

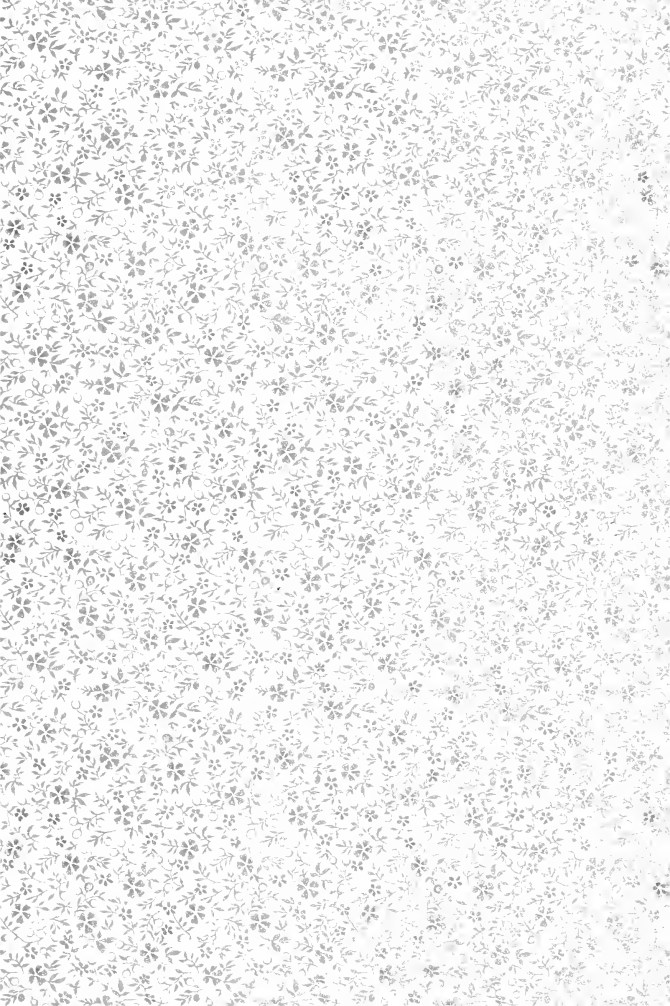
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James D. Gray



RIDPATH'S

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN, PRIMITIVE CONDITION AND ETHNIC DEVELOPMENT
OF THE GREAT RACES OF MANKIND, AND OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE
EVOLUTION AND PROGRESS OF THE CIVILIZED LIFE AMONG MEN
AND NATIONS, FROM RECENT AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

WITH A PRELIMINARY INQUIRY ON THE TIME, PLACE AND MANNER
OF THE BEGINNING.

By JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.,

AUTHOR OF A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, ETC.

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COLORED PLATES, RACE CHARTS, HISTORICAL MAPS, TYPE-PICTURES,
SKETCHES AND DIAGRAMS TO THE NUMBER OF MORE
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RIDPATH'S
UNIVERSAL HISTORY

VOLUME XII.

BOOK XI. —BARBARIAN ASCENDENCY

BOOK XII. —THE MOHAMMEDAN ASCENDENCY

BOOK XIII.—THE AGE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

BOOK XIV.—THE FEUDAL ASCENDENCY

BOOK XV. —THE CRUSADES



Statue of Liberty

QUEEN OF THE SEA

Engraving by W. J. H. ...



Book Eighty.

BARBARIAN ASCENDENCY.

CHAPTER LXXIII.—TRIBES OF THE NORTH.



THE opening paragraphs of Modern History relate to the BARBARIAN NATIONS. The warlike tribes that for several centuries had beaten against the north-eastern frontiers of the

Roman Empire at last burst through the barriers which the Cæsars had set against them and swept the Old Civilization into ruins.

Peninsular Europe became the spoil of the invaders. The immense populations of barbarism, long heaped up on the further banks of the Rhine and the Danube, suddenly diffused themselves as a spreading flood over all the better parts of the West. It may prove of interest to take at least a cursory survey of the barbarians, as it respects their ethnology, institutions, and general history.

The warlike peoples by whom the Empire of the Romans was subverted belonged to three different races: the *Germanic*, the *Slavic*, and the *Scythic*. Whether the first two groups may be traced to a common Teutonic origin is a question belonging to the ethnologist rather than to the historian. It is sufficient to note

the fact that in the fifth century the Germanic and Slavic tribes were already so clearly discriminated as to constitute different groups of population. As to the Scythic or Asiatic invaders they were manifestly of a distinct stock from the Teutonic nations, whom they drove before them into the confines of the Empire.

