active enemy of Russia at the moment when Austria was preparing for a death struggle with Prus-

sia, and Napoleon III. was watching his chance to make a spring.

The last act of King Frederick VII. of Denmark was to unite Schleswig to the Danish Monarchy, March 30, 1863. A few months after he died, and Christian IX. ascended the throne as King of the entire Danish Monarchy, including Schleswig; he determined to incorporate into Denmark, as soon as he could, Holstein, which belonged to the German Confederation through the king, who was Duke of Holstein. A revolution now broke out in Schleswig-Holstein, and the whole of Germany arose in its favor. The Prince of Augustenburg would have been the legal heir had not Frederick VII., for a large sum of money, renounced the right of the latter. Augustenburg now rose in rebellion, and proclaimed himself Frederick VIII., Duke of Schleswig-Holstein. The German nation demanded that both Duchies should be cut loose from Denmark, notwithstanding Christian IX. had accepted a Constitution which detached Schleswig from Holstein and incorporated it with Denmark. Because Christian IX.'s action was a violation of the treaty made in London in 1852, and also of the Treaty of Malmo in 1848, it gave Germany a pretext to interfere.

On the 7th of December, 1863, the Federal Diet (*Bundestag*) decided to take armed possession of the Duchies. The Prince of Augustenburg was received in Schleswig-Holstein with acclamations of joy; and an old song, commencing, —

“Schleswig-Holstein! Firmly stand!  
Yield not, O my Fatherland,”

was sung throughout Germany. Austria and the Federal Diet would have been glad to deliver up the Duchies to Denmark, according to the agreement signed by the Great Powers in London in 1852, in which Austria and

Prussia had concurred, and by which the King of Denmark and his heirs had been given the possession of these provinces; but the Duchies themselves had not accepted the agreement, consequently the smouldering embers of discontent had long been ready to burst into flame.

When Austria and Prussia united, in January, 1864, and sent an army of forty-three thousand men against Denmark, the Ministry of England withdrew from the quarrel, and left the Danes to fight it out alone. They withdrew under the subterfuge that the guaranty of England had been made jointly with the other powers, and that no one was obliged to enforce it without all the allies. The Danes were commanded to evacuate Schleswig. The Austrians advanced against the "Dannewerk," a fortification fifty miles long, extending across Southern Schleswig as a defence for the entire peninsula. By the co-operation of the Prussians, the Danes were compelled to abandon the Dannewerk, and take up a position northward behind the Düppel fortification. The latter is strong by nature, and also by art; but the intrenchments were stormed and carried by the Prussians on the 18th of April, 1864. The Austrians meanwhile were victorious at Oversee, in Jutland. At Rügen the Prussian fleet resisted a naval force of the Danes much larger than its own. Then England invited the five great powers to a conference at London, where they tried to divide up Schleswig according to the nationality of the people; but the Danes refused to consent, and the war was renewed. After this the allied troops carried their victories to the extreme point of Jutland, and it was said that the Danes were so overcome by their defeats that Denmark was in more danger of being incorporated into the Duchies than the Duchies into Denmark. Prince John of Denmark made a hasty journey

to Berlin, humbling himself before the King of Prussia, and begged for peace.

The Treaty of Vienna was signed October 30, 1864, in which the King of Denmark renounced his right to the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg in favor of the Emperor of Austria and King of Prussia. He paid a large sum for the expenses of the war, and published a proclamation declaring the Duchies free.

The Prince of Augustenburg, however, was not satisfied, and resumed his residence at Kiel, establishing a little government of his own. At the beginning of the invasion, the ostensible purpose had been to place Prince Frederick of Augustenburg on the ducal throne. He followed the invading army to Holstein, where the people welcomed him with delight. Bismarck proclaimed that Germany held the Duchies in trust for the prince, and recommended their union under him. But Prussia demanded of them the acceptance of her military system; that the forts and the harbor of Kiel be ceded to her; that the troops of Schleswig-Holstein be made a part of the Prussian army; and that the foreign relations of the Duchies and the canal across the peninsula should be under the control of Prussia. Prince Frederick refused to submit to these conditions, and encouraged by Austria, began to prepare for resistance. The smaller states took the part of Austria; and a civil war seemed impending, especially since the Prussian people did not altogether support the decisive policy of Bismarck and his far-reaching plans.

The storm which hung over the German nation was averted for a little while, when on August 1, 1865, William I. met Francis Joseph at Gastein, a watering-place in the Austrian Alps, and agreed upon a Convention to assemble on August 14, 1865. According to the arrangement decided upon there, Prussia received Schleswig, and

by paying a large indemnity, obtained Lauenburg. Austria took Holstein, but both nations still held their claim to the united provinces. William I. made Bismarck a count as a reward for the diplomatic genius displayed in conducting the affairs.

Soon after this the country was so enraged at what they considered the despotic measures of Bismarck, that in the street called *Unter den Linden*, a student, wrought up to a state of fanaticism, discharged five barrels of a revolver in succession, at the breast of the count. Every shot missed its mark. The boy's name was Carl Blind, the son of an old revolutionist. The country now seemed to be sinking into ruin; business was suspended, and poverty stared many in the face. Bismarck was pointed at as the guilty cause; since he had said that "blood and iron" were the only remedies for Prussia's present disorders, and these meant war.

On March 16, 1866, Austria called on the states allied with it to set themselves in readiness to fight. Bismarck summoned a meeting of the Federal Diet, and asked them to demand that this military force should be furnished. Then Prussia declared the Gastein Convention cancelled, and invaded Holstein with twenty thousand troops. Only Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, and three free cities had voted against the measures Austria proposed in the Federal Diet. The vote was taken on the 14th of June, 1866, and was the last act of the German Federal Diet. Austria summoned the Holstein Diet, but the Prussian troops took possession of the Hall and abolished the Duchy.

This was just what Bismarck desired, and for this purpose he had been preparing the nation and reorganizing the army; and this was what he meant when he said that Prussia's ascendancy in the German nation and Austria's humiliation could only be brought about by war.

The Prussian ambassador, at the time the vote was taken in the Federal Diet, had declared the Confederation dissolved by its unconstitutional proceedings, and offered a Constitution as the basis of a new league with the states who were willing to accept it; thereupon Prussia with all these, except Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, Darmstadt, and Baden, withdrew from the Diet, with the intention of establishing a new Confederation or Union from which Austria should be excluded.

Prussia also took the ground that the action of the German Diet amounted to a declaration of war, and proceeded to set in motion her own troops. The German people were stunned by the suddenness of the crisis. They thought the struggle needlessly provoked, and a desperate resource of the despotic, tyrannical minister, Bismarck, who, having found that the Prussian Assembly was against him five to one, was determined on any measure which would recover for him lost ground. The people did not believe that with nineteen million inhabitants Prussia could gain the victory over Austria and her allies, representing fifty million people. But after they understood that the war meant the unity of the German nation, all political differences were forgotten.

Prussia had secured a co-operator that afterwards did good service in keeping the Austrian army occupied while she accomplished the work in hand. In the April preceding she had entered into an alliance with Italy, since she was reasonably certain that France would interfere in behalf of Austria. In 1859 Italy had not gained her entire freedom from Austria; and the prospect of a war, which would probably result in the emancipation of all Venetia, fired the whole peninsula.



## CHAPTER XLIX.

AUSTRO-PRUSSIAN WAR. — KÖNIGGRATZ. — NORTH GERMAN  
CONFEDERATION. — BISMARCK AS CHANCELLOR. —  
ILLUSTRIOUS MEN AND GENERALS.

1866 — 1870 A.D.

THE Austrians were sure of success. Their plan was to carry the war into Prussia, take possession of Berlin, and there dictate peace, which would terminate forever all ideas of Prussian supremacy. Austria would then appropriate Silesia; Prussian Saxony would be given back to Saxony, and Schleswig-Holstein to Denmark; William I. of Prussia would be deprived of his royal title, and the kingdom be reduced to a Margraviate, after paying war expenses and indemnities.

On June 16 Prussia, with three armies, invaded Hesse, Hanover, and Saxony, thus beginning the war. The Austrians evacuated Holstein early in June. On the 17th of the month the Prussian troops occupied Hanover; on the 19th Cassel was taken; and the Elector, who occupied Wilhelmshöhe, a castle afterwards made so celebrated, was taken prisoner, and carried to Stettin. The Hessian troops escaped, and joined the Confederation.

On the 17th of June, Francis Joseph issued a proclamation, declaring that his government had offered no provocation to Prussia and Italy, but these powers had united in a determination to humiliate and divide what had been the Empire. He threw the blame of the Schleswig-Holstein quarrel and the break in the Confederation

entirely upon Prussia. The neutral powers received this state paper as a plausible document.

On June 18 William I. also published a proclamation. He stated that the Fatherland was in danger; that he had sought amicable relations with Austria, but its princes had grown so arrogant, never forgetting that they had once been the leading power of Germany, that they treated the rapid growth of Prussia as that of a dangerous rival; that the policy of Austria had been from the beginning to weaken and dishonor Prussia. The king then referred to the course which he had adopted years before in anticipation of the present crisis, which was certain to occur, that of reorganizing his army; and he pointed with pride to his people now ready in arms. He explained that every effort had been made to find a peaceful solution of the question, but that Austria had defeated every plan; he then appealed to God and the people to hold him blameless for the war. He promised, in case of victory, to finish the reconstruction of the new Confederation, and declared himself decisively in favor of German unity. It had begun to dawn upon the people that the plan of Prussia had been all along one arranged for the purpose of promoting the general good.

On June 27 there was a fierce battle near Langensalza, where the troops of King George of Hanover were victorious; but the Prussians being re-enforced, the former were compelled to surrender, though winning great glory for their bravery. George V. of Hanover and the Crown Prince of that principality fled to Vienna; but the queen remained in the kingdom under the protection of the Prussians, the troops being sent home.

The three Prussian divisions next marched against Austria; the first Silesian army, under Frederick Charles, taking a southeasterly direction; the second Silesian

regiments were under Crown Prince Frederick William, afterwards Emperor Frederick; and the third was commanded by General Herwarth von Bittenfeld, and followed the course of the Elbe. The entire force was two hundred and sixty thousand men, with seven hundred and ninety pieces of artillery. The Prussian armies advanced over difficult mountain paths, and wound through long, narrow valleys in four separate columns. But they met no enemy there. The Austrian general, Benedek, awaited them at a junction in the level country, where the Prussians were afterwards successful.

The 27th of June had been a day observed by the Prussians as a period of fasting and prayer throughout the land. The battle of Langensalza, and those of Trautenau and Nachod, were fought on this very same day. At Trautenau the Austrians under Benedek were victorious over the Crown Prince, but at Nachod they were routed, and on the 28th the Prussians recovered all that had been lost; the road as far as Königinhof was covered with the wounded, and strewn with knapsacks, arms, wagons, and encumbered with crowds of fugitives. On the 30th of June the Crown Prince of Germany reached Königinhof, and it was captured. On the same day the news of the victory was spread through the kingdom, and Bismarck, from being the abused and censured minister, became the idol of the people; to his fine diplomacy, the discipline and steadfastness of the soldiers, and to the Dreysa needle-gun, the victories were due. The perseverance of the king in carrying out the reorganization of the army was now appreciated, and met the approval of the people. Von Roon, the Minister of War, and Moltke also shared the honors of the victory.

King William, accompanied by Bismarck, Moltke, and

Roon, with three great armies, appeared in Bohemia, having cut their way through every opposition. In some of the smaller towns the inhabitants had joined in battle, firing from the windows and roofs, and pelting the Prussian troops with bricks and stones, and pouring down upon them boiling water and oil, while the soldiers, infuriated by such treatment, broke into the houses and massacred every one they met.

The Austrians under Benedek and Count Clam-Gallas concentrated their troops, two hundred and twenty thousand, at Sadowa and Königgratz on the Elbe. William I., Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon had arrived at Königshof on the 2d of July; and it was decided to advance to meet Benedek and Clam-Gallas, who were awaiting battle at Königgratz. The engagement was hastened on account of demonstrations indicating that Benedek meant to commence the attack before the Crown Prince could reach the field.

The eyes of all nations were turned towards the little village of Sadowa, on the 3d of July, 1866. On each side there were half a million men, the largest number ever, until then, engaged on a battlefield in a civilized land.

A broad, level valley favored the manœuvres of the armies; while as a position for the bulk of the Austrian forces, the undulating hills above, with their ravines and patches of woodland, were chosen. Their situation was most advantageous, the only drawback being that the Elbe was behind, cutting off the retreat. The Prussians were inferior in number, but superior in discipline, energy, and intelligence.

King William appeared in the field at eight o'clock in the morning, and at that hour the attack began. The details of the battle are among the most interesting on

record. It has been compared with Waterloo in arrangement and effect, only at Königgratz the Prussians were obliged to take the offensive, and to hold Sadowa, keeping the whole Austrian army engaged until the Crown Prince had time to arrive. The latter was many miles away, but had been informed by an adjutant, during the hours of the night before, of the plans and the part he was to take.

It was a bloody and terrible struggle, which continued until noon without intermission or success. Eager glances, like those which Wellington had given when he looked around in search of Blücher, were now cast to the left in the direction from which the Crown Prince was to appear. When at eight o'clock the thunder of his cannon announced that he had arrived, all the Prussian reserves were brought up, and an advance was made along the whole line. They pressed on from village to village, making Chlum their objective point. The Austrian right and left were broken; they were thrown into confusion, and rushed in disordered masses back toward the Elbe; the retreat became a rout.

Towards evening the sun came out, and through the clouds the towers of Königgratz shone bright and clear, and fugitives and pursuers hastened to that point as if they both expected to find a glad retreat behind the battlements of that stronghold. The king and Crown Prince met on the battlefield and embraced, while the army struck up the same old hymn, "*Nun danket alle Gott.*" The song had before been heard at Leuthen, at Leipsic, and Waterloo; it awoke the echoes at Sadowa; it was yet to be heard at Gravelotte and Sedan.

When William I. and Bismarck met Crown Prince Frederick on the battlefield, the king offered the latter the "Order of Merit." The prince refused with charac-

teristic modesty, unless it was at the same time bestowed upon his chief of staff, General von Blumenthal. Eleven flags, one hundred and twenty-four cannon, and eighteen thousand prisoners had been taken by the Prussians. The army immediately moved forward. Prague was taken July 8, Brunn and the famous Olmütz, July 15, and the Prussians within two weeks encamped twelve miles from Vienna. In the meantime the Bavarians and other allies of the Austrians had been driven out of Frankfort, and a struggle had been commenced at Würzburg.

Austria gave way, an armistice was concluded at Nicholsburg on the 27th of July, and the Seven Weeks' War was at an end. In the space of a fortnight the Austrian power was broken, the actual fighting only lasting seven days. The treaty of peace signed at Prague on the 23d of August, 1866, gave the leadership of Germany to Prussia; and all the world understood that the possession of Schleswig-Holstein had not been the definite purpose of the war. By the Peace of Prague, Austria recognized the dissolution of the old German Confederation, and agreed to the reorganization of Germany without Austria. She surrendered Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia, and paid twenty million thalers for the expenses of the war. She also agreed to the demand made by Prussia that Venice should be ceded to Italy through Napoleon; for the next day after the news of the battle of Königgratz, when it was known what reverses Austria had experienced, hoping to strengthen her position, the latter had ceded Venice by telegraph to the Emperor of France. It was for Venice that Italy had made an alliance with Prussia, and both together had brought the war to a successful end. By a treaty of peace with Italy, October 3, 1866, Austria abandoned all claim to Venice, and recognized the new kingdom of Italy. Napoleon III. consented to the set-

ting up of this kingdom, and to the terms of the Treaty of Prague, because he thought that he was establishing a North and South Germany, and that the enmity between Austria and Prussia would be an irreconcilable feud.

Schleswig-Holstein, the Kingdom of Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel, the Duchy of Nassau, the Margraviate of Hesse-Homburg, and the free city of Frankfort, were incorporated into Prussia. There was no possibility of avoiding the annexation of the Duchies to Prussia; since she could allow them to fall neither into the hands of Denmark nor Austria, nor could the Prince of Augustenburg be allowed to rule them independently, since they had all along desired a union with Germany. But any fancied wrong to the duke was made up in February, 1881, by the marriage of his daughter, Princess Augusta Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein, to Prince William of Prussia, grandson of Emperor William I., son of the Crown Prince of Prussia, and to-day Emperor of Germany. Thus the daughter of the neglected Duke of Augustenburg became Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein, as well as Queen of Prussia, and finally Empress of Germany.

After the war, Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt made separate treaties, paying for war expenses, and forming a union with each other under the name of the South German States. Bismarck feared that if he demanded large cessions of territory they might ask the intervention of Napoleon III. To avoid this he revealed to them confidentially the secret plan of Napoleon III., and thus detached the Southern States from the latter entirely by guaranteeing that they should suffer loss of territory neither from France nor Prussia. Germany was now separated into three parts, — the North German Confederation, the South German States, and the German population still remaining in Austria.

