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COLUMBES AT THE COURT OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA

From the painting by Vazhav-Brožik (1852-1900)

Larned's
History of the World
OR
Seventy Centuries
of the Life of Mankind

A SURVEY OF HISTORY
FROM THE EARLIEST KNOWN RECORDS
THROUGH ALL STAGES OF CIVILIZATION, IN ALL
IMPORTANT COUNTRIES, DOWN TO
THE PRESENT TIME

*WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT OF PREHISTORIC
PEOPLES, AND WITH CHARACTER SKETCHES
OF THE CHIEF PERSONAGES OF EACH
HISTORIC EPOCH*

BY J. N. LARNED

EDITOR OF THE FAMOUS "HISTORY FOR READY REFERENCE," AND AUTHOR OF
"A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS,"
"A HISTORY OF ENGLAND FOR SCHOOLS," ETC.

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CHAPTER XII

THE HISTORICAL WORLD AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

(THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY)

The transition from Mediæval to Modern.—The known world in the first half of the fifteenth century. *Mediaeval Scholasticism*: The intellectual bar to advancement in knowledge.—Logic the whole of science.—Paralyzing deference to authority. *Mediaeval Education*: The Scholastic training of mind compared with that of the classical education.—The finding of Nature and birth of modern science.—Italy and the "new learning."—Common schools in the Middle Ages.—Primary and secondary schools.—Books and studies. *The early Reading Public*: Increasing book-trade before printing was invented. *Mediaeval Architecture*: Signification of the great cathedrals.—Clerical architects.—Public enterprise in cathedral-building.—How the cost was paid. *Mediaeval Dwellings and Furniture*: Invention of chimneys.—Glass windows.—Development of home life.—Impossibility of it in fortified habitations.—Life in castles and walled towns.—English manors and manor-houses.—Peasants' homes. *Mediaeval Serfdom*: Status of the serf or villein.—His tenure of land.—Substitution of a money-rental for labor claims. *Town-life in the Middle Ages*: Civic feeling in the mediæval town.—Responsibilities and duties of the citizen.—A town described. *Mediaeval Gilds*: Gild monopolies.—Classes of the gilds. *Monasteries and Monks*: Their early influence.—Monastic colonization.—What the early monks did and were.—The monasteries as democratic institutions.—Why they fell. *The destruction of Feudalism*: Feudalism and mediævalism bound together.—The undermining agencies.

Although the transition from mediæval to modern states of mind and conditions of life was a gradual process, marked nowhere by any abrupt change, nevertheless it was accelerated so notably, in the middle years of the fifteenth century, by the invention of printing, and so considerably, at about the same time, by the flight of educated Greeks from Constantinople into western Europe, that it does not seem fanciful to delimit the two periods by a line drawn through those years. In the history of that progress in knowledge, in personal and social discipline, and in the lordship

The transition from mediæval to modern

of the natural world, which we call the civilization of mankind, there is nothing more important or more interesting than the passage that was then being made. Modern history will have more meaning to us if we pause a little now, at this point, to acquaint ourselves more than we have done with the attitude of mind, the state of knowledge, the limitations of view, the general circumstances of life, that were being left behind by the generation that first read the Bible in print.

The Known World in the first half of the Fifteenth Century

The world that it knew was the same north-eastern quarter-section of the actual globe that the Greeks had had knowledge of twenty centuries before. It knew more of the little European section of it than Greeks, or even Romans, had ever learned, but less of most other parts. Europe, in the first half of the fifteenth century, had less acquaintance with Asia, and Asia less with Europe (notwithstanding the reports of the adventurous Marco Polo to each), than in the age of Alexander. The spread of Islam and the conquests of the Turks had stretched a cloud of thick darkness between them, and obscured at the same time all the African side of that ancient historic world which had girdled the Mediterranean and been brought to an intimate unity in the empire of Rome.

Practically, the world-knowledge of the mediæ-

Europe

Asia

Africa

val Europeans, even to the last generation of their epoch, was limited to their own small portion of the earth. That hedged their ideas,—gave a mould to their habits of thought. Practically, too, it set a bound to their activities, their energies, their adventurousness, which even the incitements of commerce were strangely slow in breaking through. They coasted the Mediterranean, as Phœnicians and Greeks had done two and three thousand years before them; they were busy sailors in the Baltic, and they crept along the western shores of their continent, between the two seas; but the great ocean that rolled its waves to those shores had invited them for a thousand years to learn what other coasts it washed, and only a bold Norseman or two, who hugged the Arctic Circle, sailed forth to see. They were content with rumors and traditions of fabulous islands in the western ocean,—Antillia, Bimini, St. Brandan's, and sundry more. Vigorously as Venice and Genoa developed the Mediterranean trade, and powerfully as the merchants of the German Hansa organized their commercial combinations in the north and west, their ambitions never carried them into adventures beyond their own familiar coasts. It was not till the fourteenth century that Europe recovered a long-lost ancient knowledge of the Canary Islands; not till the fifteenth that the neighboring Madeiras were found; and a full third of the fifteenth century was passed before Prince Henry of Portugal began sending ships southward, down

Limited
world-
knowledge

Limited
ideas

Limited
adventur-
ousness in
navigation

Fabulous
islands of
the
Atlantic

Canary and
Madeira
islands

the African coast, where Carthaginian explorers had sailed while Rome was young.

Mediæval Scholasticism

In other fields of knowledge the mediæval mind was barring itself from advancement in a singular way, by a delusive habit of thought. It had taken from the Greeks, and especially from Aristotle, the formulas of deductive logic, and had become fascinated by them, so extremely as to be exercised upon nothing else. By the growth of mental habit under this fascination, it seemed to become almost closed against any teaching from the natural world. Scholarship was founded upon the opinion, as Whewell has defined it, "that all science may be obtained by the use of reasoning alone;—that by analyzing and combining the notions which common language brings before us, we may learn all that we can know. Thus logic came to include the whole of science." Science, in the modern sense, was out of the question, of course, while this state of mind,—the so-called scholasticism of the Middle Ages,—prevailed. It found nothing to object to in such reasoning and such conclusions as this: that "heavy bodies must fall quicker than light ones, for weight is the cause of their fall, and the weight of the greater bodies is greater;" "that water has no gravity in or on water, since it is in its own place; that air has no gravity on water, since it is above water, which is its proper place; that earth in water tends to descend, since its place is below

Logic of
Aristotle

Logic the
whole of
science

Whewell,
*History of
the Induc-
tive Sciences*
1:230, 190,
236

water; that water rises in a pump or siphon, because nature abhors a vacuum." To be dissatisfied with logical maxims like these, and to think of testing them by any recourse to the phenomena themselves, was an attitude of mind that scholasticism could not understand. When a powerful free intellect like that of Roger Bacon did break the scholastic fetters, and found its way to the school of Nature, for study in her own books, with its own eyes, it was silenced and sealed up in the prisons of the church. For scholasticism was the product of the mediæval church, nurtured and guarded by it as long as the church was able to keep the intellectual dictatorship it had won in a deeply darkened age. Deference to authority was a fundamental part of the scholastic habit of mind, and it had its training to that from the church. It was that which prepared its professors and disciples to be satisfied with their empty dialectics, which led them through endless rounds of disquisition and dispute. Says Hallam: "Wherever obsequious reverence is substituted for bold inquiry, Truth, if she is not already at hand, will never be attained. The scholastics did not understand Aristotle, whose original writings they could not read, but his name was received with implicit faith. They learned his peculiar nomenclature, and fancied that he had given them realities. . . . The Aristotelian philosophy, even in the hands of the Master, was like a barren tree that conceals its want of fruit by profusion of

Fate of
Roger
Bacon

Deference
to
authority

Misunder-
standings
of Aristotle

Scholastic
subjects of
disquisition

leaves. But the scholastic ontology was much worse. What could be more trifling than disquisitions about the nature of angels, their modes of operation, their means of conversing, or (for these were distinguished) the morning and evening state of their understanding? Into such follies the schoolmen appear to have launched, partly because there was less danger of running against a heresy in a matter where the church had defined so little,—partly from their presumption, which disdained all inquiries into the human mind, as merely a part of physics,—and in no small degree through a spirit of mystical fanaticism, derived from the oriental philosophy and the later Platonists, which blended itself with the cold-blooded technicalities of the Aristotelian school. But this unproductive waste of the faculties could not last forever. Men discovered that they had given their time for the promise of wisdom, and been cheated in the bargain. What John of Salisbury observes of the Parisian dialecticians in his own time, that, after several years' absence, he found them not a step advanced, and still employed in urging and parrying the same arguments, was equally applicable to the period of centuries. After three or four hundred years, scholasticism had not untied a single knot, nor added one unequivocal truth to the domain of philosophy. As this became more evident, the enthusiasm for that kind of learning declined; after the middle of the fourteenth century few distinguished teachers arose among the school

John of
Salisbury

Decline of
scholasticism

men, and at the revival of letters their pretended science had no advocates left, but among the prejudiced or ignorant adherents of established systems."

Hallam,
The Middle Ages, 3: ch. ix, pt. 2

Necessarily, any knowledge resembling natural science was even more impossible than any rational philosophy to minds in the state which this describes. We can understand, therefore, why Whewell, in his *History of the Inductive Sciences*, makes no attempt to trace a mediæval link of connection between the beginnings of a scientific observation of natural phenomena among the ancients and its resumption in the sixteenth century. He admits that practical men of what he styles "the stationary period" did, in their arts, arrive at an apprehension of some workings of natural law which the ancients had not discerned, and made a practical employment of them; but they did so, in his view, with no scientific knowledge of them as determined laws. Hence he maintains that even the science of mechanics "did not make any advance from the time of Archimedes to that of Stevinus [Simon Stevin of Bruges, born in 1548] and Galileo." Between alchemy and chemistry he recognizes no more of a scientific relationship than between astrology and astronomy; and so, in his *History*, the whole "stationary period" of ten or eleven centuries is emphatically a blank.

A stationary period in the history of natural sciences

Whewell,
History of the Inductive Sciences
1: 188

Mediæval Education

But, because the knowledge imparted to students in the mediæval schools had little sub-

Intellectual
fruitfulness
of scholas-
tic educa-
tion

stantial value, it does not follow, by any means, that their education was of no worth; since the culture-influence of learning is largely independent of the quality of the learning from which it comes. This question of the intellectual fruitfulness of the scholastic education is discussed with much clearness in Rashdall's elaborate work on the mediæval universities. "If," says that writer, "in mediæval times, words were often allowed to usurp the place of things, they were not allowed to usurp the place of thought." "Considered as mere intellectual training, it may be doubted whether the superiority of a classical education, as it was understood at the beginning of this [the nineteenth] century, to that of the mediæval schools, was quite so great as is commonly supposed. If in the scholastic age the human mind did not advance, even Macaulay admits that it did at least mark time. The study of Aristotle and the schoolmen must have been a better training in subtlety and precision of thought than the exclusive study of a few poets and orators. However defective its methods of achieving that end, the scholastic education at least aimed at getting to the bottom of things, although Renan (who gives it this praise) has also pointed out the supreme defect of scholasticism when he says that its method was incapable of expressing 'nuances,' while truth lies in the 'nuances.' . . . That on the whole a good eighteenth-century education was healthier, more stimulating, and more rational than a good four-

A training
in subtlety
and preci-
sion

teenth-century education need not be denied; but our intellectual advance since the mediæval period had less to do with the improvement in the substance or the method of education than the academic world complacently imagined. It was in the main what he picked up out of school and lecture-room that differentiated the educated man of the eighteenth century from the educated man of the fourteenth. . . . Up to a certain point—and this is the one consolation to the educational historian—the value of education is independent either of the intrinsic value or of the practical usefulness of what is taught. The intelligent modern artisan or the half-educated man of the world possesses at the present day a great deal more true and useful knowledge than a mediæval doctor of divinity. But it can on no account be admitted that this puts the uneducated man of modern times on a level with the educated man of the Middle Ages. And the educated man—the man who has spent many of his maturer years in subtle and laborious intellectual work—will generally show his superiority to the uneducated man even in the most severely practical affairs of life, when once the former comes seriously to apply himself to them. It was emphatically so in the Middle Ages. Kings and princes found their statesmen and men of business in the universities—most often, no doubt, among those trained in the practical science of law, but not invariably so. Talleyrand is said to have asserted that theologians made the best diplomatists. It was not the

The mediæval and the modern educated man

Statesmen of the Middle Ages

Mediæval
demand for
educated
men

went of the practical men of the Middle Ages to disparage academic training. The rapid multiplication of universities during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was largely due to a direct demand for highly educated lawyers and administrators. In a sense, the academic discipline of the Middle Ages was too practical. It trained pure intellect, encouraged habits of laborious subtlety, heroic industry, and intense application, while it left uncultivated the imagination, the taste, the sense of beauty—in a word, all the amenities and refinements of the civilized intellect. It taught men to think and to work rather than to enjoy. Most of what we understand by ‘culture,’ much of what Aristotle understood by the ‘noble use of leisure,’ was unappreciated by the mediæval intellect.”

Rashdale,
*Universities
of Europe
in the Mid-
dle Ages,*
2 : 705-707

Influence of
the classical
education

But if, as a method of intellectual development and training, the so-called scholastic education was really comparable in value with the classical education that came to supersede it in the fifteenth century, it is unquestionable that the influence of the former was to close and of the latter to open men’s minds, not merely to new knowledge, but to new illuminations,—new expansions of vision and of interest,—new capacities of feeling as well as of thought. The classical learning did not introduce them to Nature—the great, supreme teacher whom the schoolmen never saw and never heard; and perhaps it was nearly as blind and deaf to her as the schoolmen had been; but it drew its pupils into

paths of seeking and criticism where some of them found their way to Nature and were matriculated in her school. Modern science—Nature-knowledge—had its birth then; and so, too, had the modern free spirit and the independent thought.

The finding of Nature and the birth of Modern Science

Though Petrarch and a few others had tasted a little earlier of the classic literature of ancient Greece, it was not till near the end of the fourteenth century, or the beginning of the fifteenth, that the “new learning” began to waken a wide interest and be a potent influence in Italy; and considerably later that it made its way beyond the Alps. It was Italy that nourished it—Italy that recommended it to Germany and the Netherlands, and to England and France. This was a service of great importance to the re-civilization of the world; but it seems to be exaggerated in the view of it taken by Hallam, who wrote: “What might have been the intellectual progress of Europe, if she had never gone back to the fountains of Greek and Roman genius, it is impossible to determine; certainly nothing in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries gave prospect of a very abundant harvest. It would be difficult to find any man of high reputation in modern times who has not reaped benefit, directly or through others, from the revival of ancient learning. We have the greatest reason to doubt whether, without the Italians of these ages, it would ever have occurred. The trite metaphors of light and darkness, of dawn and twilight, are used carelessly by those who touch on the literature of the Middle

The “new learning” in Italy

Hallam’s question

Did a revival of learning depend on the Italians?

Hallam,
*Introduction to the
Literature of Europe*,
1 : ch. ii,
sect. 49

Ages, and suggest by analogy an uninterrupted progression, in which learning, like the sun, has dissipated the shadows of barbarism. But, with closer attention, it is easily seen that this is not a correct representation; that, taking Europe generally, far from being in a more advanced stage of learning at the beginning of the fifteenth century than two hundred years before, she had in many respects gone backwards, and gave little sign of any tendency to recover her ground."

The native
revivals of
the thirteenth and
fourteenth
centuries

But, surely, it is not reasonable to assume that the recovery of Europe from intellectual stagnation was hopeless at the beginning of the fifteenth century, if Italy had not drunk the stimulant literature of the ancient Greeks when she did. With no stimulant from antiquity, or from any external source, the past century and a half had been stirred by amazing movements of purely native energy in the mind of the time. Italy had produced Dante and Petrarch; England had produced Chaucer and Wiclif and Lollardy, and had startled Europe with a freedom of religious and social thinking that equaled the freest thought of Greece. That Lollardy was premature and had lapsed did not signify that the seed from which it sprang had perished wholly and could be fertile no more. That Dante and Chaucer had no immediate successors meant as little as the fact that Shakespeare has had none to this day. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries proved the working of latent forces in the European mind which would, surely, have

Latent
forces
proved

broken all the bonds of mediævalism; would have run forth from cells and cloisters into the natural world; would have climbed the upward paths of science; would have sung the songs of a rejoicing and inspiring literature, and expanded to all the largeness of modern power and achievement,—even though it had taken no stimulation from ancient Greece. No doubt the approaching renaissance of Europe was quickened by this “new learning;” no doubt the initial spirit in it was the deathless spirit of the old civilization of Hellas and Rome; but the great gifts from ancient culture to our modern civilization were not in that first stimulation so much as in the perennial and inexhaustible influences that have flowed from it since.

The great
gifts from
ancient
culture

It may be that more signs of the preparation of mediæval Europe for a waking of new energies are to be found in the work of its lower schools than in the influence of the learning given from higher seats. Naturally, it has been easier to learn what the universities were and what they did than to trace the extent and growth of the obscurer common schools; but patient search has gathered not a little of quite sure information concerning these latter, from scattered sources of many kinds. An interesting summary of such information, relative to primary schools and teaching in the Middle Ages, may be found in an article by Brother Azarias, in the *Educational Review*. The writer quotes the opinion of M. Simeon Luce, whose authority on subjects con-

Common
schools in
the Middle
Ages

In France

nected with mediæval France is above question, and who says: "It is a grave mistake to imagine that there were no primary schools. Mention is made of rural schools in all the documents,—even in those in which we could least expect to find it,—and we can scarcely doubt that during the most stormy years of the fourteenth century most villages had their masters teaching children reading, writing, and some arithmetic."

"In the burghs and villages," says Brother Azarias, "it was customary with fathers, when binding out a young son to learn some trade, or hiring him out to do manual labor, to impose on the master conditions obliging him to send the child to school at certain times and seasons, and to procure him elementary instruction. . . .

The mediæval schoolmaster

The schoolmaster in the Middle Ages, we may infer, was, up to the fifteenth century, generally a young ecclesiastic, or a cleric, who dwelt with the pastor, helped him to sing the divine offices, aided him in many ways, and generally acted as sacristan. . . . The teacher was, according to Merlet, 'after the pastor, the chief man of the parish.' . . . He was the counsellor of families, the confidant of secrets; when a letter was to be written, to him men and women had recourse. . . . He was held in respect during life, and his memory was cherished after death. Nor was the schoolmistress less esteemed. . . . The manner in which he was paid varied with the locality. Sometimes he received a certain stipend from the burghers or the parish. Sometimes he

The schoolmistress

taxed each pupil according to the subjects studied.

“The primary or rural school was at first frequently held in the church, and it was only after a long struggle and reiterated synodal decrees that it became located elsewhere. . . . The school-books were few. The child had one book containing the alphabet and his prayers in Latin. . . . The child was invariably taught to read Latin before he had learned to read in the vernacular. In England the custom was changed during the sixteenth century. . . . Arithmetic in the primary school did not extend beyond a knowledge of numeration. . . . In the fourteenth century writing is but little practiced among the people; it still belongs to an exclusive profession. In the fifteenth century it ceases to be exclusive, and we find that the *bourgeoisie* write.”

School-
books

The studies

Writing

An idea of the extension of this primary teaching in the later mediæval period may be taken from such indicative facts as the following, found in the archives of Paris: “Independently of the schools attached to churches, eleven masters and one mistress figure in the roll of the land tax levied on the inhabitants of Paris by Philip the Fair in 1292. In the fourteenth century we find record of forty-one masters and twenty-two mistresses; in the fifteenth century there are a hundred.”

Brother
Azarias in
*Educational
Review*,
March,
1891

Of course, secondary schools imply the existence of primary schools, and if the former were numerous the latter must have been more so.

Secondary schools in England

More in the Middle Ages than now

The reason

Arthur F. Leach, in *Contemporary Review*, Nov., 1894

Secondary schools in Germany

That secondary schools—grammar schools—were really plentiful in most parts of western Europe during the later Middle Ages seems abundantly proved. A writer in the *Contemporary Review*, speaking of England, does not hesitate to say: “There is not the smallest doubt that the provision for secondary education was far greater in proportion to population during the Middle Ages than it has ever been since,”—which could hardly be said of another European country; for secondary education in England has been permitted to fall shamefully behind. This neglect is attributed by the writer just quoted to the fact that the Reformation of the sixteenth century was an aristocratic revolution, from the top downward, in England, instead of being from the bottom upward, and was destructive to a large extent of the public provision for the advancement of education; “while the democratic reformation in Scotland only transformed and modernized it.” As to the extent of the mediæval provision for secondary teaching, this writer, who seems to be well informed, finds it safe to say broadly of England, that “wherever there was a cluster of houses which could be dignified with the name of town, there was a grammar-school in the midst of it.”

As to Germany and the Netherlands, they were more advanced, probably, in common education, than either England or France. Says Janssen, the historian of mediæval Germany: “Outside the Mark of Brandenburg there was scarcely a

single large town in Germany in which, at the end of the fifteenth century, in addition to the already existing elementary national schools, new schools of a higher grade were not built or old ones improved. The ultimate control of the town schools was usually in the hands of the municipal authorities; but these institutions were also closely connected with the church, not only because most of the masters belonged to the clerical profession, but because the supervision was either practically left to the clergy or formally made over to them. School rates as well as poor rates were then unknown. Even those schools which were under the jurisdiction of the magistrates were kept up by the fees received and by frequent new legacies; for the education of the young was counted also among those works to which money might liberally be given in obedience to the church doctrine of 'good works.' "

Janssen,
*History of
the German
people in
the Middle
Ages*

The early reading public

Learning thus how extensive was the diffusion of schools which taught large masses of the common people to read, even where writing was withheld from them, we can understand the quick working of influences from the invention of printing when it came, and especially the rapidity of the action of those influences that produced the movement of the Reformation. Even "before the invention of printing," says Janssen, "the trade in manuscripts had grown to large and extensive business proportions in Germany." "In the large

Book trade
in Germany
before
printing

trading towns and in the free imperial cities the work of copyists had developed into a regular industry, more with the object of supplying the universal wants of the people than those of scholars. Regular catalogues were made out, and the works were disposed of by traveling pedlars, who found ready sale for them at the annual fairs. In the middle of the fifteenth century we find one of these pedlars, named Diepold Lauber, opening at Hagenau a shop well supplied not only with Latin books but with the best of the High-German literature, with epic poems, legends, prose works, versified Bibles, lives of the saints, prayer and meditation books. This varied stock shows that during the Middle Ages books were not confined to the rich and learned in Germany. After the invention of printing the trade in books continued on the same lines as that of manuscripts, and developed so rapidly that toward the close of the century it had covered nearly all civilized Europe." "Frankfort-on-the-Main was the center of the world's book trade."

Green, in his *Short History of the English People*, notes the same creation of a reading public, wanting books, before printing was invented to meet the demand: "The very character of the authorship of the time," he says, "its love of compendiums and abridgments of the scientific and historical knowledge of the day, its dramatic performances or mysteries, the commonplace morality of its poets, the popularity of its rhymed chronicles, are additional proofs that literature

A fifteenth
century
bookseller

Janssen,
History, I:
17-18

Beginnings
of a popular
literature

was ceasing to be the possession of a purely intellectual class and was now beginning to appeal to the people at large. The increased use of linen paper, in place of the costlier parchment, helped in the popularization of letters. In no former age had finer copies of books been produced; in none had so many been transcribed. Abroad, this increased demand for their production caused the processes of copying and illuminating manuscripts to be transferred from the scriptoria of the religious houses into the hands of trade guilds, like the Guild of St. John at Bruges, or the Brothers of the Pen at Brussels. It was, in fact, this increase of demand for books, pamphlets, or fly-sheets, especially of a grammatical or religious character, in the middle of the fifteenth century, that brought about the introduction of printing."

Green, Short History of the English People, ch. vi. sect. 3

Mediæval Architecture

Even while inquisitive minds in the Middle Ages seem to have been wasting their powers, and learning made no advance, robust practical minds were giving eminently capable direction to much remarkable work. The surviving architecture of mediæval Europe gives proof that there was no lack of power in the brain of the time, and leads us to understand that the weakness and defectiveness of its working were due to influences that turned a great part of its activity into modes and upon objects which could not yield worthy fruit. Certain it is that such masterpieces of art, energy and constructive capability as the great cathe-

Power in the mediæval brain

Signified by
the great
cathedrals

drals of western Europe, will bear comparison, in what they signify potentially, with any typical achievement of any age, before their production or since. They represent, not only an immense advance beyond the Greeks and beyond the Romans in powerful handling of architectural materials, but likewise the most splendid creation of beauty from the rudeness and roughness of stone that has ever been accomplished by any builders since the Greeks of old.

Develop-
ment of the
possibilities
of the arch
and the
vault

The builders of the Middle Ages did this by working out the possibilities of the arch and the vault, which the Greeks had employed but little, and the Romans with no striking effect. Using both rounded and pointed forms of arching and vaulting, varying and modifying both, enriching them with ornament, adding gracefulness to strength in their supports, and giving harmony and beauty of line to all their accessories, the unknown builders of these ages created the styles of architecture called Romanesque and Gothic, and raised for Christian worship, in western and northern Europe, an amazing number of structures that rank with the sublimest works of the human brain and hand. In this direction, the church influence which had misled inquiring thought, and brought emptiness to learning, became a greatly inspiring force. It not only inspired the new development of a noble art, but the inspiration arose within the church itself. "We know but few of the men who designed the great cathedrals, churches and castles of the

Roman-
esque and
Gothic
styles

Middle Ages," says one of the profoundest students of those ages, "but when we do know, as it were by accident, who the builder was, he is almost always a clergyman. It seems as though skill in architecture, and intimate acquaintance with all which was necessary, not only for the design of the structure, but for good workmanship and endurance, were so common an accomplishment, that no one was at pains to proclaim his own reputation or to record the reputation of another. It is known that we owe the designs of Rochester Castle and the Tower to one ecclesiastic. It is recorded that William of Wykeham was Edward the Third's architect at Windsor, as well as his own at Winchester and Oxford, and of various handsome churches which were built during his long episcopate. It is probable that Waynflete designed the beautiful buildings at Magdalen College; and it is alleged that Wolsey, in his youth, planned the matchless tower which has charmed every spectator for nearly four centuries. But no one knows who designed and carried out a thousand of those poems in stone which were the glory of the Middle Ages, and have been made the subjects of servile and stupid imitation in our own."

Clerical
architects

Castle and
church
builders

Rogers,
*Six Centuries of
Work and
Wages*, 1:
162-3

Not piety alone, but civic ambition—public spirit—was enlisted, no doubt, in stupendous undertakings of religious architecture, which represented social enterprise in that day, very much as railway building has represented it in ours. Relatively to the circumstances of the

Public
enterprise
in cathedral
building

time, the building of a Canterbury cathedral must have been an effort of public enterprise equal, or more than equal; to the building of the railway from London to Dover, when the latter was done.

In Janssen's *History of the German People in the Middle Ages*, something is disclosed of the extent to which the whole public took part in these undertakings, and of the modes in which its contributions were made: "The nation," says the historian, "put forth its best efforts in these works, and all participated in the expense by larger or smaller alms, according to their means. To see this we have only to look at the building accounts of the church at Xanten, from which we learn that the foreman of the works received from one a bed, from another a coat, from a third a measure of corn, from a fourth a cow, and so on, to be disposed of for the benefit of the building fund. Helmets, coats of mail, weapons, and so forth, were hung in the choir of the church and sold for the same purpose. Here a citizen offers his jewelry, there a landed proprietor makes contribution of tithes; others bring building materials, others subscribe the money they would have paid as entrance fee to a club or association; a man-servant gives a few small coins, a poor old woman some pennies. The very masons employed gave with one hand what they received as wages with the other. The same feelings prevailed in Frankfort-on-the-Main. When the building of the cathedral was proceeding, the

How the
cost was
paid

An instance
at Frank-
fort-on-the
Main

Brotherhood of St. Bartholomew appointed a person who sat all day by the picture of 'the Agony in the Garden' in the cemetery to receive contributions. The poor people brought not only money, but household articles and clothing as contributions. . . . In a manuscript chronicle of the cathedral of Ulm we find it related that near the parish church building office a hut was erected to which each might bring his or her offerings. 'No apron, bodice or necktie should be disdained.' All the articles were to be disposed of at a certain market to the best advantage for the benefit of the church. Certain citizens engaged to supply horses and men to work for periods varying from a year to a month. In this manner the work progressed at such a rate that by the year 1488 the magnificent temple, with its tower, was not only built and roofed, but furnished with fifty-two altars, and all this without any outside help. According to the accounts the building and steeple cost nine tons of gold."

Another
instance at
Ulm

Janssen,
*History of
the German
People in
the Middle
Ages*, 1:
174-176

Mediæval dwellings and furniture

Mediæval inventiveness appears to have been stimulated peculiarly in architecture, while barren of originality in most other arts. To other structural contrivances, which architects can best appreciate, it added the important one of the chimney, for draughting away smoke from household fires. So far as discoverable, this simple device of a flue to the roof, for the conveyance of a draught of air direct from fires on the hearth,

Invention
of the
chimney

Its impor-
tance to
home and
family life

instead of a mere opening in the roof for escape of smoke, came to us from the builders of the Middle Ages, dating possibly from the twelfth century, but more certainly from the thirteenth or fourteenth. If chimneys were known to more ancient times, the knowledge must have been lost and reacquired in an original way. Hardly another improvement in domestic conditions can ever have added more to the happy influences of home and family life. The fireplace and the chimney may reasonably be counted among the great civilizing inventions of man; and it is possible that their appearance in European homes, during the later mediæval centuries, had more to do with the preparation of European society for what we call a renaissance than we should dare to suppose.

Glass
windows

Glass windows, which added another great comfort and another genializing influence to the home, were just beginning, in late mediæval times, to become common in the dwellings of the wealthy, but, probably, were found in no others till a later time.

Develop-
ment of
home life

Generally, the development of home life, in the modern sense, was but passing from its first stage when the Middle Ages closed. As we conceive it and experience it, in our day, it implies a state of society that will envelop the family, not only in decent comfort, within its habitation, but in security, and in such separateness and privacy of life as it may desire; that is, a society in which people are sufficiently protected by government and law, and need not surround themselves, in

towns or castles, with defensive walls. In the fortified habitation of the mediæval lord and his retainers and dependents, and in the huddled dwellings of a walled town, family life was different in every way, and all its influences were different, necessarily, from those of the modern home. At the time we are now considering, both country dwellers and town dwellers were beginning to escape from such grim and cramped environments of their domestic life. Castles were undergoing reconstruction, or those newly built were designed to be something more than mere forts. As a well-instructed writer on the subject has described the change in progress, "the type of the castle is gently dying out, the type of the domestic house breaking forth into existence. The military character has not yet left, and the civil is perhaps, to a great extent, made subordinate to it." "During the fifteenth century," says the same writer, "the necessity of continuing to support a large body of retainers ceased in many instances, and the castles were modified accordingly; some built on one plan, and some on another, according to the wants of the owners. Again, the introduction of the use of gunpowder in warfare had rendered the old mode of fortification in a great degree useless, except to protect the house against any sudden attack of a party of marauders; and the builders became gradually aware of the fact, so that the gatehouse and the walls, and battlements and towers, began to be considered more in the light of ornaments, and

Dependent on protection by government and law

Impossible in fortified habitations

Gradual modification of castles

Effect of gunpowder

indications of state and grandeur, than as actually necessary for defence against an enemy, and the more palace-like character of the building was gradually developed. The more peaceful and civilized state of the country also had its effect; and, notwithstanding the wars of the Roses, England appears to have made more rapid progress in the peaceful arts during this century than any other country. . . . The town-houses at this period, no doubt, as the wealth of the country increased, underwent great improvement, but as far as we can judge, wood was still the chief material used in building them; for this reason especially we have few examples remaining. . . . In many towns on the continent whole streets have been preserved of these wooden houses of the fifteenth century, as at Nuremberg, Hanover, Brunswick, Halberstadt, and Quedlinburgh, and several other towns in the north of Germany."

English
progress in
peaceful
arts

Town
houses of
the
fifteenth
century

Parker,
*Some Ac-
count of the
Domestic
Architec-
ture of Eng-
land, 5-7,*
12, 33

Of the houses of the country gentry, in England, Mr. Hallam remarks that it is not easy to discover any large fragments that were inhabited "before the reign, at soonest, of Edward III. [fourteenth century], or even to trace them by engravings in the older topographical works, not only from the dilapidations of time, but because very few considerable mansions had been erected by that class. A great part of England affords no stone fit for building, and the vast though unfortunately not inexhaustible resources of her oak forests were easily applied to less durable and

English
town
houses

Their con-
struction

magnificent structures. A frame of massive timber, independent of walls, and resembling the inverted hull of a large ship, formed the skeleton, as it were, of an ancient hall—the principal beams springing from the ground naturally curved, and forming a Gothic arch overhead. The intervals of these were filled up with horizontal planks; but in the earlier buildings, at least in some districts, no part of the walls was of stone. Stone houses are, however, mentioned as belonging to citizens of London, even in the reign of Henry II. [twelfth century]; and, though not often perhaps regularly hewn stones, yet those scattered over the soil or dug from flint quarries, bound together with a very strong and durable cement, were employed in the construction of manorial houses, especially in the western counties and other parts where that material is easily procured. Gradually even in timber buildings the intervals of the main beams, which now became perpendicular, not throwing off their curved springers till they reached a considerable height, were occupied by stone walls, or, where stone was expensive, by mortar or plaster, intersected by horizontal or diagonal beams, grooved into the principal piers. This mode of building continued for a long time. . . . Early in the fourteenth century the art of building with brick, which had been lost since the Roman dominion, was introduced, probably from Flanders. Though several edifices of that age are constructed of this material, it did not come into general use till the reign of Henry VII.”

Beginnings
of brick
building

Hallam,
*Middle
Ages*

The English manor of the fourteenth century

Professor James E. Thorold Rogers, in the first volume of his great collection and study of facts relating to agriculture and prices in England, is able to set forth a most interesting exhibit of the conditions of country life, among all classes, in the period between 1259 and 1400. The English parish or manor in that period was divided into four portions: (1) the demesne which the lord of the manor cultivated by his bailiff; (2) the small estates possessed by freeholders, who paid quit-rents to the lord; (3) the tenements and lands of villeins, or serfs, whose labor was more or less subject to the lord's command; and (4) the waste or common, over which all tenants had right of pasture, and sometimes of turf. "The buildings belonging to the lord," says Professor Rogers, "consisted of manor-house and grange. The manor-house contained at least three principal rooms—the hall, the dormitory, and the solar; and during the absence of the lord was occasionally inhabited by the bailiff: the lord making periodical visits to his several manors, for the purpose of inspecting his estate, and taking account of the proceeds. The hall was the chamber used for the manor court; for receiving homage; for inflicting or levying fines. . . . The solar was the state chamber . . . built generally, as its name implies, toward the south.

The manor-house

The furniture of the manor-house

"As might be expected, the furniture of the manor-house was scanty. Glass, though by no means excessively dear, appears to have been rarely used. A table put on tressels, and laid

aside when out of use, a few forms and stools or a long bench stuffed with straw or wool, covered with a straw cushion worked like a beehive, with one or two chairs of wood or straw, and a chest or two for linen, formed the hall furniture. A brass pot or two for boiling, and two or three brass dishes; a few wooden platters and trenchers, or more rarely of pewter; an iron or latten candlestick; a kitchen knife or two; a box or barrel for salt; and a brass ewer and basin, formed the moveables of the ordinary house. The walls were garnished with mattocks, scythes, reaping hooks, buckets, corn-measures, and empty sacks. The dormitory contained a rude bed, and but rarely sheets and blankets, for the gown of the day was generally the coverlet at night.

Dormitory
and bed

“The peasant’s home was, we may believe, built of the coarsest material, most frequently of wattles daubed with mud or clay. . . . We, whom the progress of mechanical skill and agricultural science have made acquainted with a number of conveniences, now regularly distributed, but utterly unknown to our forefathers, cannot realize the privations of a mediæval winter, the joy of a mediæval spring, and the glad thankfulness of an abundant harvest. Familiar with cheap artificial light, we cannot easily comprehend a state of things in which the purchase of a pound of candles would have almost absorbed a workman’s daily wages. The offering of a candle at the shrine of a saint was a natural tribute, because it was a choice personal enjoyment. Few

The home
of the
peasant

Its com-
fortlessness

Attractions
of the
church

Scurvy and
leprosy

Food

Rogers,
*History of
Agriculture
and Prices
in England*,
I : 12-13,
65-66

persons could have afforded to break the curfew [which required lights to be extinguished and fires covered at an early hour of the evening]. The lights of a mediæval church, the warmth, and the incense, must have formed a peculiarly acceptable contrast to those who lived in chilly-dark huts, where glass was unknown, fuel comparatively dear, and cleanliness all but impossible. Scurvy in its most virulent form, and leprosy, modified perhaps by the climate, were common disorders, for, as has been often said, the people lived on salt meat half the year, and not only were they without potatoes, but they do not appear to have had other roots which are now in common use, as carrots and parsnips. Onions and cabbage appear to have been the only esculent vegetables. It will be found that nettles (if we can indentify these with *urticæ*) were sold from the garden. Spices, the cheapest of which was pepper, were quite out of their reach. Sugar was a very costly luxury, and our forefathers do not appear, judging from the rarity of the notices, to have been skilful in the management of bees.”

Mediæval Serfdom

The villein or serf class mentioned in the above account of an English manor had practically disappeared from England before the mediæval period came to its close; but serfdom in some of its forms was a persisting institution in most European countries for several centuries to come. Of absolute slaves (mostly captives in war), there

Slaves

had been 25,000 recorded in the Domesday survey of England (1086); but the unfortunates of that extremely servile class appear to have dwindled thereafter in number very fast. It may be the fact, as some writers maintain, that the status of the villein, in the eyes of the old English lawyers, was indistinguishable from the status of the servus, or slave; but Mr. Rogers has made it plain that the practical difference in England, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, had become very wide. As stated in another of his writings, having reference especially to conditions in the thirteenth century, "the serf [villein] was disabled from migrating to any other habitation than the manor of his settlement. He could not bear arms in the militia. He could not enter into religion or become a secular priest, without the license of his lord, though it is very unlikely, if he furtively professed himself, that the church would, at least in the thirteenth century, suffer him to be seized and handed back to his lord. . . . If the serf obtained leave of his lord to live away from the manor, he paid a small annual tax. . . . The serf's son was unable to get instruction and enter orders, regular or secular, without his lord's consent. Entries of fines paid for going to the schools and entering the church are exceedingly common in the manor rolls of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though they become increasingly rare and finally disappear in the fifteenth. These payments, degrading as they may seem, are indirect proof, occurring early, that

Status of
the serf or
villein

Disabilities
of the serf

His depend-
ence on his
lord's will

Rogers, *Six
Centuries of
Work and
Wages*, 1:
45-46

the chattels of a serf were safe, at an early date, from arbitrary forfeiture to the lord."

Subject to these limitations of his freedom, the serf or villein was simply the tenant of a piece of land, for the use of which he must give to its owner (his lord), if required, certain portions of his labor. With the lord's consent, however, he might free himself from the obligation of personal service, by payment of a money-rental for his land; and the practice of such commutations increased till the landlords lost their right or their power to claim labor instead. That ending of villeinage in England was hastened greatly by the effects of the awful pestilence known as "the black death," which destroyed from a third to a half of the population of the kingdom, producing a scarcity of labor which compelled landlords to abandon the cultivation of their own estates and resort much more to the leasing of lands. Professor Rogers's investigations of the period before this came about go to show that the villeins, as a class, were not subject to arbitrary or indefinite claims of labor from them, but that their obligations were well defined, and that they were requited by liberal holdings of land. He writes: "The estates of the villeins were frequently as extensive as those of the freeholders, and were always, as far as I have found, held at fixed and commutable services, the commutation being determinate, but accepted only at the pleasure of the lord, who could exact the service if he preferred to do so, just as the tenant might, if he saw fit,

The serf as
a tenant of
land

Commuta-
tion of
labor obli-
gation by
money
rental

Ending of
serfdom,
1348-9

Effects of
the "black
death,"
1348-9

Rogers,
*History of
Agriculture etc.*,
I: 12

proffer his service instead of the money payment.”

In legal theory, the state of the serf is claimed to have been better in France than in England, and broad edicts of emancipation, issued by French kings in the fourteenth century, applying to all in bondage within the royal domains, have been cited as evidence of an early feeling in favor of freedom for the laboring man; but freedom was not conferred by the royal edicts,—it was only offered, upon the condition that a just composition be paid. The fact remains that serfdom lingered in some parts of France till the eve of the revolution. Nevertheless, French law had favored the peasant, when he became free, much more than English law had done; for it gave him opportunities for the acquisition of land, which English law almost denied. In most parts of Germany the peasants were in serfdom till the beginning of the nineteenth century; in some states they were not wholly free till that latest of the Christian centuries was one-third gone. Their formidable revolt in 1524-5 served only to fasten the yoke of bondage more inexorably upon them. Neither socially nor politically can freedom be counted among the new enrichments of life that the approaching modern era will bring widely or speedily to mankind. Changed conditions will help the winning of it in the end, but the process will be slow.

Serfdom in
France

French and
English
land laws

Serfdom in
Germany

Town life in the Middle Ages

Life in a mediæval town was more interesting and more stimulating, no doubt, than the life of a

mediæval manor or village, but it cannot have been more comfortable, and it must have been less wholesome by many degrees. The form and the furnishing of town and country dwellings appear to have been almost equally rude. "Even in Italy," says Hallam, "where, from the size of her cities and social refinements of her inhabitants, greater elegance and splendor in building were justly to be expected, the domestic architecture of the Middle Ages did not attain any perfection. In several towns the houses were covered with thatch, and suffered consequently from destructive fires."

Hallam,
*Middle
Ages*

Probably Florence, in the early decades of the fifteenth century, led all other Italian cities, and therefore all Europe, in art and general culture; but, says Reumont, writing of that period, "Florence was the city of a rich, active, sovereign republic, which sought its honor rather in the grandeur and brilliancy of its public buildings, both for ecclesiastical and secular purposes, than in the luxury of private houses. The city was at once munificent and thrifty. . . . Most of the streets were and remained narrow, the number of large squares was inconsiderable, but these streets were well paved, when in Rome people waded for years longer in the deep mire and dust of streets provided only with a tile causeway on each side. The greater number of houses were built of massive stone." Referring to a little earlier time in Florence, the same writer says: "The age was in many respects simple, and remained so even after

Florence,
early in the
fifteenth
century

Public
spirit and
private
thrift

communication had been rendered easier in all directions, wealth accumulated, and more connections formed. The houses were simple, with their windows closed, not yet by panes of glass, but by wooden shutters; with their steep staircases and narrow courtyards; the furniture and the meals were simple, even of the foremost citizens and high magistrates; the clothing of the men was simple—and all this lasted to the fifteenth century, and during a part of it.” The Florentines “saved at home, in order to gain means for public purposes, for ecclesiastical buildings and endowments, for beneficent institutions and patriotic festivals. The building of churches and hospitals came before the expenses for decorating town-house and villa. The public festivals were brilliant.”

Simplicity
of the pri-
vate houses

Reumont,
*Lorenzo de’
Medici*, I:
63-64, 82-83

The public spirit in Florence which preserved simplicity in private life as a means of saving for public expenditure, is not likely to have been a common characteristic of mediæval towns; but it is certain that the closeness of the corporate ties and relationships in those towns must have tended in all cases to develop civic feelings of peculiar strength. Says Mrs. Green: “To a burgher of the Middle Ages the care and protection of the state were dim and shadowy compared with the duties and responsibilities thrown on the townspeople themselves. For in the beginnings of municipal life the affairs of the borough, great and small, its prosperity, its safety, its freedom from crime, the gaiety and variety of its life, the

Strength of
civic feeling

Responsi-
bilities and
duties of
the mediæ-
val citizen

regulation of its trade, were the business of the citizens alone. Fenced in by its wall and ditch—fenced in yet more effectually by the sense of danger without, and the clinging to privileges won by common effort that separated it from the rest of the world—the town remained isolated and self-dependent.” Elsewhere in her careful study of “town life in the Middle Ages,” she describes the training of the mediæval burgher, in “a life where the citizens themselves watched over their boundaries, defended their territory, kept peace in their borders, took charge of the common property, governed the spending of the town treasure, labored with their own hands at all public works, ordered their own amusements.” “The claims of the commonwealth were never allowed to slip from his remembrance. As all the affairs of the town were matters of public responsibility, so all the incidents in its life were made matters of public knowledge. The ancient ‘common horn’ or the ‘common bell’ announced the opening of the market, or the holding of the mayor’s court, or called the towns-people together in time of danger. Criers went about the streets to proclaim the ordinances of the community, and to remind the citizens of their duty. . . . They exhorted the people ‘to leave dice-playing,’ ‘to cease ball-playing and take to bows,’ to shut the shops at service time, ‘to have water at men’s doors’ for fear of fire. . . . The merchant, the apprentice, the journeyman, the shopkeeper, gathered in the same crowd to hear the crier, who

His training

Publication of news by bell and horn and crier

recorded every incident in the town life or brought tidings of coming change. News was open, public, without distinction of persons. Where the claims of local life were so exacting and so overpowering we can scarcely wonder if the burgher took little thought for matters that lay beyond his 'parish.'

A graphic description of a town in the fifteenth century, as a visitor would probably see it, is given by a writer in the *Dublin Review*: "Around it is a wall with gates, and a few houses straggling outside. Leading to it is an execrable road, rough and furrowed, with holes and pools, mud and slush, so that vehicles can make little or no way. Journeys are made on foot or on horseback, and at times the road is not safe even for a horse. . . . You pick your way and pass through the gate into the town, not unchallenged. You are in a narrow, crooked street, with houses stunted and out of line, their upper stories jutting out within speaking distance, and leaving a jagged strip of sky overhead. The roofs with their projecting eaves are covered with thatch or tiles, the cross timbers in the gables are black with weather-stain, and in places are delicately carved. The shadows of the eaves fall on the latticed panes of narrow windows, and an occasional oriel adds to the quaintness. Take care of the heap of ashes here and the puddle there, and pass round that load of rubbish, for there is no drainage, no scavengering, nor is there a footway, and the street, where sound, is paved with rubble pebbles. Stand aside, for a horse comes along, bulging out

Mrs. Green,
*Town Life
in the
Fifteenth
Century,*
I : 125,
161-162

Descrip-
tion of a
fifteenth
century
town

Streets

Houses

Street filth
and litter

with laden panniers on his flanks, and lean against a shop to let him pass.

Shops

“The shops are in the shade of the overhanging houses, their fronts obstruct more light through their small leaded panes, or are taken bodily out to expose the wares in the gloom of the interior, and a young fellow inside asks what you lack. Mercers, bakers, goldsmiths, cloth-dealers, armourers, wine-sellers, all industries are in evidence, but in dusky, sober premises, with a sign overhead to announce the trade. The odours are not pleasant to the unaccustomed nose; fresh leather, cheese, fish, street emanations, and undefined fumes so blend together in the closeness of the confined street as to suggest a move onward. In the angle of two buildings you notice a statue of Our Lady or of St. John the Baptist, or of the patron of the town or trade; it is skilfully carved and decorated, and has a tiny lamp before it. Here and there from a gable a bracket protrudes, with a pendant oil lamp to shed a lugubrious light at night.

Odors

Shrines

Market-
place and
gild-hall

“The street widens into an open space, in which a massive stone church towers above other buildings. . . . Under an archway a passage takes you into the market place; the town- or gild-hall occupies one of the sides, in the centre is the cross, near it the public pump or well, and in one corner the stocks. . . . The market-place, especially on market-days, is the centre of town life and activity. The country folk are there with their fowls and eggs, butter and cheese, and

garden stuff spread on the ground; their rough home-spun garments, with hoods over their heads, and their weather-worn faces, grizzly and unkempt, are picturesque if not refined. Roving pedlars and chapmen shout out their wares, and the cries of quacks and montebanks add to the ceaseless clatter and babble. The town magnates bustle about in and out the hall, and officials pace to and fro with an eye on the buying and selling, to detect short weight or damaged goods. The bell of the town-crier is heard, and people crowd round him to listen to a new regulation of the mayor. Turn down one of the streets and go into a shop. In the semi-darkness and limited space display of the wares would be useless, and they are stowed on shelves or in trunks, or are suspended from hooks in the ceiling. The goods are mostly made on the premises, and the rooms behind are workshops with more light, where the journeymen and apprentices ply their trade."

Pedlars and
quacks

*Dublin
Review,*
122:275-7

The mediæval gilds

"The essence of the mediæval town," writes Professor Rogers, "was the formation of the gilds of merchants and craftsmen; and, if the town was large enough, of craftsmen who represented each and every calling which was carried on in the locality. There was every motive for the creation of these gilds, for the establishment of rules for their private governance, for jealous supervision over those who had the privileges of these corporate bodies, and for care lest an unauthorized

Motives for
their crea-
tion

person should intrude on what was a valued right, which might be and was watched with suspicion and alarm by other forces in the state. Within the limits of the corporation, the gild had the monopoly of manufacture or trade. . . .

Gild monopolies

They alone who were of the fraternity had the right to manufacture and sell within the precinct. They took care that this right should not become obsolete. They insisted, as one of the hindrances to the too free distribution of the privilege, that new-comers should undergo a long period of servitude or apprenticeship. . . . The gilds were the benefit societies of the Middle Ages.

Apprenticeship

. . . . It was a common practice for the wealthier members of a gild to give or devise sums of money to the gild, the proceeds of which were lent without interest to struggling members of the fraternity, adequate pledges or securities being exacted from the borrowers. . . . Sometimes the benefactor founded an almshouse for destitute or decayed members of the gild, their widows and orphans."

Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, 106-110

Classes of the gilds

"We must remember," says Mrs. Green, "that the various craft gilds represented all ranks and classes in the industrial world—the capitalist, the middleman, and the working man. There were aristocratic fraternities of the Merchant Adventurers, and of dealers living by the profits of commerce alone, who were grouped in the great mercantile companies such as the vintners and spicers and grocers and mercers. In a lower scale were the middlemen and traders who produced little or

Merchants and tradesmen

nothing themselves, but made their living mainly by selling the produce of the labor of others—such as the saddlers, the drapers, the leather-sellers, the hatters—and whose unions were in fact formidable combinations of employers. Below these again came guilds of artizans employed in preparing work for the dealers, to be by them sold to the general public: as the smiths who worked for the tailors or linen-armourers; the weavers who supplied the clothiers; the joiners, painters, ironsmiths, and coppersmiths who made the saddles and harness for the saddlers; the tawyers who prepared skins for the leather-sellers; the capmakers who fulled the caps which the hatters sold. Finally there remained the crafts which both manufactured and sold their own wares, like the bakers, tailors, or shoemakers, and who dealt directly with the consumer, without the intervention of any other guild. . . .

Artisans

“The original motives which drew men together into craft guilds were no doubt everywhere the same—the desire to obtain the monopoly of their trade and complete control over it; and also to find the security which in those days organized associations alone could give to the poor and helpless against tyrannical and corrupt administration of the law, just as in the country men enrolled themselves under the livery of a lord or knight who was their adequate protector against the iniquities of the courts, and by whose arbitration their quarrels were adjusted. For these purposes associations were formed of the entire trades of

Security in
organiza-
tion

The mediæval gild based on compulsion

Mrs. Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, 2:112-116

various districts. . . . It is in this organization of the whole craft into a compact body, arrayed in self-defence against the world outside, and in the means that were used to maintain it, that we trace the peculiar characteristics of the mediæval gild, as opposed to those of modern associations. From the very outset its society was based on compulsion. Dealer or artizan had no choice as to whether he would join the association of his trade or no, that question being settled by the charter which gave the craft power to compel every workman to enter into its circle. A constitution such as this left a profound mark on the conduct and ultimate policy of every gild. . . . Instead of a free self-governing community, there grew up a society ruled by its leading members in a more or less despotic fashion, according to the character of the trade itself and to the support given to its governors by the authorities."

Monasteries and monks

Their early influence

Of all the mediæval institutions which the generations of the fifteenth century in Europe were passing away from and leaving behind them, none had been a greater influence in the past, or would be less in the future,—none had performed a greater part in the civilizing of the new nations, or finished its part more completely,—than that of the monasteries and the monks. What the early monks did, and what they were to the society of their time,—what some of them did and were, nearly or quite till the dissolution of the

monasteries was begun,—is told eloquently and strikingly by Canon Kingsley, in one of his Cambridge historical lectures: “In the early middle age,” he writes, “the cleverest men were generally inside the convent, trying, by moral influence and superior intellect, to keep those outside from tearing each other to pieces. But these intellects could not remain locked up in the monasteries. The daily routine of devotion, even of silent study and contemplation, was not sufficient for them, as it was for the average monk. There was still a reserve of force in them, which must be up and doing; and which, in a man inspired by that spirit which is the spirit of love to man as well as love to God, must needs expand outwards in all directions, to Christianize, to civilize, to colonize.

“To colonize. When people talk loosely of founding an abbey for superstitious uses, they cannot surely be aware of the state of the countries in which those abbeys were founded; either primæval forest, hardly-tilled common, or to be described by that terrible epithet of Domesday-book, ‘wasta’—wasted by war. A knowledge of that fact would lead them to guess that there were almost certainly uses for the abbey which had nothing to do with superstition; which were as thoroughly practical as those of a company for draining the bog of Allen, or running a railroad through an American forest. Such, at least, was the case for the first seven centuries after the fall of Rome; and to these missionary colonizers Europe owes, I verily believe, among a hundred

The cleverest men of the early middle age in the convents

Monastic colonization of wilderness and waste lands

benefits, this, which all Englishmen will appreciate: that Roman agriculture not only revived in the countries which were once the empire, but spread from thence eastward and northward, into the principal wilderness of the Teuton and Slavonic races." In illustration, Mr. Kingsley narrates the life of St. Sturmi, a monk of the eighth century, who went far into the wilderness of Germany, under the direction of his teacher and bishop, St. Boniface, and founded the abbey of Fulda. "And Fulda became a noble abbey, with its dom-church, library, schools, workshops, farm-steads, almshouses, and all the appanages of such a place, in the days when monks were monks indeed. And Sturmi became a great man, and went through many troubles and slanders, and conquered in them all, because there was no fault found in him, as in Daniel of old; and died in a good old age, bewept by thousands, who, but for him, would have been heathens still. And the Aihen-loh [glade of oaks] became rich corn land and garden, and Fulda an abbey borough and a principality, where men lived in peace under mild rule, while the feudal princes fought outside; and a great literary centre."

The found-
ing of the
abbey of
Fulda

From such monasteries sprang—"what did not spring?"—asks Kingsley. "They restored again and again sound law and just government, when the good old Teutonic laws, and the Roman law also, was trampled under foot amid the lawless strife of ambition and fury. Under their shadow sprang up the towns with their corporate rights,

What the
early
monks did

their middle classes, their artizan classes. They were the physicians, the almsgivers, the relieving officers, the schoolmasters of the middle-age world. They first taught us the great principle of the division of labour, to which we owe, at this moment, that England is what she is, instead of being covered with a horde of peasants, each making and producing everything for himself, and starving each upon his rood of ground. They transcribed or composed all the books of the then world; many of them spent their lives in doing nothing but writing; and the number of books, even of those to be found in single monasteries, considering the tedious labor of copying, is altogether astonishing. They preserved to us the treasures of classical antiquity. . . . They brought in from abroad arts and new knowledge; and while they taught men to know that they had a common humanity, a common Father in heaven, taught them also to profit by each other's wisdom, instead of remaining in isolated ignorance. They, too, were the great witnesses against feudal caste. With them was neither high-born nor low-born, rich nor poor; worth was their only test; the meanest serf entering there might become the lord of knights and vassals, the counsellor of kings and princes. Men may talk of democracy—those old monasteries were the most democratic institutions the world had ever till then seen.

What they were

What they taught

Their copying of books

Their witness against feudal caste

The monasteries as democratic institutions

What they became, and why they fell

“I know what they became afterwards, . . . too well to defile my lips or your ears, with tales

Kingsley,
*The Roman
and the
Teuton*
lect. 9

too true. They had done their work, and they went. Like all things born in time, they died; and decayed in time; and the old order changed, giving place to the new; and God fulfilled himself in many ways. But in them, too, he fulfilled himself. They were the best things the world had seen; the only method of Christianizing and civilizing semi-barbarous Europe.”

The destruction of Feudalism

Feudalism
and mediæ-
valism
bound
together

Some of the
undermin-
ing
agencies

In reviewing the conditions of life, the quality of knowledge, the modes of thought, that prevailed in Europe when the epoch of the Middle Ages drew toward its close, we have had some glimpses of most of the principal causes that were working to produce the great change in society to what we call its modern state; but other influences, that contributed to the destruction of feudalism, must be taken into account. Before all things else, that destruction was a necessity precedent to the change. Feudalism and mediævalism were bound together; Europe could not pass from one without leaving the other behind. By the middle of the fifteenth century, feudalism, as a military and political organization of society, was practically broken up. Habits and forms of the feudal arrangement remained troublesome, as they do in some measure to the present day; but as a system of social disorder and disintegration it was cleared away. In former chapters we have noted some of the undermining agencies by which it was destroyed: the crusading movements; the

growth and enfranchisement of cities; the spread of commerce; the rise of a middle class; the study of Roman law; the consequent increase of royal authority in France,—all these were among the causes of its decline. But possibly none among them wrought such quick and deadly harm to feudalism as the introduction of gun-powder and firearms in war, which occurred in the fourteenth century. When his new weapons placed the foot-soldier on a fairly even footing in battle with the mailed and mounted knight, the feudal military organization of society was ruined beyond repair. The changed conditions of warfare made trained armies, and therefore standing armies, a necessity; standing armies implied centralized authority; with centralized authority the feudal condition disappeared.

Effect of
gunpowder
and fire-
arms

Standing
armies and
centralized
authority

Preparations for the Printing Press

If we place these agencies in the generating of the new movement of civilization which we call modern before the subtler and more powerful influence of the printing press, it is because they had to do a certain work in the world before the printing press could be an efficient educator. Some beginning of a public, in our modern sense, required to be created, for letters to act upon. Until that came about, the copyists of the monasteries and the palace libraries were more than sufficient to satisfy all demands for the multiplication of ancient writings or the publication of new ones. The printer, if he had existed, would have

The crea-
tion of a
public

starved for want of employment. He would have lacked material, moreover, to work upon; for, to a large extent, it was the rediscovery of a great ancient literature which made him busy when he came.

HISTORIC EPOCHS

IV

THE EPOCH OF MODERNIZING EXPAN- SIONS, CALLED THE RENAISSANCE

(FROM THE TURKISH CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE
TO THE PRELUDES OF REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND)

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE FOURTH EPOCH

CHAPTER XIII

FROM THE ADVENT OF GUTENBERG TO THE ADVENT
OF LUTHER

CHAPTER XIV

FROM THE ADVENT OF LUTHER TO THE ABDICATION OF
THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

CHAPTER XV

FROM THE ABDICATION OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.
TO THE ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV., OF FRANCE

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE FOURTH EPOCH

The invention of printing and the discovery of America were two events in the later half of the fifteenth century which produced so extraordinary a change in the ideas, the spirit, and all the action of the civilized world, that the history of a century and more after them is marked distinctively from other periods by their stamp. Hence Gutenberg and Columbus are conspicuously representative of that epoch, though their personal eminence is below that of many others, in an age that was singularly productive of great men.

As an exercise of inventive genius, the contrivance of movable type and their successful use in printing have been surpassed by other inventions, but no others have produced equal effects; and that fact gives great historical distinction to the man who achieved it first. With some uncertainty, this distinction is awarded by the judgment of the best informed to John Gutenberg, born at Mainz, on the Rhine, who took the name of his mother's family, in preference to that of Gänzfleisch, which his father bore. The first printing to which a date can be fixed was done by Gutenberg, at Mainz, in conjunction with a partner named Fust, in 1454. It produced copies of the letters of indulgence which Pope Nicholas was

John
Gutenberg,
1400(?) -
1468

then putting on sale. In the next year the first printed Bible (known as the Mazarin Bible) appeared; but Fust, who was a capitalist, had got possession of Gutenberg's type and press, and had taken a new partner, Peter Schöfer, who helped him to finish this triumph of the new art. Of the subsequent work of Gutenberg, who carried on a humble shop of his own, with slender means, not much is known. Before his death, in 1468, the printing press was working at Rome; in 1469 it was set up in Venice; in 1470 at Paris; in 1477 at London, before which date last-named it was busy in half the cities of Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, and France.

Christo-
pher
Columbus,
1446(?) -
1506

We may say of Columbus, as of Gutenberg, that his great distinction in history is due, not so much to the qualities in himself out of which his achievement came, as to the prodigious consequences to which it led. It does not seem possible to rate his courage, or his energy, or his intelligence, or his scientific spirit, above those of all other explorers; but he won the grand prize of exploration. Nothing could result from any later searching of sea or land that would equal the finding of the western New World. When Columbus (born at Genoa, Italy, and trained in seamanship from an early day) went to Portugal, at some time between 1470 and 1473, he did so because the Portugese were then setting bold examples of adventurous navigation beyond the skirts of the European coast. If he had conceived already the project of a voyage westward to reach India, it

was not original with himself. Others had entertained it; Toscanelli, the Italian astronomer, had urged it; belief in the earth's rotundity, from which it sprang, had existed for centuries among learned men. It is the glory of Columbus that he did what other men had talked of doing, and was even more heroic in his patient seeking for an equipment of means than in the daring of his voyage.

As a feat of courageous and resolute navigation, the voyage of Columbus was surpassed by that of Magellan, the first who sailed round the globe. In the mature judgment of many historians, "Magellan is to be ranked as the first navigator of ancient or modern times, and his voyage the greatest single human achievement on the sea."

Magellan,
1480-1521

Bourne,
*Spain in
America,*
128

The spirit of exploring enterprise that moved Columbus had been wakened half a century before by Prince Henry of Portugal, who spent the best years of his life, from 1434 till 1460, when he died, in promoting expeditions down the western coast of Africa, far beyond the regions then known. Whether the object pursued by Prince Henry was geographical discovery or new openings for the propagation of Christianity (as lately maintained), it is none the less a fact that exploring ambitions were kindled by what he did.

Prince
Henry of
Portugal,
1394-1460

It is probable, however, that no country on the coast line of Europe felt less of such ambitions than Spain; and credit for the encouragement that Columbus found in Spain must be given, almost undividedly, to the personal disposition of

Ferdinand
and
Isabella,
1452-1516
and
1451-1504

the queen of Castile. Not much interest in an undertaking so uncertain and remote could be expected from her selfish and scheming consort, Ferdinand, whose eyes were on spoils of intrigue and war that lay nearer to his hand, in Italy and Navarre. Prescott, in comparing the characters of Isabella and Ferdinand, writes: "Hers was all magnanimity, disinterestedness, and deep devotion to the interests of her people. His was the spirit of egotism. The circle of his views might be more or less expanded, but self was the steady, unchangeable center."

Prescott,
*History of
the reign of
Ferdinand
and
Isabella,*
3 : 398

The only result of great importance that came directly from the undertakings of the Portuguese prince was the finally complete tracing, by Vasco da Gama, of the ocean-way to India, round the Cape of Good Hope.

Vasco da
Gama,
1469(?) -
1524

The geographical discoveries which revealed a larger world than men had dreamed of before were followed in a few decades by the disclosure that this world is not the center of celestial motions, but a mere satellite of the sun. By these two astonishing revelations of physical fact, thoughtful minds were lifted suddenly to new standpoints for the viewing of the universe, and all their thinking of nature and natural things was jostled out of its old grooves. The start was then given to scientific thought on its modern lines.

Copernicus, who made known the structure of the solar system, was a many-sided man of learning, who practiced medicine and officiated as a canon of the church, at Frauenburg, Prussia, and

Copernicus
1473-1543

who lectured for a time on mathematics and astronomy at Rome. He was a native of Thorn, now in Prussia, but then in the Polish kingdom. According to tradition, he was dying when he received the first copy of his book, *De Orbium Cœlestium Revolutionibus*, in which the new theory of celestial motions was set forth. It was condemned by the clergy, but made its way slowly into the freer minds of the learned.

Almost a century after the death of Copernicus, Galileo Galilei was summoned to Rome for teaching the Copernican astronomy, and compelled by the Inquisition to declare it false. This remarkable Italian developed the scientific spirit and anticipated its methods of research more completely than any other man of his time. His discoveries in physics, especially those connected with the determination of the laws of motion, have hardly been excelled in importance and number by any later savant. He gave the world a regulator for all its marking of time, by determining the isochronism of the pendulum; he was the inventor of the thermometer and the hydrostatic balance; taking hints from a rude telescope invented in Holland, he made it a scientific instrument, and, turning it upon the heavens, discovered the satellites of Jupiter and the librations of the moon.

Contemporary with Galileo was Johann Kepler, or Von Kapel, who brought new support to the Copernican system of astronomy by working out the three laws of planetary motion which are

Galileo,
1564-1642

Kepler,
1571-1630

known as Kepler's laws, namely: (1) that the orbits of the planets are ellipses; (2) that the areas swept by a line drawn from the sun to any planet are proportional to the times employed in the motion; (3) that the squares of the periods of revolution of any two planets are to each other as the cubes of their mean distances from the sun. Kepler announced the first two of these laws in 1609.

Not only in scientific thinking, but along every line of intellectual activity, and through every form of expression that could be given to the wakened mind of Europe, the expansive influences of the time were acting with extraordinary effect. In literature and art, the miraculous inspirations of the Periclean age at Athens were renewed, on a scale enlarged. They had descended once before upon Italy, and upon England with a lighter touch. Now, the greater workings of the miracle were divided between these two widely differing peoples and lands, giving a marvelous creation of poetry to one, and to the other its marvels of art. For how can we call that less than a miracle that produced Shakespeare, the supreme, the incomparable poet of all time, who, alone, gives his age a distinction beyond that of every other in the literary history of the world? Yet, if Shakespeare were taken out, it would still be to Elizabethan poetry and prose that the students of English literature would go for the primal springs of what is noblest and sweetest: to Spenser for teachings of melody;

Shakespeare,
1564-1616

Spenser,
1552(?) -
1599



SHAKESPEARE

"The Janssen Portrait", said to have been painted by Cornelius Janssen (1592-1662) for the Earl of Southampton

to Marlowe (in the lofty flights to which his uncertain genius could bear him sometimes), for the perfection of English blank verse; to Jonson, Raleigh, and a host of lesser writers, known and unknown, in many walks of life, for lyrics that sing to the inward ear, as the true lyric should; to Sidney for the source and secret of his wonderful charm; to Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* and Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* for the first great masterpieces of English prose.

Bacon belongs as much to the next epoch as to this; he is greater in his thought than in his literary style, and he is more interesting as a subject of psychological study than in any other view; but we may speak of him here. That so lofty a thinker and so creeping a courtier—so noble an intellect and so mean a disposition—should be embodied in the same man, is one of the teasing puzzles of human nature that will never be cleared up. It is not to be disputed that Bacon was one of the great contributors to modern thought, but he was not the founder of modern science, as often said; for the founders of modern science were doing already what he undertook to instruct them in doing. What he did was to formulate a logic—a philosophical system—for the methods of induction which they had begun, by a scientific instinct, to pursue; but his thought went beyond their practice. He had an inspired vision of the ends of knowledge which that method of pursuit might attain. If he was not the founder of modern science, he was its prophet,

Marlowe,
1564-1593

Ben Jonson
1573(?) -
1637

Sir Philip
Sidney,
1554-1586

Richard
Hooker,
1553(?) -
1600

Bacon,
1561-1626

and the light of his prophecy illuminates all that science has done.

After Shakespeare's, the greatest name of this epoch in pure literature is that of Cervantes, immortalized in the strangest way that can be conceived, by a "burlesque romance." But *Don Quixote*, if we dare to call it a burlesque romance, is one so simply faithful to human nature in its smallest details, and so full of humorous wisdom, that it has been for three centuries the ideal work of fiction—the accepted norm. Montesquieu said jestingly of it, that Spain had produced but one good book, which was written to prove the absurdity of all the others. This only exaggerated the fact that Cervantes, among Spanish men of letters, is quite alone in the higher rank.

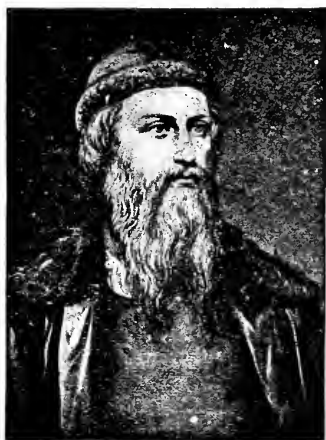
In France, the golden age of letters came late. Rabelais, with his coarse, powerful genius, his titanic humor, his grotesque masquerading of serious free thought, had seemed to be the fitting herald of some surprising advent in French literature; but he had no greatly notable following for a hundred years, except in Montaigne; and it is not easy to establish Montaigne in the uppermost seats of his gild. We owe him delightful examples of easy discourse,—the pleasantest form of essay,—the most sedative and laxative kind of literature that was ever composed. For resting and for soothing mind and conscience there could be nothing better; but, as a recent writer has said, "If the human race had acted up to Montaigne's standard of wisdom, there would

Cervantes,
1547-1616

Rabelais,
1495(?)—
1553

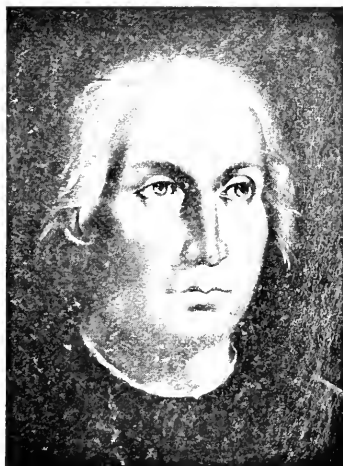
Montaigne,
1533-1592

Hannay,
*The Later
Renaissance*



Gutenberg

From an ancient print



Columbus

From painting in Marine Museum, Madrid



Copernicus

From an old engraving



Bacon

From an engraving by Houbraken

have been no prophets, no saints, no martyrs, hardly any great thinkers, or great explorers. It would be possible to follow Montaigne and be a haberdasher of small wares."

Of pure literature, Germany produced nothing in these times that is measurable with what we are taking note of in this sketch. Italy had no second Dante or Petrarch to inspire, but she produced Ariosto at the beginning and Tasso at the ending of the sixteenth century; and they are poets in whom the world at large keeps an interest, however little it may read and enjoy *Orlando Furioso* and *Jerusalem Delivered*. But nothing in the Italian poetry of the Renaissance interests modern times so much as the prose of Machiavelli, partly for its quality as prose, and more for the sinister revelation it makes of the political morality of the age, and of the political convictions in that age of a remarkably clear and balanced mind. Next to that of Machiavelli, the prose of the historian Guicciardini,—recognized as the first of modern historians in the classic and the modern sense,—is most admired.

But the true Italian renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was in art. Except in ancient Greece, culture on the æsthetic side of human faculty has never been so fruitful as it was in that epoch and that land. Art, in all her realms, drew far the greater share of the boundless endowments of a marvelous age; but the time of her supremacy was not long. "The Renaissance," says Mr. Symonds, "so far as

Ariosto,
1474-1533

Tasso,
1544-1595

Machia-
velli
1469-1527

Guicciar-
dini,
1483-1540

Mantegna,
1431-1506

Raphael,
1483-1520

Titian,
1477-1576

Symonds,
*Renaissance in
Italy: The
Fine Arts*,
ch. iv

Leonardo
da Vinci,
1452-1519

Michael
Angelo,
1475-1564

Lorenzo
de' Medici,
1449-1492

Symonds,
*Renaissance in
Italy:
Revival of
Learning*,
320

painting is concerned, may be said to have culminated between the years 1470 and 1550. . . . The thirty years at the close of the fifteenth century may be taken as one epoch in the climax of the art, while the first half of the sixteenth forms a second. Within the former falls the best work of Mantegna, the Bellini, Signorelli, Fra Bartolommeo. To the latter we may reckon Michael Angelo, Raphael, Giorgione, Correggio, Titian, and Andrea del Sarto. Leonardo da Vinci, though belonging chronologically to the former epoch, ranks first among the masters of the latter." Above all in this astonishing company towers the majestic figure of Michael Angelo, painter, sculptor, architect and poet, hardly less supreme in one expression of his genius than the other.

With the artists of Italy we associate naturally the princely patrons who gave the means and the opportunities for their work. Lorenzo de' Medici, the untitled ruler of republican Florence, stands for more than the type and representative of that class, being a very embodiment, in himself, of the gifts of the renaissance to his age. "While he never for one moment relaxed his grasp on politics, among philosophers he passed for a sage, among men of letters for an original and graceful poet, among scholars for a Greek sensitive to every nicety of Attic idiom, among artists for an amateur gifted with refined discernment and consummate taste."

Outside of Italy the notable wakening of



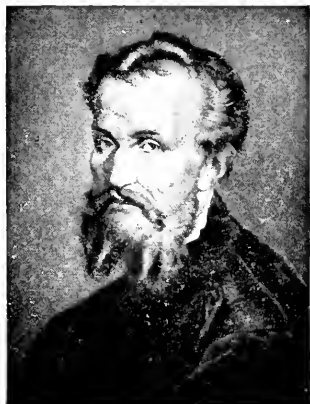
Cervantes

From painting by J. del Castillo



Raphael

From a painting by Raphael himself



Michael Angelo

From a painting by M. Angelo himself



Lorenzo de' Medici

From a painting by Vasari

artistic genius came later, and Memling, Dürer, Cranach, Holbein, in Germany, and Quinten Matsys, in the Netherlands, are the only artists of distinction whose work was done within the period now reviewed.

Memling,
died 1494

Dürer,
1471-1528

Holbein,
1495-1543

But, after all, it was not in art, or in literature, or in science, but in religious feeling and religious thought, that the powerful influences working on the men of this remarkable age showed their widest and quickest effects. For, unquestionably, the Protestant Reformation is to be looked upon as the most significant manifestation that was given of a changed state of mind in the world. The change in that direction came largely from an increasing independence of feeling and thought; and, too, the half-century preceding the Reformation had made appalling additions to the older reasons for discontent with the church. It was the deplorable era when the popes were too busied with temporal interests. Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., and especially Alexander VI., the second pope of the Borgia family, present lamentable pictures of worldly schemes, and "nepotism," as the projects for the temporal advancement of their relatives were termed. Sixtus sacrificed the peace of Italy and the cause of Christendom against the Turk for the aggrandizement of his family, and Alexander brought the papal office to its lowest degradation, from which happily the Church raised itself in due course as will be shown. Julius II., who succeeded the Borgia (after an interval of two months), purged Rome of those

Pope
Sixtus IV.,
1484-1484

Pope
Alexander
VI.,
1494-1503

horrors, and pursued, for the most part, what would have been, in a merely temporal prince of that age, a fairly reputable career,—distinguished, indeed, by a princely patronage of letters and art; but his wars, conducted personally, and his political intrigues, were a scandal to the church of Christ. There was nothing of the priest in him, said the contemporary Italian historian, Guicciardini, but the cassock and the name. His successor, Leo X., the genial, amiable, cultivated, pleasure-loving, self-indulgent, Medicean man of the world, appears to have lacked hardly any grace of personal character except the piety which his functions as the “vicar of Christ” required. The time had come when that was a lack to be taken into account.

Pope
Julius II.,
1443-1513
Pope
Leo X.,
1475-1521

The influences of the time had not only prepared large masses of people for detachment from the existing organization of the church, but had developed leaders of a more robust and practical stamp than any found in former revolts. Savonarola, who perished at Florence in conflict with the papacy in the reign of Alexander VI., was not one of these. His mystical spirituality and fine heroism did not supply the qualities that were needed for the work to be done. It required, not a leader in the clouds,—not a prophet,—not a seer of visions,—not one from whom miracles could be demanded, and whose influence would vanish when the miracle did not come,—but a man possessed of the power to dominate multitudes without stepping to any height

Savonarola
1452-1498

of vision or emotion above the common plane.

Such a man was Luther. He had high courage, without rashness. He had earnestness and ardor, without fanaticism. He had the plain good sense and sound judgment which win public confidence. His substantial learning put him on terms with the scholars of his day, and he was not so much refined by it as to lose touch with the common people. A certain coarseness in his nature was not offensive to the time in which he lived, but rather belonged among the elements of power in him. His spirituality was not fine, but it was strong. He was sincere, and men believed in him. He was open, straightforward, manly, commanding respect. His qualities showed themselves in his speech, which went straight to its mark, in the simplest words, moulding the forms and phrases of the German language with more lasting effect than the speech of any other man who ever used it. Not many have lived in any age or any country who possessed the gift of so persuasive a tongue, with so powerful a character to command the hearing for it.

Luther,
1483-1546

Zwingli,
1484-1531

Something of the same character appears in Zwingli, the Swiss reformer, whose contemporary movement was entirely independent of that which Luther led, and in John Knox, whose temper, however, was more imperious and more militant than Luther's, and who overthrew the papal church in Scotland with a suddenness hardly paralleled in any other country.

John Knox,
1505-1572

Of another type of character was John Calvin,

Calvin,
1509-1564

native of France, but adopted citizen and ecclesiastical ruler of the free city of Geneva during the last twenty-three years of his life. While Luther's was the greater personal force in the Reformation movement, Calvin was the man of theological intellect, who stamped his mind on the resulting Protestantism of Christianity with the most lasting effects. The stern theology that he formulated has been accepted substantially by most of the Protestant peoples, and entered with a powerful influence into their character and their historic life. But the austere Calvin, with no Luther preceding him, would no more have wrought the religious revolution of the sixteenth century, from his closet at Geneva, than Melancthon, the theologian of Lutheranism, could have done so, by influence of his own.

As a revolutionary movement, assailing the integrity of the constituted church, the Reformation was opposed by the learned and eloquent Hollander, Gerhard Gerhards, who named himself Desiderius Erasmus; yet Erasmus is conspicuously a representative of the mental independence then rising in Europe, and which the Reformation most forcibly expressed. Luther and Erasmus worked somewhat opposingly in their own day, but actually to the same end, and their influence was blended in the final product of the modern free mind. For half a century, at least, after Erasmus there was no other intellectual influence in Europe that equaled his. He had won the ear of the cultured people in every

Melancthon,
1497-1560

Erasmus,¹
1465(?) -
1536



Savonarola

From the painting by Fra Bartolommeo



Luther

From the portrait by Cranach



Erasmus

From the painting by Holbein



Loyola

From painting by Rubens

seat of learning, from Oxford to Rome. Born at Rotterdam, probably in 1465, of parents not legally married; orphaned at thirteen; robbed of his inheritance by dishonest guardians, and forced to enter a monastery, his genius carried him, against every disadvantage, to the very front of his age.

In more positive opposition to the Reformation was Sir Thomas More, the intimate English friend of Erasmus, who differed from him very little in his repugnance to the existing evils in the papacy and the church, but who held fast to both with as much of intolerant feeling as could tincture the sweet philosophy of the man. Finer and stronger in character than Erasmus, it is hard to find in history a more winning personality than that of More, and yet harder to name another example of such simple serenity in the acceptance of martyrdom for a belief.

Sir Thomas
More,
1478-1535

Among the active antagonists of the Reformation, no other did so much to check its progress, in Europe, and then to turn it back from half the countries it seemed likely to possess, as Ignatius de Loyola, who founded the Society of Jesus, with papal sanction, in 1540, and led it into the field of religious conflict, as its general, in 1541. Before his death, in 1556, the Jesuit society had pressed to the front of the militant organizations of the Roman church, by force of the zeal and the fearless devotion with which it was inspired, and by virtue of the unquestioning obedience to which its members were vowed. They were disciplined

Loyola,
1491-1556

and commanded like an army; for the founder of their order had been a Spanish soldier till his thirtieth year. At that time, while suffering from a wound, he came under religious influences and dedicated his life to the Virgin. He was a man of thirty-seven years when he entered the University of Paris, as a student of theology, and there, in 1534, in counsel with several devout companions, he formed the project which was realized in 1541.

motives in the Reformation movement, and in the resistance to it, became more political than religious, very early, and the sovereigns and public men of the day were forced to be chief actors in the contention, on one or the other side. The most formidable political power brought against the reformers was that which arose in Europe at this precise time from the ominous merging of the great sovereignty of Burgundy in that of Spain. Happily, before this came about, Louis XI., as consummately able in despicable meanness as a man can well be, had stripped the larger part of its French dominions from the Burgundian house, and had nearly completed the defeudalizing of France,—moulding it to a national form. But the rich Netherland provinces (left to Mary of Burgundy, and carried into a union with the now greatly expanded empire of the kings of Spain, by the marriage of her son with the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella) gave an endowment of wealth to the most overshadowing monarchy that Europe had seen since

Louis XI.,
of France,
1423-1483

the empire of Charlemagne was dissolved. When Charles, the young heir to these accumulated sovereignties, received additionally, by election, the crowns of Germany and the Holy Roman empire, he became one of the imposing figures in European history. Imposing, that is, in appearance, as a figure on the stage, but not as a great actor in affairs. With the many-sided advantages of his extraordinary position,—with the varied and numerous elements of influence and power at his command,—with the unprecedented opportunities which a time so strangely plastic in its conditions could offer to a statesman in his place,—a very little superiority in character and in qualities of mind would have sufficed for such a shaping of history as could never lose the mark of his hand. He gave it no such shaping, and his deepest mark upon it is traced in the slow decay of Spain.

Charles V.,
emperor,
1500-1558

Charles scored the beginning of that sinister mark; his hateful son, Philip II., ploughed it to an indelible depth. Of this bloodless creature, to whom religion meant the killing of heretics and politics was a science of assassination, there are historical writers who labor to speak excusingly. He represented, they plead, the intolerant and persecuting temper of religion in his time. Yes; but he represented it as Nero represented the inhumanity of Rome,—as the Borgias represented Italian depravity in their day. He represented it by a hideous exaggeration, as the worst in every age is represented by the natures that are in tune with what is worst.

Philip II.,
of Spain,
1527-1598

Henry
VIII., of
England,
1491-1547

If there was another sovereign in this period as detestable as Philip II., of Spain, it was the English Henry VIII. He was the incomparable tyrant of English history. The monarch who repudiated two wives, sent two to the block, and shared his bed with yet two more; who made a whole national church the servant of his lusts, and who took the lives of the purest men of his kingdom,—Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, when they would not bend their consciences to say that he did well,—has a pedestal quite his own in the gallery of infamous kings. An enemy of the Reformation, Henry did more to advance it, nevertheless, than any other political actor in the events of the time, by pursuing a shameful purpose of his own till it carried him into conflict with the papal church.

Cardinal
Wolsey,
1471(?)—
1530

Preceding that occurrence, the able minister of Henry VIII., Cardinal Wolsey, had been giving distinction to the reign, raising England to a higher standing among European states. He had served his thankless master too faithfully; had fed the selfish egotism of the king too much; and when, at last, he failed to satisfy the despot in a wicked wish, he was flung aside like a broken tool. Wolsey, says a recent writer, “raised England from the rank of a second-rate power among the nations. His faults, indeed, are not to be denied. Impure as a priest and unscrupulous in many ways as a statesman, he was only a conspicuous example in those things of a prevailing moral corruption. But his great public services,

Gairdner,
*Cambridge
Modern
History*,
2 : 435

fruitful in their consequences, even under the perverse influences which succeeded him, would have produced yet nobler results for his country, if his policy had been left without interference."

Of Thomas Cromwell, who succeeded Wolsey in Henry's service, the same writer says: "He maintained his position by pure obsequiousness, and there was no kind of cruelty or tyranny of which he declined to be the agent. Seldom have vast and multifarious interests been so completely under the control of a statesman so unscrupulous." But even obsequiousness could not save this Cromwell from the fatal spleen of a king who used the headsman's axe as one might use a whip among dogs.

Thomas
Cromwell,
1485(?) -
1540

France had more weight than England in the politics of these times, and the persistent rivalry of its king, Francis I., with the many-crowned emperor, Charles V., gave the latter his chief occupation. But Francis was too light-minded and pleasure-loving for successful ambition, and the most important product of his reign was a fashion of court life in France which affected the character of its nobility, with grave future results.

Francis I.,
of France,
1494-1547

Among the occupants of thrones, the ablest and strongest of this generation, by far, was Gustavus Vasa, the Swede, who erected his own royal seat and was raised to it by popular choice. He acquired absolute power by simply refusing to be king on other terms, and his use of the power appears generally to have been good. In church matters he carried out a reformation as inde-

Gustavus
Vasa, of
Sweden,
1496-1560

pendent as that of Henry VIII. in England, but wholly dispassionate, with no cruelties of persecution and no grasping of church property for any other benefit than that of the state.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, that which began in its early years as a religious conflict had generated political parties; the religious feeling in it had been overborne by political forces; clerical leadership had practically disappeared, and it went on in most countries as a struggle between parties and party chieftains for governmental power. Wars, partly religious, and partly political, were soon raging in the Netherlands and France; England hung for years on the verge of a similar war; Germany was only postponing it by a precarious truce. Contending soldiers and politicians,—a few true statesmen and a few men of true religious conviction among them,—seemed to hold the issues of the Reformation in their hands.

The Guises,
1519-1588

On one side in France were the Guises,—Cardinal Charles, Duke Francis and Duke Henry,—so eager, so daring, and so unscrupulous in ambition that peace and they could not, in any circumstances, dwell together. Sometimes with them as an ally and sometimes against them as a rival,—was Catherine de' Medici, the intriguing mother of three degenerate kings, in succession, and the evil genius of them all. In chieftainship on the other side stood, at first, the prince de Condé and the admiral Coligny, both of whom were towers of strength to the Huguenot cause,

not so much by the ability of their service to it, as by the trust which their solidity and integrity of character inspired. When they perished their places were far more than filled in ability, far less than filled in faithfulness, by Henry of Navarre, who won the crown of France by renouncing his beliefs. The complexities in the character of this remarkable man have been described by Professor Baird with a just and skillful pen. He was, writes that historian, "so grand a man, in some aspects, that we wonder that his character should have been marred by such blemishes; so faulty a man, from other points of view, that we marvel that he could ever have been esteemed magnanimous."

"A man . . . of excessive fondness for pleasure; . . . selfish, even where he was most liberal; calculating, where he appeared most disinterested; fickle in his love, whether to man or to woman." But "his was the sagacious intellect, his the unfaltering courage, his the steady hand, that brought order out of the confusion into which the civil wars of the latter half of the sixteenth century had plunged his country."

Abilities at least equal to those of Henry IV., but very different in their kind, were added to vastly higher moral qualities, in the character of the great man, William of Orange, who led the Netherlands in their struggle with Spain, till the assassins of Philip II. took his life. Henry surpassed him as a soldier, and had more clever artfulness in the management of men; but the calm, clear-minded, large-minded wisdom and the

Catherine
de' Medici,
1519-1589

Louis I.,
prince
de Condé,
1530-1569

Admiral
Coligny,
1517-1572

Henry of
Navarre,
(Henry IV.)
of France,
1553-1610

Baird, *the
Huguenots
and Henry
of Navarre*,
2 : 490-92

William the
Silent,
1533-1584

firmly-balanced nature of the "silent" Prince of Orange, gave him a weight of influence, a power of leadership, an upholding strength, which the lighter gifts of Henry of Navarre could never have contributed to any cause. What he was to the Netherlands they learned only when he fell. "Habit, necessity, and the natural gifts of the man," says Motley, "had combined to invest him with an authority which seemed more than human. There was such general confidence in his sagacity, courage and purity, that the nation had come to think with his brain and act with his hand."

Motley,
*The United
Netherlands*, 1: 1

On the Spanish side of the Netherland stage, in this terrible drama of political-religious war, the foremost figure among Philip's players is that of the blood-stained, brutal Duke of Alva, whose executioners put 18,000 men and women to death in six years, while his soldiers butchered thousands beyond counting in captured towns. "Never," says Motley, "was so great a quantity of murder and robbery achieved with such despatch and regularity."

Duke of
Alva,
1508-1582

Motley,
*Rise of the
Dutch
Republic*,
2: 501

England and Scotland were involved together in the conflicts of the time, by reason of the claim which the Catholic queen of Scots, Mary Stuart, could make to the English crown, as against Elizabeth, the Protestant daughter of Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII. Here, more than elsewhere, the issue was a complex of religious, political and national feelings; but the real antagonism in it was that between old church

Mary,
Queen of
Scots,
1542-1587

and new. Mary Stuart, who represented legitimate royalty as well as true religion to the English Catholics, was a woman of far greater personal charm than Elizabeth, and, apparently, of more capable mind, when she exercised its powers; but she was passionate, willful, self-indulgent, lacking in moral stabilities of purpose or principle,—all of which tendencies of nature had been cultivated, no doubt, by her life at the French court. Elizabeth, on the other hand, was strong in spirit, but weakened strangely by a credulous personal vanity, and by more than the capriciousness that is supposed to be allowable to her sex. Of intellectual ability she never gave much proof. She never grasped the affairs she dealt with in a broadly capable way. She never acted on them with well considered judgment. Her ministers, it is clear, were never able to depend upon a reasonable action of her mind. Her vanity or her jealousy might put reason in eclipse at any moment, and a skillful flatterer could make the queen as foolish as a milkmaid. But she had a royal courage and a royal pride of country, and she did make the good and glory of England her aim. So she won the affection of most Englishmen whose hearts were not in the keeping of the pope, and no sovereign so arbitrary was ever more ardently admired.

In Asia, no less than in Europe, there were many and fierce conflicts raging; but they were frankly barbaric, with no pretension among the actors to be serving a divine cause. Babar, a

Elizabeth
of England,
1533-1603

Babar, of
India,
1483-1530

Akbar, of
India,
1542-1605

descendant of Timur, began the conquest of India, which his grandson, Akbar, made substantially complete, founding the so-called Moghul empire, which existed till an English trading company threw it down. While capable at times of all the savagery that ran in his Tatar blood, Akbar gave evidence in many measures of a broad enlightenment, a just disposition, a statesman's aims. So far as his authority went, he gave the millions of India, without doubt, a better government than they had known for a thousand years.

Ieyasu, of
Japan,
16th-17th
centuries

Internal and external war in China, with native rebels and with Tatar enemies, produced no character that seems to deserve a remembered name. But feudalistic disorder in Japan was mastered by an able man, Tokugawa Ieyasu, who organized the government of the island empire in the form that it preserved, substantially, till 1868. Half a century before the advent of Ieyasu the famous Jesuit missionary, Father Xavier, called "the apostle of the Indies," had labored in Japan for two years, opening a propagandism of Christianity which bore remarkable fruit. For about forty years the new religion was tolerated; then the government became hostile, and persecutions, mild at first, but made relentless by Ieyasu, were unceasing till the new faith had been suppressed. Before reaching Japan, Father Xavier had preached and taught in India, Ceylon, Malacca and the Moluccas, and is said to have baptized altogether no less than a million persons; though

Father
Xavier,
1506-1552

he died at the age of forty-six, while journeying from Japan to China.

Christian missionaries as devoted as Xavier were finding another field of labor in the New World; greatest among them the noble Bartolomé de las Casas, "Protector of the Indians," who spent his life in efforts to save the perishing natives of Spanish America from the heartless slavery under which they were crushed. But Christian work fills a very modest chapter of the early annals of European action in America, compared with the long story of rapine and war,—of ruthless conquest and greedy searching for gold. The pity is that purposes so ignoble or so wicked could exercise such powers and such qualities of character as those, for example, of Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico, which lend an air almost heroic to his barbarous exploit. Expended worthily, in some defense of right, or some great enterprise of good, his surpassing resourcefulness, his splendid indomitability, his whole might and masterfulness of spirit, would have sufficed for a greatness quite up to the measure of the greatest men. But nothing done from motives so mean and with methods so inhuman can win the admiration of just minds. What Cortés did ably, as Cæsar or Sulla might have done it, Pizarro, in Peru, did brutally, as Marius would; and in his case no question of admiration can arise.

Had it been the fortune of Sir Francis Drake to discover a land like Mexico and a people like

Las Casas,
1474-1566

Cortés,
1485-1547

Pizarro,
1471-1541

Drake,
1540(?)—
1596

the Aztecs and their subjects, it is probable that he would have dealt with them as Cortés did, most likely with equal success, but hardly with equal perfection of measures and equal celerity of action from beginning to end. In brain, Cortés appears to have been the superior man in personal force otherwise they were not unlike; and they represent in their careers the moral notions that were dominant in the public affairs of their time.

Raleigh,
1552-1618

In its connection with the early history of America the name of Sir Walter Raleigh ought to be writ larger than it is. He failed in his great undertakings; but there is nowhere another actor in the stirring events of the sixteenth century who seems to have been animated so powerfully by the energies and the prescient ambitions of that wonderful time. He divined the destiny of America, and had such visions of coming centuries in the expanded world as stirred no other minds. The sagacity of the statesman and the imagination of the poet were combined in his views, and time has proved how wise they were.



Charles V
From painting by Titian



Sir Walter Raleigh
From engraving by Houbraken



William the Silent
From painting by J. Miereveldt



Henry IV
From a painting in the Louvre



CHAPTER XIII

FROM THE ADVENT OF GUTENBERG TO THE ADVENT OF LUTHER

(A. D. 1454 to 1517)

The transition from mediæval to modern conditions.—Expansion, liberation, re-wakening.—Invention of printing and its effects.—Revival of learning.—Geographical exploration and discovery.—Undertakings of Prince Henry of Portugal.—Voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama. *State of Europe when America was discovered.* France: Louis XI. and Charles the Bold.—Consolidation of the kingdom. Italy: Naples, Milan, Florence.—The Medicean despotism at Florence.—Savonarola and his fate.—Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. of France.—Its effects on France. *Germany and the Empire:* The marriage unions of Austrian, Burgundian and Spanish families.—Their immense effects. *England:* Absolute monarchy resulting from civil wars.—Establishment of the Tudor dynasty. *Discovery of America:* Voyages of Columbus, Cabot, and Vespuccius.—Papal grants to Spain and Portugal.—The naming of America.—Effects of the discovery, and of the opening of the sea-route to India.—The Portuguese in the east. *France and Italy:* Italian wars of Louis XII.—Spanish acquisition of Naples.—The league against Venice.—Public disapproval of some of the popes.

We have come now, in our hasty survey of European history, to the stretch of time within which historians have agreed to place the ending of the state of things characteristic of the Middle Ages, and the beginning of the changed conditions and different spirit that belong to the modern life of the civilized world. The transition in European society from mediæval to modern ways, feelings and thoughts, has been called Renaissance, or new birth; but the figure under which this places the conception before one's mind does not seem to be really a happy one. There was no birth of anything new in the nature of the generations of men who passed through that change, nor in the societies which they formed. What

The
European
renaissance

Expansion,
liberation,
enlighten-
ment

occurred to make changes in both was an expansion, a liberation, an enlightenment—an opening of eyes, and of ears, and of inner senses and sensibilities. There was no time and no place that can be marked at which this began; and there is no cause or chain of causes to which it can be traced. We have found signs of its coming, here and there, in one token of movement and another, all the way through later mediæval times—at least since the first Crusades. In the thirteenth century there was a wonderful quickening of all the many processes which made it up. In the fourteenth century they were checked; but still they went on. In the fifteenth they revived with greater energy than before; and in the sixteenth they rose to their climax in intensity and effect.

Signs of
their
coming

That which took place in European society was not a re-naissance so much as the re-wakening of men to a daylight existence, after a thousand years of sunless night,—moonlighted at the best. The truest descriptive figure is that which represents these preludes to our modern age as a morning dawn and daybreak; and the invention of printing may be looked upon as the true signal of the break of day.

The invention of printing

Whether John Gutenberg, at Mainz, in 1454, or Laurent Coster, at Haarlem, twenty years before that date, executed the first printing with movable types, is a question of small importance, except as a question of justice between the two

Gutenberg
or Coster,
inventor of
printing
1454(?)

possible inventors, in awarding a great fame which belongs to one or both. The grand fact is, that thought and knowledge took wings from the sublime invention, and ideas were spread among men with a swift diffusion that the world had never dreamed of before. The slow wakening that had gone on for two centuries became suddenly so quick that scarcely more than fifty years, from the printing of the first Bible, sufficed to inoculate half of Europe with the independent thinking of a few boldly enlightened men.

If Gutenberg's printing of Pope Nicholas's letter of indulgence, in 1454, was really the first achievement of the newborn art, then it followed by a single year the event commonly fixed upon for the dating of our Modern Era, and it derived much of its earliest importance indirectly from that event. For the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, was preceded and followed by a flight of Greeks to western Europe, bearing such treasures as they could save from the Turks. Happily those treasures included precious manuscripts; and among the fugitives was no small number of educated Greeks, who became teachers of their language in the west. Thus teaching and text were offered at the moment when the printing press stood ready to make a common gift of them to every hungry student.

Effects of
the Turkish
capture of
Constanti-
nople

This opened the second of the three stages which the late John Addington Symonds defined in the history of scholarship during the renaissance: "The first is the age of passionate desire;

Scholar-
ship of the
renaissance

Libraries

Petrarch poring over a Homer he could not understand, and Boccaccio in his maturity learning Greek, in order that he might drink from the well-head of poetic inspiration, are the heroes of this period. They inspired the Italians with a thirst for antique culture. Next comes the age of acquisition and of libraries. Nicholas V., who founded the Vatican library in 1453, Cosmo de' Medici, who began the Medicean collection a little earlier, and Poggio Bracciolani, who ransacked all the cities and convents of Europe for manuscripts, together with the teachers of Greek, who in the first half of the fifteenth century escaped from Constantinople with precious freights of classic literature, are the heroes of this second period."

Early work
of the press

"Then came the third age of scholarship—the age of the critics, philologers, and printers. . . . Florence, Venice, Basle, and Paris groaned with printing presses. The Aldi, the Stephani, and Froben, toiled by night and day, employing scores of scholars, men of supreme devotion and of mighty brain, whose work it was to ascertain the right reading of sentences, to accentuate, to punctuate, to commit to the press, and to place beyond the reach of monkish hatred or of envious time, that everlasting solace of humanity which exists in the classics. All subsequent achievements in the field of scholarship sink into insignificance beside the labours of these men, who needed genius, enthusiasm, and the sympathy of Europe for the accomplishment of their titanic

task. Virgil was printed in 1470, Homer in 1488, Aristotle in 1498, Plato in 1512. They then became the inalienable heritage of mankind. . . . This third age in the history of the Renaissance scholarship may be said to have reached its climax in Erasmus, for by this time Italy had handed on the torch of learning to the northern nations."

Symonds,
Renaissance in Italy: Age of the Despots,
20-24

Art had had its new birth in Italy already; but it shared with everything spiritual and intellectual the wonderful quickening of the age, and produced the great masters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Titian, in Italy; Holbein and Dürer, in Germany, and the host of their compeers in that astonishing age of artistic genius.

The great masters of art

The exploration of the world

A ruder and more practical direction in which the spirit of the age manifested itself, with prodigious results, was that of exploring navigation, to penetrate the unknown regions of the globe and find their secrets out. But, strangely, it was none of the older maritime and commercial peoples who led the way in this: neither the Venetians, nor the Genoese, nor the Catalans, nor the Flemings, nor the Hansa leaguers, nor the English, were early in this search for new countries and new routes of trade. The grand exploit of "business enterprise" in the fifteenth century, which changed the face of commerce throughout the world, was left to be performed by the Portu-

guese, whose prior commercial experience was as slight as that of any people in Europe.

Prince
Henry, the
navigator

It was a younger son in their royal family, Prince Henry, known afterward as "the Navigator," who woke the spirit of exploration in them and pushed them to the achievement which placed Portugal, for a time, at the head of the maritime states. Beginning in 1434, Prince Henry sent expedition following expedition down the western coast of Africa, and, till lately, it has been assumed and often stated that his object was to find the southern extremity of the continent and a way round it to the eastward—to the Indies, the goal of commercial ambition then and long after. That account of the purpose of his expeditions is now disputed. A recent investigator and writer upon the subject of the explorations of the fifteenth century says: "There is nothing to show, or even to suggest, that Dom Henrique . . . had formed any plans for the extension of ocean navigation beyond a point long previously reached by the Genoese, or ever thought of the route round the southernmost point of Africa as a practical route to India." In this writer's opinion, the object of Prince Henry was to reach the fertile country south of the Sahara, known as Bilad Ghana (Guinea) by the Moors, for the purpose of converting its people to Christianity, and saving them from the propagandists of Islam. Whatever may have been the ends contemplated by the prince, it is certain that what he did stirred maritime

Payne, in
*Cambridge
Modern
History*, I :
ch. i

ambitions among his countrymen, and started them upon a course of exploration down the west African coast which went on after he died, until Bartholomeu Dias, in 1486, rounded the southern point of the continent without knowing it, and Vasco da Gama, in 1497, passed beyond, and sailed to the coast of India.