1. THE GERMANS. To this family belonged the Goths, with their two divisions of Visi- or Western, and Ostro- or Eastern Goths; the Allemannian confederation, consisting of several tribes, the Suevi being the chief; the Marcomanni, the Quadi, the Hermundurii, the Heruli, the Gepidae, the Vandals, the Lombards, the Franks, the Angles, the Saxons, the Burgundians, and the Bavarians.

Of these many and populous tribes, among the most important were the Goths. Their origin has never been definitely ascertained. The first historical contact between them and the Romans was in the year A. D. 250, when the Emperor Decius was called to confront them on the Danube. They had, however, been previously mentioned both by Pliny and Ptolemy. By some authors they have been

confounded with the Getae; but for this confusion there is no good reason.

Historically, the Goths are associated with the Vandals and the Gepidae. Procopius, indeed, regards the three tribes as mere subdivisions of the same nation. Before their first impact with the Romans the Goths were located in the region north of the Euxine. A century

with the Empire began. In the mean time they became divided into the two great families of Visi- or Western, and Ostro- or Eastern Goths. The latter occupied the territory lying between the Danube and the Carpathian mountains, and stretching from the borders of Hungary to Bessarabia. The former were located in Southern Russia between the Don



INCOMING OF THE BARBARIANS.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

later, about A. D. 250, they were established on the Lower Danube. Before that time they had made an incursion into Thrace and devastated a considerable district of country. In the year 262 they were defeated in battle by Æmilianus, and seven years later by Claudius. Near the close of the third century they obtained possession of the province of Dacia, and from this region their struggle

and the Dniester. For a while the two races were ruled by a common king. When the Hunnish invasions began the Visigoths put themselves under the protection of the Empire and were first assigned a district in Thrace, but afterwards came into possession of Mœsia.

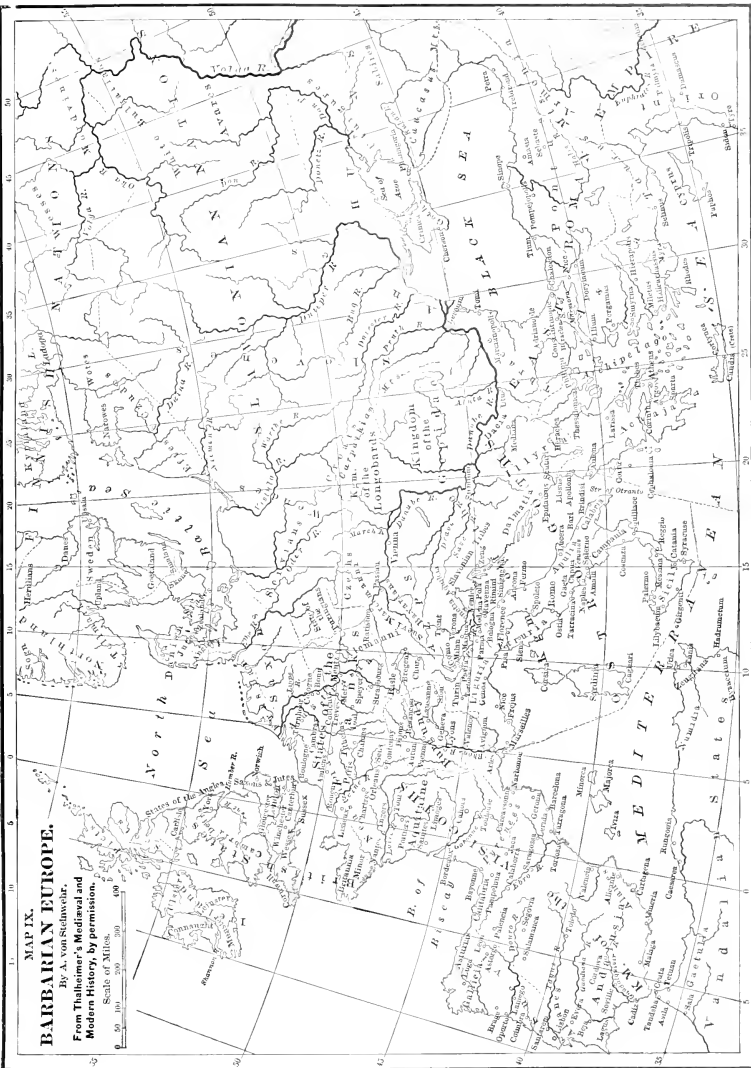
From the times of Theodosius the Goths became constantly more aggressive, and it was evident that they contemplated no less than

MAP IX.
BARBARIAN EUROPE.