The first Diet of the North German Confederation was held February 24, 1867; it was elected by direct universal suffrage. Count Bismarck was appointed Chancellor. A great revulsion of feeling had taken place among the members called to it. The proud conservative feudal faction had almost disappeared in the enthusiasm which the national and liberal party gave to William I. and Bismarck. The latter did not change in his character, and personally he grew hardly less haughty and aristocratic; but the ruling passion of his life continued to be the greatness and influence of Prussia, and he knew that the strength of the opposition could only be guided by a liberal policy. The people of Germany, in their joy at the great victories, which they felt that Bismarck had been primarily the means of bringing about, forgot that he had ever been anything but on their side of politics. Before the end of 1866 the new Diet had accepted all the acts of the government, which at one time seemed so doubtful, and promised an indemnity for expenditures in excess of appropriations voted on the preceding September. The king, on the other hand, in his gratitude for the unanimous assistance of the people, granted a general amnesty for all political offences.

Prussia had added to its sovereignty nearly five million people and twenty-five thousand square miles of territory, while its influence in Europe was increased incomparably more than its area. In the flag chosen for the new Confederation, red was added to the white and black of the old Prussian colors, and the organization as a whole was the harbinger of the new German Empire.

Europe had been taken by surprise by the Prussian victories; her far-reaching policy and success in healing the breach with the other German states, and so speedily bringing them all into a permanent National Union, was



still more unexpected. The sovereignty of Saxony had been guaranteed after the war, whereupon she joined the North German Confederation, paying ten million thalers for war expenses.

At the conclusion of the North German Parliament, April 17, all the military forces of these states, together with the diplomatic control of their foreign affairs, and their post-offices and telegraph system, were placed under the supreme command of Prussia. The Confederation then included all the states except Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden, and numbered in all, twenty-two. A little later the three above-mentioned South German States, together with Hesse-Darmstadt, entered into treaties of offensive and defensive alliance with Prussia; and their policy towards the latter was ever after so conciliatory that all hostility created by the war was forgotten. At the adjournment of the North German Parliament, the king said that the time had come when "the German Fatherland can maintain its peace, its rights, and its dignity with its united forces."

The benefits which this new union was able to confer on the German states soon became apparent in all the legislation and administration of government and trade. Foreign nations, as well as the people who had been annexed and those communities which had been the most hostile, soon recognized the fact. The benefits of the Zollverein became more obvious, and there was only a small party in South Germany that afterwards ever opposed the policy of the Union.

Austria at first showed a disposition to continue her policy of resistance to Prussia, but gradually became more conciliatory. Realizing that she was forever excluded from Germany, she reconstructed her shattered Empire under the name of Austro-Hungary, — Austria an Empire

with a ministry and imperial council at Vienna; Hungary a constitutional kingdom, with a Hungarian ministry and Parliament at Ofen-Pesth.

Germany was now, after many centuries of disorder and upheaval, a great and recognized power in Europe. King William I. had shown remarkable skill, as well as personal disinterestedness, in the management of the government, especially in gathering around him the ablest men in every department of its administration. His son, the Crown Prince Frederick William, was very popular, and was a great source of strength to the throne. He was an only son, born in 1831, while his father was the Prince of Prussia; his mother, Augusta, was the daughter of Charles Augustus, Duke of Weimar, the prince who called around him so many eminent literary men, among them Goethe and Schiller, whose united monuments now adorn the streets of the still classic Weimar. She herself was highly intellectual, partaking of the culture of her early surroundings.

King William I. was supported on every side by princes and members of influential ruling families, many of whom had great military reputation. Prince Frederick Charles, the king's nephew, was the favorite of the army, and, as has been seen, showed great skill in the war with Austria, as well as afterwards in the contests with Louis Napoleon. Albert, the Crown Prince of Saxony, Prince William of Baden, Prince Augustus of Würtemberg, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the Grand Dukes of Oldenburg and of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, served in 1866 on the Prussian side. Prince William of Baden and Prince Augustus of Würtemberg were the two South German princes who were foremost in securing the union of the Southern and Northern States.

But the man who, along with Bismarck, gained the

most credit in the war with Austria and the war of 1870 with France, was Baron Helmuth von Moltke. He was born October 26, 1800, in Mecklenburg. He was educated at Copenhagen. In 1822 he left the service of Denmark, and entered the army of Prussia as a lieutenant. Having studied the science of war in Europe and Asia, when Napoleon III. opened hostilities against Austria, Moltke planned a campaign in France; but when Austria carried on the contest without Prussia, he went into winter quarters with the Austrian army, and wrote his classical work upon "The Italian Campaign of 1859." Up to this time von Moltke was little known outside of military circles. After this he became the organizer of the armies of the North German Confederation, and devoted himself to the cause of Kingdom and Empire. He had great coolness, and ability to grasp firmly the outlines of the situation, and to separate important issues from a mass of details; he also had the power of acting with the greatest courage and vigor, while at the same time he executed with the profoundest deliberation.

Albert von Roon, the Minister of War in 1866, had been carefully educated for a commander, and was intrusted with the details of uniting and bringing the army up to a state of efficiency which made it recognized as the first army of Europe. Von Roon always took a straightforward course, uninfluenced by praise or blame.

Bismarck, as Chancellor, may be said to have reaped where he had sown the fully ripened grain of popular favor. He ranked, in the esteem of the nation, with Stein, who lived too soon for his advanced views to find a fostering soil; but he and Scharnhorst had prepared the ground for the harvest which, when gathered, Bismarck's great mind and practical skill, guided by inflexible devotion to his king and country, soon wrought into a Fatherland.

## CHAPTER L.

## EVENTS PRIOR TO THE WAR WITH FRANCE.

1858—1870 A.D.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE became military Dictator of France, December 2, 1851; and having gained entire control of the army, he intimidated the people into making him Emperor, as Napoleon III., December 2, 1852.

After the war of Prussia with Austria, when the rest of Europe accepted the changes in Germany, if not with approval, with complacency, the French people felt themselves humiliated, and were filled with jealousy at Prussia's rising power. For many years after Napoleon became Emperor, his victories in the Crimean War and in Italy held the people spellbound, until they thought they had another great Napoleon who would bring renewed glory to the French name. But in later years fortune had turned against Napoleon III. The Empire he had set up in Mexico, in defiance of the United States, under the rule of Maximilian, brother of Francis Joseph, had, thanks to the stern protest of the great republic, the warlike preparations of General Grant, and the stubborn resistance of the patriotic Mexicans, come to naught, after the sacrifice of thousands of lives, including that of the usurper Maximilian himself.

On August 6, 1866, a note from the French cabinet was received at Berlin demanding the restoration of the French frontier, fixed by the first Peace of Paris in 1814, as a

compensation to France for the recent aggrandizement of Prussia ; that is, Napoleon wished to dismember Belgium, and to appropriate Saarlouis, Saarbrücken, and Landau, for the purpose of restoring the "balance of power." In view of the fact that her army of six hundred thousand men had never disbanded, and that France could not muster half that number, Prussia felt justified in rejecting the proposition at once, and Napoleon III. was obliged to submit.

Königgratz was almost as great a defeat to Napoleon III. as to Austria. Napoleon had wished Austria and Prussia to engage in a long struggle, and in the end he hoped to be called in as an arbiter. He could at one time have crushed Prussia had he not wished to see both parties weakened. After the contest was over, he hoped to see Germany cut up into three antagonistic powers ; Prussia only controlling the North German States, Austria still remaining in the ascendancy, and the smaller German states in an organization ready at any time to unite with him. His rage knew no bounds when he saw the Seven Weeks' War ended before he had thought it fairly begun.

Napoleon's hopes had also been disappointed in Italy. He had only proclaimed freedom to the Adriatic to obtain Savoy and Rome. Then he intended to place a Bonaparte in the Papal chair. He hoped above all things to prevent both Germany and Italy from obtaining real freedom and unity. One of his disappointments had been in failing to form an alliance with the South German States ; instead of this, he saw them engaged in an offensive and defensive alliance with the North German Confederation. The war with Austria and its results had not only frustrated his ambition, but it had injured his fame, and placed France in an unfavorable light.

Napoleon III. was now over sixty years old, and had become himself too cautious to attack Prussia; but the French people were aroused to the highest pitch of indignation at Prussia's ascendancy. Napoleon was accused of permitting Germany to unite, and to become a rival power. Therefore Napoleon yielded, and waited for a pretext to declare war.

So well had the Prussian government understood the policy of Napoleon III., that they had long expected strife. Moltke had devoted the winter of 1869 to planning and arranging, in order that at a moment's notice the movements of the army could commence.

On June 30 Ollivier, one of the French Ministry, declared in the Legislative Assembly at Paris that peace had never been more secure in Europe than at that moment. But about this time the French journals began to talk excitedly of a negotiation between the Spanish Minister, President Prim, and Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern; the object of the negotiation was to place the latter on the Spanish throne, made vacant in 1868 by the expulsion of the Bourbon queen, Isabella. Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern was a distant relative of William I. of Prussia; but he was also connected closely with the Bonaparte family through his wife, who was the daughter of the Grand Duchess Stephanie Beauharnais.

On the 6th of July, Napoleon's minister, the Duke of Gramont, declared to the French Assembly that this choice would never be tolerated. Instantaneously the word was flashed across the wire to Count Benedetti, the French minister to the Court of Berlin, who was then at the baths of Wildbad in Würtemberg, that he should ask an explanation at Berlin concerning the candidature of Prince Leopold, which had been established without the consent of the French. On the same day, in a personal

interview, Ollivier informed Werther, the Prussian minister, that the Spanish candidature might lead to war. Whereupon Werther, without thinking of the importance of the act, promised to support the demand of the French government for a written apology. When Bismarck received the despatch, he instantly recalled Werther, and France considered this another pretext for war.

Meanwhile Benedetti consulted the king, and asked him why he had not prevented Prince Leopold from accepting the offer. William I., who had gone to Ems to seek rest and health, being then a man of seventy-four years of age, received the French minister cordially, and told him that he had already advised Prince Leopold not to accept, but that he had no right to command. Although the crown had been repeatedly offered before he accepted it, Prince Leopold, fearing trouble on account of his candidature, immediately afterwards resigned. At first the French ministry and even Napoleon expressed themselves satisfied, and the French journals spoke of the affair as a triumph which France had achieved over Prussia.

But some mysterious power, some say it was the influence of the Pope, some say of the Empress, fanned the dying embers again into flame. A war council was held in Paris presided over by the Emperor, and it was decided to send Benedetti back to Ems; for both monarch and people, urged on by Empress Eugénie and the Duke de Gramont, were bent upon a quarrel. The fact of it was that the whole Assembly had worked itself up into a fury, and had made it the occasion of an insult, that the King of Prussia had permitted the Hohenzollern to accept the candidature without first consulting France. Benedetti was commanded to use no ceremony with the king, and to obtain from him an apology, written with his own

hand, and a promise that no Hohenzollern should ever after accept the throne of Spain.

After having hastened back to Ems, almost the first man Benedetti met on the public promenade was King William himself. The dignity and affability of the latter made it extremely difficult for the former to offer the insult demanded by France; and so, with much gesticulation, and many bows and false smiles, he finally made the venerable old monarch comprehend what Napoleon required. As soon as King William I. understood what the proposition really was, he looked at him a moment in astonishment, and then turned upon his heel and walked away, leaving the ambassador still standing there. A square flagstone marks the spot at Ems where this interview took place; it is facetiously called the corner-stone of the present German Empire.

This was on the 13th of July, 1870; on the 16th, the king returned to Berlin. The Crown Prince, Moltke, and Roon met him at the Brandenburg Station; and the first Council of War was held in a railroad car. King William then learned for the first time that Benedetti's dismissal by him had been considered an attack on the national honor, and that France had declared war. As they passed through the Brandenburg Gate, and along the streets, the royal carriage containing these notable persons could scarcely proceed, the people were so aroused at the indignity offered Prussia; for it seemed to them it was a band of brigands that had sprung at the throats of their ministry and king. The multitude kept around the palace so late that the king caused a request mildly to be given that the people should disperse; since he had weighty business with the war minister, which would last through the night. The words were affectionately passed through the crowd of thousands, "The king wants si-



lence;" and in a few moments afterwards the great frightened city fell into solitude and stillness. That night the Assembly was convoked, and arrangements made for mobilizing the army.

On the 19th of June, 1870, the Diet of the North German Confederation met, and placed the military resources of the nation at the service of the government. On the same day a formal declaration of war by France was received in Berlin. The account of his interview with the king on the promenade at Ems, which Benedetti had telegraphed to Paris, left the war party without any pretext which seemed reasonable on which to base a quarrel. Soon afterwards, however, they learned that Bismarck had communicated to the European Cabinets an account of the refusal of the king to receive Benedetti. Enemies of Bismarck assert that the latter desired the French to declare war, knowing that Prussia could never obtain an independent position in Europe until France had been beaten. His enemies even said, and he has since confessed, that he instigated secretly some one to send a despatch to Paris, to the effect that their ambassador had been insulted, in order to arouse the war party to decisive action. In any case, France was inflamed to the highest degree by gross misrepresentations. There was a great cry. People from towns outside and in Paris went through the streets singing the Marseillaise, and shouting, "Down with Prussia! Long live the war! Leipsic! Waterloo! The French frontier!" Not many months afterwards they understood better what this war-cry meant, when, instead of the nation engaging in hostilities with Russia, Mexico, and China, war was at their very door, and their children were crying for bread.

It was universally believed in France that every preparation had been made, and that the army was ready and

fully equipped for an immediate campaign; but the importance of Prussia as a nation, and the strength and efficiency to which the army had been raised, were not yet understood. Napoleon III. counted on getting the start of Prussia, and detaching the Southern German States entirely from the Union, and also upon the revolt of Hesse, Hanover, and Saxony. He also depended upon the arms which had lately been furnished the French, including the Chassepot rifles, and the mitrailleuse, and also upon his Zouaves, Turkos, and African troops. The idea also was still uppermost that the French were the most powerful and civilized nation, and destined to be "Master of the World."

The Declaration of War caused the greatest alarm among the German people. The name Napoleon was a terror still; and it was the general opinion that Napoleon III. and his army would soon be in Berlin, and that a period of oppression, such as she had suffered from 1806 to 1813, was again to be their fate. They thought they could even now see the new arms, of which the French had boasted so much, mowing the Prussians down. The French had expected sympathy from England, and help from Italy, Denmark, and Austria; and, in their wild excitement, there was a general cry that on the 15th of August the birthday of Napoleon I. would be celebrated in Berlin.

When Germany heard this threat the whole nation rose as one man. For the first time in history North and South, Bavarian and Hanoverian, Prussian and Hessian, Saxon and Westphalian, joined hands, and stood side by side. The spirit of the people was aroused to a white heat, and every one was resolved to die rather than see Germany again under the iron heel of France. More than a million men took the field in defence of the Fatherland. The

alarm they had felt began immediately to subside; and the people, even at this hour, began to sing, "Firm stands and faithful the watch on the Rhine" (*Die Wacht am Rhein*).

In this war there were no alliances; it was simply Germany on the one side and France on the other. Napoleon's hope of securing assistance failed, for it was soon proved that the universal readiness of the French army was a delusion. Not nearly the number of men could be raised that had been promised. Instead of Germany being taken by surprise, with the detachment of a part of her states from the Union, and the Confederation of the Southern States, in eleven days the Germans were organized into three armies, and on the way before the French had thought of crossing the frontier. The three great divisions of the German army were led by Steinmetz, Prince Frederick Charles, and the Crown Prince Frederick William. These three generals had between six hundred thousand and a million men. They advanced towards the boundary from Treves to Landau.

The swiftness and vigor of the German preparations contrasted strongly with the irresolution at the French headquarters. But at last the French army advanced in the following order: Marshal MacMahon with the first corps was to march to Strasburg; the second division, under General Faily, had for its objective point Bitsch; the third, under Marshal Bazaine, was directed on Metz; General Ladmirault commanded the fourth section, which was to take a stand at Thionville; Marshal Canrobert and General Bourbaki commanded the reserves, at Châlons, Belfort, and Nancy respectively.

On July 28 Napoleon III. appointed the Empress Eugénie regent, and with his son, fourteen years of age, left the Tuileries as commander-in-chief. Neither of

them was ever to see this palace again. Since the readiness of the army had been overestimated, the French changed their plan of invasion into that of defence.