Portuguese
voyages,
1434-1497

Voyage of
Vasco da
Gama, 1497

Five years before the achievement of Vasco da Gama, Columbus had made the more venturesome voyage westward and discovered the New World of America. Before entering on the story of that grand event it will be best to explain more fully the conditions existing in Europe at the time it occurred.

Columbus
1492

It was one of the singular birthmarks of the new era in history that many peoples were just arriving at a fairly consolidated nationality, and preparing to act, for the first time, with something like organic unity in the affairs of the world. Strong centralizing forces came, everywhere, into operation, almost simultaneously, without final success in Germany, but with lasting effects of nationalization in France, Spain, the Netherlands, England, Russia, and the Scandinavian kingdoms of the north.

Europe
when
America
was
discovered

The nationalizing of France

From the miserably downfallen and divided state in which France was left by the Hundred Years War, it was raised by a singular king, who employed strange, ignoble methods, but employed them with remarkable success. This was

Louis XI., who owes to Sir Walter Scott's romance of *Quentin Durward* an introduction to common fame which he could not have secured otherwise; since popular attention is not often drawn to the kind of cunning and hidden work in politics which he did.

Louis XI.,
1461-1483

Comines,
Memoirs

Louis XI., on coming to the throne in 1461, found himself surrounded by a state of things that seemed like a revival of the feudal state at its worst,—as when Philip Augustus and Louis IX. had to deal with great vassals who rivaled or overtopped them in power. The reckless granting of appanages to children of the royal family had raised up a new group of nobles, too powerful and too proud to be loyal and obedient subjects of the monarchy. At the head of them was the duke of Burgundy, whose splendid dominion, extended by marriage over most of the Netherlands, raised him to a place among the greater princes of Europe, and who quite outshone the king of France in everything but the royal rank.

The great
dukedom of
Burgundy

Political
methods of
Louis XI.

It was impossible, in the circumstances, for the crown to establish its supremacy over these powerful lords by means open and direct. The craft and dishonesty of Louis found methods more effectual. He cajoled, beguiled, betrayed and cheated his antagonists, one by one. He played the selfishness and ambitions of each against the others, and he skillfully evoked something like a public opinion in his kingdom against the whole. At the outset of his reign the nobles formed a combination against him, which they called the

League of the Public Weal, but which aimed at nothing but fresh gains to the privileged class and advantages to its chiefs. Of alliance with the people against the crown, as in England, there was no thought. Louis yielded to the league in appearance, and cunningly went beyond its demands in his concessions, making it odious to the kingdom at large, and securing to himself a strong support from the states-general of France.

The tortuous policy of Louis was aided by many favoring circumstances and happenings. It was favored not least, perhaps, by the hot-headed character of Charles the Bold, who succeeded his father, Philip, in the duchy of Burgundy, in 1467. Charles was inspired with a great and not unreasonable ambition, to make his realm a kingdom, holding a middle place between Germany and France. He had abilities, but he was of a passionate and haughty temper, and no match for the cool, perfidious, plotting king of France. The latter, by skillful intrigue, involved him in a war with the Swiss, which he conducted imprudently, and in which he was defeated and killed. His death cleared Louis' path to complete mastery in France, and he made the most of his opportunity.

Charles left only a daughter, Mary of Burgundy, and she seemed to be helplessly placed. Louis lost no time in seizing the duchy of Burgundy, as a fief of France. He took possession, also, of Franche Comté, which was a fief of the empire, and he put forward claims in Flanders,

Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, 1467-1477

Kirk, *History of Charles the Bold*

Mary, of Burgundy, 1477-1482

Artois and elsewhere. But the Netherlanders, while they took their own advantage from the young duchess's situation, and exacted large concessions of chartered privileges from her, yet maintained her rights; and, before the first year of her orphanage closed, she obtained a champion by marriage with the archduke Maximilian of Austria, son of the emperor, Frederick III. Maximilian was successful in war with Louis; but the latter held Burgundy, which was re-annexed to the royal domain of France. Before the death of Louis XI. the French crown regained Anjou, Maine and Provence, by inheritance from the last representative of the great second house of Anjou. Thus the kingdom which he left to his son, Charles VIII., was a consolidated nation, containing in its centralized government the germs of the absolute monarchy of a later day.

Burgundy,
Anjou,
Maine and
Provence
united to
the French
crown

Charles
VIII.,
1483-1498

Charles VIII. was a loutish and uneducated boy of eight years when his father died. His capable sister Anne carried on the government for some years, and continued her father's work, by defeating a revolt of the nobles, and by marrying the young king to the heiress of Brittany—thereby uniting to the crown the last of the great semi-independent fiefs. When Charles came of age, he conceived the idea of recovering the kingdom of Naples, which the house of Anjou claimed, and which he looked upon as part of his inheritance from that house.

Brittany
annexed

Conditions in Italy

While Alfonso, of Aragon, reigned at Naples, and while Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, and Lorenzo de' Medici, the untitled ruler of Florence, were both alive, the French invasion of Italy could have had little chance of success. But death had removed all three, and the situation existing offered actual invitations to the young king of France. Alfonso had separated the crown of Naples from that of Aragon, and left it to a bastard son, who earned the hatred of his subjects by trying to make himself feared. At Milan, the nominal duke, Gian Galeazzo, a young grandson of Francesco Sforza, was helplessly in the power of a sinister uncle, Ludovico, who had seized the reins of government, and who was ready to betray every other part of Italy to the French, if he could secure their alliance with himself. At Florence, the despotism which Lorenzo de' Medici made "magnificent" by his personal princeliness of genius and disposition, assumed a different aspect when he died, in 1492, and the unacknowledged, undefined chieftainship in the Medicean family passed to a son Piero, less qualified to exercise it in a dazzling and overmastering way.

Naples

Milan

Florence

The nature and the bases of the Medicean despotism were peculiar, and most suggestive of grave thinking to the democracies of the present day. It was by their vast wealth, their relations as great bankers with courts and commercial houses, everywhere, their consequent importance

The
Medicean
despotism

Lorenzo,
"the Mag-
nificent,"
1469-1492

His patron-
age of
art and
learning

Taine,
*Italy:
Florence
and Venice*,
bk. 3, ch. ii

abroad and splendor of standing at home, and by the seductions these enabled them to practice on their fellow citizens, that they won the government of Florence. Lorenzo's private fortune, says an acute French writer, "is a sort of public treasury, and his palace a second hotel-de-ville. He entertains the learned, aids them with his purse, makes friends of them, corresponds with them, defrays the expense of editions of their works, purchases manuscripts, statues and medals, patronizes promising young artists, opens to them his gardens, his collections, his house and his table."

Florentine
paganism

Oliphant,
*Makers of
Florence*,
ch. ix

It was thus that the Medicis, and especially Lorenzo, charmed Florence, while they stole away her freedom; with what moral and social effects let us turn to another writer to see: "The higher classes of society," says Mrs. Oliphant, "having shaken themselves apart with graceful contempt from the lower, had begun to frame their lives according to a pagan model, leaving the other and much bigger half of the world to pursue its superstitions undisturbed. Florence was as near a pagan city as it was possible for its rulers to make it. . . . Society had never been more dissolute, more selfish, or more utterly deprived of any higher aim."

Savonarola
1490-1498

But this, the Florence of Lorenzo de' Medici, was about to undergo a marvelous change. In 1490, two years before the death of Lorenzo, Fra Girolamo Savonarola, a Dominican monk, began preaching in the city, with amazing effects. Like

one of the old Hebrew prophets, he spoke as God's messenger, divinely commissioned to denounce and to warn sinful Florence, sinful Italy, and the corrupted church. He himself had no doubt that God had put the words which he spake into his mouth, and very soon those who heard him were afraid to doubt. They were daunted and dominated by the lofty authority of his tone, by the fearlessness of his speech, by the manifest sincerity and spirituality of the man. When the great Lorenzo died, Florence remembered that he had threatened the bold preacher with banishment, and that Savonarola had said in reply: "Though I am a stranger in the city, and Lorenzo the first man in the state, yet I shall stay here, and it is he who must go hence." When the army of the king of France crossed the Alps and entered Italy, few in Florence could doubt that it came to fulfill the prophetic warnings of the inspired monk, who had foretold tribulations and scourgings for the church and for Italy, and who had foreshadowed even the manner of the scourging, by one whom God would send as he sent Cyrus of old, to sweep away tyrannies and iniquities and purge the earth.

From that hour the Florentines gave themselves up to the leading of Savonarola; his influence was supreme. The city had been endangered by the folly of Piero de' Medici, who made an uncalled-for demonstration of friendliness to the king of Naples, in the face of the approaching claimant of the latter's throne. Then, taking

Villari,
History of
Girolamo
Savonarola
and his
Times

Savona-
rola's
preaching

His lofty
tone of
authority

1494

His
prophetic
warnings

Supreme
influence of
the monk

The
Medicean
govern-
ment set
aside

fright when the invader drew near, Piero hurried to meet him with abject offers of submission, surrendering important fortresses by way of pledge. This was his last exercise of power. At once the government of the republic was assumed by a body of leading citizens and organized provisionally, with Savonarola for its moving spirit and guiding mind. It was Savonarola who met the approaching king of France, and spoke to him as boldly in behalf of Florence as he had spoken to the congregations in his own church. It was Savonarola's impressive and commanding influence that protected Florence from serious injury while the French army halted within her walls. It was Savonarola who prompted the framing of a constitution for the emancipated republic, on the Venetian model; who directed the organization of the new government, and whose opinions and counsels were generally in control of what it did.

Reforma-
tion of
Florence

The change wrought by his influence in the lately paganized and debauched city has hardly a parallel in history. "The lascivious songs, called *carnascialeschi*, which used to be heard on all sides at the time of the Carnival, and to the composition of which even Lorenzo de' Medici demeaned himself, gave place to pious canticles; and the gaudy pageants in which the gilded youth of Florence took delight were relinquished in favor of religious processions. The money which but for Fra Girolamo, would have been squandered on finery and luxury, or which would have

been lost at the gambling table—for the passion for high play was one of the moral plagues of the city, and had infected every class of society,—now found its way to the friars' alms-boxes, and through them to the poor." The children of the city "were organized into a kind of spiritual militia, divided into companies corresponding to the several quarters of the city, each with its own *gonfaloniere* and staff of officers. The duties assigned them were not merely the preservation of order, the securing of regular attendance at the church services, and the repression of abuses among themselves, but also the collection of alms for the poor, and in particular the levying of contributions for the bonfire of vanities." The "bonfire of vanities" was a public holocaust of cards, dice, licentious books, face-paints, false hair, and all the paraphernalia of frivolity and vice. It is described most graphically in the forty-ninth chapter of George Eliot's tale of *Romola*.

In his denunciations of iniquity and his demands for the purification of a corrupted church, Savonarola spared none. He never hesitated to challenge the wicked, in high places or low, from the wicked Borgian pope, Alexander VI., down to the humblest Florentine sinner. The pope attempted first to silence him by the offer of a cardinal's hat. When that failed, all the ecclesiastical and political powers that he had angered and antagonized, not only at Florence and Rome, but throughout Italy, combined to destroy him. The pope forbade his preaching,

Organiza-
tion of the
children

Lucas,
Fra
Girolamo
Savonarola
36, 45

The "bon-
fire of
vanities"

Papal con-
demnation
of
Savonarola

and he submitted to the interdiction for a time; but dared at last to challenge the papal authority, remount his pulpit and resume his bold dealing with the sins of the church and the age. Excommunicated by the head of the church, he still pursued his fearless course, which led straight to martyrdom, as he must have foreseen. For the faith of the fickle Florentines in their prophet gave way when his enemies demanded a miracle to attest his inspiration, and none came. Then he was easily pulled down; tried for heresy, schism and "contempt of the Holy See;" tortured, condemned, hanged, and his body burned.

His martyrdom, April 7, 1498

The French invasion of Italy under Charles VIII.

Ranke,
History of Latin and Teutonic Nations, 1494 to 1514
bk. I, ch. ii

Assisted by the duke of Milan, approved at Florence as God's instrument for the purging of Italy, and unopposed at Rome, the progress of Charles VIII. through the peninsula was a triumphant march. On his approach to Naples, the Aragonese king, Alfonso, abdicated in favor of his son, Ferdinand II., and died soon after. Ferdinand, shut out of Naples by an insurrection, fled to Sicily, and Charles entered the city, where the populace welcomed him with warmth. Most of the kingdom submitted within a few weeks, and the conquest seemed complete.

But what they had won so easily, the French held with a careless hand, and they lost it with equal ease. While they reveled and caroused in Naples, abusing the hospitality of their new subjects, and gathering plunder with reckless

greed, a dangerous combination was formed against them throughout the peninsula. Before they were aware, it had put them in peril, and Charles was forced to retreat with haste, in the spring of 1495, leaving an inadequate garrison to hold the Neapolitan capital. In Lombardy, he had to fight with the Venetians, and with his protégé, Ludovico, now duke of Milan. He defeated them, and regained France in November. The small force he left at Naples was soon overcome, and Ferdinand recovered his kingdom.

Retreat
of the
invaders,
1495

In one sense, the French had nothing to show for this, their first national expedition of conquest. In another sense, they had much to show and their gain was great. They had made their first acquaintance with the superior culture of Italy. They had breathed the air beyond the Alps, which was then surcharged with the inspirations of the renaissance. Both the ideas and the spoil they brought back were immensely valuable to France. They had returned laden with booty, and much of it was in treasures of art, every sight of which was a lesson to the sense of beauty and the taste of the people to whom they were shown. The experience and the influence of the Italian expedition were undoubtedly very great, and the renaissance in France, as an artistic and a literary birth, is reasonably dated from it.

Booty and
culture-
gains of the
French

Germany and the Holy Roman empire

That the German monarch, who claimed sovereignty over Italy, as king of the Romans

and head of the Holy Roman empire, should have made no appearance as its defender against the French invasion, is evidence of the weakness of the state to which the empire, at this time, was reduced. On the death of Albert II., who was king of Hungary and Bohemia, as well as king of the Romans (emperor-elect, as the title came to be known), he was succeeded by his second cousin, Frederick, duke of Styria, and from that time the Roman or imperial crown was held continuously in the Austrian house. But Frederick did not succeed to the duchy of Austria, and he failed of election to the throne in Hungary and Bohemia. Hence his position as emperor was peculiarly weak and greatly impoverished, through want of revenue from any considerable possessions of his own. During his whole long reign, of nearly fifty-four years, Frederick was humiliated and hampered by his poverty; the imperial authority was brought very low, and Germany was in a greatly disordered state. There were frequent wars between its members, and between Austria and Bohemia, with rebellions in Vienna and elsewhere; while the Hungarians were left to contend with the aggressive Turks, almost unhelped.

Emperor
Frederick
III.,
1440-1493

But in 1477 a remarkable change in the circumstances and prospects of the family of the emperor was made, by the marriage of his son and heir, Maximilian, to Mary, the daughter and heiress of the wealthy and powerful duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold. The bridegroom

The Austro-
Burgundian
marriage,
1477

was so poor that the bride is said to have loaned him the money which enabled him to make a fit appearance at the wedding. She had lost, as we saw, the duchy of Burgundy, but the valiant arm of Maximilian enabled her to hold the Burgundian county, Franche Comté, and the rich provinces of the Netherlands, which formed at that time, perhaps, the most valuable principality in Europe. The duchess Mary lived only five years after her marriage; but she left a son, Philip, who inherited the Netherlands and Franche Comté, and Maximilian ruled them as his guardian.

(See page 659)

In 1493, the emperor Frederick died, and Maximilian, who had been elected king of the Romans some years before, succeeded him in the imperial office. He was never crowned at Rome, and he took the title, not used before, of king of Germany and emperor-elect. He was archduke of Austria, duke of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, and count of Tyrol; and, with his guardianship in the Low Countries, he rose greatly in importance and power above his father. But he accomplished less than might have been done by a ruler of better judgment and firmer will. His plans were generally beyond his means. He was eager to interfere with the doings of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. in Italy; but the Germanic diet gave him no effective support.

Emperor Maximilian I., 1493-1519

Maximilian figures most conspicuously in history as the immediate ancestor of the two great sovereign dynasties—the Austrian and the

Austrian and Austro-Spanish dynasties

Austro-Spanish—which sprang from his marriage with Mary of Burgundy, and which dominated Europe for a century after his death.

Nationalization of Spain

This connection of the house of Austria with Spanish royalty was made important by the national consolidation of kingdoms that had happened at this period in Spain, followed by the overthrow of the last Spanish kingdom of the Moors. The well-known marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile, occurring in 1469, had brought the crowns of those kingdoms together, to be parted no more. The united Christian kingdoms renewed war with the decaying Moorish kingdom of Granada, and brought it to an end at the beginning of the year 1492. Excepting the small mountain kingdom of Navarre (of which the part lying on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees was seized by Ferdinand some years later), all Spain was now substantially one nation, the whole sovereignty of which passed to the descendants of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Conquest
of
Granada,
1492

Union of
Austrian,
Spanish
and Bur-
gundian
crowns

In 1496 Joanna, daughter and heir of Ferdinand and Isabella, was married to Philip, son and heir of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy; thus gathering into one line of succession the great sovereign inheritances of Austria, Burgundy (including the wealthy Netherlands), and Spain, as well as the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which Ferdinand united ten years later,

and of which Joanna became the heir. Two children, Charles and Ferdinand, were the fruit of the marriage of Philip and Joanna; and Charles, the elder of these, inherited more crowns and coronets than ever were gathered, in reality, by one sovereign, before or since. His importance in history will soon appear.

England solidified

In England, a solidified nationality was the natural product of the long civil wars that ended (save for one later battle) at Tewksbury in 1471, when the Yorkists triumphed and Edward IV. was settled on the throne. The mass of the people had taken little part in the conflict, and had been less disturbed than might have been expected; but the greater part of the old nobility of the kingdom had been destroyed, by slaughter in battle, by executions, by exile, or by impoverishment, and new families, with less prestige and power, rose to the higher ranks. Hence a weakening of the aristocracy, offering an increase of political power to the crown or the commons, or to both, was the chief consequence of the wars.

But the commons were not yet trained to act independently in political affairs. Their rise in power had been through joint action of lords and commons against the crown, with the former in the lead; they were accustomed to depend on aristocratic guidance, and to lean on aristocratic support. For this reason, they were not only unprepared to take advantage of the great opportunity now opened to them, for grasping

Green, Short History of the English People, ch. vii, sect. 3

Decimation of the old nobility

Political incapacity of the commons

the control of government, but they were unfitted, without the help of the class above them, to hold what they had won before. As a consequence, it was the king who profited by the decimation and impoverishment of the nobles, grasping not only the power which they lost, but the power which the commons lacked skill to use. For a century and a half following the Wars of the Roses, the English monarchy approached more nearly to absolutism than at any other period before or after.

Growing
absolutism
of the
monarchy

By unsparing confiscations, Edward IV. and his triumphant party not only crushed their opponents, but enriched the crown for a time and made it independent of parliamentary grants. When supply from that source began to fall short, the king invented another. He demeaned himself so far as to solicit gifts from the wealthy merchants of the kingdom, to which he gave the name of "benevolences," and he practiced this system of royal beggary so persistently and effectually that he had no need to call parliament together. He thus began, in a manner hardly recognized or resisted, the arbitrary and unconstitutional mode of government which his successors carried further, until the nation roused itself and took back its stolen liberties with vengeance and wrath.

Edward
IV.,
1461-1483

Edward IV. died in 1483, leaving two young sons, the elder not yet thirteen. Edward's brother, Richard, contrived with amazing ability and unscrupulousness to acquire control of the

Richard
III.,
1483-1485

government, first as protector, and presently as king. The young princes, confined in the Tower, were murdered there, and Richard III. might have seemed to be secure on his wickedly won throne; for he did not lack popularity, notwithstanding his crimes. But an avenger soon came, in the person of Henry, earl of Richmond, who claimed the crown.

Gairdner,
*History of
the Life and
Reign of
Richard
III.*

Henry's claim was not a strong one. Through his mother, he traced his lineage to John of Gaunt, as the Lancastrians had done; but it was the mistress and not the wife of that prince who bore Henry's ancestor. His grandfather was a Welsh chieftain, Sir Owen Tudor, who won the heart of the widowed queen of Henry V., Catherine of France, and married her. But the claim of Henry of Richmond, if a weak one genealogically, sufficed for the overthrow of Richard, the red-handed usurper of the crown. Henry, who had been in exile, landed in England in August, 1485, and was joined by large numbers of supporters. Richard hastened to attack them, and was defeated and slain on Bosworth Field. With no more opposition, Henry won the kingdom, and founded, as Henry VII., the Tudor dynasty, which held the throne for a hundred and eighteen years. He established himself so firmly in the seat of power that three successive rebellions failed to disturb him. In one of these a pretender, Lambert Simnel, was put forward, who claimed to be the earl of Warwick. In another a second pretender, Perkin Warbeck, personated one of

Henry VII.,
1485-1509

Gairdner,
*Henry the
Seventh*

Battle of
Bosworth,
1485

Lambert
Simnal and
Perkin
Warbeck

the young princes whom Richard III. had caused to be murdered in the Tower. Neither of the impostures had much success in the kingdom. Henry VII. was not a popular king, but he was able and strong, and he solidified all the bases of monarchial independence which circumstances had enabled Edward IV. to begin laying down.

Northern and northeastern Europe

The Union of Calmar, 1397

Since 1397 the three Scandinavian kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway had been ruled by a common sovereign, under arrangements that were known as the Union of Calmar. This union, brought about by the remarkable influence of Queen Margaret, a Danish princess, married to the king of Norway, was broken by frequent revolutions and wars, but not finally dissolved until 1523.

Poland

Russia

(See pages 505-508)

In the northeast of Europe, Poland had become a great power, under the Jagellon dynasty, sprung from the duke Jagellon of Lithuania, who married Hedwig, queen of Poland, in 1386, and united the two states. The Polish kingdom, at this time, seemed far more likely than any Russian power to dominate the Slavonic peoples. The Russians were still under the feet of the Mongols or Tatars, whose terrific sweep westward, from the steppes of Asia, had overwhelmed them completely and seemed to bring their independent history to an end. Slowly a Russian duchy had emerged, having its seat of doubtful sovereignty at Moscow, and being sub-

ject quite humbly to the Mongol khan. About 1477 the Muscovite duke of that time, Ivan Vasilovitch, broke the Tatar yoke and acquired independence; but his dominion was small. The Poles and Lithuanians, now united, had taken possession of large and important territories, formerly Russian, and the Muscovite state was entirely cut off from the Baltic Sea.

The discovery of the New World

We are now prepared, after surveying the situation in Europe, to return to those great geographical discoveries, in the last decade of the fifteenth century, which acted upon the Old World of history with prodigious effects.

That Spain should have led Europe in the grand enterprise of navigation which found a New World on the other side of the globe, is one of the strange happenings of history that we need not try to explain; for (excepting the Catalans among them) no people were less inclined than the Spaniards to adventure at sea. But they had just finished the conquest of the Moors; their energies, long exercised in that struggle, demanded some new outlet; their national ambitions were high-strung; they were excited in zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith; and all these feelings had their influence, no doubt, upon the mind and spirit of their queen. So Columbus, seeking money and ships, and baffled in more promising lands, came to the Spanish court at the right moment for a favorable hearing, and Castile

Fiske, *The
Discovery of
America*

Markham,
*Life of
Columbus*

How the
grand prize
of maritime
adventure
fell to Spain

won the grand prize of adventure, which seems to have belonged by a more natural right to the Portuguese, or the English, or the Flemings, or the Dutch, or the men of the Baltic Sea.

With his little fleet of three small caravels, Columbus sailed from Palos on the 3d of August, 1492, and sighted land on the 11th of October,—as the calendar of the Old Style marked the date, being the 20th in the reckoning of the present day. That first-found land was one of the small islands of the Bahama group; but the explorer had no doubt that he had reached the neighborhood of Cathay. Cruising thence southward, coasting Cuba and reaching Hayti, he supposed the former to be the Asiatic mainland and the latter to be Cipango (Japan), though he named it Española—Little Spain. At the end of December he turned homeward, and reached Palos in the middle of March, 1493, bringing news that caused excitement as fast as it spread. Yet nobody realized what he had done. All navigators and geographers appear to have believed, as he did, that he had reached some part of eastern Asia, called vaguely “the Indies,” which led to the giving of a meaningless name to the aborigines of the New World.

As soon as possible, a grant of sovereignty over the countries already discovered or to be discovered in the west was obtained from the pope, whose authority to dispose of heathen lands was hardly questioned at that day. Former popes had made similar grants to the crown of Portugal,

The discovery by Columbus, Oct. 20, 1492

Papal grants to Spain and Portugal, 1493

covering all discoveries resulting from the explorations set on foot by Prince Henry. To prevent conflicts between the two kingdoms the reigning pope, Alexander VI., issued edicts or papal bulls, on the 3d and 4th of May, 1493, dividing the unexplored regions of the earth by a meridian line, drawn one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde islands, giving all west of it to Spain and all east of it to Portugal, so far as concerned countries not occupied already by Christian powers. By agreement, however, between Portugal and Spain, in a treaty signed at Tordesillas in 1494, this dividing meridian was moved to a point three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde islands, which placed it at about $47^{\circ} 32' 56''$ west of Greenwich. For a long period Spain and Portugal strove hard to uphold the validity of these papal grants, and to maintain exclusive rights of discovery and sovereignty in the unexplored expanses of the globe; but respect for such claims of papal authority was passing rapidly away.

Treaty of
Tordesillas,
1494

On his second voyage, in 1493, Columbus found Jamaica and other islands; sought diligently for the great cities of Cathay and Cipango; searched for gold, with little success, and went through times of sore trial with the disappointed colonists he had brought out. He returned to Spain in the spring of 1496 and remained more than two years. His third voyage, in 1498, was directed on a more southerly course, which took him to the northern coast of South America, and

Second
voyage of
Columbus,
1493

His third
voyage,
1498

showed him the mouth of the great river Orinoco, discharging a volume of water that could come from nothing less than a continental mass of land. He recognized the fact, but never doubted that the continent was Asia, or one lying near to Asia, on the south. When he reached the colony left on Española he found it in a state of rebellious discontent. For two years he struggled with enemies there and at the Spanish court, who succeeded at last in having him arrested and sent to Spain in chains. A kind reception by Queen Isabella gave some comfort to the disheartened and worn explorer; but his viceroyalty of the lands he had added to her dominion was not restored to him, and he received only a poor fleet of four caravels for a fourth exploring voyage.

His arrest
and return
to Spain in
chains

On this fourth voyage, in 1502, he reached the coast of Central America, and attempted a colony at Veragua, on the Isthmus of Darien, with no better result than the giving of a name to the ducal title which his descendants have been permitted to bear. It was the end of his active career. He returned to Spain in 1504 and died on the 20th of May, 1506.

His fourth
voyage,
1502

His death,
1506

Until 1497, Columbus was alone in the glory of his voyages to the New World. In that year John Cabot, another Italian navigator, residing in England, at Bristol, sailed westward, with a commission from King Henry VII., and is believed to have reached the Labrador coast. On a second expedition, the next year, Cabot seems to have coasted the American continent from the vicinity

Cabot's
voyages,
1497, 1498

of Labrador to Florida; but the records of his voyage are obscure. Probably he was the first European to reach the mainland of America; but some historians concede that honor to Americus Vesputius, the Florentine, who claimed in after years to have been the pilot and astronomer of a voyage in 1497, which found a continental stretch of coast in the Gulf of Mexico and skirted it eastward and northward for more than a thousand leagues. Most investigators of the subject, however, are persuaded that Vesputius made no such voyage.

Harris, *The Discovery of North America*, 1 : bk. 1-2

Americus Vesputius

The first undisputed voyage of Americus Vesputius was in 1499, when he accompanied one Ojeda to the northern coast of South America, which Columbus had visited the year before. On his next known voyage, in 1501-2, made in the service of Portugal, he explored the coast of Brazil, which another Portuguese navigator had touched the year before, and which Portugal could claim, because it projected far to the east of the dividing meridian line. It was this voyage that led, in a strange way, to the unmerited immortalization of the name of Americus, by attaching it to the new-found continents in the west.

Portuguese discovery of Brazil

After his return from the expedition of 1501-2, Vesputius wrote a letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, the great man of his native city, which was published in many editions, in all parts of western Europe, exciting deep interest everywhere. In that letter he spoke of the country he had just

coasted as being *Mundus Novus*, a New World. The expression was caught up and began soon to be applied on maps and globes to the representation of a great continental island, placed at the south of Asia and below the equator,—detached entirely from the region, supposedly Asiatic, which Columbus had found. In 1507, a book published by Martin Waldseemüller, professor of geography at St. Dié, in Lorraine, suggested that this *Mundus Novus* of Vesputius be called AMERICA, in honor of him who had made it known; and the suggestion was acted on by various makers of maps and globes. They began by printing the name AMERICA on what purported to represent the new region of Portuguese discovery,—the country afterward called Brazil. Then, as knowledge of the great southern continent widened out, they stretched the same name over it all. Finally, when the supposed Asia at the north of it was found to be not Asia, but connected with and forming part of their *Mundus Novus*, they printed the name AMERICA across the face of the whole. So far as known, this was done first by Mercator, on a globe made in 1541. Thus, simply through default of any other denomination, the two great continents of the western hemisphere received an utterly inappropriate name.

Commercially, the discovery of America had little effect on Europe for a century or two. Politically, it had vast consequences in the sixteenth century, which came, in the main, from

How
America
obtained
its name

the power and prestige that accrued to Spain. But its most important effects were those moral and intellectual ones that arose from the sudden, surprising enlargement of the geographical horizon of men. The lifting of the curtain of mystery which had hung so long between two halves of the world must have compelled every man, who thought at all, to suspect that other curtains of mystery might be hiding facts as simple and substantial, waiting for their Columbus to disclose them; and so the bondage of the mediæval mind to that cowardice of superstition which fears inquiry, must surely have been loosened greatly by the startling event. But the Spaniards, who rushed to the possession of the new-found world, showed small signs of any such effect upon their minds.

Effects in Europe of the discovery of America

Discovery of the ocean route to India

In immediate material results to Europe, the discovery of the ocean route to India, round the Cape of Good Hope, made by Vasco da Gama, in 1497, was vastly more important than Columbus's discovery of the New World. No sooner had the route by sea to southern and eastern Asia and the islands of spices been found, than almost the whole traffic of Europe with that rich eastern world abandoned its ancient channels and ran to the new one. There were several strong reasons for this. Firstly, it cost less to bring goods from southern and eastern Asia, direct to European ports, than to carry them over

Commercial importance of the discovery

Yeats, *Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce*, pt. 2, ch. xi and pt. 3, ch. i

Shifting of
eastern
trade from
the Medi-
terranean
to the
Atlantic

long distances by land to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean and ship them thence to the west. Secondly, by taking its new route this commerce escaped troublesome Moorish pirates in the Mediterranean Sea. Lastly, European merchants gained great advantages from becoming able to deal directly with the eastern Asiatics, instead of trading with them at second hand, through the agency of Arabs and Turks, who controlled the Asiatic and African routes. So the commerce of the Indies, as it was called, fled away from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic; fled from the Venetians, the Genoese, the Marseillaise, the Barcelonians; from Constantinople, conquered lately by the Turks; from Alexandria, and from many cities of the Hansa league in the north, which had learned the old ways of traffic and were slow in waking to the change. Many of the great marts that had been busiest grew silent and fell into slow decay. The most enriching commerce of the world was passing to different hands and bringing younger races into the front of history.

The
Portuguese
in the east

Having found the way to India by sea, the Portuguese were prompt in measures to plant themselves firmly at points important for securing the eastern trade. One of the ablest of their military men, Francesco d'Almeida, was appointed viceroy of India and sent out with a strong force of ships and volunteers. He took possession of several parts of the Malabar coast of Hindostan, and built and garrisoned forts.

Also, he established posts and trading settlements in Ceylon, in the Maldivé islands, and in Sumatra. The Venetians, seeing that their trade with the east was doomed unless this new rivalry could be crushed, now joined their Mohammedan allies of Egypt in a great effort to drive the Portuguese back. A formidable fleet was fitted out on the Red Sea and sent against Almeida, who suffered defeat in his first encounter, but destroyed the navy of the allies in a second fight.

The successor of Almeida, as viceroy of India, was a remarkable personage, known as "the great Affonso d'Albuquerque." He was an extremely energetic commander, and very honest in his way, according to the notions of his time, though rapacious and cruel in what he did for Portugal. In the course of seven years he spread the Portuguese power so widely and fixed it so firmly on the East Indian coasts and in the neighboring seas that there was hardly an attempt to disturb it for many years. None but Portuguese ships dared enter the Indian Ocean without special permits, and the few that received permission were forbidden to trade in spices, the most precious merchandise of the east. From the Indies the Portuguese made their way to the coasts of China, but not within the period of our present survey.

"The great
Affonso
d'Albu-
querque,"
1508-1515

The Portuguese were satisfied with keeping the sources of the supply of eastern commodities to Europe in their own hands. They brought to Lisbon the spices, silks, cotton, pearls, ivory,

Dutch,
English
and
German
traders

sugar, aromatic drugs, and the like, which their ships and merchants gathered up, and there sold them to other traders, Dutch, English and German, for the most part, who found the final markets for them and enjoyed a good half of the profits of the trade. These distributing shippers and traders derived more gain from this arrangement than from their trading with Genoa and Venice, and the commerce of Holland and England grew rapidly as the result.

Meantime, the Spaniards in America were giving little attention to possibilities of traffic with the new countries they found, but were searching busily for lands of gold and nations of wealth, whom it might become their happy fortune to subjugate, plunder and enslave.

Movements in Europe

Returning now to Old World movements, we shall find, perhaps, that the thread to be taken up most conveniently is that which was broken when we dropped the narrative of Italian affairs, after the French invasion of Charles VIII.

Louis XII.,
of France,
1498-1515

Charles VIII. died suddenly in 1498 and was succeeded by his cousin, of the Orleans branch of the Valois family, Louis XII. The new king was not a bad man, but weak. His first thought on mounting the throne was of the claims of his family to other thrones. Besides the standing Angevin claim to the kingdom of Naples, he asserted rights of his own to the duchy of Milan, as a descendant of Valentina Visconti, heiress of

the ducal house which the Sforzas supplanted. In 1499 he sent an army against Ludovico, the usurping duke, and the latter fled. Louis took possession of the duchy with the greatest good will of the people; but, before half a year had passed, French taxes, French government, and French manners had disgusted them, and they made an attempt to restore their former tyrant. The attempt failed, and Ludovico was imprisoned in France for the remainder of his life.

Milan
acquired by
the king of
France,
1499

Milan secured, Louis XII. began preparations to repeat the undertaking of Charles VIII. against Naples. The Neapolitan crown had now passed to an able and popular king, Frederick, and Frederick had every reason to suppose that he would be supported and helped by his kinsman, Ferdinand of Aragon, the well-known consort of Isabella of Castile. Ferdinand had the power to hold the French king in check; but, instead of using it for the defense of the Neapolitan branch of his house, he secretly and treacherously agreed to divide the kingdom of Naples with Louis. In these circumstances, the conquest was accomplished with ease. The betrayed Frederick surrendered to Louis, and lived as a pensionary in France until his death. The Neapolitan branch of the house of Aragon came to an end.

Treacherous
division
of the
kingdom
of Naples

Louis and Ferdinand quarreled soon over the division of their joint conquest, and the latter sent forces into Italy which expelled the French. It was in this war that the Spanish general,

Naples
won by
Ferdinand
of Aragon

Gonsalvo di Cordova, won the reputation that gave him the name of "the Great Captain;" and it was in this war, likewise, that the chivalric French knight, Bayard, began the winning of his fame.

Naples had slipped again from the grasp of France, and this time it had passed to Spain. Louis XII. abandoned the tempting kingdom to his rival, and applied himself to the establishing of his sovereignty over Milan and its domain. Some territory belonging formerly to the Milanese had been ceded to Venice by the Sforzas. He himself had ceded another district or two to the republic in payment for services rendered. Ferdinand of Spain had made payments in the same kind of coin, from his Neapolitan realm, for Venetian help to secure it. The warlike pope Julius II. saw Rimini and other towns belonging formerly to the states of the church now counted among the possessions of the proud mistress of the Adriatic. All of these disputants in Italy resented the gains which Venice had gathered at their expense, and envied and feared her somewhat insolent prosperity. Suspending their quarrels with one another, they formed a league for despoiling her and breaking her down. The emperor Maximilian, who had grievances of his own against the Venetians, joined the combination, and Florence was bribed to become a party to it by the betrayal of Pisa into her hands. Thus was formed the shameful League of Cambrai.

League of
Cambrai
against
Venice,
1508

Hazlitt,
*History of
the Venetian
Republic*,
ch. 33

The French did most of the fighting in the war

that ensued, though pope Julius, who took the field in person, proved himself to be a better soldier than priest. The Venetians were driven for a time from the greater part of the dominion they had acquired on the mainland, and were sorely pressed. But they made terms with the pope, and then it became his interest, not merely to stop the conquests of his allies, but to press them out of Italy, if he could. Accordingly he began to intrigue against the French, and presently had a new league in operation against them.

The warrior
pope, Julius
II.

It was called a holy league, because the head of the church was its promoter, and it embraced Venice, the emperor, King Henry VIII. of England, and King Ferdinand of Spain. As the result of the ruthless and destructive war which they waged, Louis XII., before he died, in 1515, saw all that he had won in Lombardy stripped from him and restored to the Sforzas—the old family of the dukes of Milan; Venice recovered most of her possessions, but never regained her former power, because the discovery of the ocean route to India, round the Cape of Good Hope, was now turning the rich trade of the east, the great source of her wealth, into the hands of the Portuguese. The temporal dominion of the popes was enlarged by the recovery of Bologna and Perugia and by the addition of Parma and Piacenza; and Florence, which had been a republic since the death of Savonarola, was forced to submit again to the Medici.

His "holy
league"
against
France,
1511

Its fruits

The fighting pope, Julius II., one of the fore-

The dark
age of the
papacy

Pastor,
*History of
the Popes*,
v. 4-6

Creighton,
*History of
the Papacy*,
bk. 5 (v. 3)

Sixtus IV.,
1471-1484

Alexander
VI., 1492-
1503

Leo X.,
1513-1521

most figures of the Renaissance, was free from the charge of nepotism and moral depravity. But he was obsessed with the craving for papal aggrandizement, and transmitted to his successors the largest sovereignty in Italy. But the recent predecessors of Julius II.—Sixtus IV. and Alexander VI.—had had nothing in their characters to lure attention from the examples of abhorrent wickedness which they set before the world. Julius II. reigned until 1513; and after him came the Medicean pope, Leo X., son of Lorenzo the Magnificent,—princely and worldly as Julius, but in gentler fashion; loving ease, pleasure, luxury, art, and careless of all that belonged to religion beyond its ceremonies and its comfortable establishment of clerical estates.

CHAPTER XIV

FROM THE ADVENT OF LUTHER TO THE ABDICATION OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

(A. D. 1517 to 1556)

The Protestant Reformation: How Europe had been prepared to listen to Luther.—His ninety-five theses against the papal sale of indulgences.—Situation in Germany following the Austro-Spanish marriage.—The emperor Charles V.—His opposition to the Reformation.—His suppression of freedom in Spain.—His persecuting tyranny in the Netherlands.—His Italian wars with Francis I. of France.—Capture and sack of Rome by the imperial army under constable Bourbon.—Peasant war in Germany.—Progress of the Lutheran reformation.—The emperor's undertaking to repress it by force.—Religious war, followed by the Peace of Augsburg.—Abdication of Charles V.—Zwingli, and the Swiss reformation.—Persecution of reformers in France.—Calvin at Geneva.—Henry VIII. of England.—Base motive of his quarrel with the papacy.—Separation of the English church from the Roman.—Reformation in England under Edward VI.—Restoration of Catholicism under Mary Tudor.—Return to Protestantism under Elizabeth.—Reformation in Scotland and Scandinavia.—Gustavus Vasa.—The Council of Trent. *The Spaniards in America:* Cortes in Mexico.—Pizarro in Peru.—Spanish colonial policy.—Aztec, Maya and Inca civilizations.

This is the period of the Protestant Reformation, and its history is permeated with the influences of that secession from the great body of the Christian church, organized under the headship of a supreme bishop at Rome. Within the generation of Luther and his contemporaries, not much of lasting importance occurred, in politics and war, or in thought and letters, that did not connect in some way with the convulsion and disruption of the western church.

Luther and the Protestant Reformation

When Luther raised his voice, he did but renew a protest which many pure and pious and

courageous men before him had uttered, against evils in the church. Some of them, like Peter Waldo and the Albigenses, had been too far in advance of their time, and their revolt was hopeless from the beginning. Wiclif's movement had been timed unfortunately, in an age of great commotions, which swallowed it up. That of Huss had roused an ignorant peasantry, too uncivilized to represent a reformed Christianity, and had been ruined by the fierceness of their misguided zeal. The reformation of Savonarola, at Florence, had been nobly begun, but not wisely led, and it had spent its influence at the end on political aims. But there occurred a combination, when Luther arose, of character in himself, of circumstances in his country, and of temper in his generation, which made his protest more lasting in effect.

“A regrettable worldliness manifested itself in many high ecclesiastics. Their chief object, viz., to guide man to his eternal goal, claimed too seldom their attention, and worldly activities became in too many cases the chief interest. Political power, material possessions, privileged positions in public life, the defense of ancient historical rights, earthly interests of various kinds were only too often the chief aim of many of the higher clergy. Pastoral solicitude, the specifically religious and ecclesiastical aim, fell largely into the background.” The generation to which Luther spoke really waited for a bold voice to break into the secret of its thoughts concerning

*Cambridge
Modern
History, v.
2 : The Ref-
ormation*

Ranke,
*History of
the Refor-
mation in
Germany*

The prede-
cessors
of Luther

*Catholic
Encyclope-
dia, v. 12,
700*

the church, and the deep abhorrence roused by such men as the Borgia in the papal chair, and by their creatures in the priesthood. Moreover, Christendom groaned under the burden of the taxes that were wrung from it in the name of religion.

Popular
discontent
with the
church

Nowhere in Europe were the extortions of the church felt more severely than in Germany, where the serfdom of the peasants was still real and hard, and where the depressing weight of the feudal system had scarcely been lifted from society at all. Of organic unity in the heterogeneous bundle of electoral principalities, duchies, margravates and free cities, which made up the nominal realm of the king of the Romans, there was no more at the beginning of the sixteenth century than there had been in the twelfth. But that very brokenness and division in the political state of Germany proved to be one of the circumstances which favored the Protestant Reformation of the church. Had monarchial authority established itself there as in France, then the Austro-Spanish family which wielded it, with the concentrated bigotry of their narrow-minded race, would have crushed the religious revolt as completely in Saxony as they did in their Austrian realm.

State of
Germany

Circum-
stances
favorable
to the Ref-
ormation

The main events of the Reformation in Germany are known so commonly that no more than the slightest sketching of them is needed here. Letters of indulgence, purporting to grant a remission of the temporal and purgatorial penal-

Luther's
ninety-five
theses, 1517

ties of sin, had been sold by the church for centuries; but none before pope Leo X. had made merchandise of them in so peddler-like and shameful a fashion as that which scandalized the intelligent piety of Europe in 1517. Luther, then a professor in the new university of Wittenberg, Saxony, could not hide his indignation, as most men did. He stood forth boldly and challenged the impious fraud, in a series of propositions or theses, which, after the manner of the time, he nailed to the door of Wittenberg church. Just that bold action was needed to let loose the pent-up feeling of the German people. The ninety-five theses were printed and went broadcast through the land, to be read and to be listened to, and to stir every class with independent ideas. It was the first great appeal made to the public opinion of the world, after the invention of printing had put a trumpet to the mouths of eloquent men, and the effect was too amazing to be believed by the careless pope.

Political
motives
coinciding
with
religious
feeling

But more than possibly—probably, indeed—the popular feeling stirred up would never have accomplished the rupture with Rome and the religious independence to which north Germany attained in the end, if political motives had not coincided with religious feelings to bring certain princes and great nobles into sympathy with the Wittenberg monk. The elector of Saxony, Luther's immediate sovereign, had long been in opposition to the papacy on the subject of its enormous collections of money from his subjects,

and he was pleased to have the hawking of indulgences checked. Partly for this reason, partly because of the pride and interest with which he cherished his new university, partly from personal liking and admiration of Luther, and partly, too, no doubt, in recognition of the need of church reforms, he gave Luther a quiet protection and a concealed support. He was the strongest and most influential of the princes of the empire, and his obvious favor to the movement added immensely to its strength.

At first, there was no intention to break with the papacy and the papal church,—certainly none in Luther's mind. His attitude towards both was conciliatory in every way, except as concerned the falsities and iniquities which he had protested against. It was not until the pope launched against him the famous bull, *Exurge Domine*, which left no alternative between abject submission and open war, that Luther and his followers cast off the authority of the Roman church and its head, and grounded their faith upon Holy Scripture alone. By formally burning the bull, Luther accepted the papal challenge, and those who believed with him were ready for the contest.

The pope's
bull against
Luther,
1520.

Luther and Charles the Fifth, emperor

To understand the situation in Germany at this time we must learn what followed the Austro-Spanish marriage of Philip, son of the emperor Maximilian and of Mary of Burgundy, with Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of

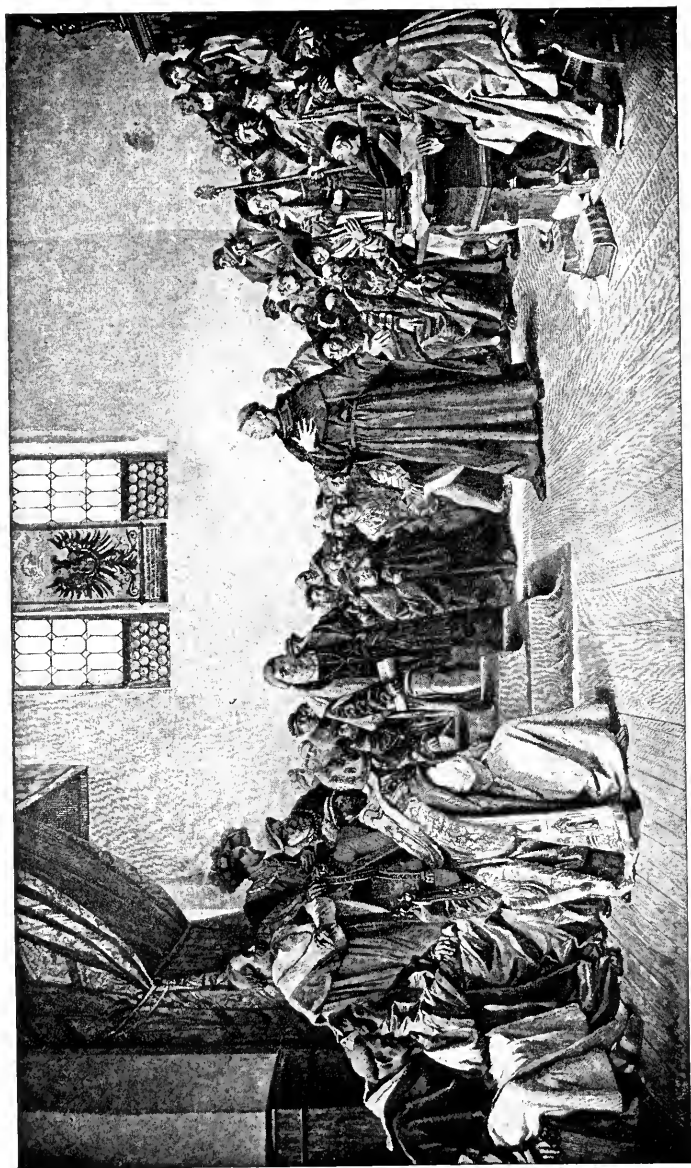
Spain. Charles, the firstborn of that marriage, had not long to wait for the many and great inheritances that fell to him in due time. His father, Philip, died in 1506, and his mother, Joanna, lost her mind. The death of his Spanish grandfather, Ferdinand, occurred in 1516, and that of his Austrian grandfather, the emperor Maximilian, followed three years later. In his twentieth year (representing his mother in her incapacity), Charles found himself sovereign of Spain, America, Sicily, Naples, Sardinia, the Low Countries, Franche Comté, Austria and the duchies associated with it. The same year he was chosen king of Germany and emperor-elect, after a keen contest over the imperial crown, in which Francis I. of France and Henry VIII. of England were his competitors. On attaining this dignity, he conferred the Austrian possessions on his brother, Ferdinand; but he remained the most potent and imposing monarch that Europe had seen since Charlemagne.

The many
crowns of
Charles

He came upon the stage just as Luther had marshaled, in Germany, the reforming forces of the new era against intolerable iniquities in the papal church. Unfortunately, he came, with his vast armament of powers, to resist the demands of his age, and to be the champion of old falsities and wrongs, both in church and state. There was nothing in the nature of the man, or in his education, or in the influences which bore upon him, from either the Spanish or the Austrian side of his family, to put him in sympathy with lifting

His
antagonism
to reform





LUTHER AT THE DIET AT WORMS

From the painting by Anton A. Von Werner (1843-), now in the Museum at Stuttgart

movements or with liberal ideas. He never formed a conception of the world in which it looked larger to his eyes, or signified more to him, than the globe upon his scepter.

So, naturally enough, this Cæsar of the renaissance (Charles V. in Germany and Charles I. in Spain) did his utmost, from the day he climbed the throne, to thrust Europe back into the murk of the fourteenth century, from which he found it very nearly escaped. He did not succeed; but he gave years of misery to several countries by his exertions, and he resigned the task to a successor whom the world will never tire of abhorring.