By A. von Steudewitz.

From Thakmer's *Medieval and Modern History*, by permission.

Scale of Miles.



the subversion of the Empire. Meanwhile, they were pressed forward by the Hunnish hordes that came pouring in from Asia. They were thus precipitated into Italy. Led on by Alaric, they were, first in the year 408, bought off with an enormous ransom. A second and a third time the Gothic king returned to the siege of the city, and in August of 410 Rome was taken and pillaged. Called, however, to other fields of conquest, the Goths left the crippled Empire for a season to the successors of Honorius. In the middle of the century they joined the Romans in a combined attack upon the half-million of Huns whom Attila had led into Gaul. In the years that followed the countries of Spain and Southern France were completely dominated by the Gothic race, and in A. D. 476 the nation of the Heruli, led by their king Odovacar, overthrew what remained of the Western Empire, and established the OSTROGOTHIC KINGDOM OF ITALY.

Of the two Gothic peoples, the Visigoths, if not the more powerful, were the more enlightened. Having first established themselves in South-western France, they gradually made their way through the Pyrenees and spread as far as the river Ebro. Under the leadership of their king, Wallia, they overthrew the kingdom of the Silingi, a tribe of Vandal origin, and thus secured a foothold in Spain. The Vandals, under the lead of Genseric, retired into Northern Africa, and the Visigoths soon overran the whole of the Spanish peninsula. Only a small district in the north-west remained under the dominion of the Suevi. Even this province, after maintaining its independence till the year 585, was reduced to submission and added to the VISIGOTHIC KINGDOM.

In A. D. 471 King Enric, the most distinguished sovereign of the Visigoths, put an end to Roman authority in Spain, and established a new constitution. By the close of the sixth century a fusion had been effected of the native Spanish, Latin, and Gothic elements of population, and the KINGDOM OF THE VISIGOTHS became the sole political power in the peninsula.

In a paragraph above mention was made of the persistent stand of the SUEVI in North-western Spain. This tribe of Germans had its native seat in Upper Saxony, beyond the

Elbe. There in ancient times, in a sacred wood, were erected the altars of their superstition. This forest, called the *Sommenwald*, was regarded as the spot of the nation's origin. The Suevi were among the most warlike and powerful of the Teutonic tribes. They spread from the banks of the Oder to the Danube. Such was their prowess that the Gaulish nations declared to Cæsar by their ambassadors that they regarded it as no disgrace to have fled before the Suevi, against whom not even the immortal gods might stand in battle. It was in the reign of the Emperor Caracalla that the Suevi were first felt on the borders of Rome. The legionaries of the Empire were stunned by the fierce blows of the Germanic warriors.

In the disturbed period following the reign of Decius the Suevi made their way into Gaul, and thence proceeded by way of Ravenna till their savage banners were seen almost as far south as Rome. The Senate, in the absence of the Emperors, spurred into activity by the imminent peril of the state, raised a large army of pretorians and conscripts, and the Suevi, not without an immense collection of spoils, fell back into Germany. Soon afterwards, however, an army of three hundred thousand Allemanni was again in Italy, but was defeated by Gallienus in a battle near Milan. In order to stay the inroads of the barbarians, the Emperor then espoused Pipa, the daughter of the king of the Suevi, and gave to her father as the price of peace the province of Pannonia. After many vicissitudes the Suevi became established on the banks of the Neckar, and, as already mentioned, in the province of Galicia, in Spain. In the former position they laid the foundations of the KINGDOM OF SUEVIA, which is only a variation of the original name of the tribe; and from the latter they were expelled by the Visigoths in the year 585.

Our first notices of the MARCOMANNI are derived from Strabo and Tacitus. The native seats of this strong tribe were in Bohemia and Moravia. Here, under their great king Maroboduus, they established a powerful monarchy, and became a terror to the surrounding nations. The name *Marcomanni* signifies *March-men* or borderers, and was, no doubt, applied to several neighboring tribes in the confines of

Germany. In the times of Caesar, the Marcomanni constituted a part of the army of Ariovistus. After the establishment of their kingdom on the Danube, they became involved in wars with the Cherusci, and soon afterwards confronted the Roman legions stationed on the Danubian border.