As the two sovereigns approached the battlefield, each published a proclamation. The drift of that of Napoleon was that he had taken command in order to unfold the same glorious banner which had already carried through Europe the liberal ideas of the great French Revolution. It had become necessary to resist Prussia's thirst for conquest and annexation, and the extensive war preparations of that nation which had transformed Europe into a military camp must be met and offset by similar manœuvres. A great people was about to defend a just cause, and the army led into Germany would behold and tread in the footsteps of their fathers; since freedom and civilization depended upon their success, the god of war would be with them.

In order to gain inspiration for the mighty work before him, Emperor William, before he issued his war proclamation, repaired to Charlottenburg, and visited the tomb of his immortalized mother. His proclamation was to this effect: that the Omnipotent and Almighty God, who in Prussia's hour of sorest need had never forsaken her, would grant the prayer of faith which the army and nation were now uplifting to him. He then ordered a universal day of prayer with worship in the churches, and at the same time made a special request that, during the whole war, petitions should be sent up daily in the house of God that victory might crown the efforts of the army, that they might receive a Christian spirit to deal mercifully with their enemies, and that peace might permanently guarantee the honor and independence of Germany. At the same time William I. issued the following proclamation to the army: "I this day take command of the whole

army, and enter with confidence upon a conflict in which our fathers have already before been gloriously victorious. God the Lord will be with us in our righteous cause."

The only instance during the war when the French troops stood upon German soil was at Saarbrücken, August 2, 1870. Here the French general, Frossard, made an attack on Colonel Pöstel with four squadrons and two battalions. The little defensive force of only eighteen hundred cavalry was obliged to withdraw before this considerable body of troops under Frossard; but Napoleon sent a bulletin of victory to the Empress, reporting the battle as his son's "baptism of fire." Under his father's direction the boy had applied the match to the first mitrailleuse fired. The deadly missile, however, did not touch a man; and the soldiers against whom it had been directed waved their helmets in the air, and gave three cheers for King William. Such a victory was the only triumph Napoleon gained throughout the war. It was a peculiarity, not only in this battle, but in all of the successes of both of the Napoleons, that the French astonishingly exaggerated their victories, while the Germans nearly always underestimated the importance of their conquests.

The first triumph for the Germans was at Weissenburg, a fortified French town thirty-four miles from Strasburg, on August 4. The Crown Prince Frederick William attacked the French general, Douay, with a division of General MacMahon's army. The battle lasted from nine until two o'clock. The French were forced back to the Gaisberg, which was supposed to be impregnable; but the old castle was stormed and taken, and the French repulsed, with the loss of one thousand prisoners and twelve hundred killed and wounded. General Douay was among the killed.

General MacMahon concentrated his whole force on a

strong position near the village of Wörth, eleven miles south of Weissenberg. He had every facility for holding his ground, and he hoped to cheer his countrymen with news of a victory such as France had known in the days of the great Napoleon. The passes of the Vosges were before him, and there were forests and steep acclivities planted with batteries on which the German army, it seemed to him, were hopelessly marching; but in spite of the apparent foresight of MacMahon, the Crown Prince had collected all his forces before that general was ready to receive them. The French maintained their position nobly; but the Germans steadily advanced, attacking each fortified house, and disputing every inch of the way. The Germans lost ten thousand, and the French eight thousand, with four thousand prisoners.

At night MacMahon's defeat turned into a panic, part of his army flying toward the Vosges mountains, and a part to Strasburg. Two divisions of cuirassiers, in heavy armor and mounted on powerful horses, were sent to make the attack, and to save the remnant if put to flight. Like the Imperial Guard, these brave men were always saved for the decisive moment, and their charge formed the culminating point of the day. But in this battle the Prussian fire was maintained with terrible effect, till these splendid men, about two thousand in number, were cut to pieces, and all went down except about one hundred and fifty. MacMahon was so overcome by their loss that a kind of delirium seized him; and when asked, "Where are your cuirassiers?" he wildly replied: "What cuirassiers? I have no cuirassiers."

The roads and fields were covered with knapsacks, weapons, and other objects cast away. The Germans seized the carriage of MacMahon with all his documents, his tent, containing, among other articles, ladies' dresses,



SOURCES OF GERMAN POWER.

*Gutenberg.*

*William I.*

*Charles V.*

*William II.*

*Körner.*





and three hundred and sixty thousand francs in gold. The discovery of MacMahon's effects made the soldiers laugh; but sometimes they found mementoes, while looking over the field covered with the dead and dying, which made many a brave soldier's eyes fill with tears; as for instance, an affectionate daughter writes to her father, saying: "I hope God will preserve thy life and bring thee home, so that thou mayst again infold thy daughter in thine arms." This was found tightly grasped in the dead father's hand.

This victory at Wörth insured Alsace permanently to the Germans; but it had been bought at the price of nearly eleven thousand men, among them about five hundred officers. On the same day of this battle, Steinmetz stormed the heights of Spicheren near Saarbrücken, where General Frossard had intrenched himself. The position was considered so impregnable that the French officers laughed when they saw the Germans preparing to assault it. Those in the fortresses poured upon them showers of shot and shell. Some of the bodies were pierced with five bullet-holes. During the hours when the courage of the most heroic souls almost gave way, the voice of an old soldier was heard saying facetiously, "If this goes on much longer, we shall be in danger of our lives." Even in these grim surroundings the remark was received with peals of laughter, and all went on with the assault with new vigor. At evening the intrenchments were stormed, and General Frossard ordered a retreat which came very near being a rout. Some days afterwards, William I., on viewing the heights, said to the soldiers, "But, children, it is absolutely impossible for any troops to fight their way up these heights." — "Quite true, your Majesty, it was indeed impossible. Nevertheless, we did it."

## CHAPTER LI.

FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR. — GRAVELOTTE. — SEDAN. — SURRENDER OF STRASBURG AND METZ.

1870 A.D.

IN Paris the effect of the news concerning the great defeat to their armies was most terrible, since, as usual, the French had been deceived by false reports of victory; for on August 5 the town was in a frenzy of delight with the tidings that MacMahon and Bazaine had routed the army of the Crown Prince, that they had taken two hundred and fifty thousand prisoners, that the Crown Prince and forty thousand Prussians were killed, and that MacMahon was marching on to Frankfort. When, however, the French people learned the truth, they were in a rage. They went about the streets crying, "Down with the Cabinet! Down with Ollivier! Down with Gramont!" The Cabinet was broken up; and General Palikao was chosen in Ollivier's place, and given authority to appoint a new cabinet in place of the one from which all members had been removed. Palikao was seventy-three years old, and had very little knowledge of the existing military situation. Although his cabinet consisted of Bonapartists, the public sentiment against the Emperor was so strong that they demanded of Palikao that he should make Bazaine commander-in-chief in place of Napoleon, leaving the Empress regent, a cry even arising that the Emperor must abdicate.

There were sixty thousand Germans resident in France

whom the Cabinet decreed should immediately leave the country. They were forced to sacrifice their property; and all classes, including the aged, invalids, and the helpless, were obliged to depart at once.

A new army was formed by MacMahon at Châlons, and in less than three weeks the attitude of France was changed from the aggressive to the defensive. The Crown Prince pressed forward with his main army into Lorraine, and uniting with the armies of the North and Centre, defeated Bazaine on the 14th of August at Courcelles, forcing the latter to fall back upon Metz.

The three battles of Courcelles, Mars-la-Tour, and Gravelotte, which took place on the 14th, 16th, and 18th, were in fact the same engagement. They were fought for the purpose of preventing the junction with Bazaine, whom, as we have seen, Frederick Charles had forced to retire upon Metz. In the battle of Mars-la-Tour, Bazaine tried, with one hundred and eighty thousand men, to force his way past Frederick Charles, who had one hundred and twenty thousand, the other two German armies being at the rear. Frederick Charles held his position until three other corps came to his assistance. This battle was one of the bloodiest in the whole war. The soldiers punned on the name of it, and called the battle "*Marsch retour*" (Return march). The Germans here fought against double their numbers. By the engagement, the advance of Bazaine and junction with MacMahon was prevented, and the former was obliged to take a defensive position at Gravelotte and St. Privat.

The decisive moment now arrived. If Bazaine could break through the German force and join MacMahon, he could fight with a chance of victory. His position at Gravelotte and on the heights of St. Privat was very strong, and he believed it impregnable. The French

also were excited by the certainty of destruction in case of defeat, and the hope that in the event of victory they could annihilate the enemy.

The Germans had united all the forces at this point which could be dispensed with elsewhere. On August 18 King William, Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon appeared on the field at Gravelotte. The king personally directed the engagement, and it has since gone by the name of the "The King's Battle." General Steinmetz commanded on one flank, and Prince Frederick Charles on the other. The battle began at noon, and raged all day without the Pomeranians, who had been expected every moment since morning. At five in the afternoon the French felt sure of success, and were beginning to break through the German line. Moltke rode anxiously up and down, looking through his glass in the direction from which the Pomeranians were to come.

In the height of this battle, when it became doubtful which side would be victorious, Bismarck, becoming nervous, and anxious to know Moltke's opinion, passed him his cigar-case, which Moltke, receiving, turned carefully round in his hand in order to select the cigar which suited him best. Some have thought this exhibited unconcern on Moltke's part; while others, knowing the habits of the latter, think it simply showed Bismarck's anxiety to learn by careful scrutiny what Moltke really thought the issue of the battle would be.

At length the Pomeranians arrived, and with loud hurrahs, shouting, "Forward, for God, King, and Fatherland!" they were led into the battle. Their advent turned the day against the French, who were driven back, their retreat soon becoming a rout, which only ended behind the walls of Metz.

A curious incident occurred at Gravelotte. As the

trumpet sounded, three hundred riderless horses, whose masters had fallen, wheeled into their places and charged with the rest.

On the day after the battle, August 19, 1870, the hours from two to twelve at night, the time was devoted to burying the dead. The officers with their men formed in a great circle, and beheld six thousand of their companions lowered into the grave. From time to time the bands played some grand old German choral, "*Ein' feste Burg*" and "*Ich weiss dass mein Erlöser lebt*" (I know that my Redeemer lives). The exercises were closed by their playing the national hymn, "*Lieb Vaterland.*"

Prince Frederick Charles, with two hundred thousand men, commenced the siege of Metz, while the rest of the German army marched on to attack MacMahon and Trochu at Châlons; the former had retired from this place immediately after the struggle of Wörth, for the purpose of raising an army with which he was to give battle, shielded by the fortifications of Paris. But General Palikao, the new Minister of War, had ordered him to march along the Belgian frontier to the relief of Bazaine. This was a case of an experienced general being forced to obey the orders of an officer ignorant of war tactics.

MacMahon gave up all hope when he received Palikao's orders, but was obliged to obey. Napoleon III. also desired to return to Paris; but the Empress and Cabinet feared for his life from the fury of the Paris mob. Palikao telegraphed, "Whatever you do, don't bring back the Emperor to Paris; that would cause a revolution."

On the 23d of August, the Crown Prince received the news that MacMahon was marching northward. Moltke detected his plan, and saw that the army movements must be rapid in order to thwart MacMahon's scheme. The

Germans' right wing was thereupon pushed beyond the Meuse, and occupied the passes of the Forest of Ardennes leading into Belgium.

On the 31st of August, General MacMahon was nine miles from Sedan, where he learned that General Faily had been routed by the Crown Prince of Saxony, and that Bazaine had been defeated at Noisseville, and his retreat to Sedan, where MacMahon had expected to meet him, had been cut off by General Manteuffel. There was nothing left for MacMahon but to concentrate his forces at Sedan, a fortified town near the Belgian frontier.

The fourth army had reached the French at Nouart, and two corps had been driven back as described above.

King William, Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon were approaching; and the object of all was the destruction of MacMahon's army, the cutting off his retreat to Paris, and the support of Prince Charles in his siege of Metz. Napoleon III. had left Metz before the battle of Mars-la-Tour, and, not daring to return to Paris, was now with MacMahon. But this King William and his Cabinet did not know.

The Germans, when they planted their batteries on all the heights, which surrounded the valley of the Meuse like the rim of an irregular basin, near Sedan, had two hundred thousand men, while MacMahon had one hundred and twelve thousand, his only chance of success being to break through the ring enclosing him where it was the weakest.

It was upon this French force that Napoleon III. depended for his throne and life. He had sent his son, who had been with him until now, across the Belgian frontier, with instructions to proceed to the same palace in England (Chiselmurst), to which Empress Eugénie and the Emperor afterwards in their flight repaired.

The battle of Sedan, fought September 1, 1870, under the eye of King William himself, proved to be the most important victory in German history. Soon after the battle commenced, MacMahon was wounded; and the command was given to Ducrot, and afterwards to old General Wimpffen. Within the ring protected by Sedan, the French corps of MacMahon, Failley, Douay, and Lebrun made a brave resistance, but were finally repulsed at every point, and driven back into the fortress of Sedan, with Napoleon still among them. This was three o'clock in the afternoon. The scene in the village of Sedan was indescribable. It was with difficulty that the whole French army, now become a brutal mob, pressed through the narrow gates. Just at that time the Germans began a bombardment of the town from the heights above.

In the fierce and desperate battle which raged until late at night, the hope and pride of Napoleon gave way; he wandered about the field for several hours in the hope that some stray bullet would end his life. General Wimpffen, who had never understood the relative position of the armies, proposed to the Emperor that they should try to cut their way to Belgium. Napoleon declined to do this, and drew out a white flag, but Wimpffen respectfully took it away from him; a few minutes after, the old general being called away, Napoleon sent the white flag to the wall.

Hereupon William I. sent Colonel Brossart to demand a capitulation. The latter soon returned with the French General Reille, who was wounded, and supported by a cane. He brought a letter, which read something as follows: "Having failed to meet death at the head of my army, I lay my sword at your Majesty's feet. I remain your Majesty's good brother, Napoleon." After a short consultation with the Crown Prince, Bismarck, Moltke,

and Roon, the king wrote a letter which demanded the unconditional surrender of the Emperor and his army. On the German side, the king named General von Moltke to accept the relinquishment of arms. On his way back to deliver the message to Wimpffen, who was the French officer duly authorized to act in the matter, MacMahon being still disabled, Reille kept hearing the long, loud, ever-extending shouts of the German army, who had already become acquainted with the wonderful news. Moltke and Wimpffen immediately met to arrange the terms of the surrender.

On September 2 Napoleon, now a fugitive from his own troops as well as from France, left Sedan, and after an interview with Bismarck before a farmhouse at Donchery, repaired as a prisoner of war to the Castle of Bellevue, where Bismarck received him. The king hastened from Donchery, about three miles distant, where he had been waiting the conclusion of the capitulation, and for fifteen minutes had an interview entirely alone with Napoleon. By those who comprehend the magnanimity of King William's great soul, what passed in that room at that interview can easily be imagined. Whatever it was, when the two monarchs appeared, the eyes of both were suffused with tears. With characteristic delicacy, the king afterwards invited Napoleon to take up his residence in the magnificent palace of Wilhelmshöhe. The following morning, in a heavy rainstorm, Napoleon, with his suite, departed for those beautiful heights, where he remained, always treated with the courtesy that one gives to an honored guest. After residing here in luxury for six months, March 19, 1871, he repaired to Chiselhurst, where he spent the remainder of his life as a private gentleman, with the Empress and the young prince. Just before his death, January 9, 1873, his party in France



had arranged a plan to recall him to the throne. Bismarck, when consulted, had declared that he would take no part one way or the other. About the time of his leaving Wilhelmshe, two years before, Napoleon had issued a proclamation in which he protested against the resolution taken by the National Assembly, soon after his surrender, deposing the Napoleonic dynasty. His demands for a vote of the people (a "plebiscite," of which there had been so many) received no attention. In 1873 he might, perhaps, have been temporarily restored had he not died with the fatal disease which had so long paralyzed his ordinary powers.

After the interview with Napoleon at the Château of Bellevue, King William rode through the ranks of his army and exchanged greetings with his victorious troops. The soldiers shouted and sang by turns; oftentimes the soft notes of the old hymns, "*Nun danket alle Gott*," and "*Ein' feste Burg*," rose upon the evening air; then these airs were changed to shouts and the national songs, "*Lieb Vaterland*" and "*Wacht am Rhein*."

The same modest bearing characterized King William through all his successes; and when raised to his greatest worldly grandeur, he issued proclamations of the most genuine humility, giving all the glory to God. He wrote to the queen after the capitulation at Sedan, saying that the war with Austria of 1866 had been so successful that he could not have had reason to expect anything greater or more glorious; and when he beheld the accomplishment of these later important events, he felt that he must bow in greater humility before God, who seemed to have chosen him as a humble instrument to work out these results for the Fatherland.

After the capitulation, the town of Sedan was found to be in a state too deplorable to describe. For five days

the French soldiers had plundered and committed every conceivable kind of barbarity, so that the people felt when the Prussians entered as if they were rescued from wild beasts. It took weeks to render the city a place fit for human beings. The French troops almost broke into a mutiny when they learned that Napoleon had surrendered, and the Germans were obliged to direct their cannon against the town.