In 1521 Luther was summoned before a diet (assembly) of the empire, at Worms. The influence of the church, and of the young Austro-Spanish emperor, Charles V., was still great enough to procure his condemnation; but they did not dare to deal with him as the council of Constance had dealt with Huss. He was suffered to depart safely, pursued by an imperial edict which placed the ban of the empire on all who should give him countenance or support. His friends among the nobles spirited him away and concealed him in a castle, the Wartburg, where he remained for several months, employed in making his translation of the Bible into the German tongue.

Meantime, the emperor had been called away from Germany by his multifarious affairs, and had little attention to give to Luther and the questions of religion for half-a-dozen years. He

Luther
before the
Diet of
Worms,
1521

Germany
in the
emperor's
absence

was represented in Germany by a council of regency, with the elector of Saxony at the head of it; and the movement of reformation, if not encouraged in his absence, was considerably protected, at least. It showed threatening signs of fanaticism in some quarters; but Luther proved as powerful in leadership as he had been in agitation, and the religious passion of the time was controlled effectively, on the whole.

Before the close of the year 1521, pope Leo X. died, and his successor, Adrian, while insisting upon the enforcement of the edict of Worms against Luther and his supporters, yet acknowledged the corruptions of the church and promised a reformation. His promises came too late; his confessions gave testimony to the independent reformers which their opponents could not impeach. There was no longer any thought of cleansing the church of Rome, to abide in it. A separated—a restored church—was clearly determined on, and Luther framed a system of faith and discipline which was adopted in Saxony, and then accepted very generally by the reformed churches throughout the German states.

In 1525, the elector Frederick of Saxony died. He had befriended the Lutherans and tolerated the reform, but never identified himself with them. His brother, John, who succeeded him, made public profession of his belief in the Lutheran doctrines, and established the church system which Luther had introduced. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the margrave of Branden-

Organiza-
tion of the
Lutheran
church

The new
church
system
established

burg, and the dukes of Mecklenburg, Pom rania and Zell, followed his example; while the imperial cities of Frankfort, Nuremberg, Bremen, Strasburg, Brunswick, Nordhausen, and others, ranged themselves on the same side. By the year 1526, when a diet at Spires declared the freedom of each state in the empire to deal with the religious reform according to its own will, the Reformation in Germany was a solidly organized fact.

Charles in his kingdom of Spain

The affairs which called Charles V. away from Germany, after launching his ineffectual edict of Worms against Luther and Luther's supporters, grew in part out of disturbances in his kingdom of Spain. His election to the imperial office had not been pleasing to the Spaniards, who foresaw the injury it would do to themselves,—the foreign character which their sovereign (already foreign in mind by his education in the Netherlands) would be confirmed in, and the indifference with which their grievances would be regarded. For their grievances against the monarchy had been growing serious in the last years of Ferdinand, and since his death. The crown had gained power in the process of political centralization, and its aggrandizement from the possession of America began to loom startingly, in the light of the conquest of Mexico, just achieved.

During the absence of Charles in Germany, his former preceptor, Cardinal Adrian, of Utrecht, being in charge of the government as regent, a

Prescott,
*History of
the Reign of
Philip II.*,
bk. 6, ch. i

Spanish
revolt

The Santa
Junta
suppressed,
1521-1522

End of
popular
freedom in
Spain

revolt broke out at Toledo, which spread widely and became alarming. The insurgents organized their movement under the name of the Santa Junta, or Holy League, and, having obtained possession of the demented queen, Joanna, they assumed to act for her and with her authority. This rebellion was suppressed with difficulty; but the suppression was accomplished, and it proved to be the last struggle for popular freedom in Spain. The government used its victory with an unsparing determination to establish absolute powers. The conditions needed for absolutism were created already, in fact, by the deadly blight which the Inquisition had been casting upon Spain for forty years. Since the beginning of the work of Torquemada, in 1483, it had been searching out and destroying every germ of free thought and manly character that gave the smallest sign of fruitfulness in the kingdom; and the crushing of the Santa Junta may be said to have left few in Spain who deserved a better fate than the political, the religious and the intellectual servitude under which the nation sank.

Persecution
of the
Spanish
Moriscoes

Charles encouraged and stimulated the work of the Inquisition, and pointed its dreadful engines of destruction against the unfortunate Moriscoes, or Moors. Many of those followers of Mohammed, after submitting to Christian baptism, had taken up again the prayers and practices of their own faith, either secretly or in quiet ways, and their relapse appears to have been winked at, more or less. For they were a

most useful people, surpassing the Spaniards in industry, in thrift and knowledge of agriculture, and in mechanical skill. Many of the arts and manufactures of the kingdom were entirely in their hands. It was ruinous to interfere with their peaceful labors; but Charles, while as un-Christian as the Turk when it suited his ends to be so, could look on these well-behaved and useful Moors with no eyes but the eyes of an orthodox piety, and could take account of nothing but their infidel belief. He began, therefore, in 1524, the heartless, senseless and suicidal persecution of the Moriscoes which exterminated them or drove them from the land, and which contributed signally to the making of Spain an exemplary pauper among the nations of the earth.

Charles in the Netherlands

In his provinces of the Low Countries Charles found more than in Spain to provoke his despotic bigotry. The Flemings and the Dutch, in recent years, had been tasting of freedom and free thought too much for his liking. They had become even riper than Luther's countrymen for a religious revolution, and were stirred even more by the trumpet-call sounded at Wittenberg.

In Germany, the elected emperor could fulminate an edict against the audacious reformers, but he had little power to give it force. In the Netherlands, he possessed a sovereignty more potent, and he took instant measures to exercise it to the fullest extent. The duchess Margaret,

His
arbitrary
measures

his aunt, who had been governess of the provinces, was confirmed by him in that office, and he enlarged her powers. His commands superseded the regular courts, and subjected the whole administration of justice to his arbitrary will. At the same time they stripped the provincial assemblies, called the "states" (estates), of their legislative functions and reduced them to insignificance.

His intro-
duction
of the
inquisition

Having thus trampled on the civil liberties of the provinces, he borrowed the infernal engine of the Inquisition and introduced it for the destruction of free thought. Its first victims were two Augustine monks, convicted of Lutheranism, who were burned at Brussels in July, 1523. The first martyr in Holland was a priest, who suffered impalement as well as burning, at the Hague, in 1525. From those beginnings the persecution grew more cruel as the alienation of the stubborn Netherlanders from the church of Rome widened; and Charles did not cease to fan its fires with successive proclamations, or "placards," which denounced and forbade every reading of Scripture, every act of devotion, every conversation on religion, in public or private, which the priests of the church did not conduct. According to Motley, "the number of Netherlanders who were burned, strangled, beheaded, or buried alive, in obedience to his edicts, . . . have been placed as high as 100,000 by distinguished authorities, and have never been put at a lower mark than 50,000."

Its deadly
work

Motley,
*Rise of
the Dutch
Republic*,
1:114

Conflicts of Charles V. with King Francis I.

These exercises of an autocratic piety in Spain and the Low Countries were among the lighter employments of the young emperor during the earlier years of his reign. His more serious affairs were connected mainly with his interests or ambitions in Italy, which seemed to be threatened by the king of France. The throne in that country was now occupied by Francis I., a cousin of Louis XII., who had succeeded the latter in 1515, and who had taken up anew the Italian projects in which Louis failed. In the first year of his reign, Francis crossed the Alps with an army, defeated the Swiss whom the duke of Milan employed against him, and won the whole duchy by that single fight.

Hunt,
*History of
Italy,*
ch. viii-ix

This reëstablishment of the French at Milan was regarded with exceeding jealousy by the Austrian interest, and by the pope. Maximilian, shortly before his death, had made a futile effort to dislodge them, and Charles V., on coming to the throne, lost no time in organizing plans to the same end. He entered into an alliance with pope Leo X., by a treaty which bears the same date as the edict of Worms against Luther, and there seems to be little doubt that the two instruments were part of one agreement between the emperor and the pope. Both parties courted the friendship of Henry VIII. of England, whose power and importance had risen to a high mark, and Henry's able minister, Cardinal Wolsey, figured notably in the diplomatic intrigues which went on during many years.

Reëstab-
lishment of
the French
at Milan,
1515

Alliance of
the
emperor
and the
pope, 1521

The French
expelled
from
Milan, 1521

War began in 1521, and in three months the French were expelled from nearly every part of the Milanese territory. Pope Leo X. lived just long enough to receive the news. His successor was Adrian VI., former tutor of the emperor, who made vain attempts to arrange a peace. Wolsey had brought Henry VIII. of England into the alliance against Francis, expecting that the emperor's influence would give him the papal crown; but he was deceived.

Treason
of the
constable,
the duke of
Bourbon,
1523

Francis made an effort in 1523 to recover Milan; but was crippled at the moment of sending his expedition across the Alps by the treason of the constable, Charles, duke of Bourbon, the most powerful noble of France. The constable had been wronged and affronted by the king's mother, and by intriguers at court, and he revenged himself basely by going over to the service of Charles V. In the campaigns which followed, the French had ill success, and lost their chivalrous and famous knight, Bayard, in one of the last skirmishes of their retreat. Another change now occurred in the occupancy of the papal throne, and Wolsey's ambitious schemes were foiled again. The new pope was Giulio de' Medici, who took the name of Clement VII.

Defeat at
Pavia and
capture of
Francis I.,
1524

Once more the king of France, in October, 1524, led his forces personally into Italy and laid siege to Pavia; but his army was driven from the siege, and he himself fell into the enemy's hands. After a captivity in Spain of nearly a year, he regained his freedom disgracefully, by signing and

solemnly swearing to a treaty which he never intended to observe. By that treaty he not only renounced all claims to Milan, Naples, Genoa, and other Italian territory, but gave up the duchy of Burgundy. Released in good faith on those terms, he repudiated the treaty, and began fresh preparations for war. He found the Italians now as ready to oust the Spaniards from their peninsula with French help, as they had been ready before to expel the French with help from Spain. The papal interest was in great alarm at the power acquired by the emperor, and Venice and Milan shared the feeling. A new "holy league" was formed, with the pope at its head, and with Henry VIII. of England for its "protector." But before this league took the field with its forces, Rome and Italy were stricken and trampled, as though by a fresh invasion of Goths.

Holy league
against the
emperor

The imperial army, quartered in the duchy of Milan, under the command of the constable Bourbon, was scantily paid and fed. The soldiers were allowed to plunder city and country for subsistence, and, of course, all discipline was lost. When the region that they terrorized was exhausted, by their robberies and by the stoppage of industries and trade, it became necessary for the constable to lead them to new fields. His forces were made up in part of Spaniards and in part of Germans—the latter under a Lutheran commander, and enlisted for pillage in Italy and for war with the pope. He directed the march

The
constable
Bourbon's
imperial
army

Its capture
and pillage
of Rome,
1527

Trollope,
*History of
the Com-
monwealth
of Florence*,
bk. 10, ch.
iii

to Rome, constrained, perhaps, by the demands of his soldiery, but expecting to crush the league by seizing its apostolic head. On the 5th of May, 1527, his 40,000 brigands arrived before the city; at daybreak, the next morning, they took it by storm. Bourbon was killed in the assault, and his men were left uncontrolled masters of the venerable capital of the world. They held it for seven months, pillaging and destroying, committing every imaginable sacrilege and every possible excess. Rome is believed to have suffered at their hands more lasting defacement and loss of the splendors of its art than from the earlier sacking by Vandals or Goths.

The
emperor
and the
pope

The pope held out in Castle St. Angelo for a month and then surrendered. Charles V., when he learned what his commissioned bandits had done, made haste to express horror and grief, but did not hasten to check or repair the outrage in the least. Pope Clement was not released from captivity until a great money-payment had been extorted from him, with the promise of a general council to eradicate Lutheranism and reform the church.

French
disaster at
Naples,
1528

Europe was shocked by the barbarity of the capture of Rome, and the enemies leagued against Charles were stimulated to more vigorous exertions. Assisted with money from England, Francis sent another army into Italy, which took Genoa and Pavia and marched to Naples, blockading the city by sea and land. But the siege proved fatal to the French, and so many

perished of disease that the survivors capitulated in September, 1528.

The great Genoese admiral, Andrea Doria, had been offended, meantime, by King Francis, and had excited his fellow citizens to a revolution, which made Genoa, once more, an independent republic, with Doria at its head. Shortly before this occurred, Florence had expelled the Medici again, and restored her republican government. But the defeat of the French before Naples ended all hope of Italian liberty. The pope resigned himself to the will of the emperor, and the papal and imperial despotisms became united as one, to exterminate freedom from the peninsula. Florence was the first victim of the combination. The city was besieged and taken by the emperor's troops, in compliance with the wishes of the pope, and the Medici, his relatives, were restored. Francis continued war feebly until 1529, when a peace called the "Ladies' Peace" was brought about, by negotiations between the French King's mother and the emperor's aunt. This was practically the end of the long French wars in Italy.

Hopeless
subjugation of
Italy to the
emperor

The Ladies'
Peace

Progress of the Reformation in Germany

Such were the events which, in different quarters of the world, diverted the attention of the emperor during several years from Luther and the Reformation in Germany. The religious movement in those years had been making a steady advance; yet its enemies gained control of another diet held at Spire in 1529, and reversed

the ordinance of the diet of 1526, by which each state had been left free to deal in its own manner with the edict of Worms. Against this action of the diet, the Lutheran princes and the representatives of the Lutheran towns entered their solemn protest, and so acquired the name of "Protestants," which became, in most parts of the world, the accepted and adopted designation of all who withdrew from the communion of Rome.

Origin of
the name
"Protes-
tants"

Before this time, the Reform had passed through serious trials, coming from excesses in the very spirit out of which it had risen and to which it gave encouragement. The long-suffering, much oppressed peasantry of Germany, who had found bishops as pitiless extortioners as lords, caught eagerly at a hope of relief from the overthrow of the ancient church. Several times within the preceding half-century they had risen in formidable revolts, with a peasants' clog, or *bundschuh*, for their banner. In 1525 fresh risings occurred in Swabia, Franconia, Alsace, Lorraine, Bavaria, Thuringia and elsewhere, and a great Peasants' War raged for months, with ferocity and brutality on both sides. The number who perished in the war is estimated at 100,000. The demands made by the peasants were for measures of the simplest justice—for the poorest rights and privileges in life. But their cause was taken up by religious fanatics, who became in some parts their leaders, and such a character was given to it that reasonable reform-

The
Peasants'
War
1524-1525

ers were justified, perhaps, in their stern opposition. The wildest prophet of the outbreak was one Thomas M \ddot{u} nzer, a precursor of the sect of the Anabaptists. M \ddot{u} nzer perished in the wreck of the peasants' revolt; but some of his disciples, who fled into Westphalia and the Netherlands, made converts so rapidly in the town of M \ddot{u} nster that, in 1535, they controlled the city, expelled every inhabitant who would not join their communion, elected and crowned a king, and exhibited a madness in their proceedings that has hardly a parallel in history. The experience at M \ddot{u} nster may be thought to have proved the soundness of Luther's judgment in refusing countenance to the cause of the oppressed peasants when they rebelled.

The Anabaptists of M \ddot{u} nster, 1535

At all events, his opposition to them was bitter and hard. It has been remarked that Luther's political position in Germany had become quite changed. "Instead of the man of the people, Luther became the man of the princes; the mutual confidence between him and the masses, which had supported the first faltering steps of the movement, was broken; the democratic element was supplanted by the aristocratic; and the Reformation, which at first had promised to lead to a great national democracy, ended in establishing the territorial supremacy of the German princes. . . . The Reformation was gradually assuming a more secular character, and leading to great political combinations."

Luther's political change

Dyer, *History of Modern Europe*, I : 513

By the year 1530, the Emperor Charles was

prepared to give more attention to German affairs. He had beaten his rival, the king of France, had established his supremacy in Italy, had humbled the pope, and was quite willing to be the zealous champion of a submissive church. His brother Ferdinand, the archduke of Austria, had secured, against much opposition, both the Hungarian and the Bohemian crowns, and so firmly that neither was ever again wrested from his family, though they continued to be nominally elective for some time. The dominions of Ferdinand had suffered a great Turkish invasion, in 1529, under the sultan Solyman, who penetrated even to Vienna and besieged the city, but without success, losing heavily in his retreat.

In May, 1530, Charles reëntered Germany from Italy. The following month he opened the sitting of the diet, which had been convened at Augsburg. His first act at Augsburg was to summon the protesting princes, of Saxony, Hesse, Brandenburg, and other states, before him, and to signify to them his imperial command that the toleration of Lutheranism must cease. He expected the mandate to suffice; when he found it ineffectual, he required an abstract of the new religious doctrines to be laid before him. This was prepared by Melancthon, and, known afterward as the Confession of Augsburg, became the Lutheran standard of faith. The Catholic theologians prepared a reply to it, and both were submitted to the emperor. He made some attempt to bring about a compromise of the differences;

Return of
Charles V.
to Ger-
many, 1530

The
Confession
of Augs-
burg

he demanded of the Protestants that they should submit themselves to the pope, pending the final decisions of a proposed general council of the church. When this was refused, the diet condemned their doctrines and required them to reunite themselves with the Catholic church before the 15th of April, in the next year. This was followed, in November, by an imperial decree, renewing the edict of Worms, and commanding that it be enforced.

The Protestant princes, thus threatened, assembled in conference at Schmalkald at Christmas, 1530, and there organized their famous armed league. Fresh preparations for war by the Turk now compelled Charles to make terms. The Lutherans refused to give any assistance to Austria or Hungary against the sultan, while threatened by the Augsburg decree. The gravity of the danger forced a concession to them, and, by the Peace of Nuremberg, it was agreed that the Protestants should have freedom of worship until the next diet should meet, or a general council should be held.

Protestant
league of
Schmal-
kald, 1530

Peace of
Nuremberg

This peace was renewed several times, and there were ten years of quiet under it, in Germany, during which time the cause of Protestantism made rapid gains. By the year 1540, it had established an ascendancy in Würtemberg, among the states of the south, and in the imperial cities of Nuremberg, Augsburg, Strasburg, Constance and Ulm. Its doctrines had been adopted by "the whole of central Germany, Thuringia,

The
Protestant
German
states

Saxony, Hesse, part of Brunswick, and the territory of the Guelphs; in the north by the bishoprics of Magdeburg, Halberstadt and Naumburg . . . ; by East Friesland, the Hanse Towns, Holstein and Schleswig, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Anhalt, Silesia, the Saxon states, Brandenburg and Prussia. Of the larger states that were closed against it there remained only Austria, Bavaria, the Palatinate and the Rhenish electorates." In 1542, duke Henry of Brunswick, the last of the North German princes who adhered to the papal church, was expelled from his duchy and Protestantism established. At about the same time the archbishop-elect of Cologne announced his withdrawal from the Roman church.

Charles was still involved too much in foreign wars to venture upon a struggle with the Lutherans; but a few years more sufficed to free his hands. The treaty of Crespy, in 1544, ended his last conflict with Francis I. In the same year, Pope Paul III. summoned the long promised general council of the church to meet at Trent the following spring—by which appointment a term was put to the toleration conceded in the Peace of Nuremberg. The Protestants, though greatly increased in numbers, were now less united than at the time of the formation of the Schmalkaldic league. There was much division among the leading princes. They yielded no longer to the influence of their wisest and ablest chief, Philip of Hesse. Luther, whose counsels had always been

Häusser,
*The Period
of the Ref-
ormation*,
190

Divisions
among the
Protestants

for peace, approached his end, and died in 1546.

Death of
Luther,
1546

Circumstances were favorable to the emperor, when he determined to put a stop to the Reformation by force. He secured an important ally in the very heart of Protestant Germany, winning over to his side a selfish schemer, Duke Maurice of Saxony—now the head of one branch of the Saxon house. In 1546 he felt prepared, and war began. The successes were all on the imperial side. There was no energy, no unity, no forethoughtfulness of plan, among the Lutherans. The elector, John Frederick, of Saxony, and Philip of Hesse, both fell into the emperor's hands. The former was compelled to resign his electorate, and it was conferred upon the renegade duke Maurice. Philip was kept in vile places of confinement and inhumanly treated for years. The Protestants of Germany were entirely beaten down, and the emperor imposed upon them a confession of faith called "the Interim," the chief missionaries of which were his soldiers from Spain.

The
Schmal-
kaldic War,
1546-1547

"The'
Interim,"
1548

But, if the Lutherans had suffered themselves to be overcome, they were not ready to be trodden upon in so despotic a mode. Even Maurice, now elector of Saxony, recoiled from the tyranny which Charles sought to establish, while he resented the inhuman treatment of his father-in-law, Philip of Hesse. He headed a new league against the emperor, which entered into a secret alliance with Henry II. of France (Francis I. having died in 1547). Charles was taken by

New league
against the
emperor,
1552

surprise when the revolt broke out, in 1552. The operations of Maurice were vigorously and ably conducted, and the Protestants recovered in a few weeks all the ground lost in 1546-7; while the French improved the opportunity to seize the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun.

Religious
Peace of
Augsburg,
1555

The ultimate result was the so-called "Religious Peace of Augsburg," which gave religious freedom to the ruling princes of Germany, but none whatever to the people at large. It put the two religions on the same footing, but it was a footing of equal intolerance, each ruler having the right to choose his own creed, and to impose it arbitrarily upon his subjects if he saw fit. As a practical consequence, the final division of Germany between Protestantism and Catholicism was determined substantially by the princes, and not by the people.

Abdication
of Charles
V., 1556

The humiliating failure of Charles V. to crush the Reformation in Germany was prominent, no doubt, among the experiences which sickened him of the imperial office, and determined him to abdicate the throne, which he did in the autumn of 1556.

Charles V. and the Barbary pirates

Not least among the troubles of the reign of Charles V. had been those which came from the rise and increasing power of what came to be known as the Barbary States, founded by piratical adventurers on the southern coasts of the Mediterranean Sea. The ports on those Moorish

shores, as well as many islands in the Mediterranean, had sheltered pirates, both Christian and Moslem, for centuries; but no formidable organization among them sprang up until, in the early years of the sixteenth century, two brothers, who acquired the name of the Barbarossas (meaning the red-beards), gathered formidable fleets, with which they mastered both Algiers and Tunis, and established a lordship that was placed under the sovereignty and protection of the Turkish sultan. In 1535 Charles drove the pirates from Tunis; but attempting, six years later, to do the same at Algiers, he suffered a terrible disaster, losing the greater part of both the army and the fleet which he had led to the attack. A new piratical chieftain, named Dragut, then raised himself to power, recovered Tunis, took Tripoli from the Knights of St. John, and, as a vassal and ally of the sultan, defied all attempts of the Christian powers on the Mediterranean to check his destructive career.

The Barbarossas

Piratical lordships of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli

The Reformation in Switzerland

A generation had now passed since the Lutheran movement of Reformation was begun in Germany, and, within that time, not only had the wave of influence from Wittenberg swept over all western Europe, but other reformers had risen independently and contemporaneously, or nearly so, in other countries, working to the same end. The earliest of these was the Swiss reformer, Ulrich Zwingli, who began preaching against indulgences and other flagrant abuses in the

Beard, *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* (Hibbert Lectures), lect. 7

Ulrich Zwingli

church, at Zurich, in 1519, the same year in which Luther opened his attack. The effect of his preaching was so great that Zurich, four years later, had separated itself, practically, from the Roman church. From that beginning the Reformation spread so rapidly that, in half-a-dozen years, it had mastered most of the cantons of Switzerland outside of the five Forest Cantons, where Catholicism held its ground. The two religions were then represented by two parties, which absorbed in themselves all the political as well as the religious questions of the day, and which soon came to blows. The Catholics allied themselves with Ferdinand of Austria, and the Protestants with several of the imperial cities of Germany.

But such an union between Swiss and German Protestants as seemed to be desirable was prevented, mainly, by the dictatorial obstinacy of Luther. Zwingli's reforming ideas were more radical than Luther's, and the latter opposed them with irreconcilable hostility. He held with the Catholics to the doctrine of transubstantiation, which the Swiss reformer condemned. Hence Zwingli was no less a heretic in Luther's eyes than in the eyes of the pope, and the anathemas launched against him from Wittenberg were hardly less thunderous than those from Rome. So the two contemporaneous reformation movements, German and Swiss, were held apart from one another, and went on side by side, with little of mutual sympathy or help.

Luther's
antagonism
to Zwingli

In 1531 the Forest Cantons attacked and defeated the men of Zurich, and Zwingli was slain in the battle. Peace was then concluded on terms which left each canton free to establish its own creed, and each congregation free to do the same in the common territories of the confederation.

Battle and
peace

The Reformation in France

In France, the freer ideas of Christianity that were in the upper air of European culture, when the sixteenth century began, had found some expression even before Luther spoke. The influence of the new classical learning, and of the "humanists" who imbibed its spirit, tended to that liberation of the mind, and was felt in the University of Paris, the greatest center of the learning of the time. It was not felt sufficiently, however, to overcome the conservatism of the Sorbonne—the theological faculty of the university; for Luther's writings were condemned and burned by that faculty in 1521, and a persecution of those inclined toward the new doctrines was begun.

Baird,
*Rise of the
Huguenots*,
ch.i-vi(v.1)

Luther's
writings
burned by
the
Sorbonne,
1521

Francis I., in whose careless and coarse nature there was some taste for letters and learning, as well as for art, and who patronized in an idle way the renaissance movements of his reign, seemed disposed at the beginning to be friendly to the religious reformers. But he was too shallow a creature, and too profoundly unprincipled and false, to stand firmly in any cause of righteousness, and face such a power as that of Rome.

Margaret
of
Angoulême

His sister, Margaret of Angoulême, who embraced the reformed doctrines with conviction, exerted a strong influence upon the king in their favor while she was by his side; but after her marriage to Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre, and after Francis had suffered defeat and shame in his war with Charles V., he was ready to make himself the servant of the papacy for whatever it willed, in order to have its alliance and support. So the persecution grew steadily more fierce, more systematic, and more determined, as the spirit of the Reformation spread more widely through France.

Persecution
of the
reformers

Calvin in
Geneva,
1541-1564

One of the consequences of the persecution was the flight from France, in 1534, of John Calvin, who became subsequently the founder and the exponent of a system of Protestant theology which obtained wider acceptance than Luther's. All minor differences were merged practically in the great division between these two theologies—the Lutheran and the Calvinistic—which split the Reformation in twain. After two years of wandering, Calvin settled in the free city of Geneva, where his influence rose to so extraordinary a height that he transformed the commonwealth and ruled it, unselfishly, in perfect piety, but with iron-handed despotism, for more than a score of years.

The reign of Francis I. has one other mark in history, besides that of his persecution of the Reformers, his careless patronage of arts and letters, and his unsuccessful wars with the

emperor. He gave to the French court,—to the royal residence,—that character which made it in later French history so evil and mischievous a center of dissoluteness and of base intrigue. It was invested in his time with the fascinations that drew into it the nobles of France and its men of genius, to corrupt them and to destroy their independence. It was in his time that the court began to seem to be, in its own eyes, a kind of self-centered society, containing all of the French nation that needed or deserved consideration, and holding its place in the order of things quite apart from the kingdom which it helped its royal master to rule. Not to be of the court was to be non-existent in its view; and every ambition in France was invited to push at its fatal doors.

The French court

Francis I. died in 1547, and was followed on the throne by his son, Henry II., whose marriage to Catherine de' Medici, of the renowned Florentine family, was the most important personal act of his life. It was important in the malign fruits which it bore; since Catherine, after his death, gave an Italian bend-sinister to French politics, which had no lack of crookedness before. Henry continued the war with Charles V., and was afterward at war with Philip II., Charles's son, and with England, the latter country losing Calais,—its last possession in France. Peace was made in 1559, and celebrated with splendid tournaments, at one of which the French king received a wound that caused his death.

Henry II.,
1547-1559

Catherine
de' Medici

England under the Tudors

It was in the reign of Henry VII., first of the Tudor sovereigns of England, that America was discovered, and he might have been the patron of Columbus, who applied to him for aid; he might have been the beneficiary of the great voyage,— proprietor and lord of the magnificent realm which Isabella secured; but he lacked the funds or the faith, and put aside his unequalled opportunity. When the field of westward exploration had been opened, however, he was early in entering it, sending Cabot on those voyages that gave England her claim to the North American coasts.

Two
important
marriages

During the reign of Henry VII. there were two quiet marriages in his family which had important results. One was the marriage, in 1501, of the king's eldest son, Arthur, to Catherine of Aragon, youngest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. The other, in 1503, united the king's daughter, Margaret, to James IV., king of Scotland. It was through this latter marriage that the inheritance of the English crown passed to the Scottish house of Stuart, exactly one hundred years later, upon the failure of heirs in the direct line. The first marriage, of Prince Arthur to Catherine of Aragon, was dissolved by the death of the prince, in 1502. Seven years afterward the widowed Catherine married her late husband's brother, just after he became King Henry VIII., on the death of his father, in 1509. Whence notable consequences came.

It was the ambition of Henry VIII. to play a

conspicuous part in European affairs. As England was rich and strong, and as the king had inherited nearly absolute power, his alliance was courted by all the parties to the great contests then going on. His ambitions ran parallel, too, with those of the able minister, Thomas Wolsey, who rose to high influence at his side soon after his reign began. Wolsey aspired to the papal crown, with the cardinal's cap as a preparatory adornment, and he drew England, as we have seen, into the stormy politics of the sixteenth century, with some gain to the nation of importance and prestige. When the emperor Maximilian died, in 1519, Henry entered the lists against Maximilian's grandson, Charles of Spain, and Francis I. of France, as a candidate for the imperial crown. In the subsequent wars that broke out between his two rivals, he took the side of the successful Charles, now emperor, and helped him to climb to supremacy in Europe over the prostrate French king. He had dreams of conquering France again, and casting the glories of Henry V. in the shade; but he carried his enterprise little beyond the dreaming. When it was too late to check the growth of Charles's overshadowing power, he changed his side and went into alliance with France.

Henry's motives were always selfish and personal—never political; and the personal motives were now of the basest kind. He had tired of his wife, the Spanish Catherine, who was six years older than himself. He had two pretexts for dis-

Henry VIII.,
1509-1547

Brewer,
Reign of Henry VIII.

Wolsey

Creighton,
Cardinal Wolsey

The ambitions of Henry VIII.

His discontent with his wife

content with his marriage: (1) That his queen had borne him only a daughter, whereas England needed a male heir to the throne; (2) that he was troubled with scruples as to the lawfulness of wedlock with his brother's widow. On this latter ground he began intrigues to win from the pope, not a divorce in the ordinary sense of the term, but a declaration that his marriage was null. This challenged the opposition of the emperor, Catherine's nephew, and Henry's alliances were naturally changed.

Refusal of
the pope to
annul his
marriage

The pope, Clement VII., refused to annul the marriage, and Henry turned his unreasoning wrath upon Cardinal Wolsey, who had conducted negotiations with the pope, and failed. Wolsey was driven from the court in disgrace and died soon afterward. He was succeeded in the king's favor by Thomas Cromwell, a more unscrupulous man. Henry had not yet despaired of bringing the pope to compliance with his wishes; and he began attacks upon the church and upon the papal revenues, which might shake, as he hoped, the firmness of the powers at Rome. With the help of a pliant minister and a subservient parliament, he forced the clergy in convocation to acknowledge him to be the supreme head of the English church, and to submit themselves entirely to his authority. At the same time he grasped the "annates," or first year's income of bishoprics, which had been the richest perquisite of the popes.

His
retaliatory
attacks on
the church

In all these proceedings, the English king was

acting in line with the continental rising against Rome, but not in friendliness toward it nor in sympathy with it. He had been among the bitterest enemies of the Reformation, and his enmity never ceased. He had won from the pope the empty title of "Defender of the Faith," by a foolish book against Luther, and the faith which he thus defended in 1521 was the faith in which he died. But when he found that the influence of Charles V. at Rome was too great to be overcome, and that the pope could neither be bribed, persuaded nor coerced to sanction the putting away of his wife, he resolved to make himself the pontiff of a separate church in England that would sanction the repudiation of his wife. He purposed nothing more than this. He contemplated no change of doctrine, no cleansing of abuses. He permitted no one whose services he commanded in the undertaking to propose any such change. So far as concerned Henry's initiative, there was absolutely nothing of religious reformation in the movement which separated the church of England from the church of Rome. It accomplished its sole original end when it gave finality to the decree of an English ecclesiastical court, on the question of the king's marriage, and barred Queen Catherine's appeal. It was the intention of Henry VIII. that the church under his papacy should remain precisely what it had been under the pope at Rome, and he spared neither stake nor gibbet in his persecuting zeal against reformers.

His hostility to the Reformation movement

He makes himself the pontiff of a separate English church

Solely to accomplish the divorcing of his wife

Of the five wives who succeeded Catherine of Aragon in wedlock with King Henry, two (Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard) were put to death for alleged infidelities, one other (Anne of Cleves) was repudiated, one (Jane Seymour) died in childbed, and one (Catherine Parr) survived the king.

But the spirit of reformation in the atmosphere of the age lent itself, nevertheless, to King Henry's project, and made that practicable which could not have been so a generation before. The influence of Wiclif had never wholly died out; the new learning was making its way in England and broadening men's minds; the voice of Luther and his fellow workers on the continent had been heard, and not in vain. England was ripe for the religious revolution, and her king promoted it, against his own will. But, while his reign lasted, and his despotism was heavy on the land, there was nothing accomplished but the breaking of the old church fetters, and the binding of the nation anew with green withes, which, presently, it would break.

Dying in 1547, Henry left three children: Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon; Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, and Edward, son of Jane Seymour. The latter, in his tenth year, became king (Edward VI.), and his uncle, the duke of Somerset, acquired the control of the government, with the title of protector. Somerset headed a party which began before the death of the king to press for more changes in the char-

England
ripe for
religious
revolution

Edward
VI., 1547-
1553

Green,
*Short
History of
the English
People,*
ch. vii

acter of the new church of England and less adherence to the pattern of Rome. There seems to be little reason to suppose that the court leaders of this party were much moved in the matter by any interest of a religious kind; but the growth of thinking and feeling in England tended that way, and the side of Reformation had become the stronger side. They simply gave way to it, ceasing to repress movements or reform. At the same time, their new policy gave them more freedom to grasp the spoils of the old church, which Henry VIII. had begun to lay hands on, by suppression of monasteries and confiscation of their estates. The wealth thus sequestered went largely into private hands.

England
carried into
the Refor-
mation
movement

It was in the short reign of Edward VI. that the church of England took on its organic form as one of the churches of the Reformation, by the composition of its first prayer-books, and by the framing of a definite creed.

In 1553, the young king died. Somerset had fallen from power the previous year, and had suffered death. He had been supplanted by Dudley, earl of Warwick and duke of Northumberland, and that minister had persuaded Edward to bequeath his crown to Lady Jane Grey, granddaughter of the younger sister of Henry VIII. But Northumberland was hated by the people, and few could recognize the right of a boy on the throne to change the order of regal succession by his will. Parliament had formally legitimated both Catherine's daughter, Mary, and Anne

Lady
Jane Grey

Boleyn's daughter, Elizabeth, and had placed them in the line of inheritance.

Mary
Tudor's
title to the
crown

Mary's legal title to the crown was clear. She had adhered, with her mother, to the Roman church, and her advent upon the throne would mean the subjection of the English church to the papacy anew; since the new constitution of the church armed the sovereign with supreme ecclesiastical power. The Protestants of the kingdom knew what to expect, and were in great fear; but they did not dispute Mary's claims. Lady Jane Grey was recommended to them by her Protestant belief, and by her beautiful character; but her title was too defective and her supporters were distrusted too much. There were few to stand by the poor young girl when Northumberland proclaimed her queen, and she was easily dethroned. A year later she was sent to the block.

Execution
of Lady
Jane

Mary I.
(Mary
Tudor),
1553-1558

Mary Tudor, receiving the English crown in 1553, was married in the year following to her cousin Philip, of Spain (son of the emperor Charles V.), who was her junior by eleven years. It is not unfair to suppose that Philip encouraged the zeal of his consort, when she hastened to rekindle the fires of religious persecution and reëstablish the supremacy of the pope. He tired of her quickly, and left her in 1555. In 1558 she died, and England, under her sister Elizabeth, was separated once more and finally from the church of Rome.

Elsewhere in Europe, however, a powerful

reaction in favor of the papacy and against the Reformation was beginning to appear. Before considering it, let us glance at the movements of religious feeling in some other countries not yet discussed.

The Reformation in Scotland

In Scotland, a deep undercurrent of feeling against the corruptions of the church had been repressed by resolute persecutions, until after the middle of the sixteenth century. Wars with England, and the close connection of the Scottish court with the Guises of France, had tended to retard the progress or the manifestation of sentiments in favor of reform. But when the pent-up feeling began to respond to the great Calvinistic evangelist and organizer, John Knox, it swept the nation like a storm. Knox's first preaching, after some years of captivity in France and exile to Geneva, was in 1555. In 1560, the authority of the pope was renounced, the mass prohibited, and the Geneva confession of faith adopted, by the Scottish estates. After that time the reformed church in Scotland—the church of Presbyterianism—had only to resist the futile hostility of Mary Stuart for a few years, until it came to a great struggle against English episcopacy, under Mary's son and grandson, James and Charles.

John Knox

The Reformation in the north

In the three Scandinavian nations, the ideas of the Reformation, diffused from Germany, had

Collins, in
*Cambridge
Modern
History 2:*
ch. xvii

won early favor, partly owing their reception, perhaps, to the political condition of affairs. When the ferment of the Reformation movement began, the three crowns were worn by one king, as they had been since the "Union of Calmar," in 1397, and the king of Denmark was the sovereign of the Union. His actual power in Sweden and Norway was slight; his theoretical authority was sufficient to irritate both. In Sweden, especially, the nobles chafed under the yoke of the profitless federation. Christian II., the last Danish king of the three kingdoms, crushed their disaffection by a harsh conquest of the country, and by savage executions, so perfidious and so numerous that they are known in Swedish history as the Massacre of Stockholm. But this brutal and faithless king became so hateful in his own proper kingdom that the Danish nobles rose against him in 1523 and he was driven from the land. The crown was given then to his uncle, Frederick, duke of Schleswig-Holstein, in which German duchy Lutheranism had already made its way. On coming to the throne of Denmark, where Catholicism still prevailed, Frederick pledged himself to do nothing against it; but he demanded and established a toleration for both doctrines, and gave the reformers a freedom of opportunity which undermined and overthrew the old faith.

The
"massacre
of Stock-
holm," 1520

Gustavus
Vasa,
1523-1560

Sweden, in the meantime, had undergone the important revolution of her history which placed the national hero, Gustavus Vasa, on the throne.

Gustavus was a young noble who had no title to the crown save that which his own genius gave. After Christian II. had exterminated the elder leaders of the Swedish state, this young lord, then a hostage and prisoner in the tyrant's hands, made his escape and took upon himself the mission of setting his country free. For three years Gustavus lived a life like that of Alfred the Great in England, when he, too, struggled with the Danes. His heroic adventures were crowned with success, and Sweden, led to independence by its natural king, bestowed the regal title upon him and seated him upon its ancient throne. The new Danish king, Frederick, acknowledged the revolution, and the Union of Calmar was dissolved. Sweden under Gustavus Vasa recovered from the state of great disorder into which it had fallen, and grew to be a nation of important strength. As a measure of policy, he encouraged Lutheranism, in order to break the power of the Catholic clergy, and also, without doubt, to obtain possession of the property of the church, which gave substantial revenues to the crown.

The Union
of Calmar
dissolved

Italy and the Reformation

In Italy, the reformed doctrines obtained no popular footing at any time, though many among the cultivated people regarded them with favor, and would have welcomed, not only a practical purging of the church, but a revision of some dogmas that were offensive to intelligent minds. But such little movement as stirred in that direc-

Spanish
domination

tion was soon stopped by the success of the emperor, Charles V., in his Italian wars with Francis I., and by the Spanish domination in the peninsula which ensued thereon. The Spain of that age was like the bloodless octopus, which paralyzes the victim in its clutch, and Italy, gripped in half of its many principalities by the deadly tentacles thrust out from Madrid, showed, for the next two centuries, no conscious life.

The Council of Trent

Protestants
unrepre-
sented

The long demanded, long promised general council, for considering the alleged abuses in the church and the alleged falsities in its doctrine, and generally for discussion and action upon the questions raised by the Reformation, assembled at Trent in December, 1545. The emperor seems to have desired sincerely that the Protestants should be represented in the council, for a full discussion of their differences with Rome. But this was made impossible from the beginning. The Protestants demanded that "final appeal on all debated points should be made to the sole authority of Holy Scripture," and, this being refused by the pope (Paul III.), there remained no ground on which the two parties could meet.

The Italian prelates, who composed the majority of the council, made haste, it would seem, to take action which closed the doors of conciliation against the reformers. "First, they declared that divine revelation was continuous in the church of which the pope was the head;

and that the chief written depository of this revelation — namely, the Scriptures — had no authority except in the version of the Vulgate. Secondly, they condemned the doctrine of justification by faith. . . . Thirdly, they confirmed the efficacy and the binding authority of the Seven Sacraments.” “The council terminated in December with an act of submission, which placed all its decrees at the pleasure of the papal sanction. Pius [Pius IV. became pope in 1560] was wise enough to pass and ratify the decrees of the Tridentine fathers by a bull dated on December 26, 1563, reserving to the papal sovereign the sole right of interpreting them in doubtful or disputed cases. This he could well afford to do; for not an article had been penned without his concurrence, and not a stipulation had been made without a previous understanding with the Catholic powers. The very terms, moreover, by which his ratification was conveyed, secured his supremacy, and conferred upon his successors and himself the privileges of a court of ultimate appeal. At no previous period in the history of the church had so wide, so undefined, and so unlimited an authority been accorded to the see of Rome.”

Declara-
tions of the
council

1563

Papal
supremacy
established

Symonds,
*Renaissance in
Italy: the
Catholic
Reaction*,
pt. I : 141

Some practical reforms in the church were wrought by the council of Trent, but its measures of discipline were less important than its dogmatic decrees. From beginning to end of its sessions, which, broken by many suspensions and adjournments, dragged through eighteen years, it addressed itself to the task of solidifying the

1545-1563

church of Rome, as left by the Protestant schism, —not of healing the schism itself. The work which the council did in that direction was of vast importance, and profoundly affected the future of the papacy and of its spiritual realm. It gave a firm dogmatic footing to the great forces of reaction which now came into play, with aggressive enthusiasm and zeal, to arrest the advance of the Reformation and roll it back.

Dogmatic
solidifica-
tion of the
Roman
church

The Spaniards in America

By this time the Spaniards in America had found wonderful peoples to subjugate and plunder, and were gathering heaps of gold for themselves and for their king. Hernando Cortés was the first to lay hands on a notable prize of that kind. Another adventurer, storm-driven to the coast of Yucatan, in 1517, had caught glimpses of what seemed to be a state of civilization well advanced. Thereupon the governor of Cuba prepared a small expedition to that region, naming Cortés to the command, but recalling the appointment when the fleet was about to sail. Disregarding the governor's countermand, the audacious Hernando put to sea hastily and went his way to the Yucatan coast. With 553 soldiers, he landed at the Tabasco River, in February, 1519, and moved cautiously westward until he reached a port that he called Vera Cruz, where he established the headquarters of his campaign.

Hernando
Cortés

Cortés found himself in the midst of communities that were in discontented subjection to a

confederacy of three powerful tribes, seated in what is known as the Valley of Mexico. The Spaniards understood this confederacy to be a kingdom or empire, and they gave the title of emperor to its elected chief. This was one of many misconceptions that appear in the early Spanish accounts of the country as they found it, and which went uncorrected until a quite recent time. At present there is little doubt that the people whom the Spaniards were about to strike down were living in a state much like that of the so-called Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona, at the present day. In the manner of the Zuñis, they inhabited great communal dwellings—huge fortified tenements, of sun-dried brick or of stone—in which one wall might inclose and one roof cover a whole *pueblo* or town. Apparently they had cultivated more and finer arts than the Zuñis exhibit, and their social organization was not so simple; but it is evident that the social scheme, the mode of life, and the type of civilization were substantially the same.

The tribes of the dominating confederacy and the subject tribes were of kindred stock, all belonging, in the modern classification of American aborigines, to the division called Nahua, speaking dialects, that is, of a common language called Nahuatl or Nahua. The confederated tribes occupied three commanding *pueblos* or towns, named Tenochtitlan, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan, situated in and on one of the lakes in the Valley of Mexico. Tenochtitlan, which stood on

Cortés in Mexico, 1519

Winsor, in *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 2 : ch. vi

State of life in the country

Morgan, *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines*, ch. x

The Nahua

Tenochtitlan

Aztecs

Monte-
zuma

the site of the modern city of Mexico, in the midst of what was then a partly artificial lake, was the most powerful and most impregnable in position of the three. It was inhabited by the tribe of the Aztecs, whose name has been misapplied, in various general ways. It was the real seat of the confederate power, and the residence of Montezuma, the federal chief. In the eyes of the Spaniards, when they came to it, this *pueblo* of Tenochtitlan—this original city of Mexico—was the capital of an empire, and its large communal dwellings were the palaces of the emperor and his great lords.

The
advance of
the
Spaniards

The arrival of the invading Spaniards within the tributary dominion of the confederacy was made known quickly to its chief, who attempted to please them by rich gifts and induce them to depart. His gifts served only to inflame them with eagerness to lay hands on his treasury and make it their own. By secretly encouraging the disaffection of the subjugated tribes, inciting them to refuse tribute to the overbearing confederates, and craftily playing the part of friendly deliverers from a hateful yoke, they smoothed the way for their bold advance. In August, after sinking his ships, to make the expedition desperate, Cortés began his march, with about 450 men and 15 horses,—the latter of which were as strange and terrifying to the natives as the Spanish gunpowder and guns.

At Tlascala, the invaders encountered an independent tribe, who fought them bravely and

almost with success. When defeated, the Tlascalans sought alliance with them, and treated them with great hospitality in their town. At Cholula, which was subject to Montezuma, they were received with equal friendliness, but discovered, as they claimed, that this masked a treacherous plot. Forestalling the intended attack on them, they assaulted their hosts one morning at daybreak and committed a horrible massacre, in which the Tlascalans, now their allies, took part. Terrorized by this example of the fierce prowess of the invaders, Montezuma made no attempt to resist their entrance into Tenochtitlan, but met them on their arrival, led them over the lake causeways into the water-girt town, and gave them quarters as his guests. The daring Spaniards had now ventured into a perilous situation; but they secured a certain protection for themselves by requiring Montezuma to reside with them, which the latter was weak enough to do. To the end of his life, in the following June, the ill-fated chief remained a captive in the hands of his insolent visitors, who practically ruled the confederacy in his name. Cortés wrung from him a pledge of vassalage and tribute to the crown of Castile, and even made a rash attempt to overthrow the idols of the bloody cannibalistic worship of the Aztecs; but this enraged the people as nothing else had done.

Alliance
with
Tlascalans

The
Spaniards
in Tenoch-
titlan

Monte-
zuma a
captive

In May, 1520, Cortés learned that an expedition from the governor of Cuba had arrived at Vera Cruz, prepared to arrest him as a rebel and

take official charge of the undertaking he had begun. With the overpowering energy that animated all his acts, he took part of his scanty force from Tenochtitlan (or Mexico, as we will call it hereafter), marched rapidly to the coast, surprised the hostile force, which had three times the number of his own, took its commander prisoner, and won over the whole body to enlist for service with himself. He now had an army of over a thousand well armed men, and needed them all; for news came from Mexico that the officer left in command there had provoked a desperate rising of the natives, and that the quarters of the Spanish garrison were besieged.

Rising of
the natives,
1520

Marching with great haste, Cortés reëntered the *pueblo* and rejoined his garrison on the 24th of June, doing so without resistance, though the Mexicans resumed their attack on the Spanish quarters the next day. Apparently they were willing that the hated intruders should be reunited, because they hoped to destroy them all. They would listen to no terms, assuring the Spaniards repeatedly that they meant to exterminate them, at no matter what cost of life among themselves. The wretched Montezuma, brought out upon a battlement by his captors to speak to his people, was greeted with stones and arrows, and so wounded that he died. For a week the fighting was desperate on both sides; then Cortés determined to escape from the town. A stealthy retreat was attempted on the night of the 1st of July; but the Mexicans discovered it,

Death of
Monte-
zuma

Retreat
of the
Spaniards

and a frightful struggle occurred in the darkness, on causeways and bridges, leading to the shore of the lake. Four hundred and fifty of the Spaniards and 4000 of their native allies perished, and all of the Spanish records were lost.

With a half-starved and exhausted remnant of his force, the indomitable adventurer retreated to Tlascala, re-inspired his followers, obtained reinforcements from some quarter, built vessels to launch on the Mexican lake, and returned to the shores of that lake in December, within plain sight of the Aztec town, which he made ready to besiege. During the winter he overran the surrounding country; in May his attack on the *pueblo* was opened; on the 13th of August he became master of the few ruins that remained of the shattered and depopulated town. The spoil found was disappointing, and Guatemozin, the now ruling chief, was questioned under torture, to learn if treasures had been concealed.

Final
capture of
the Aztec
capital,
1521

The conquest of the Aztec confederacy was the conquest of most of the country, as far as news of what the Spaniards had done spread abroad. To the appalled natives they appeared irresistible, and submission awaited them, generally, wherever they went. On the site of Tenochtitlan a new capital of a new despotism was built. The country was named New Spain, and Cortés, forgiven at the Spanish court for the lawlessness of his remarkable exploit, was appointed governor and captain-general, with extensive powers. His restless energy was unsatisfied until he had

General
submission
of the
country
New Spain

extended his conquests to the Sea of the South, as the Pacific was called, and to the Central American countries of Guatemala and Honduras. In a personal expedition to the latter, he suffered great hardships and perils, and his long absence gave his enemies an opportunity to undermine him at the Spanish court. He was superseded in the governorship, and went to Spain for redress, with only partial success. High honors were paid him; he was raised to the rank of marquis, and vast Mexican estates were granted him; his military command was undisturbed; but he was never again governor of the great American province he had added to the empire of Spain.