In the reign of the Emperor, Marcus Aurelius, the Marcomanni headed a confederation of German tribes against the Romans. Aurelius died while engaged in the attempt to break up the Marcomannic league, and his son Commodus was constrained to purchase a peace which he could not conquer from his German adversaries. During the third and fourth centuries the cis-Danubian provinces were several times overrun by the Marcomanni, but they did not succeed, either there or elsewhere, in laying the foundations of a permanent state. In the fifth and sixth centuries, the relative importance of the nation grew less and less, until it finally disappeared from history.

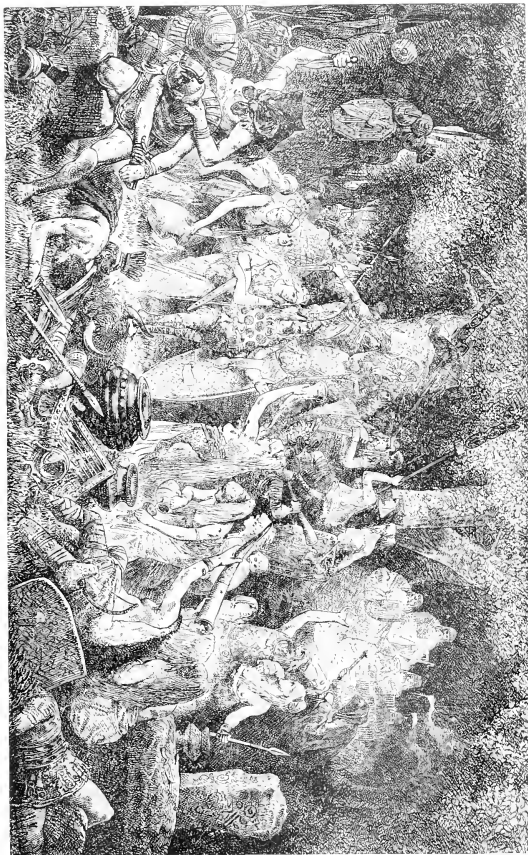
The QUADI were kinsmen of the Suevi, having their original homes in South-eastern Germany. One of their principal haunts was the celebrated Hercynian Forest, of which so graphic an account has been preserved in the Sixth Book of Caesar's *Gallie War*. Their territories had joined those of the Bamonians and the Marcomanni, with whom they were generally in alliance. At the time of the establishment of the Roman Empire the Quadi were among the most powerful of the German nations. In the time of the Emperor Tiberius their government was a monarchy, a certain Vannius occupying the throne. During the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the Quadi became a member of the Germanic confederation, which was organized against the Romans, and it was they who, in the great battle of A. D. 174, were about to destroy the imperial legions, when the fortunate occurrence of a storm turned the tide and gave the victory to Rome.

During the years A. D. 357-359, the exposed provinces of the Empire were dreadfully harassed by this warlike people, who, in alliance with the Sarmatians, captured the frontier posts, and made it necessary for Constantius to exert himself to the utmost to stay their ravages. They were, however, speedily

subdued, and the chiefs of the nation, even from beyond the Carpathian mountains, were glad to save themselves by making their submission and giving hostages to the Emperor. The nation maintained its independence until near the close of the following century when they were absorbed by the more powerful Goths, and ceased to be a separate people.

The nation of the HERULI were destined to establish the first barbarian kingdom in Italy. These were the most migratory of all the German tribes, inasmuch that their original seats have remained a matter of conjecture. At different times they appeared on the Dniester and the Rhine; in Greece and Italy; in Spain and Scandinavia. In the third century of our era, during the reigns of Claudius and Gallienus, the Heruli joined the Goths on their expedition against the countries of the Euxine. In war they were among the bravest of the brave, disclaiming the use of defensive armor and condemning the widows and infirm of the tribe to perish because they were of no further service to the nation. After uniting their forces with those of the Goths in various invasions of the Danubian provinces of the Empire, they were conquered by their allies, and reduced to an inferior position. In the year 451, they joined Attila on his march into Gaul, and after the death of that savage chieftain were united with the other German nations in the final expedition against Rome. With the capture of the city, in the year 476, Odacer assumed the title of king of Italy, and, though by no means the greatest of the barbarian leaders, became the founder of the first kingdom established by the invaders on the ruins of Rome. About the same time the Heruli succeeded in establishing a second kingdom in the central part of Hungary, where they maintained themselves until they were overpowered by the Lombards.