General Palikao had been representing to the people in Paris that the Prussians were meeting with heavy losses, and that the French army, with five hundred thousand troops, was about to invade Germany. When the people learned the truth concerning the German victory at Sedan, that the Emperor had been made a prisoner, that the whole French army had been transported to Germany, and that the triumphant enemy was actually marching upon Paris, the excitement there knew no bounds. The voices of the mob cried out, "Abdicate! Abdicate! Down with Napoleon! Long live Trochu! Long live Gambetta!" Jules Favre, on the side of the moderate faction, offered the resolution that Louis Napoleon and his family should be forever excluded from the throne. Then the crowd, with Favre and Gambetta at their head, marched to the Hôtel de Ville, and proclaimed the Republic.

Meanwhile the excitement was running so high that Empress Eugénie, assisted by Mr. Evans and another American dentist, both of whom were accustomed to be received as guests in the Tuileries, was conducted with a few followers to the little harbor of Beauville opposite the Isle of Wight, and after about two days of perilous adventure was landed at the town of Ryde. The whole party was in such a pitiable plight that the landlord of the hotel at first refused to receive them. Her protectors accompanied the Empress to London, and hired for her the Hotel

Camden Place in Chiselhurst, where she found her son, and where in the midst of all her subsequent sorrow she for many years continued to reside.

The news of the victory at Sedan created a great sensation even over the waters as far as Australia, and the German people in America were filled with rejoicing.

By the exertions of Gambetta, three new armies were raised for the purpose of assisting the military force in Paris against the impending siege. On September 18 General von Werder had summoned the fortress of Strasburg to surrender. In reply, Ulrich, the commandant, had replied, "Not while I have a single soldier, a cartridge, and a single loaf of bread!" But after a siege of several weeks, a bombardment commenced, and was kept up day and night. Two hundred and forty-one cannon were fired and two hundred thousand shot. Mothers and children, old men, invalids, strangers and friends, crowded together into corners and cellars, each moment expecting death either by a shot or the falling walls. The messenger who was sent to invite the women and children and those enfeebled by age to seek safety in the German camp during the last destructive bombardment, found the town entirely uninformed of recent events, which had transpired since August 14. They knew nothing of Gravelotte nor Sedan, and thus heroically held out, because they were in hope of relief from outside.

The final storming of such a fortress always means death to a large part of the troops engaged in it, and in this case the men were selected by lot. The soldiers had been drawn; and a chaplain had held a religious service, and administered the sacrament. All was ready, and the brave fellows waited the command, when a cry rang through the camp, "Look to the Cathedral tower!" They looked and saw a white flag. The poor Strasburgers

had at last given up hope. Seventeen thousand prisoners, with one thousand two hundred cannon and all the munitions of war stored in the town, fell into the hands of the Germans.

All the desperate attempts which Bazaine had made to break out of Metz had been without avail; and the siege had lasted more than two months, from August 19 to October 27. Finally famine reduced the town; all articles of ordinary food failed. A man sold a ham for fifty dollars, and bread and salt could not be procured. Every kind of fodder for horses was exhausted, and the starving beasts often bit off each other's tails in their agony of hunger. The besiegers also suffered in many ways — from the cold nights and heavy rains, sometimes standing knee-deep in the water. One German soldier found shelter in an upturned barrel, and called it his "Hotel Diogenes."

At last General Changarnier, an old officer of eighty years, came to Prince Frederick Charles under a flag of truce, and offered to give up the city. His eyes were filled with tears as, announcing that Metz could stand the siege no longer, he said: "I hope you may never see the misery and suffering which I have seen in Metz." A tremendous thunderstorm and an illuminated sky followed the capitulation. The king made Prince Frederick Charles and the Crown Prince marshals. Bazaine was denounced by Gambetta as a traitor; and the order was given to arrest him whenever found, and to deliver him up.

After the fall of Metz, two lines of work were left open to the forces on both sides, — the war in the provinces, and the long siege of Paris. Of the three armies raised by Gambetta, that of the North, under General Faidherbe, after many battles, was destroyed. The army of the Loire, under Chancy, met the same fate; and France now looked to

General Bourbaki to relieve the fortress of Belfort, and to cut off the communication of all the German armies from France ; there was even hope entertained that he might invade Germany, since he had one hundred and fifty thousand troops, besides a force of twenty thousand under Garibaldi, whom Gambetta had summoned from Italy. Bourbaki had also thirty thousand men under Cremer, a general who had been taken prisoner at Gravelotte, and had broken his parole. The hope of Bourbaki was suddenly cut off by General Werder in the battle of Belfort, which lasted five days. It was a great surprise to Bourbaki that Werder was able, with forty thousand men, to maintain for three days one of the bloodiest conflicts of the whole war. The retreat of the French was cut off by Manteuffel. They then crossed the Swiss frontier, where eighty thousand men were disarmed. Gambetta dismissed Bourbaki, who was so chagrined that he tried to commit suicide. This retreat into Switzerland was the last important event of the "Franco-Prussian War."

## CHAPTER LII.

SIEGE AND CAPITULATION OF PARIS. — THIRTY THOUSAND TROOPS ONLY ENTER PARIS. — WILLIAM I. CHOSEN EMPEROR. — TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF EMPEROR WILLIAM INTO BERLIN. — FIRST GERMAN PARLIAMENT.

1870—1871 A.D.

AFTER the capitulation of Sedan, King William immediately advanced on Paris, and took up his headquarters at the Palace of Versailles. The king and his cabinet thought it was necessary to take Paris, in order to obtain satisfactory terms of peace, and to secure an indemnity large enough to guarantee them against a renewal of the strife, and to convince the war party that the sacred city was not impregnable.

From a military point of view, the siege and defence of this great capital, commencing the 19th of September, was a stupendous work. The Germans had thought to take the city immediately by bombardment; but they soon saw that this was impossible, since there were in Paris four hundred thousand men, while the besiegers at first had only one hundred and twenty thousand infantry, and their greatest force was less than two hundred thousand soldiers. In the time of Louis Philippe, Thiers, who was his minister, had suggested that the remarkable advantageous situation of Paris should be strengthened against such a contingency as happened when, in 1814–1815, it was obliged to surrender at almost a moment's notice; therefore walls were built around the city, and the

fortifications, among which are Mont Valerien, with its chain of strong forts, were built on the west. The south side was protected by the forts of Issy, Vanvres, Mont-rouge, Bicêtre, and Ivry. Between the Seine and the Marne is Fort Charenton; on the east side of the town are Nojent, Rosny, Noisy, Romainville; and on the northeast the fort of Aubervilliers and the strong fortress of St. Denis. These works had cost five hundred million francs, and it was believed that they defied any bombardment.

Ever since the news that the Germans were approaching had reached the capital, the work of provisioning had begun; and it was now thought that the reserve in store was ample for four months. No one had any idea but that the Germans, long before the expiration of that period, would abandon the siege. Gambetta had left Paris in a balloon in order to raise troops; and in all probability some European powers would intervene, and compel what the people of Paris called the "barbarians" to break off the siege. Victor Hugo addressed an imaginary German army, and said to them, "Leave the walls of Paris! You are rushing into the jaws of death! Go back to your country before you have covered yourselves with everlasting shame by a vain attempt to conquer Paris!" And it did seem that the Germans had undertaken a Herculean task. The line of ramparts to be constructed by the besiegers around the city was fifty miles in extent. The Germans soon comprehended that nothing but a regular siege was possible, and this seemed more formidable to them every day. They saw that they would be obliged to protect all these ramparts with picked men, and that they must bring the entire army supplies from Germany over the only railroad under their command. French volunteers were constantly at work to destroy the road behind the German army, while the

French themselves had the advantage of railroads in all directions which connected them with the sea-coast, and every point from which they could procure supplies; the only trouble was that they could not get past the German lines, and no balloons or carrier pigeons with microscopic messages used for purposes of communication could bring food to the starving multitude inside the walls. Sometimes squads from the force marshalled in the city would venture out through the town gates, but only to bring back heaps of their own dead. The famine increased, but the rich still had a meagre supply of food. Ever after December 21, the misery was abject; not a morsel of bread, only horses, dogs, cats, and rats for meat. Six hundred and fifty horses were killed each day. People spent their time shooting the sparrows in the streets, and all the elephants and lions in the Zoölogical Garden were slaughtered for food. For New Year's presents, the fashionable people, with characteristic elegance, sent, in rich boxes, potatoes, onions, and beans. The trees in the gardens and parks were cut down for fuel; but the streets were no longer lighted, because there was no coal with which to manufacture gas. Sixty-four thousand people died from hunger and disease during the siege.

At last the bombardment commenced. The plan of the Germans had been not to occupy many cities and provinces, but to keep the besieging army well supplied in order to prevent any possibility of a break in their lines. On the 5th of December, Frederick Charles had taken Orleans, his troops being ready to re-enforce the Germans outside of Paris, while all three of the French armies, the two at Dijon and Amiens, as well as the one at Orleans which had been expected to bring relief, were driven back; and the worst phase of the situation was that no European powers had intervened. Thiers had



made a tour to Vienna, St. Petersburg, and London seeking aid; but France as a republic had no claims on the Hapsburg House, and the deep sympathy which had been aroused by the former usurpations of the French hindered all the nations from now coming to their relief.

When the cannonading commenced, the shells fell a distance of four miles beyond the fortresses. into the city. General Trochu, at the head of one hundred thousand men, fought with the energy of despair; and when at night he was driven back into the fortress, the mob, in the shape of the Paris Commune, which had really had possession of the town ever since the 31st of October, demanded his abdication. All means of resistance were now exhausted. The people were literally starving, after four months of patient endurance.

On January 23 Jules Favre appeared at the Palace of Versailles with an offer to surrender. The terms of the capitulation were the giving up of all the war material, and the disarming of the entire French force except the city guard. The government was obliged to pay immediately two hundred million francs war indemnity, and an armistice of three weeks was granted the French for the purpose of electing a National Assembly that should decide upon the final preliminaries of peace. The capitulations were finished January 28.

On February 26, 1871, the National Assembly ratified an agreement made by Count Bismarck and Thiers at the Palace of Versailles. France ceded to Germany Lorraine with Metz, also Alsace, with all its cities and fortresses except Belfort; although the latter had been taken by the Germans, through magnanimity they ceded it back to France. By the treaty then made, Germany gained a population of one and a half million, and two hundred and sixty German square miles. France agreed to pay

five thousand million francs war indemnity, the German troops quartering in France to an extent stated in the agreement until the payments were made. Thirty thousand German troops were to enter and temporarily occupy certain parts of Paris. The terms of peace were made easier because the Germans realized that a few days more of hostilities would make so great inroads into the army, which had endured such hardships in the siege, that another body of troops would have to be brought thither, made up of volunteers awaiting orders in Germany. William I. gave the French no more humiliation than was necessary to convince the nation of Germany's power.

On the 1st of March, the force of thirty thousand men entered Paris and occupied the Place de la Concorde as far as the Arch of Triumph,—that great monument of the first Napoleon's victories, and Germany's humiliation and defeat. The war had lasted two hundred and ten days (seven months), but the actual warfare had been only one hundred and eighty days. Three French armies had surrendered, and the fourth was driven into Switzerland; there had been seventeen great battles, and one hundred and fifty-six engagements in all; twenty-two fortresses were occupied, among them Paris, Metz, and Strasburg. In addition, about four hundred thousand prisoners, seven thousand two hundred cannon, and six hundred thousand stand of arms, were among the trophies. When peace was signed, Germany had six hundred thousand armed men in France, and two hundred and fifty thousand more ready at home to enter the field.

On December 18, 1870, while the siege of Paris was going on, a deputation had been sent from the North German Assembly to Versailles to offer the Imperial Crown to King William from the German Confederation. The same man, Simson, was at the head of the deputation,

who, in 1849, had, in accordance with the resolution of the Frankfort Parliament, offered the crown of the Empire to Frederick William IV. At the time the title was offered to the latter, he said in refusing it, that the states of the Confederation could never be consolidated into an Empire except by a fierce and bloody war.

In August, 1870, Bavaria had joined in an address asking their king, Louis II., for a union with the North German Confederation. On the November following, Baden, Würtemberg, and Hesse took the same step. On the 30th of November, King Louis of Bavaria had addressed a letter to each of the ruling princes of Southern Germany and to the three free cities, asking them to confer on the King of Prussia, as the head of united Germany, the title of "German Emperor." Afterwards the North German Diet had joined in this request, and Louis II. was selected to invite King William to assume the imperial dignity, with the condition that it should be hereditary in his family.

Accordingly a great throng of German princes and generals assembled on the 18th of January, 1871, in the great "Hall of Mirrors," in the Palace of Versailles, and listened to the Proclamation of the Empire. This was the one hundred and seventieth anniversary of the day Frederick III., Elector of Brandenburg, had been crowned King of Prussia as Frederick I. It was in this vast chamber that Richelieu, Louis XIV., and Napoleon I. had laid their deep plans for the destruction of Germany and the partition of Prussia; and here William I. of Hohenzollern received the Imperial Crown.

The hope cherished in the minds of the German people ever since Frederick Barbarossa went to sleep under the Kyfhauser was now fulfilled; to them his spirit had come back, and Germany was free.

The night after the armistice had been agreed upon between Jules Favre and Bismarck, a cannon fired at midnight had announced the cessation of the bombardment and the close of the war. The interim of sixty-five years in the German Empire, since Francis II. gave up the crown to Napoleon, was now brought to a close.

Count d'Herisson describes an interview he had with the Emperor when instructed to carry a letter to Prince Wittgenstein, Emperor William's aide-de-camp. He wrote, "A sentinel lowered his bayonet before me to prevent my advance. The soldier on guard, however, conducted me to the immense hall which served as an antechamber to the royal apartments; it was filled with an army of generals and other functionaries in full uniform, which blazed with gold lace and gorgeous decorations. The helmets sparkled and flashed; the spurs clinked and clanked; the sabres rattled and clashed against the marble pavement. I saw the tall and splendid athletic forms; the broad shoulders and breasts; the glances full of triumph and joy, calm repose, and assurance replete with the opulence of power. While I waited the Emperor came from his apartments in the palace, going forth to ride. The grenadiers presented arms. In the court I heard the noises of the military troops forming into line; the pawing and neighing of fiery horses awaiting to obey the command of their masters. Amid the crowd I saw from my corner the newly proclaimed Emperor of Germany, the conqueror of France. He advanced, calm and smiling, revealing in his countenance the father and the soldier. With the greatest effort I suppressed a sob of anguish at the contrast, — our afflictions! our shame! and their prosperity! this glory of our conquerors!"

The changed attitude of Germany from Count d'Heris-

son's point of view calls to mind the deep humiliation of Prussia in the years preceding and subsequent to the Peace of Tilsit, when, crushed by the despotism of Napoleon and smarting under the iron heel of France, as a nation she was almost blotted out. The poetic justice of the situation appeals to all.

On March 17, 1871, the Emperor returned to Berlin amidst the loud and tumultuous rejoicing of the people. He had left the city as King of Prussia, he returned wearing a diadem more resplendent than any since Charlemagne; for he had rendered secure that Prussian crown which had been degraded, and at one time almost snatched away.

On his arrival in Berlin, Emperor William repaired immediately to the mausoleum at Charlottenburg, and, bending over the tomb of his beautiful mother, the Queen Louise, he called to mind her dying words, "Conquer back again from France the darkened glory of your country." To what a work had Providence chosen the son of this noble queen, who as a youth had shared the bitterest sorrows of the Fatherland; and now in the evening of his life he was permitted to realize the holiest wishes of his sainted mother and of the nation!

On the 7th of March, Emperor William, after the terms of peace had been confirmed by the National Assembly at Bordeaux, had sent this message to the Empress: "I have just ratified the Treaty of Peace proclaimed yesterday. After seven months' successful conflict, thanks to the disinterested devotion of the Fatherland, and the intrepid zeal and perseverance of the matchless army, the stupendous work has thus far been completed. The Lord of Hosts has manifestly blessed our undertakings, and allowed us to conclude this honorable peace. May the glory be his! With my whole heart I thank the army and the Fatherland."

The Treaty of Peace at Frankfort-on-the-Main, which definitely concluded the capitulations between France and Germany, was ratified on May 10, 1871.