Cortés
superseded

New Spain gratified the fierce lust of the Spaniards for gold and silver more than any other of the countries found thus far in their search. In the islands of the West Indies they had found little; in Florida, explored by Ponce de Leon in 1512, they found none; the Isthmus of Panama, where a colony was founded in 1511 (from which Balboa crossed to the Pacific two years later), yielded them a little more; but, according to the careful estimates of Baron Humboldt, their whole eager search for precious metals had yielded, as yet, only about \$260,000 per year. New Spain is estimated by the same authority to have raised their acquisitions of gold and silver (mostly the latter) to \$3,150,000 per year. But it was not until they found Peru that the grand prize of rapacity was won.

Spanish
gold-
findings

Early in the colonization of the Isthmus, the

settlers there, among whom was Francisco Pizarro, gathered native rumors of a country far southward that abounded in silver and gold. In 1524 Pizarro formed a partnership with two others for an undertaking to find this inviting region and secure its wealth. From November of that year until early in 1528 two of the partners, Pizarro and Almagro, pursued their search, in repeated voyages, down the forbidding western coast of South America, undergoing dreadful hardships, wearing out repeated companies of followers, exhausting their resources, and plunging desperately into debt. At last, they reached the coast of what came to be called Peru, and found what they sought,—a people well advanced toward civilization in the arts of life, and showing a lavish possession of the precious metals that Europe craved.

Having seen enough to be sure that rich booty would reward a conquest, they hastened home for reinforcements and for a royal warrant to make their rights secure. Pizarro went to Spain for the latter, and spent a year in winning a commission from the emperor, Charles V., which gave him rights of conquest and made him captain-general and governor of New Castile, as the country of his discovery was named. It was not till the last days of the year 1531 that he was back in Panama and ready to sail for his field of conquest, with three small vessels and one hundred and eighty-three men. With this force he did nothing but seize and sack a town, which

Francisco Pizarro
Markham,
in *Narrative and Critical History of America*,
2 : ch. viii

Discovery of Peru

Preparing for the conquest, 1528-1532

Pizarro's
invasion
of Peru,
1532

yielded considerable booty and enabled him to send to Panama for more men. After waiting seven months for a trifling reinforcement, Pizarro began his march along the coast, laying violent hands on whatever came in his way, overcoming all resistance, and finally founding a town, named San Miguel, at which he halted until further supplies came to him from Panama. While he was thus occupied, the nation that he aimed to overthrow was undergoing the calamity of a fierce civil war.

The empire
of the Incas

The government of this remarkable country appears to have been one of the most perfect despotisms ever formed. It was obliterated so suddenly, with such unsparing vandalism, that our knowledge of it is deplorably incomplete. In some directions of culture the people subject to it had gone far; but they had invented no form of writing, and left no records, except in a mnemonic contrivance of knotted cords and colored threads (called *quipu*), which served, like the wampum of the North American Indians, to assist a mere memorizing of events. Few of their traditions, little of their unwritten poetry and legend, survived the extermination that the empire and its people underwent.

Quipu

The Incas

The empire is known as that of the Incas, the word Inca signifying sometimes the title of the sovereign and sometimes the name of a dominant group of tribes. Definite knowledge of the origin of the Inca domination is wanting; but it is believed to date no earlier than about the middle

of the thirteenth century of our Christian era, and to have been preceded by an even greater empire, named traditionally the empire of the Piruas. "Cyclopean ruins, quite foreign to the genius of Inca architecture, point to this conclusion. The wide area over which they are found is an indication that the government which caused them to be built ruled over an extensive empire, while their cyclopean character is a proof that their projectors had an almost unlimited supply of labor. Religious myths and dynastic traditions throw some doubtful light on that remote past." Apparently this prehistoric empire was broken up long before the Incas began conquests that founded another on the same field.

The prehistoric
Piruas

Markham,
in *Narrative and
Critical
History of
America*,
I : ch. iv

The sovereign Inca was a sacred being to his subjects; his authority was paternal and absolute, extending to the particulars of domestic life, as well as to public affairs. The resources of the country and the labor of the people were at his disposal, and appear to have been used with thoroughly systematic and careful thrift. Broad, smoothly paved roads, running to every part of the mountainous empire, with comfortable rest-houses at frequent intervals; hills terraced for the completest economy of agriculture; natural deserts irrigated; soil and waters everywhere conserved; imposing temples, palaces, and public squares,—all attested a measure of civilization that excited the wonder but could not command the respect of the barbarians who came to strike it down.

The Inca
civilization

Some years before the arrival of the Spaniards an unfortunate division of the empire occurred. It ensued upon the death, about 1523, of an Inca, Huayna Capac, who, having added the lordship of Quito to his dominions, either gave it to a favorite son, Atahuallpa, who was not the heir to the throne of the Incas, or left the empire in circumstances which enabled Atahuallpa, when his father died, to establish himself at Quito as a rival prince. Thereupon war ensued between the rightful Inca, Huascar, and this half-brother, Atahuallpa, which terminated in the triumph of the latter, at exactly the time when Pizarro was making ready for his attack.

When the Spanish invaders moved from San Miguel, in September, 1532, it was to meet Atahuallpa at Cassamarca, to which place that prince had advanced from Quito, on his way to Cuzco, the Inca capital. Friendly messages invited them to come as peaceful visitors; they were hospitably entertained on the way, and hospitably received at Cassamarca when they arrived; but a large army of the Inca's was in camp near the town, and probably his intentions concerning them were not so friendly as they seemed. If a game of treachery was to be played, Pizarro was not the man to lose the lead. He prepared his forces for a daring seizure of the person of the Inca, when the latter came to visit him on the following day, and the plan was carried out with frightful audacity, though 2,000 of the numerous attendants of Atahuallpa died in his defense.

Civil war in
the empire

Pizarro's
meeting
with the
Inca

Pizarro's
seizure
of the Inca,
Atahuallpa

The captured Inca submitted stoically to his fate, and offered to ransom himself by filling a room of good size with gold to the height of about nine feet. The offer was accepted and the ransom was paid. Vessels, ornaments and great slabs and plates of gold, stripped from palaces and temples, came from all parts of the empire, till the specified room was filled. The total value of the gold was estimated at 4,605,670 ducats, equivalent to about \$17,500,000 in our money of the present day. And when the faithless, soulless conquerors had secured and divided this stupendous booty, wrung as a ransom from their royal captive, they put him to death, thinking that the country would be more submissive if it had no king. A few honorable cavaliers protested, but were powerless to prevent the infamous deed. It is impossible not to feel some degree of satisfaction in reading of the fierce warfare that broke out presently between Pizarro and his partner, Almagro, carrying both of them to a tragical ending of their bloody careers. But Peru was only trampled the worse and crushed to a ruin more complete while these conflicts among its masters, the brutal spoilshunters from Europe, went on.

The vast accumulations of gold that the Spaniards found in the possession of the Incas were the least part of the wealth they derived from Peru. After the discovery of the rich silver mines of Potosi, in 1546, that metal was the chief product of the country, and supplied most of the

The ransom of Atahualpa

Perfidious execution of the Inca

The mines of Potosi

great revenue of the sovereigns of Spain. For the working of the mines, and for all other labors required by the conquerors, the natives were enslaved, and destroyed rapidly by the unmerciful hardness of their toil.

This enslavement of natives was begun in the early years of the Spanish settlement of Hispaniola. First there was a tribute levied on them; then labor was exacted to work out the tribute; then the laborers were portioned out among the colonists and adventurers, to render the services required,—so many assigned to this one and so many to that one, all being nominally mere tribute-payers, still, working under the direction of their chiefs. This apportionment of the tributary labor was described as a system of *repartimientos*, or shares. It gave way quickly to the final system of *encomiendas*, which was slavery complete. As defined by Spanish jurists, from whom Sir Arthur Helps has quoted, an *encomienda* was “a right, conceded by royal bounty to well-deserving persons in the Indies, to receive and enjoy for themselves the tributes of the Indians who should be assigned to them, with a charge of providing for the good of those Indians in spiritual and temporal matters, and of inhabiting and defending the provinces where those *encomiendas* should be granted to them.” This established slavery under a pious missionary guise, which the early adventurers in the New World tried generally to have their undertakings put on; but interest in the bodies of the wretched

Spanish
enslave-
ment of
American
natives

Repartimi-
entos and
encomien-
das

Helps,
*Spanish
Conquest in
America*,
3 : 113

Indians was seldom commensurate with the interest in their souls. They were tasked and treated with a deadly cruelty that excited the compassion and indignation of the better men who came to the colonies, especially of the Dominican monks.

One noble Christian and humanitarian, Bartolomé de las Casas, who came to Hispaniola as a lay colonist, and who received an *encomienda*, saw the wickedness and destructiveness of the system quickly, and devoted his life to efforts for its abolition. In 1510 he became a priest, and later he joined the Dominican brotherhood, from which he received his best support. He enlisted the pope, the emperor-king, and the powerful Spanish minister, Cardinal Ximenes, in the cause of the oppressed natives, obtaining strenuous orders and edicts, with large powers to himself, in an office which entitled him "Protector of the Indians;" yet the cruelties went on for years with not much check, and the native population of every subjugated region (less in Mexico than elsewhere, it is said) faded rapidly away. In 1542, by what were styled the New Laws of Charles V., the further making of Indian slaves was prohibited absolutely; but existing *encomiendas* were inheritable for two lives.

Bartolomé de las Casas, "Protector of the Indians"

The "New Laws," 1542

Indian slaves were succeeded in the Spanish colonies by negro slaves, the importation of which from Africa was countenanced and encouraged, at first, by Las Casas, in the eagerness of his desire to save the perishing natives. It was an

Negro slavery

error that he repented of in later life with bitter grief.

The whole subject of the colonial system of Spain and of the Spanish treatment of subjugated natives in America, is discussed in quite a new spirit and under new light by Professor Bourne, in his lately published *Spain in America*. Professor Bourne's study of early conditions in Spanish America appears to have been unusually careful, candid and thorough, and the result, as summarized by the editor of the series to which his work belongs, "is to establish the existence of a Spanish culture in the colonies of an extent and degree not realized by previous writers. He shows that the first century of Spanish colonists produced larger results in relation to the natives, the building of towns and cities, the construction of roads and bridges, and the encouragement of learning, than in the first century either of French or English colonization. Yet he points out the two fatal weaknesses of the Spanish system: the wretched restrictions of trade and the lack of initiative and self-government. Upon the whole, he thinks the Indian better off under Spanish rule than has generally been supposed and the institution of negro slavery milder and of less importance. On the other hand, he points out, what has escaped most writers, that the prosperity of the mainland led almost to the depopulation of the islands, which did not again become important until about the time of the American Revolution." In Professor Bourne's opinion, Las

The Spanish colonial system and its fruits

Its merits and defects

The Las Casas view one-sided

Casas' writings on the treatment of the Indians have been too exclusively "the stock material of generations of historical writers. It has been forgotten that his book was the product of a fierce agitation, or that it was written before the Spaniards had been fifty years in the New World." "Two centuries of philanthropic legislation has been thrown into the background by the flaming words which first gave it impulse. Las Casas was the Lloyd Garrison of Indian rights; but it is as one-sided to depict the Spanish Indian policy primarily from his pages as it would be to write a history of the American negro question exclusively from the files of the *Liberator*." "The Indian legislation of the Spanish kings," says Professor Bourne in another place, "is an impressive monument of benevolent intentions which need not fear comparison with the contemporary legislation of any European country affecting the status of the working classes." Again, he finds that "the Spanish slave code was far more humane than either the French or the English slave laws;" but "whether Spanish slaves were more kindly treated than French or English is a different and more difficult question." The extent to which the native races have been preserved from extinction, not on the islands, but in most of the provinces of the mainland, and especially in Mexico, leads the Professor to remark that a comparison of the Spanish system with our own "does not warrant self-righteousness on the part of the English in America." Of

Spanish
slave code

Survival of
native
stocks

Education
in colonial
Mexico

Bourne,
*Spain in
America*,
256-7, 280-
81, 306, 310

The native
civilization
in America

Nadaillac
*Prehistoric
America*,
ch. v-viii

Brinton,
*Races and
Peoples*,
259-276

Horrible
religious
rites in
Mexico

Mexican
picture
writing

the care for education in the Spanish colonies, he does not hesitate to say that the institutions founded in Mexico in the sixteenth century, "in number, range of studies, and standard of attainments by the officers," "surpassed anything existing in English America until the nineteenth century."

Spanish invasion and conquest overwhelmed, in Mexico, Central America and Peru, the only native communities of the New World that had risen above barbaric conditions of life. The Mexicans were still at a low stage of barbarism in their religious rites, which included the most horrible requirements of human sacrifice ever known, with a more horrible eating of human flesh. The Spaniards who captured the Aztec *pueblo* claimed to have counted, in a building connected with the great *teocalli*, or sacrificial pyramid of the town, one hundred and thirty-six thousand skulls, representing the victims of sacrifice on that altar alone. The Mexicans made wars upon their neighbors, as much for the capture of men, women and children to be offered to the gods, as for conquest and spoils. But otherwise, in the arts they practiced, in their social and political institutions, and in their modes of life, they were distinctly in advance of what is usually rated as belonging to the barbaric state. They had developed a scheme of communication and record by picture signs, which was the beginning of a hieroglyphic system of writing, and which would, without doubt, have

been worked out, in time, to something like the Egyptian result. Gold, silver, lead and copper were worked by them with considerable skill; and there is some evidence of an acquaintance with bronze; but iron was unknown.

Native arts

In Central America (including the extreme southeastern part of modern Mexico) a degree of civilization higher than that found among the Nahuas had existed at some time, but was a thing of the past in its superior features when that field of Spanish conquest was reached. The people who attained it differed in language from the Nahuas, and are known as the Mayas, or the Maya-Quiché tribes. In imposing and durable edifices, in monumental sculpture, in inscriptions and other literary remains, the Mayas have left more striking memorials of themselves and their culture, surviving to the present day, than exist in central Mexico or in Peru. The remarkable ruins at Palenque, Uxmal, Copan, and other points in the isthmian region of the Americas, have given rise to the most puzzling and most interesting questions in American archæology. There are many theories as to the relation of the superior Maya culture to that of the tribes farther north, and as to the causes of its arrest before the arrival of the Spaniards; but no conclusions that rest on substantial grounds have been reached.

The Maya civilization in Central America

Its remains

Though even the beginning of an art of writing had not been made by the Peruvian peoples, and their achievements in architecture did not equal those of the Mayas, there appears to have been

The Peruvian civilization

more refinement in their culture than in either of the semi-civilizations at the north. Worship of the sun was fundamental in the religion of all three communities, connected in all three with idol worship, representative of efforts to propitiate various forces in nature; but the spiritual idea of a Supreme Being, creator and ruler of all, is found most distinctly apprehended in the Peruvian mind. Nothing sanguinary and abhorrent was in their religious rites. Their political system—theocratic, autocratic, and socialistic—was one that could not fail to be destructive of national character in the end; but as a social contrivance it was fine, and it was finely worked out.

Its superior
refinement

The Peruvians, who had domesticated the llama for burden-bearing and the alpaca for its wool, were the only aboriginal people in America that had acquired such dumb helps. In the northern continent no beast appears to have been capable of domestication, except the wolf, from which a poor species of dog was derived. The horse had a primitive existence in America, as shown by fossil remains, but the species had become extinct, and the bison had not been tamed. Without beasts of burden or flocks and herds, most peoples of the American race were handicapped seriously in their rise out of primitive conditions of life.

Want of
domestic
animals in
America

Europe had now acquired a fairly correct knowledge of the coast outlines of America, as a continental mass of land distinct from Asia, but

The
European
knowledge
of America

knew little of the greater part of its interior, and had misleading notions concerning its breadth. Except in the northwestern section of South America, where the El Dorado fable kept it active, the work of exploration had halted after the first generation of discoverers was dead. Most of the undertakings of the Spaniards had been confined to that limited section of South America and to the islands and the borders of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea.

Ponce de Leon had penetrated Florida in 1512, searching for a reputed fountain of perpetual youth; Alvarez de Pineda had entered the lower waters of the Mississippi in 1519; Cabeza de Vaca, as a captive in the hands of the Indians, from 1528 to 1536, had wandered from the coast of Texas to a Spanish outpost in Mexico, and seen much; Hernando de Soto, starting in 1539, had led an expedition from western Florida northward to the Savannah River, thence westward to the Mississippi, crossing it and moving up its western bank to some point probably within the present State of Missouri, from which he turned back, and died on the southward march, in 1542; Francisco de Coronado, in 1540, had gone northward from Mexico, searching for seven wonderful cities (the "seven cities of Cibola"), reported to be somewhere in that land, and is believed to have found what he sought in the *pueblos* of the New Mexican Zuñis,—from which he passed on, even as far as to Colorado, but missed the discovery of its mines.

Early ex-
plorations
inland

Hernando
de Soto,
1539-1542

Coronado,
1540

In South America, Sebastian Cabot, in the service of Spain, during five years from 1526, had explored the La Plata, the Parana, and the Paraguay, for long distances, and attempted a settlement on the latter stream. Francisco de Orellana, sent with one of the brothers of Pizarro, in 1539, over the mountains from Quito, reached the upper waters of the Amazon and sailed down the whole length of that great river to its mouth, making a voyage of seven months. This was one of the first of many desperately eager plunges that were made into the wild interior of what are now the republics and colonies of Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela and Guiana, searching for the imagined El Dorado. That groundless myths descriptive of that golden city and its gilded king should have persisted, and should have exercised their deluding influence for more than half a century, is one of the strange facts in the history of the New World. In other parts of the Americas all frenzied searching for more Mexicos and Perus had ceased long before the El Dorado madness was worn out.

Explorations in South America, 1526-1539

The searching for El Dorado

CHAPTER XV

FROM THE ABDICATION OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V. TO THE ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV., OF FRANCE

(A. D. 1556 to 1610)

Catholic reaction: Intrusion of mercenary and political motives in the Reformation movement.—Protestant divisions.—Purification of the papacy.—Organization of the Society of Jesus.—Malignant power of Philip II. of Spain. *Spain and the Netherlands:* The ruining of Spain.—Philip's despotism in the Netherlands.—Alva and his "Council of Blood."—Fate of Egmont and Horn.—The revolt.—Success of the "sea-beggars."—Heroic struggle of the Dutch for freedom.—Philip's assassination of its great leader, William the Silent.—Eastern trade won by the Dutch and English. *Religious Wars in France:* The contestants for power.—The Guises.—Catherine de' Medici.—The Huguenots as a party.—The Bourbons of Navarre.—Admiral Coligny.—Meddling of Philip of Spain.—The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day.—Accession of Henry of Navarre to the throne.—His abjuration of Protestantism.—His Edict of Nantes. *Germany:* Events leading to the "Thirty Years War." *England:* Queen Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots.—Execution of Mary.—The Spanish armada.—Half-piratical warfare with Spain.—The Elizabethan age. *America:* Undertakings of the French.—Hawkins's slave-trading and Drake's piracies.—Projects of Sir Humphrey Gilbert.—Raleigh's colonies.—The Virginia Company.—The Jamestown colony and Captain John Smith.—French and Dutch settlements. *China and Japan:* Opening of Christian missions.—Reconstruction of Japan by Ieyasu.—Suppression of Christianity. *India:* Founding of the Moghul empire.

A powerful and effectual reaction against the movement of the Protestant Reformation became manifest in many parts of Europe at about the beginning of the period which this chapter will review. It not only placed an early check on the further spreading of the Protestant secession from Rome, but drove the seceding churches back from large parts of the ground they had acquired. By the end of the century it had reestablished the authority of the papacy with new firmness in substantially the regions that are Roman Catholic at the present day.

Causes of a great Catholic Reaction

The extraordinary revival of Catholicism that brought about this reaction and accomplished its results had several causes within it and behind.

1. The spiritual impulse from which the Reformation started had spent itself considerably, or had become debased by a gross admixture of political and mercenary aims. In Germany, the spoils derived from the suppressing of monastic establishments and the secularizing of ecclesiastical fiefs and estates, appeared very early among the potent inducements by which mercenary princes were drawn to the side of the Lutheran reform. Later, as the opposing leagues, Protestant and Catholic, settled into chronic opposition and hostility, the struggle between them took on more and more the character of a great political game, and lost more and more the spirit of a battle for free conscience and a free mind. In France, the political entanglements of the Reformation party (called Huguenots) were such, by this time, that it could not fail to be lowered in its religious tone. In England, till the death of Henry VIII., every breath of spirituality in the movement had been stifled, and it showed nothing but a brazen political front to the world. In the Netherlands, the struggle for religious freedom was about to merge itself in a fight of forty years for self-government, and the fortitude and valor of the citizen were developed more surely than the faith and fervor of the Christian, in that long war. And so, generally throughout

Growth of
mercenary
and
political
aims in the
Reforma-
tion move-
ment

Europe, Protestantism, in its conflict with the powers of the ancient church, had descended, ere the sixteenth century ran far into its second half, to a distinctly lower plane than it occupied at first. On that lower plane Rome fronted it more formidably, with stronger arms.

2. Broadly stating the fact, it may be said that Protestantism made all its great inroads upon the church of Rome before partisanship came to the rescue of the latter, and closed the open mind with which Luther, and Zwingli, and Farel, and Calvin were listened to at first. It happens always, when new ideas, combative of old ones, whether religious or political, are first put forward in the world, they are listened to for a time with a certain disinterestedness of attention—a certain native candor in the mind—which gives them a fair hearing. If they seem reasonable, they obtain ready acceptance, and spread rapidly,—until the conservatism of the beliefs assailed takes serious alarm, and the radicalism of the innovating beliefs becomes ambitious and rampant; until the for and the against stiffen themselves in opposing ranks, and the voice of argument is drowned by the cries of party. That ends all shifting of masses from the old to the new ground. That ends conversion as an epidemic and dwindles it to the sporadic character.

Excitement
of the
partisan
spirit

3. Protestantism became divided within itself at an early stage of its career by doctrinal differences, first between Zwinglians and Lutherans, and then between Lutherans and Calvinists;

Protestant
dissensions

while Catholicism, under attack, settled into more unity and solidity than before.

4. The papacy was restored at this time to the purer and higher character of its best ages, by well-guided elections, which raised in succession to the throne a number of men, very different in ability, and quite different, too, in the spirit of their piety, but generally alike in dignity and decency of life, and in qualities which command respect. The fiery Neapolitan zealot, Caraffa, who became pope in 1555 as Paul IV.; his cool-tempered diplomatic successor, Pius IV., who manipulated the closing labors of the Council of Trent; the austere inquisitor, Pius V.; the more commonplace Gregory XIII., and the powerful Sixtus V., were pontiffs who gave new strength to Catholicism, in their different ways, both by what they did and by what they were.

5. The revival of zeal in the Roman church, naturally following the attacks upon it, gave rise to many new religious organizations within its elastic fold, some reformatory, some missionary and militant, but all bringing an effectual reinforcement to it, at the time when its assailants began to show faltering signs. Among these was one—Loyola's Society of Jesus—which marched promptly to the front of the battle, and which contributed more than any other single force in the field to the rallying of the church, to the stopping of retreat, and to the facing of its stubborn columns forward for a fresh advance. The Jesuits took such a lead and accomplished such

Purification of the papacy

Loyola's Society of Jesus

results by virtue of the military precision of discipline under which they had been placed and to which they were singularly trained by the rules of the founder; and also by effect of a certain subtle sophistry that runs through their maxims and counsels.

They fought for their faith with a sublime courage, with a devotion almost unparalleled, with an earnestness of belief that cannot be questioned; but they used weapons and modes of warfare which the higher moral feeling of civilized mankind, whether Christian or pagan, has condemned. It is not Protestant enemies alone who say this. It is the accusation that has been brought against them again and again in their own church, and which has expelled them from Catholic countries, again and again. In the first century or more of their career, this plastic conscience, moulded by a passionate zeal, and surrendered, with every gift of mind and body, to a service of obedience which tolerated no evasion on one side nor bending on the other, made the Jesuits the most invincible body of men that was ever organized for defense and aggression in any cause.

The order was founded in 1540, by a bull of Pope Paul III. At the time of Loyola's death, in 1556, it numbered about one thousand members, and under Lainez, the second general of the order, who succeeded Loyola at the head, it advanced rapidly, in numbers, in efficiency of organization, and in widespread influence.

The Jesuit
spirit

The
founding of
the order,
1540

6. The tremendous power in Europe to which the Spanish monarchy, with its subject dominions, and its dynastic relations, had now risen, passed, in 1556, to a dull-brained bigot, who saw but one use for it, namely, the extinction of all dissent from his own beliefs, and all opposition to his own will. Philip II. differed from his father, Charles V., not in the enormity of his bigoted egotism, but in its exclusiveness. There was something else in Charles, something sometimes faintly admirable. But his vampire of a son had nothing in him that was not as deadly to mankind as the venom secreted behind the fang of a cobra.

Philip II.
of Spain,
1556-1598

It was a frightful day for the world when a despotism which shadowed Spain, Sicily, Italy and the Low Countries, and which had begun to draw unbounded treasure from America, fell to the possession of such a being as this. Nothing substantial was taken away from the potent malevolence of Philip by his failure of election in Germany to the imperial throne. On the contrary, he was the stronger for it, because all his dominion was real and all his authority might assume to be absolute. His father had been more handicapped than helped by his German responsibilities and embarrassments, which Philip escaped. It is not strange that his concentration of the vast enginery under his hands to one limited aim, of exterminating what his dull mind conceived to be irreligion and treason, had its large measure of success. The stranger

The
malevolent
power of
Philip II.

thing is, that there were fortitude and courage to resist such power, in even one corner of his realm.

Briefly stated, these are the incidents and circumstances which help to explain—not fully, perhaps, but almost sufficiently—the check to Protestantism and the restored energy and aggressiveness of the Catholic church, in the later half of the sixteenth century.

The Ruin of Spain

In his kingdom of Spain, Philip II. may be said to have finished the work of death which his father and his father's grandparents committed to him. They began it, and appointed the lines on which it was to be done. The Spain of their day had the fairest opportunity of any nation in Europe for a great and noble career. The golden gates of its opportunity were unlocked and opened by good Queen Isabella; but the same pious queen, by consenting to the institution of the Inquisition, did, likewise, unknowingly, pronounce a doom upon the unfortunate country which her descendants took care to fulfill.

The
destroyed
oppor-
tunity of
Spain

Of political life, Charles V. really left nothing for his son to kill. Of free religious life, there can have been no important survival, for he and his Inquisition had been vigilant; but Philip made much of the little he could find. As to the industrial life of Spain, father and son were equally active and equally ingenious in destroying it. They paralyzed manufactures, in the first instance, by persecuting and expelling the thrifty

Destruc-
tion of
industrial
life

How the
gold and
silver from
America
ran through
Spanish
fingers

and skillful Moriscoes; then they made their work complete by heavy duties on raw materials. To extinguish the agricultural industries of the kingdom, they had happy inspirations. They prohibited the exportation of one commodity after another—corn, cattle, wool, cloth, leather, and the like—until they had brought Spain practically to the point of being dependent on other countries for many products of skill, and yet of having nothing to offer in exchange, except the treasure of precious metals which she drew from America. Hence it happened that the silver and gold of the Peruvian and Mexican mines ran like quicksand through her fingers, into the coffers of the merchants of the Low Countries and of England; and, probably, no other country in Europe saw so little of them, had so little of benefit from them, as the country they were supposed to enrich.

The
crushing
burden of
Philip's
taxation

If the ruin of Spain needed to be made complete by anything more, Philip's taxation supplied the need. Spending vast sums in his attempt to repeat upon the Netherlands the work of national murder he had accomplished in Spain; losing, by the same act, the rich revenues of the thrifty provinces; launching into new expenditures as he pursued, by clumsy warfare, his mission of death into fresh fields, aiming now at the life of France, and now at the life of England,—he squeezed the cost of his armies and armadas from a country in which he had strangled production already, and made poverty the common estate. It was the

last draining of the life-blood of a nation which ought to have been strong and great, but which suffered murder most foul and unnatural. We hardly exaggerate even in figure when we say that Spain was a dying nation when Philip quitted the scene of his arduous labors.

Philip II. and the Netherlands

The hand of Charles V. had been heavy on the Netherlands; but there was hardly a dream of resistance to such a power as that of Spain in his day. It was not easy for Philip to outdo his father's despotism; less easy to drive the laborious Hollanders and Flemings to desperation and force them into rebellious war. But he accomplished both. He filled the country with Spanish troops. He reorganized and stimulated the Inquisition. He multiplied bishoprics in the provinces, against the wish of even the Catholic population. He scorned the counsels of the great nobles, and gave foreign advisers to the regent, his half-sister, Margaret of Parma, illegitimate daughter of Charles V., whom he placed at the head of the government. His oppressions were endured, with increasing signs of hidden passion, for ten years. Then, in 1566, the first movement of patriotic combination appeared. It was a league among certain of the nobles; its objects were peaceful, its plans were legal; but it was not countenanced by the wiser of the patriots, who saw that events were not ripe. The members of the league went in solemn procession to the

Motley,
*Rise of the
Dutch
Republic,
and History
of the
United
Netherlands*

Despotic
measures

First
movement
of patriotic
combina-
tion, 1566

The league
of "The
Beggars"

regent with a petition; whereupon one of her councilors denounced them as "a troop of beggars." They seized and appropriated the epithet. A beggar's wallet became their emblem; the idea was caught up and carried through the country, and a visible party rose up.

Religious
rioting

The religious feeling now gained boldness. Enormous field-meetings began to be held, under arms, in every part of the open country, defying edicts and Inquisition. There followed a little later some fanatical and riotous outbreaks in several cities, breaking images and desecrating churches. Upon these occurrences, Philip dispatched to the Netherlands, in the summer of 1567, a fresh army of Spanish troops, commanded by the duke of Alva, a man of Philip's own kind, — as mean, as false, as merciless, as little in soul and mind, as himself. Alva brought with him authority which superseded that of the regent, and secret instructions which doomed every man of worth and weight in the provinces.

The coming
of the
duke of
Alva, 1567

William
the Silent,
prince of
Orange

At the head of the nobility of the country, by eminence of character, no less than by precedence in rank, stood William of Nassau, prince of Orange, who derived his higher title from a petty and remote principality (in France), but whose large family possessions were in Luxemburg, Holland, Flanders and Brabant. Associated with him, in friendship and in political action, were Count Egmont, and the admiral Count Horn, the latter of a family related to the Montmorencies of France. These three conspicuous

nobles Philip had marked with special malice for the headsman, though their solitary crime had been the giving of advice against his tyrannies. William of Orange,—“the Silent,” as he came to be known,—far-seeing in his wisdom, and well-advised by trusty agents in Spain, withdrew into Germany before Alva arrived. He warned his friends of their danger and implored them to save themselves; but they were blinded and would not listen. The perfidious Spaniard lured them with flatteries to Brussels and thrust them into prison. They were to be the first victims of the appalling sacrifice required to appease the dull rage of the king. Within three months they had eighteen hundred companions, condemned like themselves to the scaffold, by a council in which Alva presided and which the people called “the Council of Blood.” In June, 1568, they were brought to the block.

Perfidious
destruction
of Count
Egmont
and Count
Horn, 1568

The
Council of
Blood

Meantime, Prince William and his brother, Louis of Nassau, had raised forces in Germany and attempted the rescue of the terrorized provinces; but their troops were ill-paid and mutinous and they suffered defeat. For the time being, the Netherlands were crushed. As many of the people as could escape had fled; commerce was at a standstill; workshops were idle; the cities, once so wealthy, were impoverished; death, mourning, and terror, were everywhere. Alva had done very perfectly what he was sent to do.

The
provinces
terrorized

The first break in the blackness of the clouds

Exploit of
the "Sea-
Beggars,"
1572

The revolt
on its right
footing

William of
Orange
declared
stadtholder

appeared in April, 1572, when a fleet, manned by refugee adventurers who called themselves "Sea-Beggars," attacked and captured the town of Brill. From that day the revolt had its right footing, on the decks of the ships of the best sailors in the world. It faced Philip from that day as a maritime power, which would grow by the very feeding of its war with him, until it had consumed everything Spanish within its reach. The taking of Brill soon gave the patriots control of so many places in Holland and Zealand that a meeting of deputies was held at Dort, in July, 1572, which declared William of Orange to be "the king's legal stadtholder in Holland, Zealand, Friesland and Utrecht," and recommended to the other provinces that he be appointed protector of all the Netherlands during the absence of the king.

Retirement
of Alva

Alva's reign of terror had failed so signally that even he was discouraged and asked to be recalled. It was his boast when he retired that he had put eighteen thousand and six hundred of the Netherlands to death since they were delivered into his hands, above and beyond the horrible massacres by which he had half depopulated every captured town. Under Alva's successor, Don Louis de Requesens, a man of more justice and humanity, the struggle went on, adversely, upon the whole, to the patriots, though they triumphed at Leyden in a famous defense of the town. To win help from England, they offered the sovereignty of their country to Queen Elizabeth; but

Siege of
Leyden,
1573

in vain. They made no headway in the southern provinces, where Catholicism prevailed, and where the religious difference drew people more to the Spanish side. But when Requesens died suddenly, in the spring of 1576, and the Spanish soldiery broke into a furious mutiny, sacking Antwerp and other cities, then the nobles of Flanders and Brabant applied to the northern provinces for help. The result was a treaty, called the Pacification of Ghent, which contemplated a general effort to drive the Spaniards from the whole land. But not much came of this confederacy; the Catholic provinces never cooperated with the Protestant provinces, and the latter went their own way to freedom and prosperity, while the former sank back, submissive, to their chains.

Flanders
and
Brabant

For a short time after the death of Requesens, Philip was represented in the Netherlands by his illegitimate half-brother, Don John of Austria; but Don John died in October, 1578, and then came the great general, Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, who was to try the patriots sorely by his military skill. In 1579, the prince of Orange drew them more closely together, in the Union of Utrecht, which Holland, Zealand, Gelderland, Zutphen, Utrecht, Overysse, and Groningen subscribed, and which was practically the foundation of the Dutch republic, though allegiance to Philip was not yet renounced. This followed two years later, in July, 1581, when the states-general, assembled at The Hague, passed a solemn act of

Alexander
Farnese

Rise of
the Dutch
Republic,
1579-1581

abjuration, which deposed Philip from his sovereignty and transferred it to the duke of Anjou, a prince of the royal family of France, who did nothing for the provinces, and who died soon after. At the same time, the immediate sovereignty of Holland and Zeeland was conferred on the prince of Orange.

In March, 1582, Philip made his first deliberate attempt to procure the assassination of the prince. He had entered into a contract for the purpose, and signed it with his own hand. The assassin employed failed only because the savage pistol-wound he inflicted, in the neck and jaw of his victim, did not kill. The master-murderer, at Madrid, undiscouraged, launched his assassins, one following the other, until six had made their trial in two years. The sixth, one Balthazar Gérard, accomplished that for which he was sent, and William the Silent, wise statesman and admirable patriot, fell under his hand. Philip was so immeasurably delighted at this success that he conferred three lordships on the parents of the murderer.

Assassination of William the Silent, July 10, 1584

William's son, Maurice, though but eighteen years old, was chosen stadtholder of Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht, and high admiral of the Union. In the subsequent years of the war, he proved himself a general of great capacity. Of the details of the war it is impossible to speak. Its most notable event was the siege of Antwerp, whose citizens defended themselves against the duke of Parma, with astonishing courage and

Maurice of Orange and Nassau

Siege of Antwerp, 1584-1585

obstinacy, for many months. They capitulated in the end on honorable terms; but the prosperity of their city had received a blow from which it never revived.

Once more the sovereignty of the provinces was offered to Queen Elizabeth of England, and once more declined; but the queen sent her favorite, the earl of Leicester, with a few thousand men, to help the struggling Hollanders. This was done, not in sympathy with them or their cause, but purely as a self-defensive measure against Spain. The niggardliness and the vacillations of Elizabeth, combined with the incompetency of Leicester, caused troubles to the provinces nearly equal to the benefit of the forces lent. Philip of Spain was now involved in undertakings against the Huguenots in France, and in his plans against England, and was weakened in the Netherlands for some years. Parma died in 1592, and Count Mansfield took his place, succeeded in his turn by the marquis Spinola. The latter, at last, made an honest report, that the subjugation of the United Provinces was impracticable, and, Philip II. being dead, the Spanish government was induced, in 1607, to agree to a suspension of arms. A truce for twelve years was arranged; practically it was the termination of the war of independence, and practically it placed the United Provinces among the nations, although a generation passed before the formal acknowledgment of their independence by Spain.

The earl of Leicester in the Netherlands, 1585-1587

End of the Dutch War of Independence, 1607

The Dutch and English in the eastern seas

The Dutch had not only been able to thrive generally in the midst of their desperate war with Spain, but the war itself had opened their way to wealth and power. They learned early that they could attack their enemy to the best advantage at sea. In pursuing the ocean warfare they were led on to the East Indies, and soon broke the hold of the Portuguese on possessions and trade in that field. Portugal, dragged into a union with Spain, under Philip II., had to suffer more than her share of the consequences of Philip's wars. The Dutch and the English forced their way, pretty nearly together, into the eastern seas, and, between them, the Portuguese were mostly driven out. They divided the rich commerce of that great Oceanic and Asiatic region, and, for a time, the most lucrative part of it was gained by the Dutch.

Expulsion
of the
Portuguese
from the
east

While the English got their footing on the coasts of Hindostan, which they did in the first years of the seventeenth century, and were laying the foundations of their future empire in India, the Dutch won control of the spice-growing islands, which, in that day, were the richer commercial prize. The first Dutch fleet that rounded the Cape of Good Hope and made its way into East Indian waters, in 1595, lost two of its four ships and more than half of its men, and returned with little cargo to repay the loss. But the next venture, in 1598, had delightful success, and very soon the armed merchantmen of the Dutch were

Dutch
control
of the
spice-
islands

swarming thickly in that part of the world, ready for fight or for traffic, as the case might be. So many companies of merchants became engaged in the business that they ruined each other by their competition, and this led to their union, in the Dutch East India Company, formed and chartered in 1602, with exclusive rights of trade in the east. By its charter, this great company held powers of war as well as trade, and was energetic in the use of both. Bantam, in Java, and Amboyna, one of the Moluccas or Spice Islands, were the early chief trading stations of the Dutch in the east, but Batavia, in Java, founded in 1619, became afterward their principal seat of colonial government and trade.

The Dutch
East India
Company,
1602

The Religious wars in France

King Henry II., of France, dying in 1559, left three sons, all weaklings in body and character, who reigned in succession to each other. The elder, Francis II., died the year following his accession. Though aged but seventeen when he died, he had been married some two years to Mary Stuart, the young queen of Scots. This marriage had helped to raise to great power in the kingdom a family known as the Guises. They were a branch of the ducal house of Lorraine, whose duchy was at that time independent of France, and, though the father of the family, made duke of Guise by Francis I., had become naturalized in France in 1505, his sons were looked upon as foreigners by the jealous French-

Ranke,
*Civil
Wars and
Monarchy
in France*

Francis II.
and Mary
Stuart,
queen of
Scots

The Guises

The duke
and the
cardinal

men whom they supplanted at court. Of the six sons, there were two of eminence, one (the second duke of Guise) a famous general in his day, the other a powerful cardinal. Five sisters completed the family in its second generation. The elder of these, Mary, had married James V. of Scotland (whose mother was the English princess, Margaret, sister of Henry VIII.), and Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, born of that marriage, was therefore a niece of the Guises. They had brought about her marriage to Francis II., while he was dauphin, and they mounted with her to supreme influence in the kingdom when she rose with her husband to the throne.

Charles IX.
1560-1574

The queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, was as eager as the Guises to control the government; but during the short reign of Francis II. she was quite thrust aside, and the queen's uncles ruled the state. The death of Francis II. brought a change, and, with the accession of Charles IX., a boy of ten years, there began a bitter contest for ascendancy between Catherine and the Guises. This struggle became mixed and strangely complicated with a deadly conflict of religions, which the steady advance of the Reformation in France had brought to a crisis at this time.

The party
of the
reformed
religion in
France

Under the powerful leadership which Calvin assumed, the reformed religion in France had acquired an organized firmness and strength that not only resisted the most cruel persecution, but made rapid headway against it. "Protestantism had become a party which did not, like Lutheran-

ism in Germany, spring up from the depths." "It numbered its chief adherents among the middle and upper grades of society, spread its roots rather among the nobles than the citizens, and among learned men and families of distinction rather than among the people." "Some of the highest aristocracy, who were discontented, and submitted unwillingly to the supremacy of the Guises, had joined the Calvinistic opposition—some undoubtedly from policy, others from conviction. The Turennes, the Rohans, and Soubises, pure nobles, who addressed the king as 'mon cousin,' especially the Bourbons, the agnates of the royal house, had adopted the new faith."

Häusser,
*Period of
the Reforma-
tion*, 353

One branch of the Bourbons had lately acquired the crown of Navarre. The Spanish part of the old Navarrese kingdom had been subjugated and absorbed by Ferdinand of Aragon; but its territory on the French side of the Pyrenees—Béarn and other counties—still maintained a half independent national existence, with the dignity of a regal government. When Margaret of Angoulême, sister of Francis I., married Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre, she carried to that small court an earnest inclination towards the doctrines of the Reform. Under her protection, Navarre became largely Protestant, and a place of refuge for the persecuted of France. Margaret's daughter, the famous Jeanne d'Albret, espoused the reformed faithfully, and her husband, Antoine de Bourbon, as well as Antoine's brother, Louis de Condé,

The
Bourbons
of Navarre

Jeanne
d'Albret

found it politic to profess the same belief.

The
Protestants
called
Huguenots

Politics and
religion
confused

The Protestants (now acquiring, in some unknown way, the name of Huguenots) had become so numerous and so compactly organized as to form a party capable of being wielded with great effect, in the strife of court factions which the rivalry of Catherine and the Guises produced. Hence politics and religion were confused inextricably in the civil wars that broke out shortly after the death of Francis II., and the accession of the boy king, Charles IX.

Meddling
influence of
Philip II.

Wherever the stealthy arm of the influence of Philip II. of Spain could reach, there the Catholic reaction of his time took on a malignant form. In France, it is quite probable that the Catholics and the Huguenots, if left to themselves, would have come to blows; but it is certain that the meddling influence of the Spanish king put fierceness and fury into the wars of religion, which raged from 1562 to 1596, and that they were prolonged by his encouragement and help.

Catherine
de' Medici,
the Guises
and the
Huguenots

Catherine de' Medici, to strengthen herself against the Guises, after the death of Francis II., offered attentions for a time to the Huguenot nobles, and encouraged them to expect a large and lasting measure of toleration. She went so far that the Huguenot influence at court, surrounding the young king, became seriously alarming to Catholic onlookers, both at home and abroad. Among the many remonstrances addressed to the queen-regent, one came from Philip, which appears to have been decisive in its

effect. He coldly sent her word that he intended to interfere in France and to establish the supremacy of the Catholic church; that he should give his support for that purpose to any true friend of the church who might request it.

Philip's
message

Whether Catherine had entertained an honest purpose or not, in her dealing with the Huguenots, this threat, with what lay behind it, put an end to the hope of toleration. It is true that an assembly of notables, in January, 1562, did propose a law which the queen put forth, in what is known as the "Edict of January," whereby the Huguenots were given, for the first time, a legal recognition, ceasing to be outlaws, and were permitted to hold meetings, in the daytime, in open places, outside of walled cities; but their churches were taken away from them, they were forbidden to build more, and they could hold no meetings in walled towns. It was a measure of toleration very different from that which they had been led to expect; and even the little meted out by this edict of January was soon shown to have no guarantee. Within three months, the duke of Guise had found an opportunity for exhibiting his contempt of the new law, by ordering his armed followers to attack a congregation at Vassy, killing fifty and wounding two hundred of the peaceful worshippers. This drove the Huguenots to arms, and the civil wars began.

The "Edict
of Jan-
uary." 1562

Beginning
of the civil
wars

Hanna,
*The Wars
of the
Huguenots*

The frivolous Anthony, king of Navarre, had been won back to the Catholic side. His wife, Jeanne d'Albret, with her young son, the future

The prince
of Condé
and
admiral
Coligny

Besant,
Gaspard de
Coligny

Henry of
Navarre

Marriage of
Henry to
the king's
sister

Henry IV., and Anthony's brother, Louis, prince of Condé, remained true to their faith. Condé was the chief of the party. Next to him in rank, and first in real worth and weight, was the noble admiral Coligny. The first war was brief, though long enough to end the careers of Anthony of Navarre, killed in battle, and the duke of Guise, murdered by a fanatical Huguenot soldier. Peace was made in 1563 through a compromise, which conceded certain places to the Huguenots, wherein they might worship God in their own way. But it was a hollow peace, and picked at unceasingly by the malicious finger of the great master of assassins at Madrid. In 1566, civil war broke out a second time, continuing until 1570. Its principal battles were that of Jarnac, in which Condé was taken prisoner and basely slain by his captors, and that of Moncontour. The Huguenots were defeated in both. After the death of Condé, young Henry of Navarre, who had reached his fifteenth year, was chosen to be the chief of the party, with Coligny for his instructor in war.

Again peace was made, on a basis of slight concessions. Henry of Navarre married the king's sister, Margaret of Valois; prior to which marriage he and his mother took up their residence with the court, at Paris, where Jeanne d'Albret soon sickened and died. The admiral Coligny acquired, apparently, a marked influence over the mind of the young king; and once more there seemed to be a smiling future for the

Reformed. But underneath this fair showing there were treacheries concealed. The most hideous conspiracy of modern times was being planned, at the very moment of the ostentatious peace-marriage of the king of Navarre, and the chief parties to it were Catherine de' Medici and the Guises, whose evil inclinations in common had brought them together at last.

On the 22d of August, 1572, Coligny was wounded by an assassin, employed by the widow and son of the late duke of Guise, whose death they charged against him, notwithstanding his protestations of innocence. Two days later, the monstrous and almost incredible massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day was begun. Paris was full of Huguenots—the heads of the party—its men of weight and influence—who had been drawn to the capital by the king of Navarre's marriage and by the supposed new era of favor in which they stood. To cut these off was to decapitate Protestantism in France, and that was the purpose of the infernal scheme. The weak-minded young king was not an original party to the plot. When everything had been planned, he was excited by a tale of Huguenot conspiracies, and his assent to summary measures of prevention was secured.

A little after midnight, on the morning of Sunday, August 24, the signal was given, by Catherine's order, which let loose a waiting swarm of assassins, throughout Paris, on the victims who had been marked. The Huguenots had had no warning; they were taken everywhere by sur-

Massacre
of St.
Bartholo-
mew's Day.
Aug. 24,
1572

Sully,
Memoirs,
bk. I

The
massacre in
Paris

prise, and they were murdered in their beds, or hunted down in their hopeless flight. Coligny, prostrated by the wound he had received two days before, was killed in his chamber, and his body flung out of the window. The young duke of Guise stood waiting in the court below, it is said, to gloat on the corpse and to spurn it with his foot.

In other
cities

The massacre in Paris was carried on through two nights and two days; and, for more than a month following, the example of the capital was imitated in other cities of France, as the news of what were called "the Paris Matins" was spread. The total number of victims in the kingdom is estimated variously to have been between twenty thousand and one hundred thousand.

Henry of Navarre and the young prince of Condé escaped the massacre, but they saved their lives by an abjuration of their religion.

La Rochelle

The strongest town in the possession of the Huguenots was La Rochelle, and great numbers of their ministers and people of mark who survived the massacre now took refuge in that city, with a considerable body of armed men. The royal forces laid siege to the city, without success. Peace was conceded in the end on terms which again promised the Huguenots some liberty of worship; but there was no sincerity in the pledge.

Henry III.,
1574-1589

In 1574, Charles IX. died, and his brother Henry, the duke of Anjou, who had lately been elected king of Poland, ran away from his Polish capital with disgraceful secrecy and haste, to

secure the French crown. He was the most worthless of the Valois-Medicean brood, and the French court attained its lowest depth of degradation in his reign. The contending religions were soon at war again, with the accustomed result, in 1576, of another short-lived peace. The Catholics were divided into two factions, one fanatical, following the Guises, the other composed of moderate men, calling themselves the Politiques, who hated the Spanish influence under which the Guises acted, and who were willing to make terms with the Huguenots. The Guises and the ultra-Catholics now organized throughout France a great oath-bound "holy league," which became so formidable in power that the king took fright, put himself at the head of it, and reopened war with the Reformed.

The
"poli-
tiques"
and the
"holy
league"

More and more, the conflict of religions became confused with questions of politics and mixed with personal quarrels. At one time, the king's younger brother, the duke of Alençon, had gone over to the Huguenot side; but stayed only long enough to extort from the court some appointments which he desired. The king, more despised by his subjects than any king of France before him had ever been, grew increasingly jealous and afraid of the popularity and strength of the duke of Guise. Guise, on his side, was made arrogant by his sense of power, and his ambition soared high. There were reasons for believing that he did not look upon the throne itself as beyond his reach.

Daring
ambition of
Guise

After 1584, when the duke of Alençon (duke of Anjou under his later title) died, a new political question, vastly disturbing, was brought into affairs. That death left no heir to the crown in the Valois line, and the king of Navarre, of the house of Bourbon, was now the nearest in birth to the throne. Henry had, long before this, retracted his abjuration of 1572, had rejoined the Huguenots and taken his place as their chief. The head of the Huguenots was now the heir presumptive to the crown, and the wretched, incapable king was impelled by his fear of Guise to look to his Huguenot heir for support. It was a strange situation. In 1588 it underwent a sinister change. Guise and his brother, the cardinal, were both assassinated by the king's body-guard, acting under the king's orders, in the royal residence at the castle of Blois. When the murder had been done, the cowardly king spurned his dead enemy with his foot, as Guise, sixteen years before, had spurned the murdered Coligny, and said: "I am king at last." He was mistaken. His authority vanished with the vile deed. Paris broke into open rebellion. The league renewed its activity throughout France. The king, abandoned and cursed on all sides, had now no course open to him but an alliance with Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots. The alliance was effected, and the two Henrys joined forces to subdue insurgent Paris. While the siege of the city was in progress, Henry III. fell a victim, in his turn, to the murderous mania of his depraved

Henry of Navarre, heir presumptive to the crown

Assassination of the Guises, 1588

Assassination of Henry III. 1589

age and court. He was assassinated by a fanatical monk.