The native haunts of the GERMANI appear to have been on the Vistula, near the Baltic. It is from this position that their first movements were directed against the civilized states of the South. At the first they were associated with the Vandals, and were afterwards leagued with the Goths of the Middle Danube. At the time of the invasion of Attila they were obliged to follow the standard of that imperial savage, but after his death they re-



FEASTS OF THE GERMANS.—VICTORY-FEAST AFTER BATTLE.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

gained their independence. Under their king Alaric, they beat back the Huns from their territories on the Lower Danube, and became one of the most prosperous states. Twelve years after the downfall of the Western Empire, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, defeated the Gepidae in a great battle near Sirmium. Afterwards, in 566, the nation suffered a second overthrow at the hands of Alboin, king of the Lombards, and from that time the remnants of the people were gradually absorbed by the dominant populations around them.

Next to the Goths in importance was the great race of the **VANDALS**. It appears that they, like the Allemanni, consisted at the first of a confederation of tribes bound together by a community of interests and institutions. Their native seats were in the northern parts of Germany, whence at an early period they migrated into the country of the Riesengebirge and subsequently into Pannonia and Dacia. Some eminent authors have classified the Heruli, Burgundians, and Lombards as different branches of the Vandal race. In the beginning of the fifth century this great people began its movement westward through Germany into Gaul and Spain. Having crossed the Pyrenees they established themselves about the year 410 in the country east and south of the kingdom of the Spanish Suevi. A short time subsequently they pressed their way southward into the ancient province of Bætica, where they founded the still more celebrated kingdom of **VANDALUSIA**, still known as Andalusia. At the close of the first quarter of the fifth century the great Genseric became king of the Vandals, and during his long reign contributed by his genius and bravery to establish and extend the dominion of his people. In the year 429, while the imbecile and profligate Valentinian III. occupied the alleged throne of the Western Empire, Genseric, as already related in the preceding Volume, was invited by Boniface, governor of Africa, to cross over and support his cause. Easily was the Vandal king persuaded to undertake a measure which promised such large and inexpensive results. With an army of fifty thousand men he subdued the whole coast of Northern Africa as far south as Tunis. The

islands of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Baleares were soon added to Genseric's dominions. In the year 455 an army of Vandals returned into Italy and captured the city of Rome. In matters of religious faith they were followers of Arius, and this brought them into conflict with the orthodox Christians of Italy, against whom they waged a fierce persecution.

Thus were laid the foundations of the **KINGDOM OF THE VANDALS**. For more than a century the state grew and flourished. The whole of Spain, the Western Mediterranean islands and Northern Africa were included within the limits of Vandal dominion. Not until Belisarius, the great general of Justinian, lifted again the banner of the Empire in the West did the kingdom of the Vandals receive a staggering blow. In the year 534 Gelimer, the last of their kings, was defeated and dethroned by the Roman arms. The Vandals never recovered from the shock, but at once ceased to be the ruling people in the vast domains which Genseric had conquered. It is believed that in the Berber islands their descendants are still to be recognized by the blue eyes and fair complexion peculiar to the German race.

Next in influence among the barbarian nations were the **LOMBARDS** or Long Beards, an ancient Teutonic tribe, kinsmen of the Suevi. Their first historical appearance was on the banks of the river Elbe. In this region they began to manifest their activities as early as the reign of Augustus. For a while they were league'd with Arminius, prince of the Cherusi, whom they assisted in destroying the legions of Varus. In the palmy times of the Empire the Lombards gave no further sign of hostility to civilization, but in the beginning of the fifth century they suddenly reappeared in Hungary and on the northern banks of the Danube. It appears that in these districts they were for a while held in subjection by the Heruli; but in the sixth century they reversed their relations with this people and waged against them an exterminating warfare. They then crossed the Danube and made an expedition into the Pannonian kingdom of the Gepidae. At a later period they traversed the Julian Alps, led by their great king Alboin, and debouched into the valley of the Po. Here, in the year 568, they

¹See Volume II., p. 344.

laid the foundations of the KINGDOM OF LOMBARDY, which continued for more than two hundred years to be one of the leading barbarian states of the West.

The great race of the FRANKS, like the Allemanni and the Suevi, first appear as a confederation of tribes. The old names of the Sigambri, Chamavi, Amprivarii, Brueteri, and Catti are thought to have designated these early tribal divisions. The native seats of the race were on the Lower Rhine, where they remained until the third century, when large bodies of the Frankish warriors began to make incursions into Gaul. As early as the times of the Emperor Probus they became a menace to Roman authority in the North. When Carausius, who had been sent to defend the Gallie states against the barbarians, turned traitor to his master, he made an alliance with the Franks, to whom in recompense for their services he gave the country on the Scheldt.