The great enthusiasm of the nation reached its climax at the final festive entry of the troops into Berlin, which did not take place until the 16th of June, 1871. The veterans, with the Emperor at their head, were greeted with rapturous delight by the populace. The procession passed in through the Brandenburg Gate, the same through which the great Napoleon, with his army, had entered in 1806 after the battle of Jena. The scene had greatly changed since the events which transpired twenty years before when the revolutionary party held possession of the town, and thirty thousand insurgents had seized the palace of this very Emperor, then Prince of Prussia, and, breathing out anathemas against him, had declared the premises "National Property." A few months after this revolution, the Prince of Prussia had stupefied the Assembly by entering one of its Diets after his return from England, whither he had been banished by his brother, William IV., for desiring to take up arms against the mob. From fear of violence he came accompanied by two officers, and when he asked permission to speak, was almost refused. How different this entry into Berlin from that of almost a quarter of a century before. It was, however, the speech that he then made which laid the foundation of the homage he this day received.

The enormous multitude, which occupied every square and street, housetop and tower, were the descendants of the tribes which Charlemagne had first consolidated into a tottering Empire. On this joyful occasion all rejoiced that the unity which the old Arminius had conceived, and for which he had fought and died, was now realized.

The vast concourse was led by a *cortége* bearing the torn

and blackened banners and the eagles captured in France. These trophies were laid on the steps of the monument dedicated to the memory of the Emperor's late father, Frederick William III. One of Germany's historians remarks upon the scene as follows: "What a moment was this, when the earnest features of the king, on whom Napoleon had inflicted such abject humiliations, looked down on the spoils at his feet, and at the jubilant crowd all about him!"

The venerable conqueror with the crown prince, Prince Frederick Charles, Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon, headed the procession, which came to a final halt before the statue of Frederick the Great, beside which stand other monuments of the heroes in the War of the Liberation, — those of Blücher, Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Bülow, and York. At this point the people, remembering the trials of their fathers, and excited by the joy and hope which now entered their lives, gave expression to their feelings by uninterrupted shouts and cheers for their Emperor.

On March 21, 1871, four days after the Emperor's return from the siege of Paris, the first German Parliament since 1849 was called together, and the organization of the new Empire was immediately commenced. The following is a brief outline of the constitution adopted by a large majority present: "The King of Prussia, Emperor; the title and Empire, hereditary; twenty-five German governments to be represented by the Diet, and presided over by the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Bismarck." This answered in some degree to the British House of Lords; there was also a House of Commons, or Reichstag, of three hundred and eighty-two members elected directly by universal suffrage; there was to be in the nation one army, one navy, one currency, the same measure, weight, and tariff, and one customs frontier.

On March 22, the day after the first Diet, which was the Emperor's birthday, Count Bismarck was raised to the hereditary rank of prince. The Emperor made him a present of the royal domains at Friedrichsruhe, where ever after, except when official duties called him to reside in Berlin, he spent his time in study and plans for the welfare of the nation.



## CHAPTER LIII.

GERMANY AND THE ORIENTAL QUESTION. — “KULTUR-KAMPF” (CULTURE-STRUGGLE). — THE SEPTENNAT.

1871—1887 A.D.

THERE was a Congress called together at Berlin, June 13, 1878, which met in the palace of Prince Bismarck. By its authority it indicated the commanding position which the Empire had assumed during the last six years; and its object was to consider the imminent danger of a great war, which had reference to the final dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, and to take measures against it. The splendid Mohammedan domain was being torn asunder; and the adjoining countries, Austria, Russia, France, England, and Italy, stood awaiting, sword in hand, the moment to make good their respective claims to the pieces. Who should take Palestine with Jerusalem? Who should have Montenegro, Bosnia, and Servia, the provinces on the Austrian frontier? What would become of the little kingdom of Greece? And above all, who should have Constantinople?

This Congress had met to take measures against a war which appeared inevitable. Napoleon III. had entered into the Crimean War, in 1853, hoping to strengthen his throne, while at the same time the Russian Emperor, Nicholas, desired that this Oriental question should terminate in his favor. The Paris Congress, March 30, 1856, had interrupted Russia's plan for monopolizing Turkey. From that time Russia built up her army; and

when France became weakened by the war of 1870, the former thought it was her chance to get possession of Turkey by offering assistance to the Sultan, against whom the provinces had risen in rebellion. Sultan Abdul Aziz agreed to receive the Russian troops in Constantinople, but before this plan was carried out he committed suicide.

England and Austria, fearing that Turkey and Russia would together settle the Oriental question, leaving them out in the cold, desired that Germany, with her immense military power, might intervene, especially as she had shown no desire, since she became an Empire, for conquest. In May, 1876, Bismarck invited Gortchakoff and Andrassy, the two chancellors of Russia and Austria, to a conference in Berlin. These three statesmen agreed upon a policy which would force the victorious insurgents in Turkey to conclude an armistice of two months. The consuls of the respective governments having been instructed to see that the policy was carried out, the fleets of the European powers were sent to the Bosphorus to keep the Porte in order.

Russia did not observe the terms of the agreement; but, April 23, 1877, marched an army across the Pruth, and declared war against Turkey, under a pretext that the Porte was delaying its promised reforms. The war lasted a year; and Russia, though wrong in its premises, was successful in the end. By the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano, Bulgaria became a Russian vassal state; Montenegro and Roumania were left independent; while the conduct of Russia in the affair almost kindled a European war.

Austria and England prepared with an armed force to oppose the execution of the Treaty of San Stefano, which was made in Bismarck's palace. This Congress divided

Bulgaria into the Principality of Bulgaria and the province of East Roumania. Serbia and Montenegro were recognized as independent states; Russia was allowed to keep Bessarabia, but had to sacrifice Dobrudja to Roumania; Austria was instructed to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina; England was given the right to occupy the Island of Cyprus, and received a protectorate in Asia Minor. This partition of Turkey averted the European war; and after this, Germany, Austria, and Italy joined in a triple alliance.

Soon after the first meeting of the Diet of the German Empire, a party of sixty-three Roman Catholics appeared amongst its members. From this time Romanism and Protestantism were the opposing factors, which contended for sixteen years. This period was called the German “*Kulturkampf*,” literally a Culture-Struggle; but it was, in fact, a contest between the State and the Catholic Church.

As early as 1864 Pope Pius IX., as Viceregent of Christ, proclaimed one of the articles of faith to be the “*Infallibility of the Pope.*” On July 18, 1870, the Catholic party publicly, with the Jesuits, promulgated this new dogma of Infallibility.

After the Italian war of 1870, the council, which had come together for the purpose of deciding this question of Infallibility, never met again. The French soldiers were withdrawn from Italy the same year, and Victor Emanuel was preparing to take Rome as the seat of the Italian government. In September the Italian troops occupied the city, and put an end to the Pope’s temporal power. That same October the Pope postponed the assembling of the synod, but instructed all bishops, priests, and teachers in Germany to accept the dogma of Infallibility. This was opposed by the instructors

and professors in the Catholic Universities of Germany, and some of the Infallibility Party tried to remove them; but at a Conference held at Nuremberg in August, it was finally voted that the Convocation of the Vatican had no authority over a German Council, and that the dogma of Infallibility was invalid. This was at the time of the Franco-Prussian War, and all minor considerations were waived. The clerical party busied themselves in selecting candidates for the first Diet, and this was how it happened that there were sixty-five Roman Catholics who were ready to destroy the Empire if they could add sufficient force to the number. This was called the Ultramontane Party. It carried forty-three districts, and elected men entirely devoted to the cause of the Church. Professor Döllinger, of the Munich University, publicly protested against the Infallibility doctrine, thus becoming the starting-point of a separate church, called the Old Catholics. The Clerical Party resisted every declaration which would bind the Empire against the restoration of the Pope's temporal power; but, notwithstanding, the National Party elected two hundred and forty-three members of the Diet of 1871 against the sixty-five referred to. Yet the manner in which the pulpit was used to influence the election, and the edict of excommunication hurled against the leading Catholic teachers and scholars for refusing to accept the dogma of Infallibility, alarmed the public mind, which was always alert from the remembrance of the long ages during which Germany was dismembered by Catholic influence.

The conflict between the German government and clerical faction in 1872 finally influenced the Old Catholic Party to propose expelling the Jesuits and all kindred societies from Germany; this caused the Roman bishops to declare war against the German Government. The

Pope in 1873 addressed a communication to Emperor William, telling him that the acts of his government would cause the destruction of the Empire. He also told him that all human beings who had been baptized belong, in one way or another, to the Pope. Emperor William replied in a pacific tone, but stated that he must contradict the statement which His Holiness had just made, since he and his subjects were not able to receive any other mediator than Him whom their forefathers had accepted, — the Lord Jesus Christ.

The attitude of Pope Pius IX. at this time was such that all reconciliation was out of the question. On May 14, 1872, he rejected Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe, a member of one of the ruling families, as diplomat; and then Bismarck, becoming impatient on account of so much dogmatism on the part of Pope Pius, gave utterance in the Reichstag to his most profound and most famous sentiment: "Whatever may happen, we shall not go to Canossa in body or in spirit." Upon many a monument to Bismarck in Germany these words are engraved. Before the close of the struggle, the German nation was obliged to suffer almost as great a humiliation as this sentiment implied.

In 1873 the celebrated legislation, the "May Laws," so called because enacted in the month of May, was inaugurated. The object of it was to weaken both the power of the clergy over the laity, and that of the bishop over the lower priesthood; to designate more fully the rights of the old Catholic party, always loyal to the government; and also to define more carefully the authority of the state to punish violations of the law.

As a result of the religious excitement, in 1874 an assassin attempted to take Prince Bismarck's life while the latter was at the bath of Kissingen. A man ap-

proached his carriage as if to exchange greetings; the prince raised his hand to reciprocate the courtesy, when the assailant fired a revolver at his head, only wounding the uplifted hand. The injury was slight, but the fury of the crowd was such that it was with difficulty that Bismarck prevented the man being torn to pieces. When, on the same day, the chancellor visited the prisoner in his cell, he found that he was simply a fanatic, only twenty-one years of age. On being asked by Prince Bismarck why he had wished to murder him, he replied, "Because you passed the Church Laws." Bismarck received two thousand telegrams of sympathy from every class in the nation.

Doctor Windthorst, the chief of the "Centre" as the clerical party is called, in 1876 threatened a revolution in the Diet, saying that he would compel the government to abolish the May Laws or he would overthrow it; he stated that he stood at the head of ten million German Roman Catholics, and declared that all the wretchedness in the Empire came from the Kulturkampf.

In 1878 Pope Pius IX. died; and his successor, Leo XIII., announced his elevation to the Papal throne to Emperor William in friendly terms, saying that he had an earnest desire for peace, but it could not be attained except by the abolition of the May Laws. Bismarck replied that he was willing to modify these, if the "Centre" and the Catholic press would terminate their violent opposition. *The Germania*, the organ of the Catholic party, replied that the Catholics would continue their opposition, even if peace should be restored with Rome.

The sufferings of Germany during the Kulturkampf resulted in the greatest sacrifice that a civilized community had ever been obliged to make of reason and religion. The responsibility of it did not lay entirely at

Bismarck's door, but with all the governments of the world. The mistake of Bismarck consisted in not commencing the struggle earlier and with greater force. On account of his recent successes, not understanding the determination of his opponents, he thought he could act intelligently with respect to any difficulty, without a broad and matured plan. He also relied on the idea that few would accept the dogma of Infallibility, and that the whole enlightened modern world would support him against such an error. He relied on the German Protestant population, on the schools and universities, on the Evangelical Church, and on the Old Catholic party. Not one of these allies came to his rescue, and the Evangelical Church came out of the conflict as much in danger as the Catholics themselves.

Germany had also made a mistake in the execution of the laws against the Catholic Church, and the attention of the masses was soon turned from the doctrine of Infallibility to the victims of what seemed a religious persecution; for the state felt obliged to imprison many who had not obeyed the enactments, withdrawing the salaries to the amount of sixteen million marks from the Roman clergy who had not acceded to the terms required by the state. Cloisters had been suppressed, and many Catholic subjects imprisoned, banished, and deprived of means of subsistence. Sisters of Charity, who spent their lives in acts of tenderness, were among the persecuted; and Catholic priests were forbidden to read mass, preach, or administer the sacraments, solemnize the marriage rite, or give consolation to the dying. For once in history the Roman Church experienced the same kind of interdict which it had been inflicting through all the ages upon the Protestants. But although the plan of the Roman campaign was passive resistance, they tried all the time,

not only to fan the flame of discontent among their own population, but also to bring the imperial government into disrepute in the judgment of the world at large and the Protestants in particular.

The struggle was not ended until May, 1887. It was then brought to a close by a vote in the Prussian Chamber of two hundred and forty-three against one hundred, cancelling nearly all the laws which it had passed against the Roman Church for sixteen years.

For about fourteen years after the War of 1870, although France left Germany alone, the bitter feeling, especially at the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, in nowise diminished; since France had never given up the idea of another war with Germany in order to recover these provinces.

An incident connected with the autumn manœuvres, related by an eye-witness, exhibits the feeling still entertained by the people themselves of Alsace and Lorraine.

It was on the day of a great exhibition of military tactics, when the largest part of the German army marched through that part of the country. While the German population were all at the doors and windows, waving flags and handkerchiefs and shouting applause, the native French people kept carefully inside, their houses closed and curtains drawn, exhibiting no sign of life — not a child, nor even an animal of any kind, was to be seen. It was more than a Sabbath stillness; it was the silence of death, a sepulchral sadness; for in the heart of each man and woman lay smothered the remembrance of the armies of their conquerors, who in 1870-1871 went through their land to victory, leaving them like aliens while still in their own homes. Although the territory has always been rightfully German, it will be many gen-



erations before the French inhabitants become again assimilated as their ancestors were, before Louis XIV., snatching them from Germany's hands, made them, for almost two centuries, citizens of France.

In 1885 France had sufficiently recovered to commence preparations for a conflict of revenge. Boulanger, the Minister of War, aiming to be declared Dictator himself, spent much time and money in reorganizing the army. The French government tried to unite with Russia, hoping, by being serviceable to her in her Oriental plans, to gain support in fighting Germany. Although Germany had joined the Triple Alliance mentioned above, she did not feel strong enough yet to cope with a united France and Russia, especially as the religious conflict had weakened her forces at home. The Centre in the Reichstag, which boasted that it could overthrow the Empire, was strengthened by the Socialists, Freethinkers, Poles, and members from Alsace and Lorraine; and there was great uneasiness felt lest France should precipitate hostilities, as she had done in 1870.

In view of all these issues, the imperial government laid a military bill before the Assembly, asking an appropriation for a period of seven years, in order to be able to make an addition of forty-one thousand men to the German army on the western frontier, to strengthen the fortresses, and to build railroads between strategic points. This would raise the regular army to the number of nearly half a million.

This bill was called the "Septennat;" and though it did not change the time of service of soldiers in the regular army, the appropriation was demanded that it might maintain the additional force for seven years in peace or war. The danger of a conflict was so imminent that it seemed unwise to depend upon the shifting majorities

of the Diet, which were liable to be influenced by party considerations.

Bismarck made a great speech in 1885 in the crowded Assembly. The diplomatic box was filled with representatives from all the great powers. The excitement was so great that hundreds in the street strove in vain to obtain a place in the building. As the chancellor rose to speak, the hall was hushed on account of the breathless interest his presence and ability inspired. He began: "Whether we are to have war with the French now or in ten years, I do not know. It depends upon the violently flowing currents of events in France. Should we find ourselves suddenly involved in hostility, we should have opportunity to judge the expressions of some of the speakers here who say, 'We will not pass this bill now; but in case the enemy invade our land, then we will give our last groschen,' etc., etc. Who ventures to predict that France will not make war, and that she is not determined to reconquer Alsace? Why does no French ministry dare to say that they will renounce Strasburg and accept the peace of Frankfort? Because they know that public opinion in France lies like a powder-mine under their feet. The possibility of bloodshed is a sufficient justification for this bill. The probability of war diminishes in proportion to our military strength. If a victorious French army stood before the gates of Berlin, what conditions do you think they would impose upon us?" The chancellor spoke for several hours.

Moltke then advanced and took his stand. The great strategist had aged a good deal, and his voice had grown less strong. He spoke low, and only a few words. He was doubtless the highest military authority living; and all the members, without reference to party, closed in a

solid phalanx around him. He reminded the Assembly that their neighbors were all armed at a much greater relative cost than the expense demanded of the Diet. He made clear the necessity of passing the bill, since France had already put its army on a war footing at a cost double of that Germany required. He recalled the fact that France was determined to get back Alsace and Lorraine, and that Germany had decided that this should never be. He said, "We must be ready for war. The alliance with Austria is indeed valuable; but my belief is that a great state stands most secure when it depends, under God, upon its own strength alone. A war, unsuccessful because carried on without sufficient means, would cost far more than the most expensive military organization. You know how many miseries follow a foreign invasion. We have, by sacrifices, established a strong Empire and unity. The whole world knows we seek no conquests; but let it also know that we intend to keep what we have already obtained. We owe the blessing of peace, which we have had for fifteen years, to the wisdom of our Emperor and the policy of his chancellor. But no policy, however wise and pacific, can be carried out without the support of a powerful army."