Henry of Navarre now steps into the foreground of French history, as Henry IV., lawful king of France as well as of Navarre, and ready to prove his royal title by a more useful reign than the French nation had known since it buried Saint Louis, his last ancestor on the throne. But his title was recognized at first by few outside the party of the Huguenots. The league went openly into alliance with Philip of Spain, who even half-stopped his war in the Netherlands to send money and troops into France. The energies of his soul were all concentrated on the desire to keep the heretical Béarnese from the throne of France. Happily his powers were equal no longer to his malignity; he was staggering under the blow which destroyed his great armada.

Henry received some help in money from Queen Elizabeth, and 5,000 English and Scotch came over to join his army. He was an abler general than any among his opponents, and he made headway against them. His victory at Ivry inspired his followers and took heart from the league. He was driven from his subsequent siege of Paris by a Spanish army, under the duke of Parma; but the very interference of the Spanish king helped to turn French feeling in Henry's favor. On the 25th of July, 1593, he extinguished most of the opposition to himself by his final submission to the church of Rome. It was an easy

Henry of
Navarre,
king of
France,
1589-1610

Sully,
Memoirs,
bks. 3-28

Battle of
Ivry,
March 14,
1590

Protestant-
ism
renounced
by Henry,
1593

thing for him to do. His religion sat lightly on him. He had accepted it from his mother; he had adhered to it—not faithfully—as the creed of a party. He could give it up, with no trouble of conscience, in exchange for the crown of France. But the Reformed religion in France was benefited, in fact, by his apostasy. Peace came to the kingdom, as the consequence,—a peace of many years,—and the Huguenots were sheltered in considerable religious freedom by the peace. Henry secured it to them in 1598 by the famous Edict of Nantes, which remained in force for nearly a hundred years.

The Edict
of Nantes,
1598

The reign of Henry IV. was one of the satisfactory periods in the life of France, so far as concerns the material prosperity of the nation. He was a man of strong, keen intellect, with firmness of will and elasticity of temper, but weak on the moral side. He was of those who win admiration and friendship easily, and he remains traditionally the most popular of French kings. He had the genius for government which so rarely coincides with royal birth. A wise minister, the duke of Sully, gave stability to his measures, and between them they succeeded in improving and promoting the agricultural and the manufacturing industries of France to a remarkable extent, effacing the destructive effects of the long civil wars, and bringing economy and order into the finances of the overburdened nation. The useful career of Henry was ended by an assassin in 1610.

France
under
Henry IV.

Assassina-
tion of
Henry IV.,
1610

Events in Germany

The reactionary wars of religion in Germany came half a century later than in France. While the latter country was torn by the long civil conflicts which Henry IV. brought to an end, the former was as nearly in the enjoyment of religious peace as the miserable contentions in the bosom of Protestantism, between Lutherans and Calvinists (the latter more commonly called "the Reformed"), would permit. On the abdication of Charles V., in 1556, he had fortunately failed to bring about the election of his son Philip to the imperial throne. His brother Ferdinand, archduke of Austria and king of Bohemia and Hungary, was chosen emperor, and that sovereign had too many troubles in his immediate dominions to be willing to invite a collision with the Protestant princes of Germany at large. The Turks had overrun Hungary and established themselves in possession of considerable parts of the country. Ferdinand obtained peace with the redoubtable sultan Suleiman, but only by payments of money which bore a strong likeness to tribute. He succeeded, by his prudent and skillful policy, in making both the Hungarian and the Bohemian crowns practically hereditary in the Austrian family.

Dying in 1564, Ferdinand transmitted both those kingdoms, with the Austrian archduchy and the imperial office, to his son, Maximilian II., the broadest and most liberal minded of his race. Though educated in Spain, and in companionship

A period of
religious
peace

Emperor
Ferdinand
I., 1556-
1564

Emperor
Maximilian
II.,
1564-1576

Coxe,
*History of
the House of
Austria*, ch.
xxxvi-
xxxix

with his cousin, Philip II., Maximilian exhibited the most tolerant spirit that appears anywhere in his age. Perhaps it was the hatefulness of orthodox zeal as exemplified in Philip which drove the more generous nature of Maximilian to revolt. He adhered to the Roman communion; but he manifested so much respect for the doctrines of the Lutheran that his father felt called upon at one time to make apologies for him to the pope. Throughout his reign he held himself aloof from religious disputes, setting an example of tolerance and spiritual intelligence to all his subjects, Lutherans, Calvinists and Catholics alike, which ought to have influenced them more for their good than it did.

Tolerant
spirit of the
emperor

Protestant-
ism in the
Austrian
dominions

Emperor
Rudolph
II.,
1576-1612

Under the shelter of the toleration which Maximilian gave it, Protestantism spread over Austria, where it had had no opportunity before; revived the old Hussite reform in Bohemia; made great gains in Hungary, and advanced in all parts of his dominions except the Tyrol. The time permitted to it for this progress was short, since Maximilian reigned but twelve years. He died in 1576, and his son Rudolph, who followed him, brought evil changes upon the country in all things. He, too, had been educated in Spain, but with a very different result. Authority of government went to pieces in his incompetent hands, and at last, in 1606, a family conclave of princes of the Austrian house began measures which aimed at dispossessing Rudolph of his various sovereignties, so far as possible, in favor of his

brother Matthias. Rudolph resisted with some effect, and, in the contests which ensued, the Protestants of Austria and Bohemia improved their opportunity for securing an enlargement of their rights. Matthias made the concession of complete toleration in Austria, while Rudolph, in Bohemia, granted a celebrated charter, called "the letter of majesty," which gave religious liberty to all sects.

The Bohemian "letter of majesty," 1609

These concessions were offensive to two princes, the archduke Ferdinand of Styria, and Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, who had taken the lead already in a vigorous movement of Catholic reaction. Some proceedings on the part of Maximilian, which the emperor sanctioned, against the Protestant free city of Donauwörth, had caused certain Protestant princes and cities, in 1608, to form a defensive union. But the elector palatine, who attached himself to the Reformed or Calvinist church, was at the head of this union, and the bigoted Lutherans, especially the elector of Saxony, looked coldly upon it. On the other hand, the Catholic states formed a counter-organization—a "holy league"—which was more compact.

Religious antagonisms revived

The two parties being thus in array, there arose suddenly between them a political question of the most disturbing kind. It related to the right of succession to an important duchy, that of Juliers, Clèves, and Berg. There were several powerful claimants, and, as usual, the political question took possession of the religious issue and

Preludes to the Thirty Years War

Protestant
alliance
with
Henry IV.

used it for its own ends. The Protestant union opened negotiations with Henry IV. of France, who saw an opportunity to weaken the house of Austria and to make some gains for France. A treaty was concluded, and Henry began active preparations for campaigns in both Germany and Italy, with serious intent to humble and diminish the Austrian power. The Dutch came into the alliance, and there were promises of English aid. The combination was formidable, and might have changed the course of events that awaited unhappy Germany, if the whole plan had not been frustrated by the assassination of Henry IV., in 1610. All the parties to the alliance drew back after that event.

Emperor
Matthias,
1612-1619

Ferdinand
of Styria

In 1611, Rudolph was deposed in Bohemia, and in the following year he died. Matthias, already king of Hungary, succeeded Rudolph in Bohemia and in the empire. But Matthias was scarcely stronger in mind or body than his brother, and the same family pressure which had pushed Rudolph aside now forced Matthias to accept a coadjutor, in the person of the vigorous Ferdinand, archduke of Styria. For the remainder of his reign Matthias was a cipher, and all power in the government was exercised by Ferdinand. His bitter opposition to the tolerant policy which had prevailed for half a century was well understood. Hence, his rise to supremacy in the empire gave notice that the days of religious peace were ended. The outbreak of civil war was not long in coming.

England under Queen Elizabeth

Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, who came to the English throne in 1558, was Protestant by the necessities of her position, whether doctrinally convinced or no. The Catholics denied her legitimacy of birth, and disputed, therefore, her right to the crown. She depended upon the Protestants for her support, and Protestantism, either active or passive, had become, without doubt, the dominant faith of the nation. But the mild schism which took most of its direction from Luther, at first, had come now under the Calvinistic influence, with marked effects. Geneva had been the refuge of many ministers and teachers who fled from Mary's fires, and they returned to spread and deepen in England the stern, strong, formidable piety which Calvin evoked. These Calvinistic Protestants made themselves felt as a party in the state, and were known ere long by that name which the next century rendered famous in English and American history—the great name of the Puritans. They were not satisfied with the stately, decorous, ceremonious church which Elizabeth reconstructed on the pattern of the church of Edward VI. At the same time, no party could be counted on more surely for the support of the queen, since the hope of Protestantism in England depended upon her, even as she was dependent upon it.

Creighton,
*Age of
Elizabeth*

Calvinistic
Protestant-
ism

Evolution
of the
Puritans .

Claims of
Mary
Stuart
to the
English
crown

The Catholics, denying legitimacy to Elizabeth, recognized Mary, queen of Scots, as the lawful sovereign of England. And Mary was, in

fact, the next in succession, tracing her lineage, as stated before, to the elder sister of Henry VIII. If Elizabeth had been willing to acknowledge Mary's heirship, failing heirs of her own body, it seems probable that the partisans of the Scottish queen would have been quieted, to a great extent. But Mary had angered her by assuming, while in France, the arms and style of queen of England. She distrusted and disliked her Stuart cousin, and, moreover, the whole idea of a settlement of the succession was repugnant to her mind. At the same time, she could not be brought to marry, as her Protestant subjects wished. She coquetted with the notion of marriage through half her reign, but never to any result.

Elizabeth
and her
subjects

Such were the elements of agitation and trouble in England under Elizabeth. The history of well-nigh half a century was shaped in almost all its events by the threatening attitude of Catholicism and its supporters, domestic and foreign, toward the English queen. She was supported by the majority of her subjects with stanch loyalty and fidelity, even though she treated them none too well, and troubled them in their very defense of her by her caprices and whims. They identified her cause with themselves, and took such pride in her courage that they shut their eyes to the many weaknesses that went with it.

Mary
Stuart
in Scotland,
1561-1568

In 1567, Mary Stuart was deposed by her own subjects, or forced to abdicate in favor of her infant son, James. She had alienated the Scottish people, first by her religion, and then by her

suspected crimes. Having married her second cousin, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, she was accused of being false to him. Darnley revenged his supposed wrongs as a husband by murdering her secretary, David Rizzio. In the next year Darnley was killed; the hand of the earl of Bothwell appeared quite plainly in the crime, and the queen's complicity was believed. She strengthened the suspicions against herself by marrying Bothwell soon afterward. Then her subjects rose against her, imprisoned her in Loch Leven castle, and made the earl of Murray regent of the kingdom. In 1568 Mary escaped from her Scottish prison and entered England. From that time until her death, in 1587, she was a captive in the hands of her rival, Queen Elizabeth, and was treated with slender magnanimity. More than before, she became the focus of intrigues and conspiracies which threatened both the throne and the life of Elizabeth, and a feeling of hostility to the wretched woman had inevitable growth.

In 1570, Pope Pius V. excommunicated Elizabeth and absolved her subjects from their allegiance, by a formal bull. This quickened, of course, the activity of the plotters against the queen and set treason astir. Priests from the English Catholic seminary at Douai, afterward at Rheims, began to make their appearance in the country; a few Jesuits came over; and both were active agents of the schemes on foot which contemplated the seating of Mary Stuart on the throne. Some of these emissaries were executed,

Lang,
*History of
Scotland,*
2 : ch. v-viii

Her cap-
tivity in
England,
1568-1587

Lang,
*History of
Scotland,*
2 : ch. viii-
xii

Plots
against
Queen
Elizabeth

and they are counted among the martyrs of the Catholic church, which is a mistake. The Protestantism of the sixteenth century was quite capable of religious persecution, even to death; but it seems to have little responsibility of that nature in these Elizabethan cases. As a matter of fact, the religion of the Jesuit sufferers in the reign of Elizabeth was a mere incident attaching itself to a high political crime.

The plotting went on for twenty years, keeping the nation in unrest; while beyond it there were thickening signs of a great project of invasion in the sinister mind of Philip II. At last, in 1586, the councilors of Elizabeth persuaded her to bring Mary Stuart to trial for alleged complicity in a conspiracy of assassination which had lately come to light. Convicted, and condemned to death, Mary ended her sad life on the scaffold, at Fotheringay, on the 8th of February, 1587. Whether guilty or guiltless of any knowledge of what had been done in her name, against the peace of England and against the life of the English queen, it can hardly be thought strange that the English government took her life.

A great burst of wrath in Catholic Europe was caused by the execution of Mary, and Philip of Spain hastened forward his vast preparations for the invasion and conquest of England. In 1588, the "invincible armada," as it was believed to be, sailed out of the harbors of Portugal and Spain, and wrecked itself with clumsy imbecility on the British and Irish coasts. It scarcely did more

Execution
of Mary
Stuart,
Feb. 8, 1587

The Spanish
Armada,
1588



MARY STUART RECEIVING DR. ADAM SCOT

From the painting by Karl von Piloty (1876-1886), now in the new Pinakothek, Munich



than give sport to the eager English sailors who scattered its helpless ships and hunted them down. Philip troubled England no more, and conspiracy ceased.

But the undeclared, half-piratical warfare which private adventurers had been carrying on against Spanish commerce for many years now acquired fresh energy, and became the school of the future British navy. The foundations of the British empire were laid down by those who carried it on. We shall speak of it again.

The
English
at sea

Otherwise, Elizabeth had little war upon her hands, except in Ireland, where the state of disorder and misery had been chronic for some hundreds of years. The first really complete conquest of the island was accomplished by Lord Mountjoy between 1600 and 1603.

Completed
conquest of
Ireland,
1600-1603

But neither the political troubles nor the naval and military triumphs of England during the reign of Elizabeth are of much importance, after all, compared with the wonderful flowering of the genius of the nation which took place in that age. Shakespeare, Spenser, Bacon, Ben Jonson, Marlowe, Hooker, Raleigh, Sidney, are the great facts of Elizabeth's time, and it shines with the luster of their names, the period most glorious in English history.

The
Eliza-
bethan
age in
English
literature

The New World

For about a generation after its discovery, the Spaniards and the Portuguese were undisputed possessors of the whole American field. Until after the Reformation movement, and after Spain

became involved in wars with the French, Dutch and English, the validity of the papal grant of 1493 was not questioned by any power. England had not followed up the exploring voyages of Cabot, nor was any claim of rights in the New World founded on Cabot's discoveries for many years. French and other fishermen began early to resort to the cod banks of Newfoundland; but it was not until Francis I. and Charles V. were at war that a French exploring expedition was sent officially across the Atlantic, to challenge the exclusive claims of Spain. Verrazano, the Italian commander of that French expedition, is believed to have skirted North America from the Carolinas to Newfoundland, and was assumed to have established claims for France to the extent of his coasting survey. Ten years later, the king of France commissioned another navigator, Jacques Cartier, who entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, taking possession of it in the king's name, and who, on a second voyage, the next year, found the river and ascended it, as far as the Indian village of Hochelaga, where the city of Montreal arose in after years. In 1541, Cartier came back to the St. Lawrence, under a patent issued to Jean François de la Roque, lord of Roberval, giving authority to colonize and govern the whole undefined region surrounding the river and gulf. After one winter spent in the country by Cartier and another by Roberval, the colonizing undertaking was given up.

Voyage of
Verrazano,
1523-1524

Cartier
on the St.
Lawrence,
1534-1542

The next French attempt at American coloniza-

tion was made by the Huguenots, with a view to the religious freedom that was sought by English Independents and Puritans at a later time. They were shut out from the Canada region, claimed by France, and trespassed, therefore, in their first venture, on the Portuguese territory of Brazil, attempting a settlement on the bay of Rio de Janeiro, in 1555. Expelled from that place, the Huguenot undertaking was directed by Admiral Coligny, who promoted it, to Port Royal Sound, or Broad River, on the coast of what became the State of South Carolina. The colony planted there, in 1562, was abandoned soon, and a third settlement, made on the Florida river of St. John, in 1564, was exterminated in the next year, with unsparing ferocity, by an army sent against it from Spain. This atrocious massacre, unresented by the government of France, was avenged by a private citizen, Dominic de Gourgues, who fitted out and conducted an expedition against the Spanish destroyers of the Huguenot colony, and slew them, every one.

Ill-fated
Huguenot
colonies,
1555-1565

Parkman,
*Pioneers of
France*,
1-166

In the course of the war between Francis I. and Charles V., privateering attacks on Spanish-American settlements, and on Spanish treasure-ships coming from America, had been begun by the French. Similar attacks by English adventurers ensued, long before the existence of acknowledged war between England and Spain. This purely piratical warfare grew out of a smuggling slave-trade with the Spanish colonies, opened by John Hawkins, in 1562. The voyages

Piratical
warfare
with Spain

Slave-trade
of John
Hawkins

of Hawkins, who captured negroes on the Guinea coast of Africa, or bought them from native slave-catchers, and smuggled them into Spanish-American ports, yielded enormous profits, which many of the highest in England—even Queen Elizabeth, it was said—were more than willing to share. If interfered with by the Spanish authorities, Hawkins fought them, and in the end he was overpowered. From this belligerent smuggling to plain piracy was an easy step, especially in that period of the reign of Elizabeth, during which both religion and politics placed England at enmity with Spain, though not yet at open war. The boldest if not the earliest adventurer in that step to piracy was the renowned Francis Drake.

Sir Francis
Drake,
"first of
English
pirates"

It is an English writer who says: "Shakespeare is not more conspicuously the first of English poets, and Bacon the first of English philosophers, than Drake is the first of English pirates." Elsewhere the same writer says: "Hawkins had confined himself to smuggling; Drake advanced from this to piracy. This practice was authorized by law in the middle ages for the purpose of recovering debts or damages from the subjects of another nation. The English, especially those of the west country, were the most formidable pirates in the world; and the whole nation was by this time roused against Spain, in consequence of the ruthless war waged against Protestantism in the Netherlands by Philip the Second." The grand exploit of Drake was performed in the years 1577-1580, when he sailed round the American

Payne,
*Voyages of
Elizabethan
Seamen*,
pages xvi
and 141

continent, through the Straits of Magellan, to plunder the defenseless Peruvian coasts, where the Spaniards had fancied they were secure against attack. Having taken an immense quantity of treasure from a score of Spanish ships, he sailed up the coast to California, or beyond; then crossed the Pacific, passed through the Eastern Archipelago, traversed the Indian Ocean, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and so returned home, being the next after Magellan to circumnavigate the globe.

It was in this ocean warfare with Spain, piratical at first, but legitimated fully after 1585, when Queen Elizabeth sent open aid to the struggling Netherlands, that English seamanship was highly trained, English enterprise stimulated, and the nation fairly started on its maritime career. For the first time, the slow but resolute English mind had a fairly awakened thought of sharing in the great expansions of trade and empire which geographical discovery had opened up. Projects of direct trade with the east began to take active form. There had been an attempt, in the reign of Queen Mary, to find a north-eastern passage to China, through the Arctic Sea, and the undertaking had resulted in an opening of trade with Russia, and through Russia, overland, with the Asiatic world.

England
started
on its
maritime
career

Now there was a beginning of efforts to find a northwestern passage to the Pacific Ocean and the Old World in the far east. The magnitude of the great continent that lay between the Atlantic and

that broader ocean which Magellan and Drake had crossed was not yet understood, in the least. It was believed to be not very broad, and to be divided, perhaps, by straits, by which ships might pass from sea to sea. Through all the sixteenth century and much of the seventeenth, every navigator who found a new inlet, or large river-mouth, or bay, sailed into it with the hope that he had discovered the much-desired "northwest passage," at last. The first English exploration of America after Cabot's had that object of search in view. It was conducted by Martin Frobisher, who led three expeditions, in 1576-7-8, with no result but the discovery of Frobisher's Bay, north of Hudson's Strait, and the bringing to England of a worthless cargo of iron pyrites, supposing it to be gold.

Searching
for a
"northwest
passage" ...

Failing to reach the Indies by any new passage, the English followed the example of the Dutch and became intruders in the Portuguese route, round the Cape of Good Hope. On the last day of the year 1600 "the Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies," which became afterward so great and famous as the East India Company of England, was chartered by the queen. The company sent out its first fleet of five vessels in 1601. They returned, after an absence of two years and seven months, laden richly, in part with pepper from Sumatra and in part with the spoils of a Portuguese ship, captured in the Straits of Malacca. The expedition had settled a trading agency or factory at Ban-

Chartering
of the
English
East India
Company,
1600

tam, and that was the beginning of the vast empire which England now rules in the east.

In 1578, the claim of England to a part of the New World was asserted first, by the issuing of a royal patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "for the inhabiting and planting of our own people in America," empowering him, for the next six years, to discover "such remote heathen and barbarous lands, not actually possessed by any Christian prince or people," as he might find, and to occupy the same. Gilbert's first expedition was diverted from its colonizing purpose, to attack a Spanish squadron, in which it failed. On his second voyage, undertaken in 1583, he took formal possession of the island of Newfoundland, and proceeded to cross the Gulf of St. Lawrence; but was buffeted by storms which sank one of his ships and compelled him to turn back. Pursued still by tempests on his homeward voyage, his own frail vessel was swallowed by the waves. Not long before it sank, he had cried the cheering message to companions who sailed near, on a better ship, "We are as near to Heaven by sea as by land."

Sir Humphrey
Gilbert's
colonizing
under-
takings,
1578-1583

Gilbert's projects were taken up and pursued by his half-brother, Walter Raleigh (afterward Sir Walter), who spent his fortune and the best years of his life in attempts to give England a substantial footing in America. Beginning with admirable prudence, he sent two intelligent captains, in 1584, to explore and choose a place for the planting of a settlement, which they did,

Sir Walter
Raleigh's
colonies,
1584-1590

Edwards,
Life of
Sir Walter
Raleigh, I:
ch. v.

Fate of the
Roanoke
colony

Raleigh's
expedition
to Guiana,
1595

reporting in favor of the island of Roanoke. There, accordingly, a colony of 108 persons was seated, the following year; but its members lost heart within a twelvemonth, and Captain Drake, visiting them in the course of one of his cruises, was persuaded to take them home. A second colony, which Raleigh sent to the same place in 1587, suffered an unknown fate. Because of war with Spain and other circumstances, the settlement was left unvisited for three years, and when reached at last, in 1590, not a trace of its people could be found. It has been conjectured that some, at least, of the lost colonists were taken into a neighboring tribe of Indians, the Croatans, whose descendants are said to show signs of the fact, in bodily features, in language and in names.

Raleigh attempted nothing more in North America; but he was lured by the El Dorado fables to Guiana, which he became ambitious to snatch from Spain. He conducted an expedition to the Orinoco in 1595, and explored the river for some distance, until stopped by winter floods. Though he gathered little real encouragement from what he found, Raleigh's faith in the riches of Guiana! was unimpaired, and he sent out two parties in the following year to pursue his search. Neither made any new discovery, except that the Spaniards were bestirring themselves to occupy the country and make their possession of it secure. At this point the exertions of Sir Walter to establish a substantial English interest in America were suspended for twenty years, and

then revived only to make an incident in the tragedy of his death.

When Raleigh paused, colonizing enterprise was extinguished for the time in England; but the indefinite English claim to most of North America was maintained, and the whole region was named Virginia, in honor of Elizabeth, "the virgin queen." The equally indefinite French claim, to what was called New France, conflicting extensively with the English claim, was upheld in like manner, while no practical occupation of any part of the country was accomplished until 1608.

English
and French
claims

English ventures in American settlement, resumed a little later than the French, were slightly earlier in obtaining success. In 1606 a strong joint stock company for the colonization of Virginia was chartered by King James I. It was divided into two branches, one given jurisdiction over territory lying between the thirty-fourth and thirty-eighth parallels of north latitude, to the depth of a hundred miles from the coast; the other to have possession of the same breadth of country between the forty-first and forty-fifth parallels. In the zone between these belts the two branches of the company were to have equal competitive rights of colonization, and this was expected to stimulate enterprise in both. In reality, the charter created two companies; for one section of what was nominally a single "Virginia Company" had its headquarters in London, the other in Plymouth, the former assigned to the southern, the latter to the northern field.

The
Virginia
Company
and its two
branches,
1606

The
Jamestown
colony, 1607

Captain
John Smith

Both bodies sent out colonists in 1607; but the settlement attempted from Plymouth, at the mouth of the Kennebec River, was given up the next spring, while that from London, planted on James River, was established with success. The Jamestown colony might have fared even worse than that on the Kennebec (called the Popham colony), if it had not, by good fortune, included among its members one vigorous and competent man. Captain John Smith has suffered at the hands of many historians. His character has been assailed, his own account of himself discredited, his services in Virginia belittled; but time is bringing justice to his memory. His fellow colonists, with whom he quarreled on the voyage out, who put him in irons during part of the voyage, and who refused at first to let him sit in the ruling council of six, to which he had been appointed, were obliged at last to place themselves under his command. Generally speaking, they were utterly unfit for the kind of adventure they had entered upon. They were interested in nothing but the seeking of gold, and disappointment in that search sapped all the little vigor they had. It was Smith's foresight and common sense, his energy and dominating power, exercised over themselves and over the neighboring savages alike, that saved them through the first two years. "But for this man's superb courage and resourcefulness," writes John Fiske, "one can hardly believe that the colony would have lasted until 1609. More likely it would have perished in

one of the earlier seasons of sore trial. It would have succumbed like Lane's colony, and White's [these were the two Raleigh settlements], and Popham's; one more would have been added to the sickening list of failures, and the hopes built upon Virginia in England would have been sadly dashed. The utmost ingenuity on the part of Smith's detractors can never do away with the fact that his personal qualities did more than anything else to prevent such a direful calamity."

Fiske,
*Old
Virginia
and her
Neighbors,*
I: 159

Smith's well-known account of his capture by the Indians while exploring the country, and of the intervention of Pocahontas, daughter of the chief, Powhatan, has been especially the subject of doubt. A careful examination of the grounds of skepticism is made in Fiske's work on "Old Virginia," and he puts them all aside, as having no real weight. His conclusion is that "the rescue of Smith by Pocahontas was an event of real historic importance. Without it the subsequent relations of the Indian girl with the English colony become incomprehensible. But for her friendly services on more than one occasion the tiny settlement would probably have perished. Her visits to Jamestown and the regular supply of provisions by the Indians began at this time."

The story of
Pocahontas

Fiske,
*Old
Virginia,*
I: 111

After Smith left the colony, in October, 1609, all order and good management seem to have disappeared. The Indians were provoked to hostility, and the thriftless settlers, still dependent on their dusky neighbors for corn, were deprived of supplies. Such a "starving time"

The
starving
time" at
James-
town,
1609-1610

followed that only sixty out of five hundred of the Jamestown inhabitants were alive when the next spring came. In May this starved remnant was joined by another forlorn party, of about one hundred and fifty, which had left England a year before and had suffered shipwreck on one of the Bermuda islands. During a stay of many months on the island, they built two pinnaces, which brought them at last to the end of their voyage. In the party were two important officials, Sir Thomas Gates, lieutenant-governor, and Sir George Somers, admiral, appointed upon a reorganization of the company and its government, in the previous year. They saw no hope for the colony, and, having determined to abandon it, the whole company, crowded into two small pinnaces, set sail. Before reaching the sea, however, they were met by three ships, arriving from England, bringing Lord Delaware, the appointed governor of the colony, with more settlers, of a good working class, and a store of supplies. The colony was saved. The departing people turned back, and Jamestown was inhabited once more.

The colony
rescued

The
London
Company
and its new
charter,
1609

What had been the London branch of the Virginia Company was now the London Company, a distinct corporation, having a new charter, in which the boundaries of its territory had been changed. Its jurisdiction was now defined as extending "from sea to sea, west and northwest," and having four hundred miles of coast on the Atlantic, half of that stretch to be north of Old

Point Comfort, and half of it south. The grant "from sea to sea" was common in the territorial patents of that day, when the continent was supposed to be a narrow body of land. The expression "west and northwest" is obscure, and it gave rise to much dispute in later days, when Virginia founded claims upon it to a large region in the northwest.

Under its new charter, the London Company was strengthened greatly in numbers and capital and its political powers were enlarged. It became able to endow the governor whom it sent to Virginia with autocratic authority, and the colony was invigorated for a time by that kind of rule.

The French in America

The French in the St. Lawrence region can hardly be said to have founded any colony yet, in the proper sense of the term, but they had established an extensive fur trade with the Indians, with its headquarters or principal factory at Quebec. Furthermore, they had introduced a zealous and effective missionary work among the Indians, which the English in America were much slower in doing. On the coast of the peninsula at the south of the great gulf, in the region called Acadia by the French, a struggling settlement named Port Royal was growing up, to become the Annapolis of Nova Scotia at the present day.

Parkman,
*Pioneers of
France,*
169-263

Acadia

The chief actor and the most notable figure in all the early enterprises of the French in America

Samuel de Champlain¹ was Samuel de Champlain, founder of Quebec, careful explorer of the New England coast (as early as 1605), discoverer of the lake in New York that bears his name, first to trace the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario and the Ottawa River to its head waters, and first to reach Georgian Bay. Champlain strove hard and vainly for thirty years to bring about a really colonizing policy, instead of mere fur-trading undertakings, in the great domain of New France. Yet no one else did so much to win the friendship of the Indians in that domain, which made it a rich field for the trade in furs.

Indian
tribes,
Algon-
quins,
Iroquois,
Hurons

Most of the Indian tribes north of the St. Lawrence and around the Gulf, as well as in New England, belonged to a great linguistic division called the Algonquin. South of the St. Lawrence, in what is now the State of New York, were the principal tribes of another powerful linguistic group, the Iroquois. These Iroquois and the Algonquins were deadly enemies and constantly at war; but the latter were in friendly alliance with another Iroquoian tribe, known as the Hurons, who dwelt in the midst of the Algonquins, on the eastern side of the lake that bears their name, and who, consequently, were mortal foes of their kindred in New York. To secure and keep the friendship of the Algonquins and Hurons, Champlain was forced to go into alliance with them and join them in several invasions of the Iroquois domain. This caused a long-lasting hostility to the French on the part of the Iro-

quois, who were the most formidable warriors in America, and ranged them on the side of the English, when French and English in America came to strife.

The Dutch in America

Almost evenly in time with the English and the French, the Dutch had established a footing for trade and settlement in the New World. An Englishman, Henry Hudson, was the first to enter and explore the fine river that bears his name; but he was in the service of the Dutch East India Company, and his visit was followed by the planting of a Dutch trading station on Manhattan Island, in the next year. The neighboring coast, from Cape Cod to Delaware Bay, was then explored and mapped, and a broad region, named New Netherland, was claimed as a possession by the rising republic, which had just broken the yoke of Spain. The English claim to this region was ignored, and rightly, because no actual occupation of the country, by settlement in it, had made the claim good.

On the
Hudson

New
Netherland

China and Japan

It was not till about the middle of the sixteenth century that direct intercourse by sea with China and Japan was opened by the Portuguese. In 1560 they obtained permission from local mandarins to establish a trading station at Macao, near Canton, and a considerable settlement was soon formed at that place. Prior to this, by a few years, Japan had received its first Portuguese visitors, and Father Francis Xavier, the famous

Beginning
of Christian
missions,
1549-1583 }

Jesuit missionary, had entered the islands with two companions in 1549. Xavier labored in Japan for two years, proceeding thence toward China, but dying on the way. The work of Christian preaching thus begun was carried on by others until large numbers of converts had been won, especially in the city of Nagasaki, which became the seat of Portuguese trade. In China, the Christian missions were later, Father Michel Roger, of the Jesuit order, reaching the country in 1581, and Father Ricci in 1583. The Chinese appear to have listened to the new teaching with more coldness than the Japanese.

Both China and Japan at this time were in a most disordered state, under the rule in both instances of families whose original energy and capacity for government had suffered a rapid decay. The Ming dynasty in China—last of the native sovereigns of the empire—beset by constant rebellions and menaced by a new growth of Tatar power in Manchuria, from seed left by the old masters of northern China, the Kins, was tottering to its fall. In Japan, the last of the Ashikaga shoguns was deposed in 1573 by a strong man, Ota Nobunaga, who arose among the provincial rulers and began to subjugate them to himself, one by one. The supremacy of Nobunaga in the empire was nearly established when he perished, through treachery, in 1682. His unfinished task was taken up by one of his lieutenants, Hideyoshi (sometimes named Fashiba), an abler man than himself. Hideyoshi, who raised

Nobunaga
and
Hideyoshi
in Japan,
1573-1598

himself from humble life, aspired to the office of shogun, which Nobunaga, for some reason, had not taken; but all the power he acquired could not win it for one of so lowly a birth. The shogunate remained vacant from 1573 till 1603, though its powers were exercised by two military chiefs who were shoguns in all but the name.

At the height of his power, Hideyoshi projected the conquest of Korea and China, and sent a great invading army to the former country in 1592. Opposing forces came from China to the help of the Koreans, and bloody battles were fought with no decisive success on either side. The war was ended by the death of Hideyoshi in 1598. He left an infant son, to whom he hoped to transmit his power, through the agency of a council of regents whom he commissioned to that end; but the regents became rival contestants for supremacy, and Tokugawa Ieyasu, their president, won the scepter of sovereignty, reviving in his own person the shogunate, which administered the government of the empire thereafter until a recent time. Of the three men, Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu, who overcame anarchy in the sixteenth century and reconsolidated the Japanese empire, Ieyasu was the greatest. He was a statesman who did enduring work. He settled conditions of society and government in Japan which underwent little change for two centuries and a half. Since the rise of the military class and the seizure of practical sovereignty by

War in
Korea

Revival
of the
shogunate,
1603

Tokugawa
Ieyasu,
1603-1616

the shoguns, in the twelfth century, an organization of aristocracy which resembled the feudalism of Europe very closely, and which is commonly described as feudalistic, had grown up. Ieyasu reconstructed it, somewhat as William the Conqueror reconstructed the feudal order in England, and made it serviceable to the solidifying of the state. The fiefs or lordships were redistributed, and the daimyos, or lords, were re-classed. For his government the new shogun founded a new capital, at Jedo—the Tokio of the present day.

Ieyasu was most ingenious in his method of taking all substantial authority from the mikado, while leaving him undisturbed in his nominal sovereignty of the state. He accomplished this by a profound and impressive recognition of the sacred character of the sovereign, in order to deduce from it the doctrine that “the descendant of the gods must be completely divested of all executive functions, these passing absolutely and unquestionably into the hands of the shogun, who should exercise them without reference to the sovereign, accepting, in return, full responsibility for the public peace and good order of the country which he thus undertook to govern. No command of the emperor could have the force of law unless it received the counter-signature of one of the shogun’s chief officials. In short, nothing was left to the sovereign except the prerogative of conferring honors and titles. The political suppression of the mikado by this doctrine was maintained till 1868.

The
Japanese
feudal
system

Murray,
Japan, ch.
viii-xii

Political
suppression
of the
mikado

Brinkley,
*Japan; Its
History
Arts and
Literature*,
3 : 90

Before the advent of Ieyasu the Christian missionaries and their proselytes had provoked the hostility of government by exhibiting, it is said, an arrogant intolerance, wherever their numbers became strong, destroying Buddhist temples, slaying Buddhist priests, and threatening the empire with a state of religious war. This is the excuse which historians have found for measures taken to arrest and suppress the Christian propagandism begun by Father Xavier. Hideyoshi was the first to resort to such measures; but the merciless persecution that extinguished Christianity in the islands was ordered by Ieyasu and carried to completion by his successors.

Extirpation
of Chris-
tianity in
Japan,
1614-1638

Shortly before the opening of the final persecution of Christians, the Dutch came into rivalry with the Portuguese as traders in Japan, and succeeded, about 1640, in supplanting the latter entirely, obtaining exclusive commercial rights. For the next two hundred years they were the only foreigners (except the Chinese) who had admission to intercourse with any part of the Japanese empire, and all western knowledge of the islands and their people was obtained through them. To secure and maintain this exclusive and profitable footing, the Dutch were accused of having, at least, looked on at the persecution of Christians with indifference, and even of having submitted to the Japanese test of Christian renunciation by trampling on the cross; but this has been denied.

The Dutch
in Japan

Founding of the Moghul empire in India

In this period the greater part of India came into subjection to a dynasty of Mongol sovereigns, founded by Baber, a descendant of Timour, who won the title of emperor of Hindostan in a great battle fought at Panipat, northwest of Delhi, in 1526. Baber had been preceded in the sovereignty of more or less of the Hindu peninsula by a succession of Mohammedan war lords, mostly of Turkish origin, who came out of Afghanistan, after the dynasty of Mahmud of Ghazni ran its course. The one notable fact in five wretched centuries of Indian history, from Mahmud to Baber, is the wide extension of Mohammedanism in the country, and its domination in the government, but never to the suppression of Brahmanism and Hinduism, which have remained always the religion of a vast majority of the subjugated people.

Northern India had been harassed and ravaged repeatedly by Mongol invasions since the time of Genghis Khan; Timour's inroad, in 1398-9, was like a visitation of destroying demons; but Baber was the first of that terrible race to stay in the country as its conqueror and make it his seat of power. His son nearly lost what the father had won; but his grandson, Akbar, recovered all and more, becoming the real founder of what came to be called the Moghul empire, in a reign of nearly fifty years, from 1556 to 1605.

Barber
1526-1530

From
Mahmud
to Baber

Akbar,
1556-1605

HISTORIC EPOCHS

V

EPOCH OF POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS

(FROM THE PRELUDES OF REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND TO THE NAPOLEONIZING OF THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE)

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE FIFTH EPOCH

CHAPTER XVI

FROM THE ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV., OF FRANCE,
TO THE DEATH OF CROMWELL

CHAPTER XVII

FROM THE DEATH OF CROMWELL TO THE DEATH OF
LOUIS XIV., OF FRANCE

CHAPTER XVIII

FROM THE DEATH OF LOUIS XIV., OF FRANCE, TO
THE ADVENT OF WASHINGTON IN THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION

CHAPTER XIX

FROM THE ADVENT OF WASHINGTON IN THE AMERICAN
REVOLUTION TO HIS DEATH

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE FIFTH EPOCH

The change in modes of life, labor, feeling, thought and conduct which we call our advancing civilization moved rapidly, in the two centuries of this epoch, toward the complexity of the present day. Science opened new domains of knowledge; Philosophy scanned new vistas of speculative thought; Art recognized a neglected sister, in Music, and made much of her; Invention began a wonderful breeding of mechanical servants for mankind. At no former time in history had there been such widening and multiplying of the avenues to distinction,—such crowding of the stage with personages too important to go unnoticed in our review. Nevertheless, war and politics kept their preëminence among the activities of the world; because the clutch of absolutism was still fast on nearly all governments, and the greatest task of the time was to break it loose.

The roll of celebrities in state-craft and battle is long; we will call it first, and begin where the half-religious conflicts of the preceding age passed into and were extinguished in secular convulsions that came then to their turn. That happened in the hideous Thirty Years War, which paralyzed Germany and made it laggard for a century

Count Tilly
1559-1632

Wallenstein
1583-1634

Gustavus
Adolphus,
1594-1632

Oxenstiern,
1583-1654

among the European states. It was a war unredeemed by any benignant influence or effect, and few of the adventurers and mercenaries that figure in it can interest us in the least. Tilly only terrorizes our imagination by the horrors that attended his campaigns. Wallenstein, the military contractor, making strange mixtures of speculation, ambition, superstition and mysticism in his work, compels us to regard him with a certain unadmiring awe. When Gustavus Adolphus, of Sweden, comes on the scene, we may question the motives of his intervention, yet we recognize the higher type of soldier and man. As a soldier he improved the art of war; as a king he gave marked proofs of statesmanship in his government at home; as a man he lent a dignity to the cause of the Protestant princes in Germany, which it lost when he fell. It seems quite within the possibilities that he might have changed the whole tenor and consequence of the Thirty Years War, with profound effects in future history, if he had not come to his untimely death. Oxenstiern, as regent and chancellor of the young queen, Christina, continued to exercise the authority and use the forces of the Swedish crown with great ability, for a dozen years; but the influence won by Gustavus could not be kept alive, and every hope of a possible outcome of good from the war was lost.

While war at its worst was exhibited in Germany, the English people applied it to the best of its uses, in their rising against insolent tyrannies

of the crown. Providence had prepared them for this bold breach of loyalty, by giving them a king whom they could not, by any stretch of superstition, regard with reverence, as a sacrosanct being, divinely commissioned to tread on their necks. Coarse in speech, intemperate in drink, offensive in many habits, undignified or ludicrous in manner and bearing, silly with conceitedness, even when shrewd, preposterous in his pretensions, exasperating in his choice and treatment of favorites, insulting to public opinion in most of his policy, and, beyond all, obnoxious to English prejudice as a Scot, the first James was everything that could be needed to dispel notions of divinity in the kingship he represented.

James I.,
of England,
1566-1625

His son Charles, with a princely bearing, a courtly manner, and admirable decencies of habit and life, might have recovered for the crown a good part of the prestige his father had lost, and revived something of the spell that royalty of old had been able to cast on the popular mind, if radical falsities of nature had not persistently broken through a surface-show of pleasing traits. Truthfulness was not in him, or faithfulness, even to friends, or any unselfish warmth of heart, but only obstinacy, and a cold determination to have his will and way.

Charles I.,
of England,
1600-1649

In the history of the struggle with the last of these kings nine names are preëminent. They are the names of Hampden, Pym, Eliot, Falkland, Hyde, Vane, Wentworth, Laud, Cromwell. Cromwell's importance was not manifested till

after a year or more of actual war. By that time, all except Hyde and Vane of the remaining eight had ended their careers, passing off the stage of action before the "ironside" soldier strode forward to its front. Hampden, Pym and Eliot had ended as they began, in opposition to the king. Laud, too, on the royal side, stood unchanged from first to last; but Wentworth, Hyde and Falkland had gone over to that side from opposition.

While Hampden and Pym lived their influence was very great. Hyde (afterward earl of Clarendon and historian of the ensuing civil war) testifies of Hampden that, "the eyes of all men were fixed on him as their *pater patriæ*, and the pilot that must steer their vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it." He made that impression on his contemporaries, and he makes it still in history, standing next to Washington among the ideal exemplars of patriotism, perfected in all qualities of heart and mind. And yet how little he had done when his life was cut short! His importance came, like that of Washington, from what he was, more than from what he did, exemplifying the impressive fact that great causes are upheld more powerfully by grand characters than by mighty deeds. Pym's influence was grounded likewise on character,—on a deep religious earnestness, narrowed by no sectarian temper, and allied with great solidity of practical understanding. It could not have been possible for these statesmen,

John
Hampden,
1594-1643

John Pym,
1584-1643

or for any, to bring England to a state of peace, under a constitutional government, with Charles on the throne; for no statesmanship could deal with falsities like his; but they might, perhaps, have moderated or avoided the antagonisms that grew up between parliament and army, and between presbyterianism and independency; might perhaps have been able to put Charles aside without making him a royal martyr by taking his life, and might have utilized Cromwell's tremendous energy and power of command, without giving him the king's place, with more absolute authority than the king had claimed.

The evolution of a parliament that would not have been a "rump," but respectably representative of the English nation, seems no impossibility, if Hampden and Pym had lived. After they passed away, events moved inevitably to the dictatorship—the autocracy—which Cromwell took to himself; taking it with perfect right, as being the one man able to hold and wield such absolute power. For that masterful, summary solution of the immediate problems of the situation, Cromwell's ability was unsurpassed. Of the problems that lay beyond, it may be that there was no solution. If there was, Cromwell's powers did not reach them. He had what Gardiner, the historian, has described as "a massive common sense and a grasp on the realities of the present;" but he did not have—his work does not show—that prescient vision and apprehension of a higher statesmanship, which anticipates and prepares

Oliver
Cromwell,
1599-1658

Gardiner,
*History of
the Great
Civil War*,
I : ch. xx.

for coming time. So it was that when he died, dropping the reins of an autocracy which none but himself could handle, he left England with no alternative to an unconditional restoration of its discarded race of kings.

Sir Henry
Vane,
1612-1662

If Vane could have had the help of Hampden and Pym, it is easy to believe that the representative parliament for which he strove might have been secured. He was no ordinary man. He proved his statesmanship in negotiating the alliance with the Scots and in administering the navy which Blake used so well; he proved his resoluteness in resisting Cromwell; but there was something in the religious mysticality of the man—"giddiness," Clarendon called it—which impaired what seemed to be his natural weight in public affairs. In Carlyle's eyes he appeared to be "a thin man," "of light fibre;" but what can that dyspeptic judgment signify, in the face of the immortalizing sonnet of Milton, his friend and co-worker in the Commonwealth council of state:—

"Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old,
Than whom a better senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome."

Sir John
Eliot,
1592-1632

Eliot, frail in health, was crushed so early by the heartless tyranny he resisted that he had little time to serve the cause of freedom; but he left a brave example, and memories of a noble eloquence, for the inspiration of those who lived and fought on.

Thomas]
Went-
worth,
earl of
Strafford,
1593-1641

In the party of the ultimate royalists the man of great powers was Wentworth, who received the title of earl of Strafford when he joined the supporters of the king. His change of party was so



Gustavus Adolphus
From painting by Van Dyck



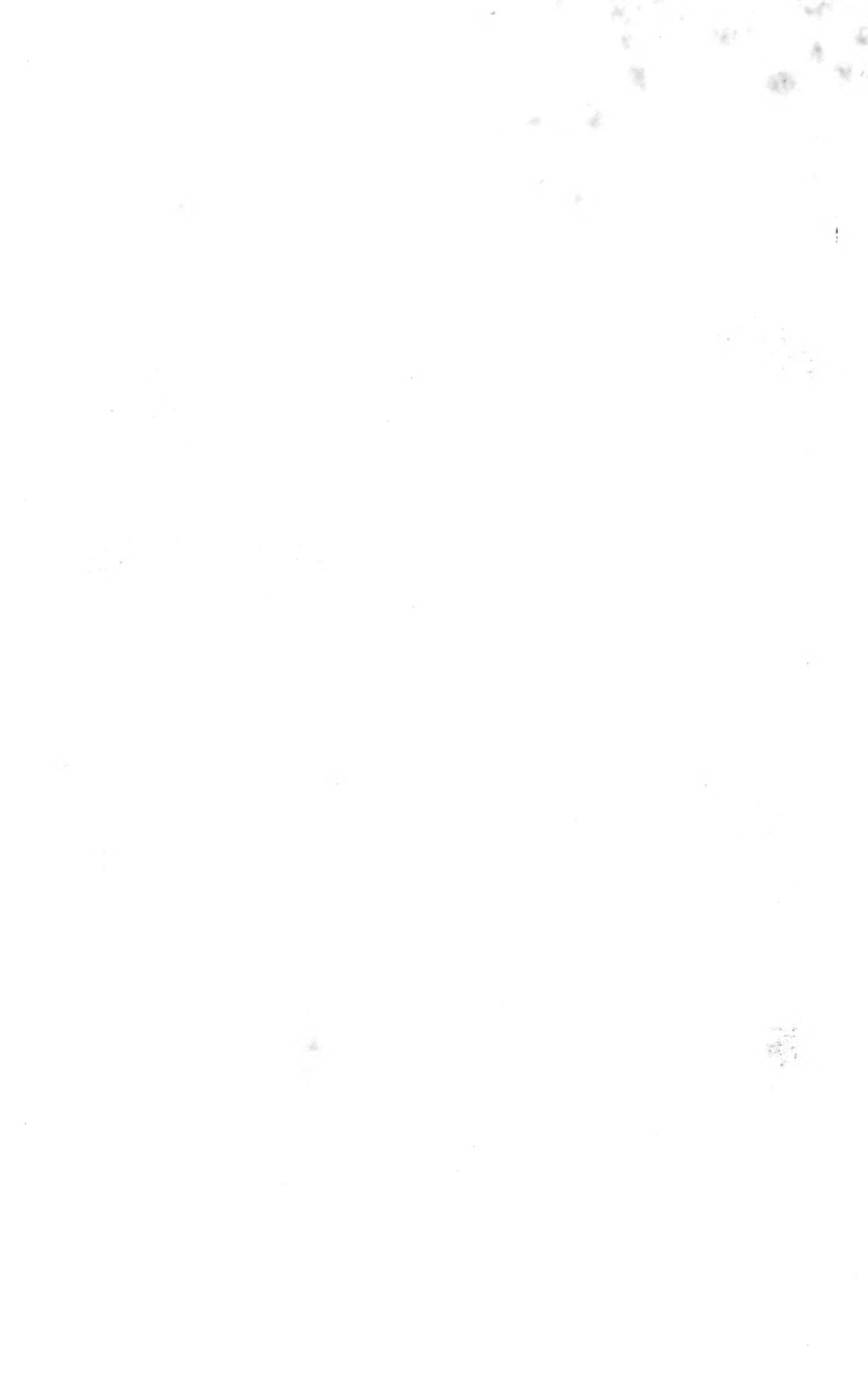
Hampden
From engraving by Houbraken



Cromwell
From painting by Lely



Strafford
From painting by Van Dyck



opportune, after Buckingham's death had opened an approach to the confidence of the king, and his turn from political intimacy with Pym to sympathetic association with Laud was so sharp and extreme, that belief in the sincerity of his motives is very hard. Nevertheless that is the belief of the most searching and fair-minded investigators of his life and of the circumstances of the time. Gardiner declares that he was "neither an apostate nor a deserter." He was satisfied with what parliament had won in the "petition of right;" he had no sympathy with Puritanism; "he had no confidence in the house of commons as an instrument of government;" hence he turned to the defense of the crown against further attacks. If there still seems to be room for some question of ambition in Strafford's case, let us give all the benefit of the doubt to one who suffered such a fate, in so manly a way.