This region they continued to hold till the reign of Constantine the Great, when they were repressed by that sovereign, and confined to their original settlements. In the times of Julian the Apostate, however, they regained the countries conferred by Carausius, and continued to hold them until the overthrow of the Empire. They became divided into two nations, known as the Salian and the Ripuarian Franks. It was the former division which during the fifth century continued to assail the tribes of Gaul, and presently afterwards, under the chieftain Clovis, laid the foundations of the KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS, or France. The Ripuarian Franks spread southward, occupying both banks of the Rhine, extending their borders westward to the Meuse and eastward to the Main. In the latter region they established the head-quarters of their dominion in the country named Franconia. Both divisions of the nation have contributed largely to the modern populations of France and the adjacent parts of Germany.

We now come to two barbarian peoples, who were properly the progenitors of the English-speaking race—the ANGLES and the SAXONS. The first were an ancient German tribe of the North. Though migratory in their habits, they seem to have found a permanent footing in the Danish islands, where they multiplied and became a powerful body

of warriors and pirates. From Denmark westward they infested the seas, braving the open ocean in two-oared boats, and fighting a constant battle with the ferocity of nature. They made their way to Britain, invaded the island under the lead of their chieftains, and changed the name of the conquered country to Angleland, or England. The name of the race is also preserved in the district of Angeln in Schleswig, but their fame is insular rather than continental.

The more powerful and noted nations were the Saxons, whose original seats were in the north-western lowlands of Germany, along the Lower Elbe. The name of the race has been variously derived from *sahr*, meaning a knife or short sword, and from *Sakaisma*, or sons of the Sakai, or Scythians. In the earliest times the Saxons were the head of a lowland league, embracing the tribes between the Skager Rack and the country of the Franks. The beginning of the fifth century found them in alliance with the Romans. A little later they were the leaders of the barbarians by whom Britain was wrested from the Celts. In this great movement they were so closely united with the Angles that the two peoples—having no particular discrimination from each other in race, institutions, or language—became known as ANGLO-SAXONS. These hardy warriors were, if the tradition of the times may be accredited, at the first invited by Vortigern, king of the British Celts, to come over to the island and aid him in repelling the Picts and Scots, who, after the withdrawal of the Roman legions, had broken over the northern border, and were threatening the Celtic tribes with destruction. No sooner, however, had the Saxons landed in the island than their cupidity was aroused, and sending for reinforcements of their countrymen they swept the Celts before them, and seized the better part of Britain for themselves. The whole south-eastern part of the island passed under the dominion of the invaders, and the foundations were presently laid of the petty Saxon kingdoms of KENT, SUSSEX, WESSEX, EAST ANGLIA, MERCA, ESSEX, BERNECIA, and DEIRA, which by their mergerment in the eighth century were destined to constitute the basis of the greatness of England.

Next in order may be mentioned the BUR-



CUSTOMS OF THE GERMANS.—WOMEN DEFENDING THEIR WAGON-CASTLES.

Drawn by A. de Neville.

GUNDIANS, who in their origin are thought to have been of the same stock with the Goths. Their primitive seats lay between the Oder and the Vistula, from which position they were expelled at an early period by the Gepide. They then settled in the region between the Main and the Neckar, and in the beginning of the fifth century joined the Suxvi and the Vaukals in their initial incursions into Gaul. In the country bounded by the Alps, the Saone and the Rhone, the Burgundians established themselves, fixing their capital first at Geneva, and afterwards at Lyons. Here they remained until the year 534, when their king, Gundemar, was conquered and killed in a battle with the Franks, who thereupon became masters of Burgundy. Having lost their political power by this catastrophe, the Burgundians were by degrees amalgamated with the conquering people, and ceased to be an independent race.