The report of this debate was flashed in all directions over the whole world. Neither the nation nor impartial observers could believe that the Assembly would reject the bill, and thus publish to Europe that the Empire was weakened by internal dissensions.

After much discussion and criticism, on January 14 the Septennat was rejected, and a compromise was patched up substituting a bill for three years in its place.

Immediately after the vote, Bismarck read a message from the Emperor dissolving the Assembly. When the

chancellor appeared in the street, the vehement applause from the populace showed that the nation sympathized with the government, and not with the Diet.

Meanwhile the French war-party was working with all its energy to hasten the strife. Large purchases of horses were made, and temporary barracks erected on the German frontier. Belgium and Italy caught the fire, and also made preparations to arm their troops; and Switzerland prepared to defend its neutrality.

It seemed as if not only a French and German but a European war depended upon the adoption of the Septennat. The new election had been fixed for February 21st, five weeks after the adjournment of the important Diet. The Opposition tried to persuade the voters that the war-cry was an artifice for the purpose of increasing taxes, and obtaining seven years' service from every man instead of three.

As in earlier times, the Pope turned the scale by advising the Catholic Centre to abandon the opposition to the bill. The result of the election astonished everybody; for on March 11 the new Diet passed the Septennat, with a majority of two hundred and twenty-seven against thirty-one, the Centre withholding their votes. It was only the Liberals, Socialists, Social Democrats, Poles, and members from Alsace, with other enemies to the Empire, who made up the minority.

After this the war-clouds dispersed, and Europe once more breathed freely.

CHAPTER LIV.

EMPEROR CELEBRATES HIS NINETIETH BIRTHDAY. — WAR-CLOUDS. — SICKNESS OF HIS SON. — EMPEROR WILLIAM'S DEATH. — FREDERICK WILLIAM BECOMES EMPEROR AS FREDERICK III.— DEATH OF FREDERICK III.— WILLIAM II. DECLARED EMPEROR.

1887—1888 A.D.

ON March 22, 1887, the Emperor celebrated his ninetyeth birthday, and declared that the nation could have made him no more valuable present than the Septennat. This, his last anniversary, was the highest point of Emperor William's earthly greatness; and every German prince was represented, or came in person. Austro-Hungary, England, Russia, Italy, Sweden and Norway, Belgium, Denmark, Roumania, Pope Leo XIII., the Turkish Sultan, Holland, and even France, sent deputies.

Nevertheless, the closing period of the Emperor's life had been darkened by various sorrows. And it was during this last year of great trial that he gave utterance to these memorable words: "*Durch Demütigungen habe ich mehr gelernt als durch alle Siege*" (Through humiliation I have learned more than through all victory).

In 1881 his nephew, Nicholas I. of Russia, had met a frightful death by assassination.

His devoted people felt that only flowers should be strewn in his path; but these flowers were mixed with missiles of combat, for in May, 1878, three years before the murder of his nephew, when he was returning home

from a drive in Unter den Linden, a man fired three shots into his carriage, which no doubt would have proved fatal but for the Grand Duchess of Baden, who, bending over her father after the first shot, saved his life.

A few weeks after another social fanatic fired two charges of mixed shot from a double-barrelled musket into the face of the Emperor, wounding him almost fatally about the head and arms. After three months he had sufficiently recovered to be taken to Gastein. On his return the assembled populace welcomed him with an enthusiasm such as even he had never before experienced. He continued to drive around town according to his former custom; and some one seeing him remarked, "Your Majesty has been saved as if by a miracle." He replied, "No, not as if by a miracle, by a miracle." Another attempt was made on the life of the Emperor at the time of the dedication of the National Monument in 1883.

In 1877 the foundation of this monument had been laid on the "Niederwald" opposite Bingen, near the Rhine. This was the spot which Germany's sons had passed when sorrowing they went forth to battle, an eminence they had looked up to with pride when returning triumphant, laden with the spoils of war. The monument commemorates the foundation of the new Empire, and the German triumph over the French in 1870-1871. It was conceived in the minds of the patriots as long ago as when Prussia, through Napoleon's despotism, was almost blotted out; since even in her darkest hour her warriors and statesmen still looked forward to a consolidated Fatherland. It was completed in 1883, and is covered with reliefs illustrating scenes connected with the war.

It has been said by some that it was on the "Niederwald" that Arminius scattered the legions of Varus, and

that this was the reason why this spot was first selected as the prospective location for the memorial of Germany's victories and complete unity.

Almost at the moment when all his subjects and all the great governments were doing him honor at the time of his ninetieth birthday, a large body of Russian troops collected upon the Prussian and Austrian frontier. Emperor William called together his advisers, Von Moltke, his grandson Prince William (now Emperor), Waldersee, and other military authorities, and a significant response was given to his great neighbors in the shape of a bill called the Landsturm-law (*Landwehr*), authorizing the state to add more than half a million men to the regular army, thus enabling the Emperor to place one million men on the Russian frontier, a second million on the French frontier, and to hold a million in reserve.

This bill, after a powerful and thrilling speech by Bismarck, was accepted February 6, 1888. Austro-Hungary and Italy also sent troops to strengthen his forces. They were not intended to attack, but to defend. The validity of the words of Bismarck and Moltke uttered two years before was realized when the war-cloud disappeared. Those of Bismarck quoted earlier were: "The probability of war diminishes in proportion to our military strength." Those of Moltke: "The whole world knows we are not seeking for conquest. Let the world know also that what we have obtained we intend to keep."

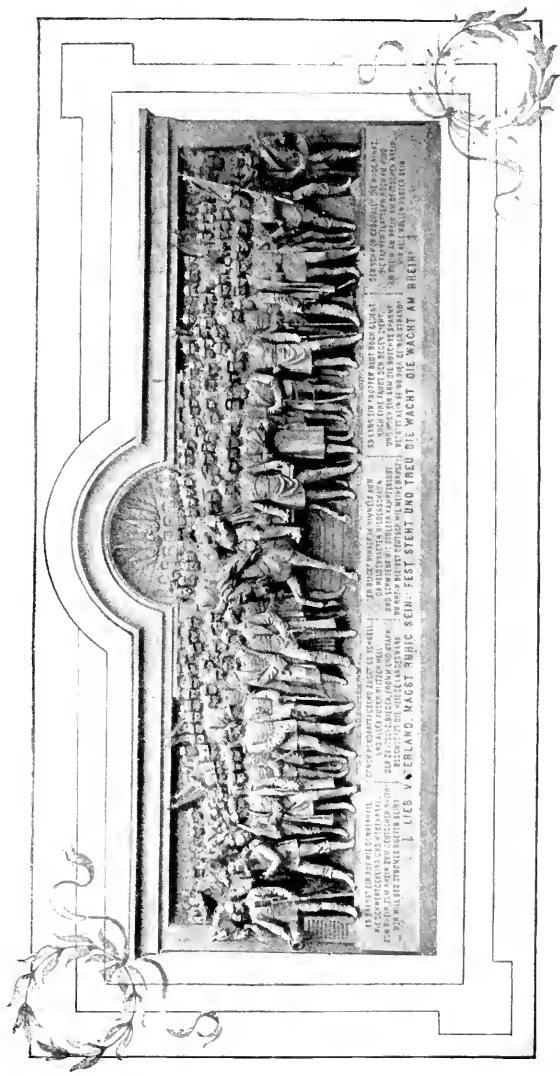
The last dark shadow the Emperor felt had been gradually creeping over the imperial family. Just about the time of the festivities of the Emperor's birthday, a malady of the Crown Prince Frederick William, long feared, took a malignant shape. All foreign governments were touched with sympathy. The Emperor was filled with anguish at the sufferings of his son, and alarmed at the prospective

loss to the throne. Notwithstanding his extreme age, he was preparing to visit the Crown Prince at San Remo, where the latter spent the winter, when he took cold. At this moment his beloved grandson, Prince Ludwig of Baden, died.

The Emperor's cold grew worse, and at last the ever-increasing crowd of more than ten thousand who daily collected in the square commanding a view of the Emperor's working-room looked in vain for him ; for it had been his daily habit to appear at the window overlooking the public square when the guard passed, and all travellers and strangers in Berlin were accustomed to await his appearance. On the 26th of February, the last time he presented himself, Princess William, now Empress, was with him. She was holding her youngest son upon her arm, while her other three boys were standing about her.

Although the Emperor's cold continued to grow worse, he had so often recovered from such attacks that at first there was no anxiety felt ; but on the 7th of March the official bulletin stated that the strength of the Emperor was gradually ebbing. Those who were in Europe at that time, and had seen the royal family in their saddened vigils at San Remo, and had witnessed the pathetic grief while the Emperor Frederick was fast failing at Charlottenburg, could not help being impressed by the overwhelming disasters which were visiting the Hohenzollern dynasty that year. Some have wondered if the "White Lady," who is said always to appear in the palaces about Berlin ever since the Countess of Orlamunde walked in her shroud, did not each night traverse the palaces around Unter den Linden, and with sighs try to prepare the descendants of that mighty dynasty for the great and tragic sorrows hanging over their heads.





“THE WATCH ON THE RHINE.”

*Bas-relief on the National Monument at Niederwald. The figures are all portrait statues*



The dying Emperor never again met his dying son, who so soon followed him. Prince William passed rapidly between Berlin and San Remo in a round of "double duty."

On March 8 all the royal household in Berlin, including Bismarck, Moltke, and Prince William his grandson, assembled in the room of the Emperor to receive his last words. To the chancellor he said, "Maintain honestly the Austrian Alliance. Be very careful and prudent with the Emperor of Russia." He spoke of other alliances, of the army, of the possibility of war. Sometimes his mind wandered, but he would immediately recur to the subjects nearest to his heart. Doctor Kögel frequently engaged in prayer, and once read from the Scriptures, to which the Emperor assented, giving his approval in solemn responses. The same divine afterwards read the Psalm, "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me." The Grand Duchess of Baden, using the affectionate German family diminutive, said, "Papachen, didst thou hear that?" The Emperor answered, "That is beautiful." He then spoke with composure to every person present, took leave of all, and thanked Bismarck and Moltke affectionately for their great services. His daughter then asked him, "Papachen, does not so much speaking tire thee?" He answered, "My child, I have no time to be tired." He then referred to the loss she had sustained in the death of her son, and the sorrow she had experienced at the bedside of her brother at San Remo, and was about to say that she was to experience this new sorrow, but he was obliged to pause with the sentence unfinished.

At four o'clock on the morning of the 9th of March, the imperial family were summoned for the last time to

the bedside of the Emperor. As Empress Augusta stood by his side he reached out his arm, asking for her hand. He took it, and did not again relinquish it. From time to time he opened his eyes, and when once a faint sound came from his lips, those who listened heard him say, "My poor Fritz." These were his last words. The dying man still held the hand of the Empress, but the spirit of the great warrior had taken its flight. "The hero of Königgratz, the victor of Gravelotte," and he who had won an Empire, was no more.

At the age when the ordinary man thinks of retiring to private life, Emperor William I. gained a great name for posterity. One of the grandest and worthiest careers ever vouchsafed to any prince came to an end on that early March morning of 1888. It was indeed true that he had never taken time to be tired; for he had done his duty day by day faithfully and well, trusting to providence to crown his work. It is impossible to portray the sorrow felt at his death, not only by his own subjects, but by all people throughout the world; it was like the bewailing in the early ages of the death of Charlemagne. In the fulness of his strength and victory he had inspired nothing but love. All that can be permitted to any human being was granted to him, — to be beloved and not feared by his subjects. He had been a faithful friend and a generous enemy; he was high among men, but humble before God. He was as modest in peace as he had been victorious in war; and some have compared him to Lincoln in the former capacity, and to Washington in his efficiency and faithfulness in both peace and war. He could not have done his work without the wise aid of the two great leaders, Bismarck and Moltke, but neither of the two could have built up the state without him. With the help of the subordinate princes, he had re-established

the old German Empire, and governed it for eighteen years; and now the oldest sovereign of them all, he left the Empire, though still in a state of transition, a prosperous and mighty nation, an Empire of peace.

At noon Prince Bismarck appeared in the Assembly suffused with tears; amidst the profound silence he announced officially the Emperor's death. He told the members that the latter had mentioned only the day before two thoughts which had been to his last hours a profound consolation, — the wide sympathy which the sickness of his son had called out showed that the world believed in the Hohenzollern dynasty; while it was a supreme joy to him that the union of the whole German nation, which he considered had been the mission of his life, was successfully accomplished.

The body of the Emperor was placed in the mausoleum at Charlottenburg. To-day the reclining statues of himself and Empress rest in the same silent chamber he had visited when he returned an Emperor from his triumphal French campaign, and wept for joy over the tomb of his beautiful mother because he had fulfilled her last wish.

The life of Frederick III. as Emperor vanished before it had time to leave great mark upon his people. In the four months of vigils, within sound of his dying voice, the love and confidence the people had felt for the brave Crown Prince on the battlefield was assured. He was fifty-seven years old when the nation greeted his accession. Everything that this world can give lay within his grasp; yet from the first moment his step was too feeble to mount the brilliant staircase, and his hand too weak to grasp the sceptre of power. The shouts of the multitude ringing in praise of him sounded in his ear like distant music, which he would have listened to with delight had not the fatal

truth always been present, that he was passing beyond, and descending into the deep shadows.

Frederick III. was a man by nature eminently popular. He had a knightly bearing, and his countenance expressed a heart free from guile; affability, geniality, and good nature characterized his manners. He had inherited a rare intelligence from his mother, and this was strengthened by the influence of his wife. To the people of Prussia he had always been not only Crown Prince, but "Our Fritz" (*Unser Fritz*). In his relation to the people he was like Frederick the Great, always accessible, unassuming, sympathetic, and cheery. He had, like the latter, a kind word even for the boys and girls he met; and his desire to know and participate in all the joys and sorrows of those who were soon to be his subjects made him until the end the idol of his people.

The intellectual and artistic world had expected much of Frederick; and being no idle dreamer, he might perhaps have done what he had planned. He desired this to be an age of learning and intellectual awakening, like the beginning of the last century; and he intended to build a cathedral in Berlin like Westminster Abbey. This was to be the burial-place where Germany's illustrious dead might rest beside the Prussian kings and Germany's new Emperors. When completed it is to be a monument on which the story of Prussia's greatness developed from the deepest humiliation will be written, Germany's glory and unification, and the renown of Prussia's sons.

Emperor William I. was regarded by the Conservatives exclusively as their Emperor. In like manner his son was claimed by the Radicals as the imperial embodiment of advanced ideas. He has been called the "Peace Emperor" in contrast to his father, who was named "William the Victorious." He would no doubt have been

a citizen king rather than a military leader; nevertheless, his conduct in the various battles in which he distinguished himself during the war with France shows that he was brave and fearless, and that unlike Frederick William I., his great-great-grandfather, he regarded the army as a means and not an end. To have seen the nation in its present tranquillity would have rejoiced his pure soul.

It was not by political management that he gained the affection of the people, but by his tendencies and associations. His friends, with whom he associated on equal terms, were chosen out of the most distinguished men of art. Next to the educated classes, the workingmen expected most from his reign. Thousands of the latter are said to have believed that in his accession the millennium dawned, and when he died they were filled with despair. It has been considered almost marvellous that when the blow came there was no uprising, none of the social upheavals and convulsions which patriotic peace-parties had predicted would spring up among the lower classes. In fact, the latter class was the only factor which refrained from meddling in the strife which was continually going on around the Emperor's sick chamber in the three and a half months during which he was called to reign.

While the Emperor was well, the family circle had rarely been separated; and the influence of their lives in its simplicity was like that of his grandfather William III. and the charming Queen Louise, — an inspiration for good. Very near the hour of the Emperor's death, on the birthday of his daughter Sophie, now Crown Princess of Greece, having for some months been unable to speak, he wrote: "Dearest child, be always good and pious, as you have ever been."

On the 25th of June, 1888, at the New Palace of Pots-

dam, after a night of much suffering, Frederick the Good passed gently away, and left the throne to his son, William II. His body lay in state in the Jasper Chamber for some days. Bismarck and Moltke, and other distinguished military associates, were present, and shed tears of sorrow over their own and the nation's great loss. He had fallen prematurely ; but no records of history have produced such a noble example of patience and heroism, of physical and moral bravery. "Some say he was a hero, but some say he was a saint."

On the morning of the same day a Diet was temporarily called, and Crown Prince William was declared Emperor under the name of William II.

The next evening a leading London journal published the following appropriate stanza : —

" William has passed, bowing his silver crest,  
Like an old sea king going to his rest.  
Frederick, in fullest prime, with failing breath,  
But as heroic heart. has stooped to death ;  
Here at their tomb another Emperor keeps  
His vigils, whilst Germania bows and weeps.  
Heaven hold that sword unsheathed in that young hand,  
And crown with power and peace the Fatherland."