Gardiner,
*History of
England,*
1603-1642,
6:34-5

Of the sincerity of Falkland and Hyde there is no doubt. When church questions came uppermost in the conflict, their convictions carried them to the king's side. Some have judged that they left parliament with a needless and unwise haste, and that the fault was Hyde's, whose "subtle and potent persuasiveness," as Bayne describes it, moved Falkland to a course which does not seem to have satisfied his final sense of right. The civil war was sickening to Falkland's soul; there is much to indicate that he did not feel rightly placed in it; there are even signs of intention in the recklessness with which he threw

Lord
Falkland,
1610-1643

Edward
Hyde,
earl of
Clarendon,
1608-1674

his life away in the first Newbury fight. He was one to whom no doubt of his own action in so grave a matter could be endurable. Hyde, himself, it is clear, pursued his chosen course with no doubts or regrets, acting upon the dictates of a singularly calm and disciplined mind. His subsequent history of the war,—wonderfully dispassionate and generous for the narrative of an active partisan,—and all his efforts to moderate the revenges of his party when it recovered power, bear ample testimony to the high quality of the man.

Archbishop
Laud,
1573-1645

Of Laud, the ecclesiastical despot,—the arch mischief-maker in the king's council,—next to Charles himself the chief author of the civil war,—it is not easy to speak in temperate terms. If we credit him with a sincere zeal in what he did, it is the sincerity of a mind so small and a spirit so petty that it challenges contempt. Not even the dignity of a dogma upheld his intolerance. "He was not," says Goldwin Smith, "a bigot or a fanatic, but a martinet." He cared little for speculative opinions; his interest was all focused on the most trivial forms and ceremonies of the church, and he was bent on forcing everybody to concede the importance to them which they bore in his shallow mind. Having acquired dictatorial authority and power, he used them as men of little intellect, large conceit, and a bustling energy are always sure to do.

Goldwin
Smith, *The
United
Kingdom*,
1:484

James
Graham,
Marquis of
Montrose,
1612-1650

Into the company of the "chief characters" of this great English conflict shall we take the brave, brilliant, picturesque Montrose, and the

headlong, rough-riding Prince Rupert, who did the best fighting that was done for the king? Shall we take in the soldier-sailor Blake, who opened the legitimate naval history of England, which Drake had but prefaced with piratical exploits? If we hesitate on these names, we cannot be doubtful of the claim of Monk to a place in our roll, not by reason of any distinction in the man, but because of the one critical juncture that cast the destiny of the nation into his hands. He was a practical, plain man, and he ended the first act of the English revolution as a practical man was bound, no doubt, by the circumstances, to do,—abandoning all its objects and falling back to the starting point, for a precarious peace. If anything else was practicable, nothing else could be expected from this excellent soldier, who could serve any cause to which fortune might call him, and serve it well.

Prince
Rupert,
1619-1682

Robert
Blake,
1598(?)-
1657

George
Monk,
duke of
Albemarle,
1608-1670

With or without the determination of Monk, the second Charles Stuart was quite certain to be called from exile to his father's restored throne; because England, politically, had been dissolved to an elemental state, in which nothing but a royal crown could start the crystallizing of government again. And events showed no loss in the end from that abject and humiliating surrender to the Stuarts and their cavaliers. The worthlessness of Charles II. and the bigotries of James II. were needed, to renew the disenchantment which those who made a martyr of the first Charles had rendered necessary, and to harden

Charles II.,
of England,
1630-1685

James II.,
of England,
1633-1701

the temper of the whole nation for a more resolute, a more definite, and a more strictly political movement of revolution than the first had been. In that second effort the English people accomplished what many influences had made impossible half a century before; but the men of the final revolution are not to be compared with the men of the Long Parliament and of the civil war. The wise, judicial, upright Somers may rank with Pym and Hampden and Vane; but what other of his contemporaries can be estimated so high? Halifax, known in his own day as "the trimmer," might be an accepted peer of the great Puritan revolutionists if a little of heroic temper had been added to the clear, large, philosophic attributes of his mind; but he shrank too much from risks and chose middle courses too often to be counted among the strong men of history.

The really impressive figure in these events is that of the sickly king whom England borrowed from the Dutch; and he belonged to the European stage. England was but the setting of a scene or two for the grand drama in which he played the hero's part, with the king of France for the villain of the piece and a prodigious cast of victims and dupes. Feeble in body, indomitable in spirit, exhaustless in persevering patience, tireless in devotion to public duty, and with a political perspicacity that was hardly less than genius, he has had very few equals in the large handling of European affairs.

John, baron
Somers,
1652-1716

George
Savile,
marquis of
Halifax,
1630-1695

William of
Orange
(William
III., of
England),
1652-1702

Certainly, none before him, except Richelieu, had dealt as ably with European politics at large; and the great cardinal's problems had been partly like his own. In Richelieu's generation, Europe was menaced by the aggressiveness of the house of Austria, allied by kinship with that of Spain, and he employed a large share of his energies in forming and directing combinations to check that growth of power,—just as William of Orange, in his day, labored to organize leagues against Louis XIV. of France. But Richelieu had aggressive as well as defensive aims. He worked with an eye single to the aggrandizement of France and the upbuilding of its royal throne. He created the conditions that made Louis XIV. the "grand monarch" of the next age; which made the Bourbons more threatening to Europe than the Hapsburgs had been, and which gave William of Orange a harder task in foreign policy than his own. Mazarin, his pupil, may be said to have preserved most of the results of his work.

Cardinal
Richelieu,
1585-1642

Cardinal
Mazarin,
1602-1661

Louis XIV., who inherited those results, is one of the kings who should be pilloried for the lasting detestation of mankind. By his devouring self-indulgences; by the crushing burdens that he laid on his own subjects, and the deadly oppressions that he practiced upon them; by his wicked wars of aggression upon his neighbors; by the wantonly brutal devastations which he sent his armies to perform in the fairest lands of the Rhine; by his infamous revival of religious persecution in France, after nearly a full century of

Louis XIV.,
of France,
1638-1715

Christian toleration and peace; by the vileness of his corrupt and corrupting court; by all the gilded and glorified examples of vice, heartlessness, egotism, perfidy, that he set before the world, he wrought more evil, more misery, more lasting mischief, than can easily be reckoned against any other man in modern times.

Unfortunately, he was inflicted on France in one of those rare seasons of extraordinary brain-growth which psychology cannot explain, and it gave him such servants for his ministry, such commanders for his armies, such wits, poets, orators for his court, as no other monarchs, save Augustus and Elizabeth, have ever enjoyed. It gave him Colbert, the matchless administrator,—the wonder-worker, in finance and public economy, who made it possible for France to live through his measureless extortions. It gave him Louvois, who exercised a genius in expenditure that almost equaled Colbert's in providing the means. It gave him Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, and a brilliant staff of less famous marshals and generals, for his grasping wars.

For years his commanders were unrivaled; but two, at last, were brought against them, who surpassed them all. These were Marlborough, the ablest soldier that England has ever produced, and Prince Eugene of Savoy. In every other aspect of his character Marlborough provokes contempt. He had no honesty, no fidelity, no trustworthiness or sound morality of any discoverable nature; but his genius shone superbly

Jean
Baptiste
Colbert,
1619-1683

Marquis de
Louvois,
1641-1691

Vicomte
Turenne,
1611-1675

John
Churchill,
duke of
Marl-
borough,
1650-1722

in war. In that respect Prince Eugene was hardly his peer; but infinitely beyond him in all that makes an admirable man.

Prince Eugene,
1663-1736

War raged in northern Europe during most of these years, as well as in the south. Out of hostilities between Sweden and Poland, an elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William, known as "the great elector," dextrously using a small, well organized army, first on one side and then on the other, contrived to win territory and importance, completing a union of Brandenburg with the duchy of Prussia, and emerging as a sovereign of considerable importance in German affairs. Poland had many contentions in these times, with Russia, with the Cossacks of the Ukraine, and with the Turks. In her desperate Turkish wars she trained a notable soldier, John Sobieski, whom, at last, her factious nobles had wisdom enough to raise to the Polish throne. It was a fortunate election for Europe; for the prompt energy of Sobieski in hurrying to the rescue of Vienna, in 1683, gave a conclusive check to the western advance of the Turks.

Frederick William,
"the great elector,"
1620-1688

John Sobieski,
1624-1696

Russia acquired at this time its most remarkable ruler, in the czar Peter I., called "the great." While indifferent to all refinements of culture, and little better than a savage in personal manners and morals, his intelligence and strength of character were very great. His sense of the deficiency of his people in material arts moved him even to become a student and apprentice, himself, working as such in Dutch and English shipyards and

Peter the Great, of Russia,
1672-1725

shops. The ideas and the knowledge that he acquired were carried home and forced upon his people in an autocratic but surprisingly effective way.

Charles
XII., of
Sweden,
1682-1718

In Sweden, too, an extraordinary man came now to the throne,—the young Charles XII., whose career is explainable only by the dictum of Dryden, that “great wits”—that is, the powers of genius—“are sure to madness near allied.” Nothing short of genius can be ascribed to the inception and conduct of the marvelous campaigns in which he anticipated and disconcerted the league of his enemies; and nothing less than madness will describe his subsequent course.

John
Winthrop,
1587-1649

The contests of Europe were now reaching America, and before going farther among the chief actors in them, it seems best to turn attention for a moment to that New World, where men of importance in history had risen already. Winthrop, the even-minded, upright, trusted leader of the Massachusetts colony,—the typical Puritan gentleman in public life, as developed by colonial circumstances that gave Puritanism its unhindered way,—had finished his good work and passed from the scene. So, too, had Hooker, architect of the Connecticut commonwealth, and therefore, as Fiske entitles him, “the father of American democracy,” and John Cotton, the main pillar of church independency on both sides of the sea. Roger Williams had established the “colony of Providence Plantations” which became Rhode Island, and had preached and

Thomas
Hooker,
1586-1647

John
Cotton,
1585-1652

Roger
Williams,
1600(?) -
1684



Laud
From painting by Van Dyck



Richelieu
From painting by Champaigne.



Peter the Great
From painting by de Moor



Penn
From painting by Place

exemplified that tolerance of religious free thought which the changing convictions of his own large, open, candid, seeking mind taught him to understand as a need and a right. Already Lord Baltimore, in the founding of Maryland as a refuge for abused English Catholics, had set the practical example of toleration, and Penn, the great-hearted, pure-hearted, large-minded Quaker, had repeated it in the province that he bought from the king.

Lord
Baltimore,
1580(?) -
1632

William
Penn,
1644-1718

So far, Virginia had not been fortunate in the notable men she had drawn. Captain John Smith, most delightful of adventurers, vain and boastful, but supremely capable, resourceful and upright, had stayed with her first settlement just long enough to save it from instant failure; Bacon, the bold young revolutionist, had not lived long enough to show his real mettle; Governor Berkeley had tyrannized the colony, with his narrow notions and his irascible temper, too long for its good or his own.

Captain
John Smith
1579-1631

Nathaniel
Bacon,
1642-1676

Sir William
Berkeley,
died 1677

In French America a splendid geographical work, begun by Champlain, was being carried on by heroic explorers, of whom La Salle was the peerless knight. For courage, resolution, endurance, commanding powers of will and intellect, there is nothing in the annals of exploration to surpass the westward journeys of La Salle, through the wilderness region of the great lakes to the Mississippi, and, finally, southward to the gulf. From these sprang rival claims, French and English, to the great interior valleys of the con-

Samuel de
Champlain,
1567-1635

Robert
Cavelier
de la Salle,
1643-1687

continent, bringing them more and more into importance among the causes and objects of subsequent wars.

Sir Robert
Walpole,
1676-1745

For about a quarter of a century after the death of Louis XIV., England was kept at peace by one of the most useful statesmen who ever wielded power. Coarse-grained in nature, incapable of exalted feelings on any side of it, contemptuous of ideals and principles, but endowed with rare practical common sense and a masterful will, Sir Robert Walpole kept the course of the English government on the best possible lines, while its new Hanoverian dynasty was being naturalized, and its new system of responsible ministerial administration was becoming settled and secure.

Maria
Theresa, of
Austria,
1717-1780

Then came the dreadful wars of the middle decades of the eighteenth century, opening with that in which the heroic Maria Theresa, of Austria, defended her heritage against a greedy pack of perfidious assailants, led by the king of Prussia, whose admirers call him Frederick the Great. If the powers that make for unrighteous success—that accomplish ends without scruple as to means—are sufficient for greatness, his title is good. He displayed a crafty wisdom, a cunning sagacity, a ruthless energy, a tyrannical will, a cynical and faithless philosophy of life, which triumphed in the struggles of an extraordinary career. His kingdom was enlarged and strengthened, its industrial and its administrative organization improved; but it is not easy to see that the

Frederick
the Great
of Prussia,
1712-1786

mass of its people had gained much more from his reign than the contemporary Russians gained from that of their famous tzarina, Catherine II. She employed, as he did, great abilities, under little moral guidance, in building up a nation as the pedestal of a throne, to raise the importance of its princes in the world. The higher motives that were lacking in both did actuate the ambition of the Austrian sovereign, Joseph II., who sought the good of his subjects and desired to do right, but who defeated his own excellent intentions by impatient edicts, attempting to create social conditions and public sentiments that are only to be got by slow growth from planted seed.

Catherine II., of Russia, 1729-1796

Joseph II., of Austria, 1741-1790

From the "war of the Austrian succession" grew that in which the rivalries of France and England in America were fought out. The English bungled their part in it for some years, till the elder Pitt, afterward earl of Chatham, got control of the administration of government and brought about an astonishing change. "In some way, the energy, the enthusiasm, the courage, the ambition, the pride of country that moved the great minister, were electrically carried through every channel of action that he touched." Wolfe, whom he sent to America, won the great prize of the contest, in defiance of every rational probability; won it by indomitable persistence, and by the favor of fortune, which tricked his able antagonist into a fatal mistake. Had Montcalm stayed behind the walls of his Quebec citadel, the

William Pitt, the elder (earl of Chatham), 1708-1778

Larned, *History of England*, 525.

General James Wolfe, 1727-1759

Marquis de Montcalm, 1712-1759

British forces might have climbed to the Plains of Abraham in vain.

Robert
Clive,
1725-1774

At the same time, in India, the prestige of the French was broken and the Hindu masses were awed to submissiveness by the audacity of Clive. Neither then nor long afterward was there much of moral sensitiveness among the bold Englishmen who mastered the millions of India and laid hands upon its wealth. They were bettering the condition of the country, compared with its former state, and they seemed to expect that that relative credit would square any account. It is a credit that can be given, in its full value, to Clive, and equally to Warren Hastings, the very able governor-general who carried forward Clive's work. The memory of Hastings was long blackened by accusations that are now regarded as untrue.

Warren
Hastings,
1732-1818

George III.,
of England,
1738-1820

The wars in which England had won great expansions of empire and power were just closing when George III. became king. He was young, badly educated, badly influenced politically, and, while most admirable in principles and intentions, he was sure to attempt more meddling with the government than English royalty had ventured on since the Stuarts lost the throne. At home, his meddling had no serious results. Its grave effects were in America, where it hastened, possibly, by many years, the breaking of the allegiance of the British colonies to the crown. No doubt that rupture would have come in the end; but the end might have been far away, if the

policy of government had not been inspired by an arbitrary temper and an ignorant obstinacy in the king. It was the spirit manifested in the Tory circle of the king, more than its measures, that provoked the indignant outbursts of Patrick Henry, wakened the apprehensions of Sam Adams, and produced a feeling in the colonies which responded to the stirring eloquence of the one and the organizing labors of the other. Under any other English king since James II., the constitutional ideas and the reasonable, conciliatory disposition represented in the English parliament by such statesmen as Chatham, Burke, Camden, Fox and Shelburne would have been more likely to prevail, against such as Grenville, who knew, says Macaulay, "no national interests except those which are expressed by pounds, shillings and pence," or such as the brilliant, superficial Townshend, or the pliant, easy-natured Lord North. In any other reign, the pacific influence of such royal officials in the colonies as the clear-sighted, calm-tempered, honest governor Hutchinson would have been greater on both sides of the seas, and colonial leaders like Washington, Franklin, Dickinson, John Adams, would have been encouraged in the conservatism that was natural to their temperaments and their minds.

Patrick
Henry,
1736-1799

Samuel
Adams,
1722-1803

Charles
James
Fox,
1749-1806

Frederick
North,
earl of
Guilford,
1732-1792

Thomas
Hutchinson
1711-1780

As it was, the political logic of the English revolutions of 1640-49 and 1688 was pressed to a concluding revolution in the Englishmen's America, and a great new experiment in federated nationality and republican government was set

George
Washington,
1732-1799

Joseph
Warren,
1741-1775

Benjamin
Franklin,
1706-1790

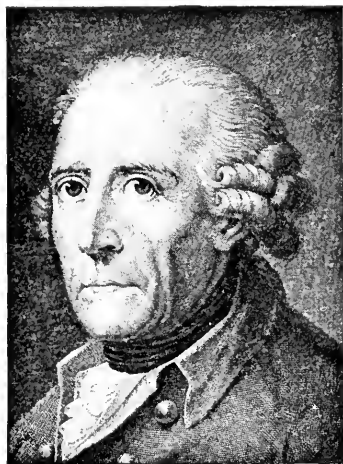
John
Adams,
1735-1826

John Jay,
1745-1829

James
Madison,
1751-1836

on foot. Of the preëminent actor in that revolution and that experiment,—preëminent in all history among the leaders of undertakings for the public good,—what that is half adequate can be said in the few words of our limit here? Washington “was not the greatest of soldiers, he was not the greatest of statesmen; but he combined with perfection the qualities, both moral and intellectual, that were needed for what he did. They produced in him a character so massive, so strong, so majestic, that it bore up the whole cause.” The revolt of the colonies was stimulated and organized by Sam Adams, John Adams, Otis, Warren, Hancock, Henry, Lee, Paine, Rutledge, Gadsden; but nothing less than the invincible steadfastness of Washington, and the commanding influence it gave to his wisely judging and far-seeing mind, could have carried it through. Without that, the diplomatic labors of Franklin, Jefferson, John Adams and Jay, the financial skill of Morris, the military ability of Greene, Schuyler, Knox, Steuben, and the best of their fellow officers, would all have been employed in vain.

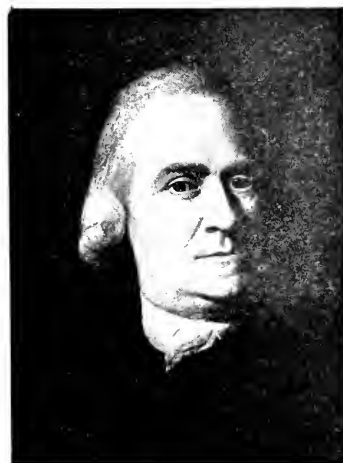
So too, in the making of the federal union of States, by the framing, the expounding and the advocacy of its constitution, while Madison and Hamilton were the chief architects of that masterpiece of political art, it was the public faith in Washington that upheld the whole structure, from stage to stage, and accepted it from the builders' hands. And so, likewise, when the grand theory of the federal republic was brought



Frederick the Great
From painting by Pesne



Chatham
From engraving by Houston



Sam Adams
From painting by Copley



Hamilton
From painting by Trumbull

to its practical test, by the organization of its government, it was the countenance of Washington, behind the statesmanship of Hamilton, that prevailed in the moulding of the character it received.

As the American revolution was naturally sequel to the English, so that in France came by direct evolution from both. Political ideas from the teaching of the two schools of English experience, mixed in France with doctrinaire social theories, and inflamed by the wrongs and miseries of the Bourbon despotism, produced the horrible outbursts of madness that raged in that unhappy country between 1789 and 1794. To account for the conduct of some, at least, among the master-spirits of that awful period, it seems necessary to assume that an actual brain malady, infectious and irresistible in certain natures, had been generated by the emotions of the time. We may believe the worst of such as Billaud-Varenne, Fouquier-Tinville, Barère, Hébert, Carrier; but it is not easy to think that Danton, who moved like a democratic Mirabeau among the actors in the great tragedy, or Robespierre, who seemed to be intended by nature for a mild and sentimental philanthropist, or St. Just or Couthon, who were Robespierre's devoted disciples, or even Marat, the infuriated savant, was a born monster, normally capable of the atrocities in which each of these men took part. There are neural epidemics which science does not yet understand, and the French "reign of terror" is probably one

Alexander
Hamilton,
1757-1804

Georges
Jacques
Danton,
1759-1794

Maximilien
Robes-
pierre,
1758-1794

Lazarre
Carnot,
1753-1823

of the dreadful marks they have left in the history of the world. Carnot, the consummate military organizer of the revolutionists, who wrapt himself in his own less guilty work and was heedless of the blood-red hands of his colleagues, is understandable as a being of hard intellect and cold heart.

Comte de
Mirabeau,
1749-1791

If Mirabeau, the "gigantic heathen and Titan," as Carlyle calls him, had lived till the blood-thirst began to show, what would he have done?—what would have been his fate? Could he have marshaled forces to resist the outbreak of mad savagery and keep it checked? Could any man have done so? That the good Lafayette could not, signifies little. Nothing that he had learned in his American revolutionary experience, or that came from his intimacy with Washington, or from the dictates of his own warm heart and plain, honest mind, could make him capable of dealing with the fierce commotions in France. His policy and methods were not robust and bold enough to suit the temper of Mirabeau, and coöperation was impossible between those two, who held at the outset the only reins of restraint. But if Mirabeau and Danton, the two men of greatly powerful character, could have been drawn by affinity of spirit to some union of influence, what might they not have done, to master the jacobin mob, whipping its meaner leaders to their heels? Speculation on the "might have been" is idle enough, but who can resist the temptation?

Marquis de
Lafayette,
1757-1834

Our roll of chiefs in politics and war might still

be lengthened, with justice, but we cannot give more space to it; for other fields of distinction are crowded in this epoch, as never before. Religion claims a place (apart from her representatives in literature) for Wesley, inspiring leader of the great revival which wakened England from the spiritual deadness of the eighteenth century, and which embodied itself in the lasting organization of the Methodist church.

John
Wesley,
1703-1791

In literature, Germany, having attained her golden age at last, demands the uppermost seat of honor for Goethe, the master-singer of recent centuries, as undeniably as Shakespeare is that of the renaissance or Dante of mediæval times. With Goethe she seats Lessing and Schiller, and brings Klopstock, Wieland, Herder, Richter, to well-deserved places in our list. The company is small, for Germanic genius does not shine in the art of expression by tongue and pen as supremely as it does in music and in philosophic thought. With Bach, Handel, Mozart, Haydn, it began, in the eighteenth century, a veritable revelation of the sublimities of musical art.

Johann
Wolfgang
von Goethe
1749-1832

Gotthold
Ephraim
Lessing,
1729-1781

Friedrich
von
Schiller,
1759-1805

Wolfgang
Amadeus
Mozart,
1756-1791

For France, likewise, the golden age in *belles lettres* was reached. Corneille and Racine created for French tragedy its classic models, and pledged it to the classic mould. Molière, on the other hand, gave a life, a freedom, a modernness to comedy that it never had before. Pascal perfected French prose in controversial writing, Fénelon, Bossuet and Bourdaloue in pulpit oratory, Madame de Sévigné in epistolary writ-

Pierre
Corneille,
1606-1684

Jean
Baptiste
Racine,
1639-1699

Jean
Baptiste
Poquelin
(Molière),
1622-1673

ing, Le Sage in fiction, Voltaire in free thinking and satirical wit, which employed every literary form that a genius of extraordinary versatility could bend to its use, and Rousseau in sentimental discourse. The influence of Rousseau on his age was very great. More than any other man he broke down the all-pervading artificialities which many influences in the preceding century had combined to make a habit or a fashion in the European world, and began an opening of the way for more natural impulses of feeling to come into literature and into life itself.

Greatly as the literature of other countries had advanced, the preëminence of England was still maintained. She added Milton to the small group of the supreme poets of all time. Then the freedom and spontaneity that are natural to the imaginative workings of the English mind were lost for a generation or two, and its poetry was cast in the stiffened moulds of Dryden and Pope, to suit the general fashion of a conventionalized age; but, still, it represented the perfection of its kind. At the same time, its matchless resources and powers of expression were illustrated in wonderful varieties of prose: in the quaint, delightful phrasing of Fuller and Walton and Sir Thomas Browne; in the rich eloquence of Jeremy Taylor; in the great epic-allegory of Bunyan, which stands unique and incomparable in all literature; in Swift's masterpieces of satire, which have likewise an unrivaled quality of their own; in the realistic simplicity of the narratives

Jean
Jacques
Rousseau,
1712-1778

François
Mario
Arouet
(Voltaire),
1694-1778

John
Milton,
1608-1674

John
Dryden,
1631-1700

Alexander
Pope,
1688-1744

John
Bunyan,
1628-1688

Jonathan
Swift,
1667-1745



Mirabeau
From painting by Guérin



John Wesley
From painting by Jackson



Goethe
From painting of "Goethe at So."



Voltaire
From painting by Houdon

of Defoe; in the exquisite cut and polish of the essays that came from Addison and his school.

Joseph
Addison,
1672-1719

Late in the epoch we are reviewing, English poetry began to escape from the French influences that had stiffened it, and to recover its natural free spirit. Gray, Goldsmith and Cowper, when they came, were still fettered by the metrical forms of the past generation, but a new inspiration was heralded in the tone of their verse. The note of full freedom was sounded a little later by Burns, the wonderful Scotch peasant, who sang songs that were prophetic of sweeter melodies, warmer feeling, truer messages, in the future poetry of the British isles.

Oliver
Goldsmith,
1728-1774

Robert
Burns,
1759-1796

Meantime, by a singular contradiction, English prose was assuming a more formal stateliness, well suited to the splendid eloquence of Burke and the grand march of Gibbon's narrative in his great history of the last centuries of imperial Rome, but incongruous in the less distinguished writing of the day. It was a style that may, in some degree, have been imposed upon his generation by the oracular Dr. Johnson, whose literary dictatorship is a queer phenomenon of the time. Johnson represents the decadence of the Pope-Addison age in letters,—a belated survival of their schools. His verse was cast in their worn-out moulds; his prose was an attempt to fit a pedantic and heavy vocabulary to the nice Addisonian artifices of style. As a contributor to English literature his importance is not great; as a character in the literary history of England

Edward
Gibbon,
1737-1794

Edmund
Burke,
1729-1797

Samuel
Johnson,
1709-1784

there are few so interesting, partly because no other has been pictured in biography so exactly and so amply to the life.

It was now that prose fiction began to take, from Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, Sterne and Goldsmith, in England, and from Goethe, in Germany, the more complex and dramatic character which Defoe and Le Sage had foreshadowed, and which came to perfection in the novel of the nineteenth century.

In the literature of pure thought, the lead of British writers is marked hardly less than in other fields. While the questionings of modern philosophy may be said to have been started by Descartes, in France, and while its skeptic profundities were sounded by the Jewish Hollander, Spinoza, nevertheless, Locke's great study of the human understanding, Berkeley's conception of a universe existing solely in the ideas of the creating mind, and Hume's destructive criticism of all knowledge, were the sources of most powerful influence on subsequent philosophical thought, leading up, as they did, to the transcendental revelations of Kant. Reid and Stewart, in Scotland, introduced in philosophy what the former described as "the principle of common sense."

In more practical regions of thought, the work of chief importance that came to print in the eighteenth century was, undoubtedly, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, the first profoundly systematic investigation of the principles that

Henry
Fielding,
1707-1754

Alain René
Le Sage,
1668-1747

René
Descartes,
1596-1650

John
Locke,
1632-1704

George
Berkeley,
1685-1753

David
Hume,
1711-1776

Immanuel
Kant,
1724-1804

Adam
Smith,
1723-1790



MURDER BY CASTLE OF PAVIA (1601)

From the collection of the Duke of Devonshire, London, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Reproduced by permission of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

apply to the economic conditions of society in a civilized state. Montesquieu's study of political institutions, in his *L'Esprit des Lois*, comes near, perhaps, to equal rank.

But nothing else of intellectual achievement puts a mark of such distinction on the later years of this epoch as that given to them by the labors in science and invention, which opened new realms of knowledge, and began the conquest of great forces in nature, to make them servants of mankind. Newton, at an earlier day, had touched a summit of discovery that is almost the highest ever reached, determining the paramount law which unifies our whole conception of the material universe. Newton and Leibnitz, independently, had contrived the subtle formulas of the differential and integral calculus, for mathematical work. Huygens had detected the secret of light, as a phenomenon of undulatory motion. Harvey had demonstrated the circulation of the blood. But these were all expansions of knowledge in regions that had been opened before. It was in the last half of the eighteenth century that new realms were fairly entered and their exploration begun. It was then that chemical study was turned from vague rambling into definite and scientific lines, by Priestley, who discovered oxygen, by Lavoisier, who traced its agency in chemical combinations, by Cavendish, who determined the gaseous composition of water, and by many of less note. It was then that the first glimpses of the great mystery of

Isaac
Newton,
1642-1727

Gottfried
Wilhelm
Leibnitz,
1646-1716

William
Harvey,
1578-1657

Antoine
Lavoisier,
1743-1794

Luigi
Galvani,
1737-1798

electric force were caught, by Franklin, who drew it from a thundercloud; by Galvani, who found it flowing from the contact of two metals into the sensitive muscles of a frog, and by Volta, who developed that discovery into a chemical generation of electricity by the voltaic pile. It was then that Jenner, by observations and experiments that led to vaccination, as a defense against smallpox, unlatched a door of mystery which science in our day is swinging wide, to reveal the dread secrets of infectious and contagious disease. It was then that Linnæus introduced a new epoch in the study of living nature, and that Hutton and Werner established the science of geology, by systematic explorations of the structure of the earth.

Edward
Jenner,
1749-1823

James
Watt,
1736-1819

It was then, too, that a revolution in the material conditions of civilized life, farther reaching and more prodigious in effect than any other that has happened to mankind, was opened by the invention of the steam engine of James Watt. Ingenious brains were just beginning then to be employed very busily in the contrivance of mechanical substitutes for human hands in labor. Hargreaves and Arkwright had invented machinery for spinning; Cartwright was about to construct a power loom. Watt caught and harnessed the natural force needed for utilizing such lifeless slaves, thus stimulating invention to produce them, more and more, for every task of man, and so changing all the methods of the work of the world.

Carl von
Linne
(Linnæus),
1707-1778

James
Hargreaves
died, 1778

Richard
Arkwright,
1732-1792



Burke

From painting by Romney



Kant

From painting by Schnorr



Newton

From painting by Kneller



Watt

From bust by Chantrey



CHAPTER XVI

FROM THE ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV., OF FRANCE, TO THE DEATH OF CROMWELL

(1610 to 1658)

England and Scotland: Union of the crowns under the Stuarts.—Offensiveness of James I. to English feeling.—Weakening of loyalty.—Charles I.—His falsity of nature.—His attempts at absolutism.—The Long Parliament and its work.—Civil war.—Rise of Cromwell.—Defeat, trial, and execution of the king.—The Commonwealth.—The Protectorate of Cromwell.—Restoration of the Stuart monarchy. *France:* Aggrandizement under Richelieu.—Ministry of Mazarin.—The Fronde. *Germany:* The Thirty Years War.—Wallenstein.—Gustavus Adolphus.—Destructiveness and results of the war. *The Dutch Netherlands:* Acknowledgment of their independence.—Barneveld and Prince Maurice.—Domination of Holland.—The Dutch maritime career. *Russia:* Ivan the Terrible. *Poland:* The "liberum veto." *The Turks:* Waning of the crescent. *China:* The Manchu conquest. *Japan:* The period of isolation. *America:* Overthrow of the London Company in Virginia.—Founding of Maryland.—Colonizing of New England.—Plymouth.—Massachusetts Bay.—Connecticut.—Rhode Island.—New Haven.—Independent spirit in New England.—Cavaliers in Virginia.—Troubles in Maryland.—The English in the West Indies.—Dutch and French settlements.

As the feudal organization of society in Europe underwent dissolution, we have seen how the power that slipped from aristocracies ran easily and inevitably to the kings, because the people at large were not yet prepared to claim and acquire their share. Consequently, the time of the day-break of our freer and larger modern life,—the time of the renaissance, so called,—when other energies of the human spirit were quickened into new activity, was precisely the time of lowest political vitality in the civilized world. Everywhere monarchy grew absolute, and nations were submissive to it, as they had not been before. If this came naturally, in the process of transition

Growth of absolutism in the late epoch

Reaction against it

from feudal to modern social conditions, so, too, did the reaction against it, of which we now approach the beginnings. Starting in England, and attaining their terrible climax in France, the political revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seem to put on that epoch the deepest and most significant of many important marks.

England under the early Stuarts, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate.

Revolution in England might possibly have been postponed for many years if the English crown had passed to an English heir when Queen Elizabeth died. But the heir who received it was the king of Scotland, son of the unhappy Mary Stuart, and the crowns of the two British kingdoms were thus united on one head. In England he was James I., in Scotland James VI. His character combined shrewdness in some directions with the most foolish simplicity in others. He was not vicious, he was not in any particular a bad man; but he was exasperating in his opinionated self-conceit, and in his gaucheries of body and mind. The Englishmen of those days did not love the Scots; and, all things considered, we may wonder, perhaps, that James got on with his English subjects as well as he did. He had high notions of kingship, and a superlative opinion of his own kingcraft, as he termed the art of government. He scarcely deviated from the arbitrary lines which Elizabeth had laid down, though he

James I.,
1603-1625

Gardiner,
*History of
England,*
1603-1642,
v. 1-5, and
*The First
Two
Stuarts and
the Puritan
Revolution,*
ch. i-iii

had nothing of Elizabeth's popularity. He offended the nation by truckling to its old enemy, the king of Spain, and pressing almost shamefully for a marriage of his elder son to the infanta of Spain. He lavished honors and gifts upon favorites who were insolent, worthless and corrupt. He treated the growing Puritanism in English religious feeling with contempt. There was scarcely a point on which any considerable number of his subjects could feel in agreement with him, or regard him with a cordial sentiment of loyalty or respect. Yet his reign of twenty-two years was disturbed by nothing more serious than the fatuous conspiracy of a few aggrieved Catholics, which is known as "the gunpowder plot." But he had undermined English loyalty,—fatally shaken the popular reverence for crowned heads,—and serious consequences fell on the head of his son.

His offensiveness to English feeling

Weakening of loyalty

As we have seen, the effective beginnings of English colonization in America were made in this reign, of James I. That in Virginia has been touched upon. The second movement, which planted the Pilgrim settlement in Cape Cod Bay, had its origin in the hostility of King James to all dissent from the established church. His threat to the Puritans, when he came first to England, that he would make them conform themselves to the church or "harry them out of the land," drove many to that entire departure from the established church which the Separatists or Independents made. The Puritans, so called,

Puritans and Independents

were not seceders from the church, but faithful members who desired to simplify, or "purify," its rites. The Independents went farther, into rebellion against any church establishment, denying the right of civil governments to deal with matters of religion, and claiming that each Christian congregation should rule itself. Both Puritans and Independents arose in the reign of Elizabeth; but the latter were persecuted with extreme severity, even to death, and the growth of their sect was checked. King James's proceedings revived it. Among the Puritans who then became Independents were some at Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, who organized a congregation in 1606, and were so harassed, at once, by officers of the law, that most of them emigrated to Holland the next year. Settling finally at Leyden, in 1609, they remained there eleven years, at the end of which time they had made arrangements for a home in America, where they hoped to be as undisturbed in worship as Holland had allowed them to be.

Exodus of
Independents to
Holland,
1607

The years of early English colonization in America witnessed the first of two extensive undertakings to plant large bodies of Protestant settlers in Ireland. The English conquest of that unhappy island, begun in the twelfth century by Henry II., had not been made complete until the last years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Her father, Henry VIII., had nearly finished the subjugation, and had been the first of the English sovereigns to assume the title of King of Ireland;

Treatment
of Ireland

but he had sowed the seeds of a lasting hatred of England, and made passionate Roman Catholics of the whole Irish population, whether Celtic or Norman, by roughly forcing on the country his reconstructed church. His senseless policy of dictatorial force, with no slightest attempt even to make the service of the English church understandable to Irish ears, was pursued by Elizabeth, and by her successor, the Scottish James. At the same time there were arbitrary measures adopted for breaking up the Irish clans, making mere landlords of the chiefs. In itself, this seems to have been a good thing to do for the people, but it was done, as the English did everything in Ireland, in exasperating ways. Rebellious plottings followed, or so it was charged, and two accused earls, of Tyrconnell and Tyrone, fled to Spain. Six counties in Ulster were then confiscated, most of the native population removed, and large numbers of Scotch and English settlers brought into their place.

King James died in 1625, and the troubled reign of his son, Charles I., began. Charles took over from his father a full measure of popular discontent, along with many agencies that worked actively to increase it. The most productive of these was Buckingham, the favorite, who continued to be the sole counselor and minister of the young king, as he had been of the older one, and who was utterly hateful to England, for good reasons of insolence, incapacity and worthlessness. In the king himself, though

Plantation
of Ulster

Charles I.,
1625-1649

Gardiner,
*History of
England,
1603-1642,*
v.6-10; and
*The First
Two
Stuarts,* etc.
ch. iii-vii

Bucking-
ham

he had virtues, there was a coldness and a falsity of nature that were sure to widen the breach between his people and himself.

Failing the Spanish marriage, Charles had wedded a French princess, Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII. The previous subserviency to Spain had then been followed by a war with that country, which came to Charles among his inheritances, and which Buckingham mismanaged, until England was shamed. In 1627 another war began, but this time with France, on account of the Huguenots besieged at La Rochelle. Again the meddlesome hand of Buckingham wrought disaster and national disgrace. When parliament endeavored to call the incapable minister to account, and to obtain some security for a better management of affairs, it was dissolved by the king. This was done twice, and Charles and his favorite employed every arbitrary and questionable device that could be contrived for them, to raise money without need of the representatives of the people. At length, in 1628, they were driven to face a third parliament, in order to obtain supplies.

By this time the commons of England were wrought up to a high and determined assertion of their rights, as against the crown, and the Puritans had gained a majority in the popular representation. In the lower house of parliament, therefore, the demands of the king for money were met by a counter-demand for guarantees to protect the people in their constitutional rights.

1624

Wars with
Spain and
France,
1625-1632

King and
parliament

The commons were resolute, and Charles gave way to them, signing with much reluctance the famous instrument known as the "Petition of Right," which pledged the crown to abstain in future from forced loans, from taxes imposed without parliamentary grant, from arbitrary imprisonments, without cause shown, and from other despotic acts. In return for his signature to the Petition of Right, Charles received a grant of money; but the commons refused to authorize his collection of certain customs duties, called tonnage and poundage, beyond a single year, and it began attacks on Buckingham,—whereupon the session was prorogued.

The
Petition of
Right, 1628
*History for
Ready
Reference,*
(Full text)

Soon after this occurred, Buckingham was assassinated; a second expedition to relieve Rochelle failed miserably; and, early in 1629, parliament was assembled again. This time the Puritan temper of the house of commons began to show itself in measures to put a stop to certain revivals of ancient ceremony in the church. At the same time, officers of the king who had seized goods belonging to a member of the house, for non-payment of tonnage and poundage, were summoned to the bar to answer for the act. The king protected them, and a conflict of authority arose. On the 2d of March, the king sent an order to the speaker of the house of commons for adjournment; but the speaker was held by force in his chair, and not permitted to announce the adjournment, until three resolutions had been read and adopted, denouncing as an enemy to the

Assassina-
tion of
Bucking-
ham, 1628

Resolutions
of parlia-
ment

kingdom every person who brought in innovations in religion, or who advised the levying of tonnage and poundage without parliamentary grant, or who voluntarily paid duties levied in that unlawful mode. This done, the members dispersed; the king dissolved parliament immediately, and his resolution was taken to govern England thenceforth on his own authority, with no assembly of the representatives of the people to question or criticise his acts. He held to that determination for eleven years, during which long time no parliament sat in England, and the constitution was annulled.

Eleven
years
without a
parliament,
1629-1640

The leaders of the commons in their recent proceedings were arrested and imprisoned. Sir John Eliot, the foremost among them, died in harsh confinement within the Tower, and others were held in long custody, refusing to recognize the jurisdiction of the king's judges over things done in parliament.

Sir John
Eliot

It was in this period that the second movement of emigration to New England occurred, many Puritans despairing of success in their struggles against the tyranny of the king, and seeking religious peace in America, as the Independents had done. The first step in the movement was taken in 1628 by John Endicott and five associates, who procured a grant from what had been originally the Plymouth branch of the old Virginia Company, but which was rechartered in 1620, and known commonly thereafter as the Council for New England. This grant conveyed

The first
Puritan
exodus,
1629-1630

territory from three miles north of the Merrimac River to three miles south of the Charles, on the New England coast, and stretching westward from sea to sea. Endicott, with sixty fellow colonists, took possession of the grant in 1629, joining a small settlement already made at Salem (called Naumkeag previously); but the important migration occurred in the next year, when Endicott's company was broadened into a large, strong and wealthy corporation, under the name of "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay," with an important charter from the king. The subsequent movement, and the rise of the great colony created by it, will be described later on.

Endicott's
colony at
Salem

In England, one man, of great ability, who had stood at the beginning with Sir John Eliot, and acted with the party which opposed the king, now went over to the side of the latter and rose high in royal favor, until he came in the end to be held chiefly responsible for the absolutism to which the government of Charles was pushed. This was Sir Thomas Wentworth, made earl of Strafford at a later day. William Laud, bishop of London, and afterward archbishop of Canterbury, was another evil counselor of the king. It was Laud's part to organize the system of despotic monarchy on its ecclesiastical side; to uproot Puritanism and all dissent, and to cast religion for England and for Scotland in one mould, as rigid as that of Rome.

Went-
worth, earl
of Strafford

Archbishop
Laud

For some years, the English nation seemed

Years of
submissiveness in
England

terrorized or stupefied by the audacity of the complete overthrow of its constitution. The king and his servants might easily imagine that the day of troublesome parliaments and of inconvenient laws was passed. At least, in those early years of their success, it can hardly have occurred to their minds that a time of accounting for broken laws, and for the violated pledges of the Petition of Right, might come at the end. At all events, they went their way with seeming satisfaction, and tested, year by year, the patient endurance of a people which has always been slow to move. Their courts of Star Chamber and of High Commission, finding a paramount law in the will and pleasure of the king, imprisoned, fined, pilloried, flogged and mutilated, in the spirit of the Spanish Inquisition, though they did not burn. They collected tonnage and poundage without parliamentary consent, and servile judges enforced the payment. They invented a claim for "ship-money" (in commutation of an ancient claim for ships to serve in the king's navy) from inland towns and counties, as well as from commercial ports; and when John Hampden, a squire in Buckinghamshire, refused payment of the unlawful tax, their obedient judges gave judgment against him. And still the people endured; but they were laying up these matters in memory, and gathering a store of reasons for the action that would by and by begin.

Ship money

John
Hampden

At last, it was Scotland, not England, that moved to rebel. Laud and the king had deter-

mined to break down presbyterianism in the northern kingdom and to force a prayer book on the Scottish church. There was a consequent riot at St. Giles, in Edinburgh; Jenny Geddes threw her stool at the bishop, and Scotland presently was in revolt, signing a national covenant and defying the king. Charles, attempting to frighten the resolute Scots with an army which he could not pay, was driven to a treaty with them, which he had not honesty enough to keep. Wentworth, who had been lord deputy of Ireland since 1632, and who had framed a model of absolutism in that island, for the admiration of his colleagues in England, now returned to the king's side and became his counselor-in-chief. He advised the calling of a parliament, as the only means for restoring royal authority in Scotland, with English help. The parliament was summoned, and met in April, 1640. At once, it showed a temper which alarmed the king and he dissolved it in three weeks. Again Charles made the attempt to put down his Scottish subjects without aid from an English parliament, and again the attempt failed.

Then the desperate king summoned another parliament, which concentrated in itself, when it came together, the suppressed rebellion that had been in the heart of England for ten years, and which broke his flimsy fabric of absolutism, almost at a single blow. It was the famous Long Parliament of English history, which met in November, 1640, and which ruled England for a

Rebellion
in Scotland,
1637-1640

The "Short
Parlia-
ment"

Meeting of
the "Long
Parlia-
ment," 1640

dozen years. It sent Laud and Strafford to the Tower, impeached the latter and brought him to the block, within six months from the beginning of its session; and the king gave up his minister to the vengeance of the angry commons with hardly one honest attempt to save his life. Laud waited in prison five years before he suffered the same fate. The parliament declared itself to be indissoluble by any royal command; and the king assented. It abolished the Star Chamber and the court of High Commission; and the king approved. It swept ship-money, and forest claims, and all of Charles's lawless money-getting devices into the limbo; and he put his signature to its bills. But all the time he was intriguing with the Scots for armed help, to overthrow his masterful English parliament, and he was listening to Irish emissaries, who offered, on conditions, to raise an army for his support.

Charles had arranged nothing on either of these treacherous plans, nor had he gained anything yet from the division, between radicals and moderates, that showed itself in the popular party, when he brought the strained situation to a sudden crisis, in January, 1642, by his most foolish and arrogant act. He invaded the house of commons in person, with a large body of armed men, for the purpose of arresting five members—Pym, Hampden, Holles, Hazlerigg and Strode—whom he accused of having negotiated treasonably, in 1640, with the Scots. The five members escaped; the house appealed to the citizens

Fate of
Strafford
and Laud

Work of the
parliament

Intrigues
of the king

Attempt to
seize the
five mem-
bers, 1642

of London for protection; king and parliament began immediately to raise troops; the nation divided and arrayed itself on the two sides,—most of the gentry, the Cavaliers, supporting the king, and most of the Puritan middle-class, wearing close-cut hair and receiving the name Round-heads, being ranged in the party of parliament. They came to blows in October, when the first battle was fought, at Edgehill.

Cavaliers
and
Round-
heads

After an indecisive battle at Edgehill, the king established his headquarters at Oxford, threatening London, and no engagements of any magnitude occurred for nearly a year. A mere skirmish at Chalgrove Field, near Oxford, in June, 1643, was the most serious, because it cost the life of John Hampden, who left a remarkable impression of greatness in ability and character on the minds of both friends and foes, and who had been looked to with more confident expectation than any other among the leaders of the popular cause. Three months later, in the second of the pitched battles of the war, fought at Newbury, a sad loss was suffered by the royalist party, in the death of the noble Lord Falkland. Hampden and Falkland are two names linked always together, as representative of high and pure patriotism on opposing sides.

Civil war

Gardiner,
*History of
the Great
Civil War,*
3 v.

Death of
Hampden

Death of
Lord
Falkland

In the early period of the war, the parliamentary forces were commanded by the earl of Essex; and Sir Thomas Fairfax was their general at a later stage; but the true leader on that side, for war and for politics alike, was found in Oliver

Oliver
Cromwell

Battle of
Marston
Moor, July
2, 1644

Battle of
Naseby,
June 14,
1645

The
Solemn
League and
Covenant,
1643

Parliament
and army

Cromwell, a member of parliament, whose extraordinary capacity was shown first in the military organization of the eastern counties, from which he came. In a great battle fought at Marston Moor, near York, where he was pitted against Prince Rupert, the brilliant nephew of the king, his consummate generalship was proved. After 1645, when the army was remodeled, with Cromwell as second in rank, his real chieftainship was scarcely disguised. The decisive battle of the war was fought that year at Naseby, where the king's cause suffered an irrecoverable defeat.

The Presbyterians of Scotland had now allied themselves with the English Roundheads, on condition that the church of England should be remodeled in the presbyterian form. The Puritan majority in parliament being favorable to that form, a "solemn league and covenant" between the two nations had been entered into, in 1643, and an assembly of divines was convened at Westminster to frame the contemplated system of the church. But the Independents, who disliked presbyterianism, and who were more tolerantly inclined in their views, had greatly increased in numbers, and some of the stronger men on the parliament side, including Cromwell, the strongest of all, were among them. This difference brought about a sharp struggle within the popular party, for the control of the fruits of the triumph now beginning to seem secure. Under Cromwell, the army became a powerful organization of religious independency, while parliament

sustained presbyterianism, and the two stood against each other as rival powers in the state.

At the beginning of the year 1646 the fortunes of Charles had fallen very low. His partisan in Scotland, the marquis Montrose, had been beaten; his intrigues in Ireland, for the raising of a Catholic army, had only alarmed and disgusted his English friends; he was at the end of his resources, and he gave himself up to the Scots. The latter, in conjunction with the presbyterian majority in parliament, were willing to make terms with him, and restore him to his throne, on conditions which included the signing of the covenant and the establishing of presbyterianism in the churches of both kingdoms. He refused the proposal, being deluded by a belief that the quarrel of Independents and Presbyterians would open his way to the recovery of power, without any concessions at all. The Scots then surrendered him to the English, and he was held in confinement by the latter for the next two years, scheming and pursuing intrigues in many directions, and convincing all who dealt with him that his purposes were never straightforward—that he was faithless and false to the core.

Surrender
of the king
to the
Scots, 1646

King
Charles in
the hands
of the
English

Ill-will and suspicion, meanwhile, were widening the breach between parliament and the army. Political and religious agitators were gaining influence in the latter, and republican ideas were spreading fast. At length the army took matters into its own hands, expelling from parliament those members who favored a reconciliation with

the king, on the basis of a presbyterian establishment of the church. England passed then under military rule. The "purged" parliament (or rather the purged house of commons, which now set the house of lords aside, declaring itself to be the sole and supreme power in the state) brought King Charles to trial in the following month, before a high court of justice created for the occasion. He was convicted of treason, in making war upon his subjects, and was beheaded on the 30th of January, 1649.

The king being disposed of, the house of commons proclaimed England a commonwealth, "without a king or house of lords," took to itself the name of parliament, and appointed forty-one members to constitute an executive council of state. The new government, in its first year, had a rebellion in Ireland to deal with, and sent Cromwell to the scene. He crushed it with a merciless hand, and became responsible, chiefly, for a barbarous measure, known as the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland, which was carried into effect during the next few years. This repeated, with more cruelty, what was done in the so-called "Plantation of Ulster." All the Irish landowners in three-fourths of the island were ordered to vacate their estates before a given day, and remove to the district of Connaught, where they might settle on small allotments of land, while English colonists took possession of the properties they had left. The monstrous ejection was never carried out com-

Parliament
purged by
the army,
Dec., 1648

Trial and
execution of
the king,
1649

The
Common-
wealth of
England,
1649-1653

Gardiner,
*History of
the Com-
monwealth
and Pro-
tectorate,*
3 v.

The Crom-
wellian
Settlement
of Ireland

pletely, but far enough to cause unmeasured suffering and undying hate.