Among the Teutonic tribes swept westward by the invasion of Attila should be mentioned the BAVARIANS. The first references to this nation discover their presence in Pannonia and Noricum. A little later, however, when Theodosius had purchased an ignominious peace of the Huns, the Bavarians revolted from Attila, and, being supported by the Romans, succeeded in maintaining their independence. The nation became influential in Rhetia, Vindelicia, and Noricum, where the Bavarians were governed by their own kings both before and after the downfall of the West. From the middle of the sixth to the middle of the seventh century, the Franks by continued aggressions gradually curtailed the Bavarian dominions and finally incorporated the state with their own, leaving the government, however, to be administered by native dukes. These rulers frequently revolted against their masters, and were as many times suppressed, until finally, in 777, an insurrection, headed by Thassilo II., was put down by the strong hand of Charlemagne. The government of Bavaria then remained to the Carolingian House until the same became extinct in A. D. 911.

Of these barbarian nations, and many other petty tribes of the same race, the most powerful were, as already said, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Franks. It was among the first of these, perhaps, that the barbarian character

displayed itself in its best estate. Especially were the Visigoths conspicuous among the Teutonic peoples for the character and extent of their culture. The language of this people was more highly developed than those of the other Teutonic tribes. Their contact with the Romans, especially after their settlement in hither Dacia, was more regular and beneficial than that between the Empire and any other state. The Christianization of the Goths, also, falling as the new faith did upon the conscience of a people just awaking from the slumbers of barbarism, showed better results so far as the development of moral character was concerned than had ever been exhibited in Rome. To these elevating influences should be added the special fact of the early translation of the Bible into the Gothic language—a circumstance so remarkable in its nature and ultimate results as to merit a particular notice in this place.

In the year A. D. 267, in the course of a war with the Eastern Empire, an army of Goths was sent into Asia Minor, where the invaders laid waste the province of Cappadocia, and carried back to the Danube a large number of prisoners, among whom were many persons of culture and many Christians. In the year 311, there was born in a Gothic home in Dacia, of one of the Cappadocian mothers whom a Gothic chief had taken to wife, a child who received from his parents the name of ULFILAS. From his boyhood he was taught the doctrines of Christianity, and early became a zealous adherent of that faith. He studied Greek and Latin, going to Constantinople for that purpose, thus familiarizing himself with the New Testament in the original. About this time, the Christian Goths fell under the displeasure of their pagan neighbors, and were subjected by them to severe persecutions. In order to save his brethren from martyrdom, the young Ulfilas conceived the design of emigrating with his people to the hither side of the Danube. He accordingly went as ambassador to Constantine, and obtained from that sovereign the privilege of bringing a Christian colony into the province of hither Dacia.

While the youthful apostle was in Constantinople he became acquainted with the renowned Eusebius, then bishop of the Eastern Church, and by him was himself consecrated

as bishop of the Goths. He now formed the design of turning the Scriptures into the language of his people. The measure was as radical as it was broadly conceived. For seven years Ulfilas labored assiduously at the great task which he had undertaken. At the end of that time the whole Bible, with the exception perhaps of the Book of Kings, had been translated in the vernacular. The language, though still half barbarous, showed itself fully capable of developing a literary expression. Max Müller well says of the work accomplished by Ulfilas: "It required a prophetic insight and a faith in the destiny of these half-savage tribes and a conviction also of the utter effete-ness of the Roman Byzantine empires before a bishop could have brought himself to translate the Bible into the vulgar dialect of his barbarous countrymen." The achievement of Ulfilas requires a more especial attention for the reason that the Gothic Bible thus produced was the first book ever written in a Teutonic language, and for the additional reason that the subsequent legislation and social status of the Visigoths in Spain were traceable in a good measure to the Scriptures as a sort of fundamental constitution in the State.

This episode leads naturally to the addition of a paragraph on the characteristics of the Gothic language. The characters in which this rough but vigorous speech was written, are said to have been invented by Ulfilas in conformity to the Greek alphabet. The Gothic verb has two voices, an active and a middle; two tenses, a present and a past; three moods, the indicative, the optative, and the imperative, besides an infinitive and a present and a past participle. The general characteristics of the language are the same as those of Anglo-Saxon, German, and English. Gothic nouns have three genders, two numbers and five cases. Adjectives are inflected in two forms. Prepositions precede the nouns, which they govern in the genitive, dative, or accusative case. The language has no indefinite article, the place of the definite article being supplied with the pronoun. The entire literature of the Gothic language consists of three or four fragmentary manuscripts, the first and most important of which is the parchment containing what has been preserved of Ulfilas's New Tes-

tament now deposited in the library of Upsala in Sweden. A second manuscript, known as the *Gothic Testament*, was discovered by Pétitfer, in 1806. This parchment also, consisting of but four sheets, contains fragments of the New Testament. A third manuscript, called the *Gothic Carolinus*, discovered in 1756, contains forty-two verses of the eleventh to the fifteenth chapter of Paul's letter to the Romans. All the other fragments of Gothic are of the same character with those here described. The remains have been sufficient, however, for the reconstruction of the grammar and a considerable portion of the vocabulary employed by the Gothic people.