## CHAPTER LV.

## THE REIGN OF WILLIAM II.

1887 — 1899 A.D.

AT the time of the accession of William II., it seemed that no monarch had ever succeeded to the throne under circumstances of so much perplexity.

The age of Louis XIV. could be no other than a Golden Age in the minds of a people who had been compelled to endure the despicable government of the two preceding rulers. But how could a sovereign so young and inexperienced hope to be the popular successor of a grandfather pre-eminently victorious and just, and a father incomparably noble and brave, both of whom had lived, reigned, and passed away within the short space of the previous six months.

Many who were in Germany that fateful year remarked that feeling ran high, and that civil disturbances were impending. Unfavorable predictions were made in reference to what the young ruler would be likely to do; for until recently his ascent to the throne had been considered merely as a remote probability. Although he had been married eight years, and was already surrounded by a promising family of three or four boys, he had only just finished his special studies as heir to the throne.

William II. was born on the 27th of January, 1859. His mother was the eldest daughter of Queen Victoria of England. She is now known as "Empress Frederick" of Germany. From the beginning he was educated as a soldier, and at the same time in the diplomatic tactics

of the Great Chancellor. At first he attended the High School at Cassel; and afterwards his boyhood was spent at the University in Bonn, studying the sciences, mathematics, political economy, jurisprudence, and the foreign languages. He was married in 1881 to Princess Augusta Victoria, daughter of Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein, the Duke of Augustenburg, and a year after he began his technical training for the civil duties of Emperor. Part of this *régime* was attending the sittings of the Diet, making abstracts of proceedings, drafting state papers, and other minutiaë involving knowledge of the workings of the government and the political machinery of the state.

Up to the time of his accession to the throne, June 15, 1888, William II. was an ardent admirer of Bismarck, and people then predicted that great harmony and unity of purpose would still exist between the two men; for their mutual attachment had been almost like that of a father and son. Every fortnight, during his youth and early manhood, Prince William had been in the habit of visiting Friedrichsruhe, and each time he learned a valuable lesson in the affairs of state. He had also sat at the feet of Moltke, whose counsels he depended upon until the end of the latter's life. He always accorded the illustrious strategist the greatest deference, as is shown by an incident that occurred just two weeks previous to Moltke's death, when they together visited the North and Baltic Sea Canal. At Rendsburg, where they halted after sailing thither by the Eider Canal, the garrison was called out to salute their Emperor, when William II. addressed the officers and populace as follows: "Retain your position, for a greater sovereign approaches than your Emperor." Whereupon Moltke appeared, and received honors as heartily bestowed as those just rendered the monarch himself.

Under old Emperor William's direction, Prince William had also been placed under Dr. Aeschenbach, President of the Province of Brandenburg, to learn administration methods; but at that period he showed no aptitude for public business, the only real interest which absorbed him being the army.

At the time of his marriage he had gone through the military training incident to his rank, and had shown a serious spirit about everything pertaining to military affairs. This he evinced afterwards by the training he inaugurated for his little boys, introducing into the nursery of his children the methods of his ancestor, the father of Frederick the Great; for almost as soon as his eldest boys could walk, they were provided with miniature regimentals, and formed part of a drill corps.

After he was Emperor, the army at first failed to reciprocate his regard, and his unpopularity was the cause of some remark. But his devotion and efficiency in that branch of the public service, and his lofty example in all that required imitation, soon won respect and esteem. His attachment to the army and navy is brought out in a proclamation to them soon after his accession: "We belong to each other, I and the army; thus we are born for one another, and thus we will stand together, in peace or storm, as God may will it." From the last clause it seemed to some that he would, at the first provocation, plunge the country into the old-time horrors of war.

When opening his first Diet, William II., among other things, said, "Like King William I., I will, in conformity with my oath, be conscientiously mindful of the laws of the state and the rights of the people, and I will with the same conscientiousness guard and exercise the constitutional rights of the crown, in order to hand them at some future time intact to my successor on the throne."

The Emperor's attitude at that time gave the Conservative party, who were disheartened when Emperor Frederick's reign commenced, new courage. They expected, since he had been under the tuition of Bismarck, that he would carry out his grandfather's policy; and it seemed in the early part of his reign that he might foster conservative ideas. But it was not long before differences came up between him and the Great Chancellor. These were brought about on account of conservative measures which Bismarck wished executed. In any case, William II. meant it to be understood that he alone was to rule.

His address to his "faithful Brandenburgers" was at one time criticised, but was afterwards recalled to his credit as an evidence that he wished to stand between classes and parties; and the great revelation which he declared he had received from his "watch among the stars," wherein he was told to cast aside all party preferences, etc., was looked upon as the chimera of a youthful mind. But after the death of the Crown Prince of Austria, who was his most intimate friend, his character was greatly developed, and the people began to feel that he was sincere in desiring their good, that he recognized the need of their support, and realized the responsibilities of his position. The spring of 1890 brought on a new era in his reign, and his real statesmanship began to appear. Many war-clouds at first seemed ready to burst, but subsequent events have strengthened the belief that he is not averse to peace at home and tranquillity abroad. The Conservatives became alarmed, fearing an entire change of policy, and a general compromise on both sides helped to clear the political atmosphere.

In 1891 the Emperor seemed to develop an inclination towards social reform, and to feel that his noble grandfather had failed fully to understand the need of these

reforms for the people. He laid this to Bismarck, who, he thought, had resisted every liberal tendency of the great Emperor's mind. It is said it was the dissimilarity in their views about the working-class which brought about the final rupture between the present Emperor and Bismarck, and the retirement of the Old Chancellor. As far back as 1889 a question had arisen between them about the colliery owners and the colliers, which the Emperor settled by an appeal to the sense of duty of the employers. After this he tried to promote better conditions in the life of the peasants, and endeavored to reform the Church, and in a labor conference ameliorations in the factory laws were proposed. The conciliatory spirit of the Emperor at this time somewhat changed the attitude of the Socialists; and it is hoped that the violent tendencies of the faction will not revive, though the monarch has long since transferred his imperial and "fatherly" solicitude from the laboring-classes to the Junker land-owners.

A few summers ago, as the Emperor was riding through Friedrichsstrasse, a group of bricklayers, waving their caps in the air, greeted the young ruler with the cry: "*Arbeiter Kaiser*" (Emperor of the working-men). The Emperor then felt that never before had so great a tribute been rendered him. He once made the reply to a remark which called attention to the gratitude of the people for the stand he had taken, that it did not signify to him whether he received thanks from the masses or not, since it was the duty of the state to make the working-classes feel that they were a part of the social system of the government.

A story which exhibits his zeal for the Church declares that he advised the board of aldermen, who waited upon him after his accession, to pay less attention to politics.

and build more churches. In any case, through his efforts in carrying out Emperor Frederick's ideas, church-building has increased at a greater rate during the past five years, and more church edifices have been built during that time in Berlin than in the entire century previous.

At one time the Emperor was criticised for carrying out too independent a line of conduct for the head of the nation; and such acts were thought not to be the outgrowth of wisdom, but rather the result of egotism. But it has come to be acknowledged by the people at present that he governs well, and is influenced by a high standard both in religion and in morals, and that he desires justice and the progress of the nation. It is also more and more apparent that he does not covet absolutism, not even desiring the "enlightened despotism" of Frederick the Great.

In a certain sense, the Emperor is not the Emperor of Germany, but the German Emperor. The Empire is, unlike the Russian form of sovereignty, a territorial unity, and, like our government, a federation of states, each state having its own ruler, and generally a distinct administration; the German Emperor is president in the same sense as our highest executive officer. He has no more legislative power than our president, while the "veto" is not given to him. The Constitution vests the Presidency of the Confederation (*Præsidium des Bundes*) in the King of Prussia, with the title of Emperor, and creates two legislative bodies, the Federal Council (*Bundesrath*) and the Imperial Diet (*Reichstag*). In the Federal Council he acts through the Prussian Government, and in this body has the same power as any member of the Confederation; and to the Diet he can only appeal through the Federal Council.

Legislative Acts do not require the signature of the Emperor in order to become laws, the concurrence of the Federal Council and the Diet being sufficient; but the declaration of war and concluding of peace is accomplished in the name of the Emperor. He represents the Empire in international matters, enters into alliances and political treaties with foreign states, and receives ambassadors, etc. The consent, however, of the Federal Council is necessary before war can be finally declared, except in the event of an attack on federal territory or coast. The Emperor opens and closes the Federal Council and Diet, with the reservation that both bodies must be called together annually, elections held sixty days after the dissolution of the Reichstag, and a new Reichstag must meet within ninety days of this dissolution, any change in the length of the session of the Reichstag being determined by the Federal Diet.

The Emperor may declare martial law should the public safety demand it. He appoints all imperial officials, beginning with the chancellor. All decrees and regulations necessary to the promulgation and execution of imperial laws must be signed by both Emperor and chancellor. The President of the Federal Council is the chancellor: and, he having been appointed by the Emperor, this gives the casting vote to Prussia. The Federal Council consists of fifty-eight members.

The Reichstag is elected by universal suffrage, every German twenty-five years old having a vote in the constituency where he resides; but the political power is only nominally in the hands of the people; it is the party leaders who vote, that is, the leaders give the word, and the voters follow their bidding.

While in the Prussian and other state Diets travelling expenses and cost of living are paid to the deputies, the

members of the Reichstag receive no compensation. In order to counterbalance the effect of universal suffrage and other democratic tendencies, Bismarck had a clause introduced into the Constitution making payment of members impossible. Since 1873, however, they have the free use of railways, these being under government control; and this is all they are likely to receive at present.

Before the Dark Ages, while the barbarians were devastating the old Empire, the deeds of the ancestors of the present generation are shrouded in mystery; and it is only known that for a century or two they were occupied with their own internal affairs. During the present Emperor's reign, it may be said with almost as much reason that Germany has been absorbed exclusively in its domestic concerns; but its politics are too bewildering to be to any extent within the province of the present volume. One critic has said that since the reconstruction period after the wars of Napoleon, the Germans have lived on the borderland of the absolutism which Frederick the Great so much coveted and the parliamentary government so much desired, the latter form of government being so far a failure on account of the subordination of national to party interests. The two parties, Conservative and Liberal, are divided into nearly a dozen factions, — "factions," as the Germans call them. With all these parties, the average German may care little as to which fraction wins. This alleged lukewarmness is perhaps due to the fact that the Germans as a nation are not as diligent newspaper readers at the present time as are the people of some other countries. It is said that the German politician's life is exceptionally easy; since the people make no demands on his time, and his election to office is obtained without money or personal effort.



In the early years of William II.'s reign there was great agitation on account of the various parties. There were the Conservative, the National Liberal Party, the Radical Party, the Ultramontanes, the Anti-Semitic Party, the Social Democracy, etc., etc.

In 1869 the Ultramontanes were the earliest party to take up the labor question; since the Catholics understood the needs of the masses before the National Liberal Party contemplated such a problem as a social question, and the labor legislation of the present reign has received uninterrupted active Catholic support, the latter always favoring special laws for the workingmen. This fraction for years tried to induce Bismarck to pass measures forbidding Sunday work, and by their efforts all that was ever done was accomplished. They supported Bismarck in such social reform, declaring that he did not go far enough.

The Catholics in Germany have from the first embraced three classes,—the landed proprietors, the lawyers, and the priests. The leaders of the Ultramontanes, always have been from these classes. Dr. Windthorst, Bismarck's great adversary, died in 1891, a year after Bismarck had retired. He also was educated at Göttingen in the law, and entered the Prussian Diet and Reichstag in 1867. He was the leader of the Catholic Party for twenty years, and kept the Centre united. There never was any division in that party until 1893, when, on account of the "Army Bill," several members withdrew from Parliament. Small physically and short, he gained the name of "Little Excellency," a title with reference to his being the Hanoverian Minister of State, for in intellect he was recognized as a giant. Unlike Eugene Richter, the leader of the Radical Party, he never resorted to unchivalrous methods, although he struck his hardest blows

in his engagements with Bismarck. After their political differences came to an end, the two men became intimate friends. Windthorst showed his devotion to political life, when near the close, in a state of semi-consciousness, he, with his usual force and irony, delivered an address before an imaginary Diet. The Catholic Party never regained their strength after his death.

After this the socialistic movement gained ground until 1893; and out of seven and a half million votes, one and three-fourths million fell to socialistic candidates, and this was considered the strongest party in the nation. In Saxony their vote increased in the years from 1889 to 1893 from one hundred and forty-nine thousand to two hundred and twenty thousand, and in Berlin it was not less; but in 1890, when the old legislation, which had lasted twelve years and had proved a failure, had been abolished, there began a new social era in Germany; for after the Social Democrats no longer felt that they were persecuted, and understood that the working-people had the sympathy of the Emperor, the excitement gradually grew less and less; for then it had been proved that the socialistic movement could not be suppressed by force.

As late as 1892 the National Liberal Party was led by Dr. von Bennigsen, who also was educated at Göttingen. His fidelity to principle, and his intellectual superiority, gained for him rare influence in the Diet, although a leader of the parliamentary opposition.

In 1891 Von Moltke, the "Great Silent One," passed away, — a man who, throughout his great career, had never made an enemy or lost a friend. On his ninetieth birthday every school in Germany was closed for the "Moltke *Fête*;" and when he died, a short time after, the whole country mourned. His seat in the German Reichstag, which he occupied on the 24th of April, 1891, the

day of his death, was the next morning wreathed in green laurel. So lofty were Moltke's achievements that, though he had lived to so great an age, no ray of his glory had departed. A modern writer says of him, "He did not cease to win battles in 1870-1871, but continued to gain them in anticipation up to the time of his death. He was the ever-successful strategist; and he is now remembered and judged as the great general who led the 'armies of the eagle' nowhere save to triumph." He trained up a school of officers to follow in his footsteps; and although he is no more, his knowledge and experience of the art of war have been handed down to the present German army. He was every inch a soldier, and his life business was war; notwithstanding this, he could never sufficiently deprecate its horrors. Some one remarked to Bismarck during the French campaign that Moltke looked remarkably well. "Yes," Bismarck said; "it is all the war. It is his business. I remember that when a Spanish war seemed imminent he looked at once ten years younger. When I told him the Hohenzollern prince had withdrawn, he immediately became quite old and worn looking; but when the French made difficulties, he was at once fresh and young again."

Prince Bismarck was made Duke of Lauenburg in 1890. When in 1893 he was brought almost to death's door, Emperor William II. sent solicitous inquiries for his health, and after his recovery, on January 26, Bismarck visited the Emperor in Berlin; and on February 19 the visit was returned the Emperor at the time kissing both cheeks of the old statesman amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the populace. This gave rise to a widespread report, to the great gratification of the nation, that a complete reconciliation had taken place between the two men. No political consequences attended it,

however. Through all the former strife, Bismarck is said never to have uttered a harsh or angry word against the Emperor personally.

On April 1, 1895, Bismarck's eightieth birthday, many celebrations throughout the nation took place. The 23d of the preceding March a resolution was offered in the Reichstag delegating the president to convey congratulations to the prince; but on account of the opposition of the Social Democrats, the measure was defeated by a considerable majority. The minority, however, went in a body to Bismarck's home in Friedrichsruhe on March 25, congratulating him in person. On account of the failure of the enactment, the President and Vice-president of the Reichstag resigned, and the Emperor thought seriously of using his prerogative to dissolve the Assembly. He, together with the Crown Prince and the head of the civic and military department, on the 27th of March, paid their respects to the old chancellor, after which the Emperor gave a banquet in honor of the occasion. The Bundesrath without dissent voted congratulations, as did also the city council of Berlin. The great services which Bismarck had rendered the nation were noticed in all the journals except those of the Social Democrats. Bismarck received many presents, and Magdeburg collected a large fund for the erection of a monument to his honor. In the Niederwald thousands from far and near assembled about the great national monument, and bonfires were lighted on all the mountain-tops out of enthusiasm for the great occasion. During his life fifty-one honorary titles were conferred on the prince, only two of which reverted to the Crown at his death.

On November 30, 1897, the Reichstag was opened by William II. The ceremony took place in the White Hall of the royal castle. The navy occupied the principal place

in the Emperor's opening address. He spoke of the inadequacy of the navy at present to meet issues in case of warlike complications with nations abroad, declaring that it had not kept pace with the rapid growth of Germany's trans-oceanic interests, and that it does not support Germany's position at home. Then the Emperor touched on many other civil interests, calling attention to the necessity of placing the squadron in Eastern Asia at Kiao Chou Bay on account of the murder of two German missionaries there, that reparation might be obtained, and also as security against similar lamentable events in mission stations under imperial protection. The squadron was immediately sent under the direction of Prince Henry, the Emperor's brother, and occupation was gained soon after. Closely following this event, a lease was secured which amounts to permanent occupation by Germany.