In 1650 Scotland was in arms, for the late king's son, now called Charles II., who had entered the country, accepted presbyterianism, and signed the covenant. Again Cromwell was the man for the occasion, and in two battles, at Dunbar, in Scotland, September 3, 1651, and at Worcester, England, September 3, 1652, he ended the Scottish war, with such decision that he had no more fighting to do on English or Scottish soil while he lived. There was war with the Dutch in 1652, 1653 and 1654, over questions of trade, and the long roll of English naval victories was opened by the great soldier-seaman, Robert Blake.

Cromwell's
campaign
in Scotland,
1650-1652

But the power which upheld and carried forward all things at this time was the power of Oliver Cromwell, master of the army, and, therefore, master of the commonwealth. The surviving fragment of the Long Parliament was an anomaly, a fiction; men called it "the Rump." In April, 1653, Cromwell drove the members of it from their chamber and formally took to himself the reins of government, which, in fact, he had been holding before. A few months later he received from his immediate supporters the title of lord protector, and an "instrument of government" was framed, which served as a constitution during the next three years.

Cromwell,
lord protec-
tor of
England,
1653-1658

Harrison,
*Oliver
Cromwell*

Cromwell was as unwilling as Charles had been to share the government with a freely elected and representative parliament. The first house which

he called together was dissolved at the end of five months, because it persisted in discussing a revision of the constitution. His second parliament, which he summoned the following year, required to be purged by the arbitrary exclusion of about a hundred members before it could be brought to due submission. This tractable body then made certain important changes in the constitution, by an enactment called the "Humble Petition and Advice." It created a second house, to take the place of the house of lords, and gave to the lord protector the naming of persons to be life members of that upper house. It also gave to the protector the right of appointing his own successor, a right which Cromwell exercised on his deathbed, by designating his son Richard.

His
supremacy

The
"Humble
Petition
and
Advice"

The responsible rule of Cromwell, after the expulsion of the Rump and his assumption of the dignity of lord protector, covered only the period of five years. But in that brief time he made the world respect the power of England as it had never been respected before. His government at home was as absolute and arbitrary as the government of the Stuarts, but it was infinitely wiser and more just.

Cromwell's
govern-
ment

His death,
1658

Cromwell died on the 3d of September, 1658,—the anniversary day of his last two victories, at Dunbar and Worcester.

Richard Cromwell was brushed aside after eight months of an absurd attempt to play the part of lord protector. The officers of the army and the resuscitated Rump parliament, between



CROMWELL AT WHITEHALL

From the painting by Julius Schröder (1895.)



them, managed affairs, in a fashion, for almost a year, and then they, too, were pushed out of the way by the army which had been stationed in Scotland, under General George Monk. By the action of Monk, with the consent, and with more than the consent, of England at large, the Stuart monarchy was restored. Charles II. was invited to return, and in May, 1660, he took his seat on the reërected throne.

Restoration
of the
Stuart
monarchy,
1660

France under Richelieu and Mazarin, 1624-1661.

France, in these years, had been submitting itself to the royal absolutism which England was resisting in arms. For some time in that country, after the death of Henry IV., chaos had seemed likely to return. His son, Louis XIII., was but nine years old. The mother, Marie de' Medici, who secured the regency, was a foolish woman, ruled by Italian favorites, who made themselves odious to the French. As soon as the young king approached manhood, he put himself in opposition to his mother and her favorites, under the influence of a set of rivals no more worthy, and France was carried to the verge of civil war. Happily, there was something in the weak character of Louis XIII. which bent him under the influence of a really great mind, when circumstances brought him within its reach.

Louis
XIII.,
1610-1643

Cardinal Richelieu entered the royal council in 1624. The king was soon an instrument in his hands, and he ruled France, as though the scepter was his own, for eighteen years. He was as

Cardinal
Richelieu,
1624-1642

Perkins,
France
under
Richelieu
and
Mazarin;
and
Richelieu
and the
Growth of
French
Power

rigorous a despot as ever set heel on a nation's neck; but the power which he grasped, with what seemed to be a miserly and commonplace greed, was all gathered for the aggrandizement of the monarchy that he served. He believed that the nation needed to have one master, sole and unquestioned in his sovereignty. It is certain that he enjoyed being that one master, while he lived; but his whole ambition is not so explained. He wrought according to his belief for France, and the king, in his eyes, was the embodiment of France. He erected a pedestal on which "the grand monarch" of the next generation posed with theatrical effect.

Three things Richelieu did: 1. He enforced the royal authority, with inexorable rigor, against the great families and personages, who had not learned, even under Henry IV., that they were subjects in the absolute sense. 2. He struck the Huguenots, not as a religious sect, but as a political party, and stopped their growth of strength in that character, which had become threatening to the state. 3. He organized hostility in Europe to the overbearing and dangerous Austro-Spanish power, put France at the head of it, and took for her the lion's share of the conquests by which the Hapsburgs were reduced.

What
Richelieu
did

The great cardinal died near the close of the year 1642; and Louis XIII. followed him to the grave in the succeeding May, leaving a son, Louis XIV., not yet five years of age. Until 1661, the kingdom was under the regency of the young

Louis XIV.,
1642-1715

king's mother, Anne of Austria, and its government was conducted by Cardinal Mazarin, her minister. Mazarin was an adroit politician, with some statesmanlike sagacity, but he lacked the potent spirit by which Richelieu had awed and ruled every circle into which he came, great or small. He had the Thirty Years War to bring to a close, and he managed the difficult business with success, wasting nothing of the effect of the brilliant victories of Condé and Turenne. But the war had been very costly. Mazarin was no better financier than Richelieu had been before him, and the burdens of taxation were greater than wise management would have made them. There was inevitable discontent, and Mazarin, as a foreigner, was inevitably unpopular. With public feeling in this state, the court involved itself in a foolish conflict with the parliament of Paris, and presently there was a Paris revolution and a civil war afoot.

Cardinal
Mazarin,
1643-1661

It was a strange affair of froth and empty rages—this war of “The Fronde,” as it was called (nobody knows why, for *fronde* signifies nothing but a sling)—having no depth of earnestness in it and no honesty of purpose anywhere visible in its complications. The men and women who sprang to a lead in it—the women more actively and rancorously than the men—were mere actors of parts in a great play of court intrigue, for the performance of which unhappy France had lent its grand stage. There seems to have been never, in any other civil conflict which history describes, so

Civil wars
of the
Fronde,
1649-1651

extraordinary a mixture of treason and libertinism, of heartlessness and frivolity, of hot passion and cool selfishness, of political and amorous intrigue. The people who fought most and suffered most are hardly noticeable factors in the contest. The court performers amused themselves with the stratagems and bloody doings of the war, as they might have done with the tricks of a masquerade.

Alliance of
the
Frondeurs
with Spain

It was in keeping with the character of the Frondeurs that they went into alliance, at last, with Spain, and that, even after peace within the nation had been restored, "the Great Condé" remained in the Spanish service and fought against his own countrymen. Mazarin regained control of affairs, and managed them on the whole ably and well. He brought about an alliance with England, under Cromwell, and humbled Spain to the acceptance of a treaty which raised the position of France among the European powers. By this Treaty of the Pyrenees, the northwestern frontier of the kingdom was both strengthened and advanced; Lorraine was shorn of some of its territory and prepared for the absorption that followed after no long time; there were gains made on the side of the Pyrenees; and, finally, Louis XIV. was wedded to the infanta of Spain, with solemn renunciations, for herself and her descendants, of all claims upon the Spanish crown, or upon Flanders, or Burgundy, or Charolais. Not a claim was extinguished, however, by these

Treaty of
the
Pyrenees,
1659

solemn renunciations; for Louis XIV., who took the absolute government of France into his own hands when Mazarin died, in 1661, was faithless to the pledges given at his marriage, and inflicted measureless sufferings upon Europe, by wars to enforce the claims he had renounced.

Death of
Mazarin,
1661

Germany and the Thirty Years War

Of all the countries in Europe, Germany was suffering most, in these distracted times. The awfully destructive conflict known as the Thirty Years War, to which circumstances already set forth had been leading up, was opened in 1618. It began in Bohemia. A violation of the Protestant rights guaranteed by the "letter of majesty" provoked a rising under Count Thurn. Two of the king's councilors, with their secretary, were flung from a high window of the royal castle; a provisional government of thirty directors was set up, and the king's authority set aside. The Protestant Union gave prompt support to the Bohemian insurrection and sent Count Mansfield, with 3,000 soldiers, to its aid.

Gardiner,
*The Thirty
Years War*

Beginning
of the war
in Bohemia,
1618

Early in these disturbances, Matthias, the emperor, died. Ferdinand of Styria had made his succession secure in Austria, Bohemia and Hungary, and he received the imperial crown. But the Bohemians repudiated his kingship and offered their crown to Frederick, the elector-palatine, lately married to the princess Elizabeth, daughter of the English king, James I. The elector, persuaded, it is said, by his ambitious

1619

Ferdinand
vs.
Frederick

young wife, accepted the tempting bauble, and went to Prague to receive it; but he had neither prudence nor energy to justify his bold undertaking. Instead of strengthening himself for his contest with Ferdinand, he began at once to enrage his Lutheran subjects in Bohemia by an arbitrary introduction of Calvinistic doctrines and forms. His reign was so brief that he is known in Bohemian annals as "the winter king." A single battle, won by Count Tilly, in the service of the Catholic League, ended his sovereignty. He lost his electorate as well as his kingdom, and was a wandering fugitive for the remainder of his life. Bohemia was dealt with mercilessly by the victorious Ferdinand. Not only was Protestantism crushed, and Catholicism established as the exclusive religion, but the very life of the country, intellectually and materially, was extinguished; so that Bohemia never again stood related to the civilization of Europe as it had stood before, when Prague was an important center of learning and thought. Austria suffered to a less extent, and its Protestantism was suppressed.

Bohemia
crushed

First period
of the war

In this sketch it is unnecessary to follow the details of the frightful Thirty Years War, which began as here described. During the first years it was carried on mainly by the troops of the Catholic League, under Tilly, acting against Protestant forces which had very little coherence or unity, and which were led by Count Mansfield, Christian of Anhalt, and other nobles, in considerable independence of one another. In 1625

the first intervention from outside occurred. Christian IV. of Denmark took up the Protestant cause. As duke of Schleswig-Holstein, he was a prince of the empire, and he joined with other Protestant princes in condemning the deposition of the elector-palatine, whose electorate had been given to the duke of Bavaria. King Christian entered into an alliance with England and Holland, which promised help for reinstating the elector; but the aid given was trifling, and slight successes obtained against Tilly were soon reversed.

Danish
intervention,
1625

For the first time during the war, the emperor now brought into the field an army acting in his own name, and not in that of the League. It was done in a singular manner—by contract, so to speak, with a great soldier and wealthy nobleman, the famous Wallenstein. Wallenstein offered to the emperor the services of an army of 50,000 men, which he would raise and equip at his own expense, and which should be maintained by plunder, without public cost. His proposal was accepted, and the formidable body of trained brigands was launched upon Germany, for the torture and destruction of every region in which it moved. It was the last appearance in European warfare of the “condottiere” of the Middle Ages.

Wallen-
stein
duke of
Friedland,
1625-1634

Wallenstein and Tilly swept all before them. The former failed only before the stubborn town of Stralsund, which defied his siege. Mansfield and Christian of Anhalt both died in 1627. Peace was forced upon the Danish king. The Protes-

Siege of
Stralsund,
1628

Edict of
Restitu-
tion, 1629

tant cause was prostrate, and the emperor despised its weakness so far that he issued an "edict of restitution," commanding the surrender of certain bishoprics and ecclesiastical estates which had fallen into Protestant hands since the treaty of Passau. At the same time, he yielded to the jealousy which Wallenstein's power had excited, by dismissing that commander from his employ.

Gustavus
Adolphus,
of Sweden,
1630-1632

His
victories

These measures were not well timed, for a new and redoubtable champion of Protestantism had just appeared on the scene and was about to revive the war. This was Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, who had ambitions, grievances and religious sympathies, all urging him to rescue the Protestant states of Germany from the Austrian-Catholic despotism that seemed to be impending over them. His interference was resented at first by the greater Protestant princes. The elector of Brandenburg submitted to an alliance with him only when compelled, and the elector of Saxony did not join the Swedish king until Tilly had ravaged his territories with ferocity, and two hundred villages were burned. When Gustavus had made his footing in the country secure, he proved himself the greatest soldier of his age. Tilly was overwhelmed in a battle fought on the Breitenfeld, at Leipsic. The following spring he was beaten again on the Lech, in Bavaria, and died of wounds received in the battle. Meantime, the greater part of Germany was at the feet of the Swedish king. A sincere

coöperation between him and the German princes would probably have ended the war; but they were not in harmony, and Richelieu, the shrewd French cardinal, had begun intrigues which made the Thirty Years War profitable to France. The victories of Gustavus seemed to bear small fruit. Wallenstein was summoned once more to save the emperor's cause, and reappeared in the field with 40,000 men. The heroic Swede fought him at Lützen, on the 16th of November, 1632, and routed him, but fell in the fight.

Death of
Gustavus
Adolphus,
1632

The death of Gustavus Adolphus ended the possibility of a satisfactory conclusion of the war. The Swedish army remained in Germany, under the military command of Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar and General Horn, but under the political direction of Axel Oxenstiern, the able Swedish chancellor. On the imperial side, Wallenstein again incurred suspicion and distrust. His power was so formidable that his enemies were afraid to let him live, and he was murdered on the 25th of February, 1634. The emperor's son, Ferdinand, now took the command of the imperial forces, and, a few months later, having received reinforcements from Spain, he had the good fortune, at Nördlingen, to defeat the Swedes.

Murder of
Wallen-
stein, 1634

The elector of Saxony, and other Protestant princes, then made peace with the emperor, and the war was prolonged only by the intrigues of Richelieu and for the aggrandizement of France. In this final stage of it, when the original elements of contention, and most of the original contest-

Later years
of the war,
1634-1648

ants, had disappeared, it lasted for yet fourteen years. Ferdinand II. died in 1637, and was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand III. Duke Bernhard died in 1639. In the later years of the war, Piccolomini on the imperial side, Baner, Torstenson and Wrangel at the head of the Swedes, and Turenne and Condé in command of the French, were the soldiers who made great names.

Destructiveness
of the Thirty
Years War

Häusser,
*The Period
of the
Reformation*, 557

In 1648, the long suffering of Germany was eased by the Peace of Westphalia. Years of quiet and of tolerable order would be needed to heal the bleeding wounds of the country and revive its strength. From end to end, it had been trampled upon for a generation by armies which plundered and destroyed as they passed. There is nothing more sickening in the annals of war than the descriptions which eyewitnesses have left of the misery, the horror, the desolation of that frightful period in German history. "Especially in the south and west, Germany was a wilderness of ruins; places that were formerly the seats of prosperity were the haunts of wolves and robbers for many a long year. It is estimated that the population was diminished by twenty, by some even by fifty, per cent. The population of Augsburg was reduced from 80,000 to 18,000; of Frankenthal, from 18,000 to 324 inhabitants. In Würtemberg, in 1641, of 400,000 inhabitants, 48,000 remained; in the Palatinate, in 1636, there were 201 peasant farmers; and in 1648, but a fiftieth part of the population remained."

By the treaties of Westphalia, the religious

question was settled with finality. Catholics, Lutherans, and the Reformed (Calvinists) were put on an equal footing of religious liberty. Politically, the effects of the peace were radical and lasting in their injury to the German people. The few bonds of Germanic unity that survived the reign of feudalism were dissolved. The last vestige of authority in the empire was destroyed. "From this time," says Professor Freeman, "Germany long remained a mere lax confederation of petty despotisms and oligarchies with hardly any national feeling. Its boundaries, too, were cut short in various ways. The independence of the two free confederations at the two ends of the empire, those of Switzerland and the United Provinces, which had long been practically cut off from the empire, was now formally acknowledged. And, what was far more important, the two foreign kingdoms which had had the chief share in the war, France and Sweden, obtained possessions within the empire, and, moreover, as guarantors or sureties of the peace, they obtained a general right of meddling in its affairs." "The right of France to the 'three Lotharingian bishoprics,' which had been seized nearly a hundred years before, was now formally acknowledged, and, besides this, the possessions and rights of the house of Austria in Elsass, the German land between the Rhine and the Vosges, called in France Alsace, were given to France. The free city of Strasburg and other places in Elsass still remained independent, but the whole

The Peace
of West-
phalia, 1648

Political
changes
produced

Alsace
given to
France

Freeman,
*General
Sketch of
European
History,*
271

of south Germany now lay open to France. This was the greatest advance that France had yet made at the expense of the empire. Within Germany itself the elector of Brandenburg also received a large increase of territory."

The Dutch Netherlands

Acknowledged independence of the Dutch

Among the treaties which made up the Peace of Westphalia was one signed by Spain, acknowledging the independence of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and renouncing all claims to them.

Prince Maurice and John of Barneveld

Motley,
*Life and
Death of
John of
Barneveld*

Practically, the independence of the United Provinces had been complete for many years, and their naval development had raised them to a rank among the European powers of the age. Prince Maurice, the son of William the Silent, who succeeded his murdered father in the stadtholdership in 1584, had carried forward his father's work with success, so far as concerned the liberation of the provinces from the Spanish yoke. He was an abler soldier than William, but not his equal as a statesman, nor as a man. The greater statesman of the period was John of Barneveld, between whom and the stadtholder an opposition grew up which produced jealousy and hostility, more especially on the part of the latter.

A shameful religious conflict had arisen at this time between the Calvinists, who numbered most of the clergy in their ranks, and a dissenting body, led by Jacob Hermann, or Arminius, which protested against the doctrine of predestination.

Barneveld favored the Arminians. The stadtholder, Maurice, threw his whole weight of influence on the side of the Calvinists, and was able, with the help of the Calvinist preachers, to carry the greater part of the common people into that faction. The Arminians were everywhere put down as heretics, barred from preaching or teaching, and otherwise silenced and ill treated.

Calvinists
and
Arminians

Barneveld lost influence, as the consequence of the Calvinistic triumph, and was exposed to the vindictive hatred of Prince Maurice, who did not scruple to cause his arrest, his trial and execution, on charges which none believed. Maurice, whose memory is blackened by this great crime, died in 1625, and was succeeded by his half-brother, Frederic Henry. The war with Spain had been renewed in 1621, at the end of the twelve years' truce, and more than willingly renewed; for the mercantile and maritime interests preferred war to peace. Under a hostile flag they pushed their commerce into Spanish and Portuguese seas, from which a treaty of peace would exclude them; and, so long as Spanish-American silver fleets were afloat, the spoils of ocean war were rich.

Execution
of
Barneveld,
1619

Renewed
war with
Spain

It was during these years of war that the Dutch got their footing on the farther sides of the world, and nearly won the mastery of the sea, which their slower but stronger English rivals wrested from them in the end. Not until the general Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, was a final settlement of issues between Spain and the United

Maritime
career of
the Dutch

Provinces brought about. The freedom and independence of the provinces, as sovereign states, were then acknowledged by the humbled Spaniard, and favorable arrangements of trade were conceded to them. The southern, Catholic, provinces remained in subjection to Spain.

The
Spanish
Nether-
lands

Frederick Henry, the third stadtholder, was succeeded in 1647 by his son, William II. The latter wasted his short career of less than four years in foolish plotting to revolutionize the government and transform the stadtholdership into a monarchy, supported by France. Dying suddenly in the midst of his scheming, he left an unborn son—the future William III. of England—who came into the world a week after his father had left it. Under these circumstances, the stadtholdership was suspended, with strong feelings against any revival.

Suspension
of the
stadt-
holdership

The lesser provinces then fell under the domination of Holland—so much so that the name of Holland began to be applied to the confederation at large, and was commonly used with that meaning for a long subsequent time. The chief minister of the estates of Holland, known as the grand pensionary, became the practical head of the federal government. After 1653 the office of grand pensionary was filled by a statesman of high ability, John de Witt, the chief end of whose policy appears to have been the prevention of the return of the house of Orange to power.

Domina-
tion of
Holland

Russia and Poland

In the east of Europe, the creation of a Russian empire by the princes who began their career as grand dukes of Moscow had now gone far. Ivan IV., surnamed The Terrible, who came to the Muscovite throne in 1533, and who was the first to assume the title of czar, or tzar (derived from "Cæsar"), of Russia, made conquests southward and southeastward, from the Tatars, until his dominion reached the Caspian, stretching northward to the White Sea. Late in the sixteenth century the old line of rulers, descended from the Scandinavian Ruric, came to an end, and, after a few years, Michael Romanoff established the dynasty which has reigned since his time.

Ivan the
Terrible,
1533-1584

As between the two principal Slavonic nations, Russia was now gaining stability and weight, while Poland had begun to lose both. It was a fatal day for the Poles when, in 1573, on the death of the last of the Jagellons, they made their monarchy elective, abolishing the previous restriction to one family. The election was by the suffrage of the nobles, not the people at large (who were generally serfs), and the government became an oligarchy of the most unregulated kind. The crown was stripped of power, and the unwillingness of the nobility to submit to any national authority, even that of its own assembly, reached a point, about the middle of the seventeenth century, at which anarchy was agreed upon, virtually, as the desirable political state. The extraordinary "liberum veto," then made

Decline of
Poland

Moltke,
*Poland: an
Historical
Sketch*

The Polish
"liberum
veto"

part of the Polish constitution, gave to each single member of the assemblies of the nobles, or of the deputies representing them, a right to forbid any enactment, or to arrest the whole proceedings of the body, by his unsupported veto. This amazing prerogative appears to have been exercised very rarely in its fullness; but its theoretical existence extinguished public spirit and paralyzed all rational legislation. Linked with the singular feebleness of the monarchy, it leaves small room for surprise at the ultimate shipwreck of the Polish state.

The Turks.

Suleiman
the Mag-
nificent,
1520-1566

The Turks, natural enemies of all the Christian races of eastern and southeastern Europe, had come practically to the end of their threatening career of conquest about the middle of the sixteenth century, when Suleiman the Magnificent died. He had occupied a great part of Hungary; seated a pasha in Buda; laid siege to Vienna; taken Rhodes from the Knights of St. John; attacked them in Malta; made an alliance with the king of France; brought a Turkish fleet into the western Mediterranean, and held Europe in positive terror of an Ottoman domination for half a century. His father, Selim, had subjugated Syria and Egypt; his son Selim added Cyprus to the Turkish conquests; but was humbled in the Mediterranean by the great Christian victory of Lepanto, won by the combined fleets of Spain, Venice and the pope, under Don John of Austria,

Battle of
Lepanto,
1571

—an illegitimate son of the late emperor, Charles V. After that time Europe had no great fear of the Turk; though he still fought hard with the Venetians, the Poles, the Russians, the Hungarians, and, once more, carried his arms even to Vienna. But, on the whole, it was a losing fight; the crescent was on the wane.

Waning of
the crescent

Last glories of Venice

In the whole struggle with the Ottomans, through the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the republic of Venice bore a noble part. She contested with them foot by foot the Greek islands, Peloponnesus, and the eastern shores of the Adriatic. Even after her commerce began to slip from her control, and the strength which came from it sank rapidly, she gave up her eastern possessions but slowly, one by one. Crete cost the Turks a war of twenty-four years. Fifteen years afterward the Venetians gathered their energies afresh, assumed the aggressive, and conquered the whole Peloponnesus, which they held for a quarter of a century. Then it was lost again, and only the Ionian Islands remained Venetian territory in the east.

1645-1669

Chinese Empire

The overthrow of the Ming dynasty, the last of the native sovereigns of the Chinese empire, and the seizure of their throne by a Tatar intruder, whose descendants have held it to this day, was partly a revolution and partly a conquest, brought about very strangely, near the middle of

The over-
throw of
the Mings

the seventeenth century, with the least possible agency on the part of the masses of the Chinese themselves. Mr. Boulger, in his history of China, pauses in the midst of a dreary recital of palace plots, provincial rebellions, wars with Japan and with neighboring Tatars, struggles with powerfully organized banditti, which fill the annals of the last century or two of the Ming emperors, to remark: "It might be more instructive to trace the growth of thought among the masses, or to indicate the progress of civil and political freedom; yet not only do the materials not exist for such a task, but those we possess all tend to show that there has been no growth to describe, no progress to be indicated, during these comparatively recent centuries." This suffices, no doubt, to explain the sudden and lasting transfer of sovereignty to a foreign race.

Unchange-
ableness of
China

Boulger,
*History of
China* (rev.
ed.), I: 472

That extraordinary revolution was precipitated by a formidable robber chief, Li Tseching, who gathered followers in the province of Shensi, until, in 1640, he was said to command nearly half a million of men. With this army he captured several important cities, defeated the imperial forces sent against him, and, finally, in 1644, entered Peking and claimed the throne.

Li Tseching
the
rebellious
robber

Fall of the
Mings, 1644

The reigning emperor took his own life, and the triumphant bandit reigned for several months. Meantime, one vigorous Chinese general, Wou-Sankwei, who moved against him, found so little reason to hope that he could face the situation

Wou-Sank-
wei

with forces of his own that he invited assistance from external enemies, with whom he had been contending for years. These were the Manchus, originally a Tatar clan which occupied a small district north of the Liaotung peninsula, east of Mukden. In the previous century the chiefs of this clan had extended their authority and increased their strength, until they were able to begin aggressive war with the neighboring Chinese. Under one Noorhachu, and his son, Tait song, the Manchu power, with its capital established at Mukden, became very threatening to the emperors at Peking, and Wou-Sankwei was holding them in check when the catastrophe at the imperial capital occurred. Between the foreign and the domestic foe he had a desperate choice to make, and one cannot say whether he chose wisely or not. With Manchu help he drove the robber Li Tseching from Peking and ended his career. Then he wished to dismiss his Manchu allies; but when he found that they would not go he accepted the situation, maintained his alliance with them, and assisted in establishing a Manchu emperor on the Chinese throne. There was resistance for forty years, never well organized, never, apparently, commanding any very large part of the national strength. Wou-Sankwei himself became finally rebellious, but without avail. In the end, the millions of the great empire submitted to one of the most remarkable subjugations of which history gives any account.

Noorhachu
died 1626

Tait song,
died 1643

Founding
of the
Manchu
dynasty

Japan

Two
centuries
and a half
of isolation

Degen-
eracy of
shoguns
and
daimios

In Japan, the conditions established by Ieyasu were so nearly unchanged for two centuries and a half that the history of the island empire, in that long period, has no incidents that call for mention in a sketch like this. Except as the Dutch were allowed a small trading station, on a little island near the port of Nagasaki, all foreigners were excluded, and Japan had no intercourse with the outer world. She engaged in no external wars, and appears to have been troubled by no serious domestic strife. The authority of the shoguns was maintained, though the descendants and successors of Ieyasu, known as the Tokugawa dynasty, sank to degeneracy and effeteness, as the mikados had done, and the powers of their office were exercised by others in their name. The same degeneracy is said to have become equally characteristic, as a rule, of the feudal chieftains, the daimios, who commanded extreme deference, as lordly personages, but who were helplessly dependent on ministers and servants in all they did. Thus everything, almost, in the constitution of Japanese society and government, became nominal — fictitious — contrary in fact to its appearance; and these strangely unnatural conditions were preserved until half a century ago.

The English in America

If we return now to America, we shall find that great changes have occurred in that quarter since we gave it attention last.

The secret of prosperity for Virginia was detected in the tobacco plant, cultivation of which was begun about 1612. Since the discovery of America, the Old World had been learning the soothing delight of tobacco-smoking very fast. The Indian's pipe had come into fashion, and a growing demand for the weed that burns in it opened markets for all that Virginia could supply. The colony had found better than gold and silver mines, and its settlements spread up and down the peninsula between the James and York rivers so fast that the population was estimated at 4,000 in 1622. Then it suffered an overwhelming catastrophe. The surrounding Indians, alarmed by the rapid encroachment of the whites on their grounds, and carelessly disregarded by the latter, struck a sudden blow at the outer plantations, killing 347 men, women and children in a single day. They were punished fiercely when the settlers had time to rally; but the colony was slow in recovering from the hurt it received.

Another misfortune came two years later, when the charter of the London Company was rescinded by the decision of an English court. This seemed serious, for the reason that the control of the company had been won a few years previously by certain men of a broad-minded type, whose measures for the colony were most liberally planned. Under the lead of Sir Edwin Sandys, a gentleman of noble character and fine ability, they determined, in 1618, that the Virginia planters should, as they expressed it, "have

Virginia

Fiske,
*Old
Virginia
and her
Neighbours*,
ch. v-vi

Brown,
*The First
Republic in
America*

Indian
rising, 1622

Overthrow
of the
London
Company,
1624

The first
American
legislature,
1618

a hand in the government of themselves." A colonial assembly, the first of American legislatures, was formed accordingly, by the election of two representatives from each of eleven settlements or plantations, who met with a council which the company appointed, and had a voice in all colonial affairs. A little later, this system of colonial government was embodied in a formal ordinance by the company, adopted in July, 1621. At the same time, the generous majority of the company were taking steps to found a "seminary of learning" in Virginia, endowed by the gift of ten thousand acres of land. But the men whose influence carried these liberal measures were among the leaders of the party in England that resisted the arbitrary government of King James, and his hostility to them, served by pliant judges, accomplished the destruction of the London Company, and put its colony under the immediate control of the king. He was planning a new scheme of government for it, in which we may be sure that the colonists themselves would have had no "hand," when he died. His son Charles had too many troubles at home to give much attention to colonial matters. The Virginia assembly was left undisturbed; but the educational projects of Sandys and his colleagues experienced equal neglect, and were unexecuted for nearly seventy years.

Hostility of
King James
to the
London
Company

The year following that which gave Virginia its partly representative assembly gave the colony, also, its first negro slaves, twenty in number,

brought by a Dutch ship, and its first "indentured servants,"—a hundred boys and girls sent out from London to be "bound" or indentured to colonial masters for a term of years. Thereafter, till the end of the seventeenth century, the main supply of labor to the colony was by the system of indentured servitude. The increase of slaves in that period was not large. Indentured servants were received in all the colonies, more or less, England sending some from her criminal and pauper classes, and some who were Irish and Scotch prisoners of war; while others, called "redemptioners," were voluntary emigrants, who bound themselves to service for a term, as a means of paying for their passage to America. In the later workings of the system, considerable numbers of people are said to have been kidnapped and dragged from their homes.

Much against its will, the Virginia colony received a neighbor in 1634, planted on what it claimed to be part of its own domain. By an extraordinary patent issued in 1632, King Charles I. conferred on Cecilius Calvert, baron of Baltimore, the "prerogatives" and "royal rights and franchises" of actual sovereignty over the region between the Potomac River and the Delaware Bay and River, up to the fortieth parallel of north latitude. This created what was known in the Middle Ages and afterward as a "palatine" lordship, or "palatinate," the term signifying that the king had transferred to its lord some of the functions of sovereignty which the royal occupant of

Negro
slaves and
indentured
servants

Redemp-
tioners

The
founding of
Maryland,
1634

A
palatinate

A refuge
for
Catholics

Religious
and
political
freedom in
Maryland

the palace was supposed, ordinarily, to exercise alone; such, namely, as the power to coin money, to grant titles of nobility, to create courts, and the like. The object of Lord Baltimore in procuring this grant was to establish a place of refuge in America for Roman Catholics, who were treated cruelly by English laws. He named his principality Maryland, in honor of Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I. The first company of settlers, containing both Catholics and Protestants, was sent out in 1634, under the lead of Leonard, a brother of Lord Baltimore, and its home was established at St. Mary's, on the river of that name. Other settlements were soon made, and the Maryland colony had a prosperous growth. Both religious and political freedom were contemplated in the generous plans of its Roman Catholic proprietor; and, while Protestants and Catholics were equally free in their worship, all freemen of the colony sat personally or were represented in an assembly which took part with the governor and his council in the making of laws.

The validity of the Maryland grant, covering part of the territory given formerly to Virginia, was contested by the latter without success, and there were years of angry strife between the two colonies over islands in Chesapeake Bay.

New
England

Palfrey,
*History of
New
England,*

I : ch.ii-xiii;

Maryland was not the second of the English colonies planted in America, as the mention of it here, in a natural connection with Virginia, might seem to imply; it was the fourth. Two had been

founded in advance of it on the New England coast. Prior to 1620, that coast had been resorted to somewhat by fishermen and fur traders, but no permanent settlements had been made. The indomitable Captain John Smith, provided with an equipment for the purpose by English merchants, had examined the region carefully in 1614, mapped its coast with remarkable accuracy, named it New England, and recommended it highly in an interesting book; but the colonizing of the cold, infertile country was to result from other motives than those of trade, or of fortune-seeking in any mode.

Adams,
*Three
Episodes of
New
England
History*

Captain
John
Smith's
survey and
description
1614

Near the end of the year 1620 the Pilgrim Independents, driven from Scrooby and thereabouts in England twelve years before, came from their first refuge, in Holland, and were landed by the ship *Mayflower* at Plymouth (so named already on Captain Smith's map), in Cape Cod Bay. They were brought to that bay by mistaken reckonings and stress of winds. They had intended to make their settlement in some part of the Virginia territory of the London Company, from which they held a grant; but the voyage had been too perilous and too trying to be prolonged, and they stayed where chance had brought them, suffering such hardships in the first winter that forty-four out of one hundred and two died. In the course of the next year they secured a lease of the ground on which circumstances had planted their little colony, paying rent for some years, but securing it by purchase

(See page
840)

The
*Mayflower
Pilgrims at
Plymouth,*
1620

at last. A few more came to join them; but their numbers grew so slowly that they counted no more than three hundred at the end of ten years.

Numerous grants of territory were made by the Council for New England, to companies and individuals, in those ten years, and several attempts at settlement were made in other parts; but nothing of importance was accomplished until 1630, when the great Puritan emigration was begun by the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay." Its first party, of eight hundred colonists, sailed from Yarmouth in the spring of that year, and was settled originally on the northern side of Charles River, naming the settlement Charlestown; but it scattered presently, and Boston, on the peninsula called Shawmut, drew the larger part. These pioneers were followed in such numbers and so fast that a score of villages, with nearly three thousand inhabitants, were clustered round the bay within the next four years.

The Puritan
emigration
to Massa-
chusetts
Bay
1630-1634

The Massa-
chusetts
charter

The charter of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay had been drawn in the interest of the colonists, so skillfully that it gave them opportunities for larger claims of independence than the king, when he signed it, can have dreamed of conferring. The company had illimitable authority to enlarge its membership, and the legislative power of its governor and twelve "assistants" was restricted only by the provision that it make no laws "contrary or repugnant" to English law. No place in which

its powers should be exercised was named, and a right to transfer the charter and government from England to New England was assumed. Accordingly, the pioneers of the colony came with their charter, their governor, John Winthrop, and the organized government of a political community that felt itself to be half independent, from the first. Naturally there was a wakening of royalist hostility in England very soon. Archbishop Laud was put at the head of a commission for the superintending of the colonies; the Massachusetts company was commanded to surrender its charter, and proceedings to nullify that instrument were begun in the English courts. But troubles were thickening around the king and his party, which kept them occupied too closely at home for much further attention to colonial affairs, and the Massachusetts charter was not disturbed.

Royalist
hostility to
the colony,
1634

The colony went forward in a prosperous career. The high aims of its founders were indicated by the prompt establishment of excellent schools: Boston Latin School in 1635, Harvard College in 1636, and a general common school system for every town, by mandatory law, in 1647. Their narrower spirit appeared in an enactment that "no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." They planned the formation of a Christian state that should realize their own religious ideals, and had no doubt of their right

Spirit of
the Massa-
chusetts
colonists

to secure it for themselves by excluding all persons holding contrary beliefs from any share in the government of their commonwealth. They had come to America to obtain religious freedom for themselves; not to establish it as a principle of right, for mankind at large. They believed in no such principle, and very few minds in the world had arrived yet at the breadth of religious culture that could open them to that belief; but one great man, Roger Williams, who had attained the needed largeness of soul, arrived at Plymouth in 1631, and came to Salem in 1633.

Religious
exclusive-
ness

Roger
Williams

The former difference between Puritans and Independents disappeared when the former reached New England, where they broke their connection with the established English church and organized their congregations in the Independent mode. For some time, no other religious bodies were allowed to hold services in the colony, hence the restriction of full citizenship to the members of churches within its limits was a restriction to members of Congregational churches alone. Residence in the colony was permitted to others; but they were not "freemen" of the body politic; they had no vote. This limitation of the suffrage was a long-lasting cause of discontent. It was stoutly maintained for more than half a century, with a slight relaxation in 1662.

Congrega-
tionalism

The "union of church and state," implied in the qualifying of political franchises by church membership, appears to have been one of the

causes of disagreement which led to a secession, in 1635, from the colony on Massachusetts Bay. In that year and the next, a considerable party, from Newtown (afterward Cambridge), Watertown and Dorchester, went away to the valley of the Connecticut River, and settled there in Windsor, Wethersfield and Hartford, with unbroken organizations of government in church and town. A commonwealth government was created at once, by an assembly of the magistrates of the three towns, forming a "general court." This was perfected in 1639 by the adoption of what were called the "Fundamental Orders" of government, in a series of decrees which form, in the full sense, a written political constitution, and which, in that full sense, is the first that is known to have been framed as a scheme of self-government by any community of people in the world. Says Fiske: "It was the first written constitution known to history that created a government, and it marked the beginnings of American democracy, of which Thomas Hooker [formerly minister of the church at Newtown, who was the leader of the migration to the Connecticut] deserves more than any other man to be called the father." In this Connecticut colony the political franchise was not confined to members of the churches.

A second secession from the rigorous rule of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay was caused in 1636 by their expulsion of Roger Williams, the apostle of religious freedom, or

Settle-
ments on
the Con-
necticut,
1635-1636

"Funda-
mental
Orders,"
1639
Larned,
*History for
Ready
Reference*
(Full text)

The first
written
constitution

Fiske,
*Beginnings
of New
England*,
127

Expulsion
of Roger
Williams,
1636

“soul liberty,” as he described it, who offended the majority of the colony, but pleased a congregation at Salem, by preaching that and other doctrines of broad righteousness, and who could not be curbed. To escape being shipped forcibly to England, Williams fled to the forest, among the Indians, whose friendship he had won and whose language he had learned. Choosing a place at the head of Narragansett Bay, where friends from Salem joined him, he founded there the settlement named Providence, which soon had neighbors to it, planted in and on the same bay.

These neighboring settlements were made by other bands of exiles from Massachusetts, followers of a remarkable woman, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, who came to Boston in 1634 and caused great excitement by lectures given to meetings of her own sex. Criticising and condemning the teachings of most of the ministers in the colony, she was accused of upholding doctrines, called “antinomian,” which disparaged “works,” or conduct, in the lives of those Christians who had spiritual assurance of their “justification by faith.” A strong party, of both men and women, supported Mrs. Hutchinson, and it included, in 1637, the governor of that year, Sir Henry Vane. Vane came from England for a short stay in the colony and returned when his term of office expired, to become an important actor there in the impending revolution and civil war. Mrs. Hutchinson’s opponents triumphed in the contest concerning her, and she was ordered

Anne
Hutchinson
and her
followers

Sir Henry
Vane,
governor,
1637

away from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay. With some of her adherents, she went to the island of Aquidneck, in Narragansett Bay, buying it from the Indians and attempting to name it the Isle of Rhodes. That the name became Rhode Island, through the careless clipping habits of human speech, is no matter of surprise. Two settlements, at Portsmouth and Newport, were founded on the island, and a third on the mainland, at Warwick, all of which were united subsequently with Providence, in the "Colony of Providence Plantations," under a patent which Roger Williams procured in England, in 1644. Other friends of Mrs. Hutchinson who departed from the Massachusetts colony went northward, and made settlements that grew into the towns of Exeter and Dover, New Hampshire.

The
founding of
Rhode
Island

The
Colony of
Providence
Plantations

Still another distinct settlement of importance was made in New England at this time. A company of London Puritans, with their pastor, the Rev. John Davenport, arrived at Boston in 1638, and went on to the Connecticut region, not to join the settlements on the river, but to establish a new one, at the mouth of the Quinnipiac, which they named New Haven. Like those of Massachusetts Bay, the New Haven colonists united church and state in their organization, limiting political rights to church members, and deriving their laws from the Word of God. The colony had a separate political existence for twenty-four years, when it was annexed to Connecticut, without its consent.

New Haven
colony,
1638

There were now in New England four colonies distinctly organized, namely, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, with a fifth group of settlements, on Narragansett Bay, that would soon be united in one colonial state. In 1643 the four entered into a league or loose confederacy, styled The United Colonies of New England, mainly for purposes of common defense. They had had a serious experience of war with the neighboring Indians, in 1637, when the Pequots, punished cruelly for some murders of white traders, retaliated with a ferocity that provoked the extermination of the tribe. Connecticut had borne the brunt of the war. Hereafter such wars were to be undertaken by the commissioners of the united colonies, and at common expense. The union of the colonies was formed in view, not only of hostile Indians, but also of very possible aggressions on the part of the French, who were establishing themselves on the northeastern coast, in what they called Acadia, and who contested more or less of the English claims.

Of the four United Colonies, only one, Massachusetts, had instituted its government with authority derived from the English crown. Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven were purely self-constituted republics or commonwealths. The union formed was equally self-constituted, without permission from England sought or given. In this boldly independent political action the New England colonies were taking advantage of the troubled state of the

The United Colonies of New England, 1643

Independent spirit in New England

mother country, where the authority of government was shaken and its seat of sovereignty brought in doubt, by the conflict between parliament and king. The circumstances of the time of their birth, inciting them to independent acts, were training them in habits of self-reliant and independent feeling which they never lost.

These Puritan colonists of New England were strong partisans of parliament in the English conflict, but none the less disposed to keep themselves as free as possible from parliamentary control. English colonial polity hitherto had rested on the theory that exterior possessions, like those in America, formed part of the dominions of the crown but not as an integral part of the English nation, subject to parliament as well as king. The crown had exercised sole sovereignty over them, without parliamentary legislation; and now, if regal authority was to be extinguished, the colonists, especially in Massachusetts, were not at all ready to have the authority of parliament set over them in its place. Parliament claimed the right to do so, as early as 1643, by creating a commission to superintend colonial affairs; but the commission made little attempt to exercise any power till the end of the civil war. Then, after the fall of the monarchy and the establishment of the republican government of the Commonwealth, Massachusetts received a demand for the surrender of its royal charter, and was ordered to take a new one from the parliamentary commission. It did not refuse obedience to the

Attitude
toward the
English
parliament

The ques-
tion of the
Massachu-
setts
charter

mandate, nor did it obey. For a year there was no reply to the order; then the answer of the colony was given in the form of a courteous argument to show that no change should be made. The precious royal charter was never given up.

At the same time, one of the positive attributes of sovereignty was assumed by Massachusetts, in the quietest possible way, by the establishment, in 1652, of a mint for the coining of silver money, to supply a pressing need of colonial trade. All the colonies had been driven to the use of the Indian wampum or peage money, made of shell beads, or to the employment of beaver-skins, tobacco, etc., for a medium of exchange. The want of a better standard and current medium was extremely urgent; but the assumption by the Massachusetts colonists of a right to coin it for themselves is a very significant indication of the independent feeling they had acquired.

In Virginia the English conflict was regarded with feelings quite opposed to those prevalent in New England. "Our kingdom of Virginia," as Charles I. had styled it, was an extremely loyal part of his majesty's realm. Some Puritans were among its settlers, but the great majority were staunch supporters of church and king. On the eve of the outbreak of the civil war in England the colony received a very strenuous and dogmatic governor, Sir William Berkeley, who was a cavalier of the cavaliers, and who held the colony stiffly for the king, not only through the war, but for three years after the monarchy was over-

Colonial
money

Loyalty of
Virginia to
the king

Governor
Berkeley

thrown. Then the Commonwealth authorities sent a fleet, with commissioners, who seated a new governor in Berkeley's place. Meantime, large numbers of the defeated cavaliers had come over to Virginia, and the Puritan settlers in the colony had suffered such ill treatment that they went into Maryland, to the number of a thousand or more.

Cavalier
immigra-
tion

From Virginia, the English Commonwealth commissioners passed on to Maryland, and reconstructed the government there. Lord Baltimore had been, naturally, a partisan of the king; but, when the royal cause was lost, he endeavored to conciliate the victorious party by appointing a Protestant governor, and by broadening the religious freedom of his province, in a famous Toleration Act, drawn by himself and passed by the Maryland assembly, in 1649. Notwithstanding these measures, the commissioners annulled his authority, deposed his governor, ordered the election of a new assembly, and deprived Catholics of the right to vote. This enabled the Puritan newcomers from Virginia to fill the assembly with members so shameless in bigotry that they converted the toleration act into a statute against episcopacy,—that of England as well as that of Rome. Civil war ensued in Maryland, and the Puritans were triumphant; but Cromwell, who had seized power in England, would not countenance their doings, and forced them to a compromise with Lord Baltimore in the end. The lord proprietor recovered control of the colonial

The
Maryland
Toleration
Act. 1649

Browne,
Maryland,
ch. v.

Puritan
intolerance

government, and the Toleration Act was restored.

English
possessions
in the West
Indies

The first footing secured by the English in the West Indies was on the island of Barbadoes, the most westward of the Windward group. Neglected by the Spaniards, English smugglers and pirates began to occupy the island about 1605. Presently planting was undertaken, and, after the secret of the culture of sugar cane had been learned, about 1640, an era of extraordinary prosperity for Barbadoes was opened. A large number of the defeated royalists of the English civil war took refuge in the island, and resisted the authority of parliament for a time, but Cromwell brought them to terms. Then, or not long after, the English were in practical possession of Nevis, Montserrat, and part of St. Christopher's (St. Kitts), Antigua, Anguilla, and several of the Virgin Islands, in the Leeward group, together with most of the Bahamas, off the Florida coast. In Cromwell's view, the West Indies were more valued than Virginia or New England, and he opened war with Spain in order to attempt a conquest of Santo Domingo,—the Española of Columbus, the Hayti of later times. His expedition for that purpose was repulsed from Santo Domingo, but laid hands upon Jamaica, which has formed part of the British empire ever since. Prisoners taken in his Scottish and Irish wars, and other persons of both sexes, roughly taken by the hard-handed protector, were sent out to be colonists of Jamaica against their will, but possibly for their good, since the colony thrived.

Cromwell's
conquest of
Jamaica,
1655

The Puritans of Massachusetts were invited, at the same time, to transfer themselves to Jamaica, but declined.

The Dutch in America

In the Dutch New Netherland, a thriving fur trade had been built up, but the management of the colony had not been good. Since 1621 it had been under the control of a corporation in Holland, styled the West India Company, which had almost unlimited powers of government, as well as exclusive rights of trade. The company built Fort Amsterdam, on Manhattan Island, in 1623, and sent out thirty families of its servants, who became the founders of the future great city of New York. In the same year it began fort building on the Connecticut and the Delaware, to hold the two extremities of its territorial claim. Ultimately, it made its footing good on the southern side, after a long struggle with the Swedes, who attempted colonizing on the Delaware; but on the Connecticut, when the New Englanders began settlements there, a few years later, the Dutch had to give way.

A grave mistake of policy in the matter of peopling and developing its domain was made by the company in 1629, when it offered lands, not to settlers direct, but to a class of landlords called patrons, or "patroons," whose relationship to the tenants of their huge estates resembled that of an English "lord of the manor" in mediæval times.

The system failed, naturally, to encourage immigration to New Netherland, and was

New
Netherland

Fiske,
*Dutch and
Quaker
Colonies*,
ch. iv-vii

Beginnings
of New
York city,
1623

"Patroons"

Land
monopolies

abandoned in 1638; but it had created several enormous monopolies in land, and had initiated the production of a landed aristocracy, both of which left lasting effects of no wholesome social kind.

Peter
Stuyvesant
governor,
1647-1664

The government of the colony was autocratic, and several of the governors appointed by the proprietary company were men of little character or sense. Peter Stuyvesant, the last of the series, was the most despotic of all, but the ablest and the most upright, and New Netherland received, on the whole, a good government at his hands, from 1647 till the end of Dutch rule.

The Dutch
in Brazil,
1624-1654

In South America the Dutch supplanted the Portuguese for about thirty years on half the Brazilian coast. This was during the period in which Portugal had become subject to the Spanish crown, and was exposed, as a consequence, to the hostility of the Dutch. In Brazil, as in New Netherland, the colony was under the control of the Dutch West India Company, and governed with shortsighted commercial notions of policy, looking to immediate gains. The commercial government was made too grinding and hateful to be lasting, and its officials were driven by colonial revolt from one post after another, till the last were expelled.

The Dutch
in the West
Indies

The same Dutch company was put in possession of a few small West India islands, taken from the Spaniards about 1634 or 1635. Curaçao, or Curazao, and St. Eustatius, were the more important of these, and the former became the seat of a rich smuggling trade.

The French in America

In 1629, during the war with France, in which England gave help to the Huguenots, both Quebec, on the St. Lawrence, and Port Royal, in Acadia,—the two principal French settlements in America,—were taken by a small privateering fleet, sent out by London merchants, and were in the possession of the English for three years. They were then given up by King Charles, in order to secure a payment of dowry due to Queen Henrietta, amounting to about \$240,000.

First
English
conquest of
Quebec,
1629

When the French resumed possession of the country they resumed the work of westward exploration, which Champlain had begun. This was carried forward by Jean Nicolet, in journeys made between 1634 and 1640, which carried him through Lake Huron and St. Mary's River, and into Lake Michigan. As always, the French explorer was followed by the missionary, when the missionary was not himself the explorer. Devoted priests of the Jesuit order were laboring among the Hurons from 1634 till 1649, when those fated tribes were overwhelmed by their hostile kindred, the Iroquois, and two of the missionaries suffered a horrible fate. The French at this time were harassed by the Iroquois, who had won possession of both banks of the St. Lawrence nearly to Montreal. With the assistance of an association formed in France, the island of Montreal was fortified and settled in 1640, to curb that savage foe, and to be a missionary post.

French
explorers
and mis-
sionaries

Parkman,
*The Jesuits
in North
America*

The French
West Indies

In the West Indies, besides holding part of St. Christopher's Island, the French, during this period, won possession of Martinique and Guadeloupe, with several lesser islands near to those two.











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