In concluding the address the Emperor said, "Our political relations with foreign States are in every way gratifying, and valuable guaranties of their maintenance have been afforded me by allied and friendly monarchs, as evinced in my visits to Peterhof and Buda-Pest, and the capitals of other nations. All indications justify the expectation that, with God's help, we may in the future, as in the past, look forward to the peaceful development of Europe and the German Fatherland."

The situation in 1898 has justified the prophetic utterances of the Emperor in this speech before the Diet; for during the year Germany has continued to keep her second place in the commercial supremacy of the world, England continuing first, and the United States following as third in commercial importance.

In the winter of 1898 the Emperor of Germany made distinguished efforts in behalf of humanity in the Dreyfus-Esterhazy matter, as he had done several years pre-

vious in remitting the sentence of two French officers convicted in Leipsic for acting as spies in Germany.

On July 30, 1898, the invincible spirit which dominated Europe for a score of years took its flight. Bismarck, the man of iron, died as he had lived, unflinching at the end, yielding nothing to the great foe of all mankind.

In the month of October, 1898, like the crusaders of old, Emperor William I., with a long train of followers, set out for the Holy Land. Although unfriendly critics alleged political and commercial considerations as the animus of the visit, the chief point in view was mainly religious. The Sultan Abdul Hamid II. spared no pains or expense in conferring the highest honors on his Imperial friend. He sent a large escort to attend the Emperor; and when on November 10th his Majesty and the Empress encamped in the ruins of the Temple of Baal, there were magnificent illuminations in their honor. The Emperor unveiled a marble slab with commemorative inscriptions in both Turkish and German.

Constantinople is said to be full of German functionaries of one kind and another; and every station on the railroad through Asia Minor, which is steadily being pushed ahead, consists of a little German colony. No doubt the Emperor has great possibilities working in his brain of a final larger Germany, embracing the whole of the Teutonic race, with Trieste as a southern frontier, and the Tigris and Euphrates as her Eastern boundaries—the Empire as a mighty rival of each and all the great powers; but the only point ostensibly gained by this Eastern tour was a gift received from the Sultan of a plot of ground at Jerusalem, said to have been the site of the abode of the Mother of Christ. The Emperor immediately turned it over to the German Catholics as a conces-

sion to their religious zeal, hoping thereby to unite the Catholic and Protestant elements so long in opposition, in a great religious revival. The Pope approved the act and sent acknowledgments.

There was much anxiety felt in view of the Emperor's contemplated call at Cadiz on his return journey about the middle of November; but this was soon dispelled by frequent and reiterated assurances from the German government that their feelings to the United States at the great crisis in the settlement of the American Spanish War was most friendly. Although there had been much speculation and many vague rumors of Germany's sympathy for Spain during the late war, by the Emperor's judicious course on his return journey just as the Commission was in session at Paris, all apprehensions were dispelled, and an *entente cordiale* between the nations was established for all time.

The most interesting phase of the present German Emperor's reign is his charming domestic life. In the winter season the family still live in the old Elector's palace across the Königsbrücke, at the summit of which is the resplendent chapel erected by William IV., he being the last royal occupant up to the time of the present Emperor's accession to the throne.

The palace has been lately restored, and at present equals in elegance that of any sovereign in the world. The royal family occupy apartments between the "Pillar Hall" and the "Star Hall" or "Star Chamber." The most magnificent room is the front hall, the Treppen Hall, which faces the palace square. The view is unobstructed, even when the doors are closed; for each door is an immense pane of plate glass, and the white and gray marble walls contrast strikingly with the deep red of the rich carpet on the marble stairs. When the

whole is flooded by the electric light, it is marvellous to behold. Much of the splendid rococo work in the Emperor's library was executed in Frederick the Great's time. This is destined to be an historic room; for here state papers are signed, telegrams composed, and inventions made. The Empress's private apartments as well as reception rooms are panelled in greenish-gray marble, and are resplendent with glittering mirrors which serve as doors; but the Empress herself is the genuine German *Hausfrau*, and superintends all her domestic affairs, great simplicity in the style of living being kept up, and no extravagance in any department of the household being allowed; for the Empress intends that the family life of the palace shall be a model for both high and low throughout the land. The children are brought up in a Spartan manner, and the mother sees that their religious training is that which will make them pious and God-fearing citizens whose influence will elevate and bless the nation.

During the present reign an innovation has taken place in respect to the use of German instead of French in the menu, the French system having been in vogue ever since the time of Frederick the Great, when French became the language of the German court. The method of serving dinner differs from that of almost every other country, in the fact that it lasts hardly an hour; and, as at Napoleon's table, any one who gives too much time to talk, finds himself at the close of the meal in a state of semi-starvation.

At the end of the Carnival, which takes place in February, is the time-honored ball, where as many as twelve hundred guests are invited. The waltz is the principal dance, the minuet also having been lately introduced. The Emperor and Empress make their round



of the guests in the White Hall before dancing begins. They then join in one quadrille, and after this they deport themselves like any host and hostess of the court in a large reception.

Early in the summer season the royal family, with the exception of the three eldest boys, migrate to the New Palace in Potsdam, where they remain until the beginning of the New Year. This building was erected in 1763 by Frederick the Great, and was his favorite palace next to Sans Souci. It is built in the Dutch style, and has two hundred rooms, a concert hall, reception rooms, and the Jasper Chamber. The palace was furnished by Frederick the Great, and has been renovated by William II. The apartments of Frederick the Great remain unchanged, his music-stand and spinnet being still seen. Emperor William inherits his great ancestor's taste for music, and the children of the imperial family enjoy the same with equal relish.

The Jasper Chamber, where the late Emperor Frederick lay in state, has its walls embellished with gems and costly shells brought by naturalists and friends from all parts of the world for the purpose of adorning this unique room; and some have been found by the Emperor and Empress in their extensive travels. It is in this apartment that the royal family spend Christmas evening, the nine Christmas-trees signifying the number of the members of their family. The three eldest boys then come home from their school at Plön, where they are receiving their early training. At ten years of age, according to an old custom, each of the princes enters the First Regiment of Foot Guards as the youngest officer, receiving the rank of lieutenant. Just before leaving for home, on the 24th of December, a *fête* is given in honor of the princes. Since all of the boys from their infancy have

had their mimic drill, the kind of manœuvring mentioned above is not too much for their youthful physique; and like their father, they are growing up with a martial spirit and a military ambition. The parades of this regiment create great interest among the citizens of Berlin, and the members of the Guard view these youthful soldiers with something akin to adoration. Prince Adalbert, the third boy, has also the rank of junior lieutenant in the navy. The Order of the Black Eagle is the insignia of the Guard. The princes always wear blue suits like those of the German sailors.

The tiny Princess Victoria Louise is the pet of the family, and all of the boys vie with each other in showing her every little attention. After the Crown Prince, Frederick William Victor, born on the 6th of May, 1882, comes Eitel Frederick, then Adalbert and August, and then Oscar and Joachim, some of them regular old Brandenburgher names. They are healthy, genuine German children, and go to bed at nine o'clock.

The Emperor spends much of the time in summer on his yacht, often accompanied by his family. His journeys also are numberless, and of hunting he is very fond. During the time of the autumn manœuvres he is away for some weeks with the army.

When at Potsdam the royal family attend the Friedenskirche. The Empress is the patroness of many charitable associations; she supports hospitals, and is the superintendent of the Great Women's Association which does so much for charity. But the most of her alms-giving is done in accordance with the command of Christ: "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth."

On January 1 the court is moved to the colossal palace at Berlin, where at present a great deal of old-time court etiquette has been abolished, so that even the Emperor's

staff is much reduced. The opening festivities of the year, however, commence as formerly by religious services in the Royal Chapel, and after this until midday there is a reception in the Throne Room.

In a few days the three lieutenants return to Holstein, and at Plön continue their education in the Cadets Corps with many other boys of their own age; in this companionship they learn a great number of things which will help them as future sovereigns, and by means of which they are stimulated to higher advancement in their work. Four of the Emperor's generals are of the House of Hohenzollern, and these young officers hope some day to occupy similar places in the German army.

And thus the years are passing, and these young people are being fitted to fill the high places in German society and politics. This devoted home-life is like a tonic to the nation; for no people can learn to be good and great without the example of their sovereign, which should always embody lofty aspirations, real piety, and genuine worth.

We quote from one of the most eminent German historians: "We must expect in an age of the highest attainments that the brightest light and the darkest shade will alternate; for near to brilliant successes lurk heavy dangers, and no prophet can lift the veil of the future. We of the present generation have passed through the transition stage, and have survived. A new Empire has been formed from an old and fossilized Germany. From a highly cultured people we have become a great political nation, and our highest pleasure ought to be in the service of our country and in works for humanity; for to whom much is given, from them much will be required, and can by us be accomplished."

The last year of the nineteenth century presents an outlook to the German nation which will gladden every

loyal heart. If we look back to an old map of ancient Germania, we notice several little divisions, at an early period occupied by the embryo tribes which Arminius fought for and died to save. In these primitive nations the spark lay dormant which kindled the sacred flame now illuminating the republican institutions of our own beloved land, and from the embers have sprung all the contingents of our modern civilization, which furnishes such a glorious example to the peoples of the world.

To-day there is a new map of Germany; and on it the original small divisions are emerged into a vast and renowned Empire, already arbiter of the destiny of Europe, and when the Eastern question is settled, a dominant factor in Christianizing the world.

Could the spirit of brave Arminius now visit the land he redeemed; could the birds which fly round the Kyf-häuser mountain tell Frederick Barbarossa the secrets of liberty they have learned; could old Martin Luther awake to life again, and Stein and Scharnhorst and Gneisenau stand before their monuments in Berlin; could William, the Great and Victorious, who consolidated Germany, rise up at the side of his war-horse, no longer bitted and bridled; and Bismarck, the Strong, the Old Iron Chancellor, the star in the firmament of Europe's great men, revisit the land so lately bereft by the flight of his spirit, — then would the chivalrous young Emperor stand up before all, not looking back; but beckoning on to the twentieth century, he would point out a great destiny for the nation to these fearless souls, and to the spirits of all the brave men who have helped to rescue from oppression their Fatherland.

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## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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Conquest of Cimbrii by Marius at Vercellæ . . . . .	101 B.C.
Varus conquered by Arminius . . . . .	7 A.D.
Beginning of Barbarian migrations . . . . .	375 A.D.
Theodosius the Great's death . . . . .	395 A.D.
Alaric in Rome . . . . .	410 A.D.
Vandals sack Rome . . . . .	455 A.D.
Fall of Western Empire . . . . .	476 A.D.
Death of Theodoric the Great . . . . .	526 A.D.
End of Barbarian migrations . . . . .	570 A.D.
Charlemagne crowned . . . . .	800 A.D.
Treaty of Verdun . . . . .	843 A.D.
Death of Henry the Fowler . . . . .	936 A.D.
Coronation of Otto the Great as Emperor . . . . .	962 A.D.
Scene at Canossa between Hildebrand and Henry IV. . . . .	1077 A.D.
Crusades . . . . .	1096-1270 A.D.
Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor . . . . .	1152 A.D.
Beginning of Interregnum . . . . .	1268 A.D.
Rudolf of Hapsburg . . . . .	1273 A.D.
Battle of Sempach . . . . .	1386 A.D.
Fall of the Eastern Empire . . . . .	1453 A.D.
Luther posts the Theses . . . . .	Aug. 31, 1517 A.D.
Luther before the Diet at Worms . . . . .	April 17, 1521 A.D.
Beginning of Thirty Years' War . . . . .	1618 A.D.
Peace of Westphalia . . . . .	1648 A.D.
Death of Great Elector of Brandenburg . . . . .	1688 A.D.
Establishment of Prussia as a Kingdom . . . . .	1701 A.D.
Birth of Frederick the Great . . . . .	1712 A.D.

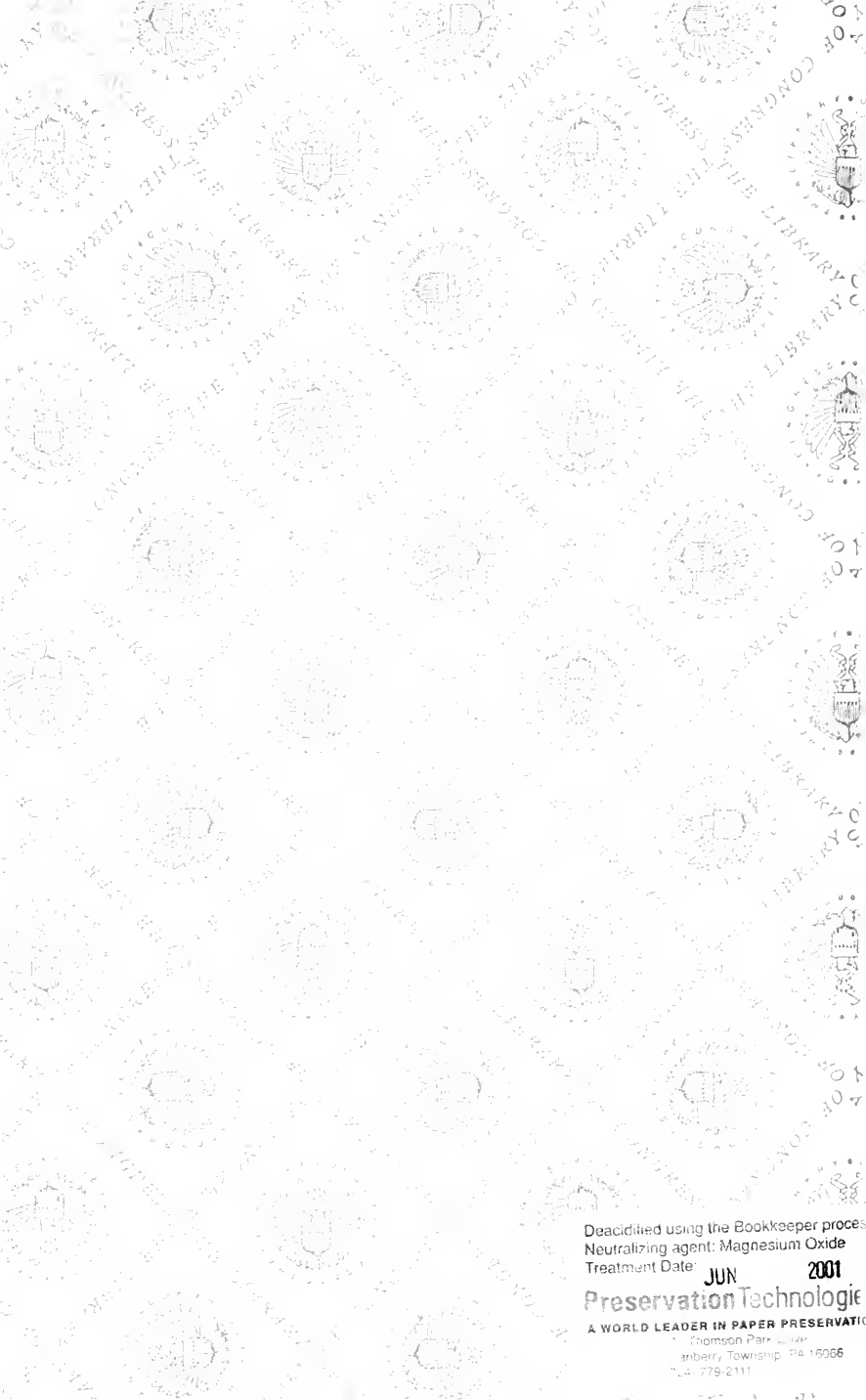
Francis II. lays down crown of Holy Roman Empire . . . . .	Aug. 6, 1806 A.D.
Beginning of War of Liberation . . . . .	1812 A.D.
Battle of Leipsic . . . . .	Oct. 16-19, 1813 A.D.
Battle of Waterloo . . . . .	June 18, 1815 A.D.
Austro-Prussian War . . . . .	1866 A.D.
Battle of Königgratz . . . . .	July 3, 1866 A.D.
Franco-Prussian War . . . . .	1870-1871 A.D.
Battle of Sedan . . . . .	Sept. 1, 1870 A.D.
Siege of Paris begins . . . . .	Sept. 19, 1870 A.D.
Founding of German Empire . . . . .	Jan. 18, 1871 A.D.
Treaty of Peace after Franco-Prussian War signed . . . . .	Feb. 26, 1871 A.D.
Death of William I. . . . .	March 9, 1888 A.D.
Death of Frederick III. . . . .	June 25, 1888 A.D.
William II. Emperor . . . . .	June 25, 1888 A.D.











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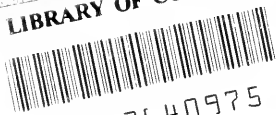


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