It will be appropriate in this connection to refer briefly to the manners and customs of the Goths, or more generally to those of the primitive Teutonic nations. The people of this race were of a common type, and strongly marked characteristics. To Cæsar and Tacitus we are indebted for our knowledge of the lives, habits, and personal bearing of the Germans in their native haunts. They were a people of the woods. Little did the hardy barbarians care for the comforts and discomforts of the civilized state. In person they were the most stalwart of all the ancient peoples. Their presence was a terror even to the veteran legionaries of Rome. They are described as having huge, white bodies; long, yellow hair; broad shoulders; brawny muscles; florid complexion, and fierce blue eyes that gleamed under excitement with the lightnings of animosity and passion. In mind they were daring to the last degree. War was their profession. They were hunters of men as well as of wild beasts. With the strongest attachment for home and domesticity, they were nevertheless capable of interminable expeditions and indefinite maraudings in the forest. Ariovistus, one of their kings, told Cæsar to his face that he would be able to find out what the invincible Germans, who for fourteen years had not slept beneath a roof, would be able to accomplish by their valor; and though the prophetic threat was unfulfilled for five centuries, at last the words of the barbaric chieftain were made good in the subversion of Rome.

The Germans were an assemblage of tribes. They had a common tradition and a common method of life. They dwelt in towns and

villages, and their days were spent in the vicissitudes of the chase and war. In their personal habits they were coarse, heavy, gluttonous. They filled their capacious stomachs with meat and cheese. They heated themselves with strong drinks. When excitement failed, they would lie for whole days in half-stupor in the ashes of their hearth-stones, unkempt, and indifferent to all surroundings. Very different, however, was their mood when aroused by the summons of war. In battle their onset was terrible. They fought both on foot and on horseback—the footman running by the side of the cavalrman and supporting himself by the horse's mane. If the horseman fell in the fight, the footman bore away his body and took his place in the next onset. The intrepidity of these barbarian warriors was such as to challenge the admiration as well as excite the terror of their enemies.

The government of the German tribes was a kind of military monarchy; but the chieftain was elected by the warriors of his nation, whose custom it was to raise their leader on their shields and thus proclaim him king. Between the various tribes there was a strong bond of sympathy, and frequent alliances were made, embracing many peoples and kindreds in different parts of Germany. Such leagues, however, were generally formed for a specific purpose, and when this end had once been attained the confederation ceased, and the tribes resumed their independent station.

The nations of the North had their own superstitious and system of religion. The great gods of the race were Odin and Thor—the former being the supreme deity of the Teutonic pantheon, and the latter having some of the attributes of Hercules and others of Jove. The goddess Freya, or Frigga was also worshiped as a favorite divinity, as the mistress of nature and the guardian of the dead. The superstitious of the race were peculiarly dark and doleful, but the Germanic mythology was far more rational than that of the Celts. In general, the Teutones rejected the notion of sacrifice. They refused to recognize as gods any beings *whom they could not see*. Only the obvious was worshiped. A deity by whose assistance they were not manifestly benefited

they rejected as worse than useless. They adored the sun, the moon, and fire; but the unseen deities of the Greeks and Romans they regarded as inane abstractions, unworthy of adoration. With the infinitely inflected mythological systems of the South the Germans were unacquainted, even by common report. Their worship consisted mostly of prayers, supplications, and fervid hymns chanted in praise of the somber deities of the North.

Among the Teutonic nations the family tie was especially strong and abiding. That which the modern world defines as virtue appears to have been an inherent quality of the German



THE GOD THOR.

nature. A common sentiment or instinct, rather than positive enactments of law upheld the monogamic relation, and insured a chastity which, if not universal, was the prevailing rule of conduct. The German youth of both sexes were reared in the utmost freedom; but such was the force of public opinion among the tribes that lapses from the established standard of morality were almost unknown. No young man might marry until he had passed his twentieth year, and the preservation of continence to a still later period of life was regarded as highly honorable. "For," says Caesar, "it is held among the Germans that by this reservation of the bodily powers

the stature is increased, the strength augmented, and the whole body covered with additional strength." In the barbarian society little care was taken to conceal the person, and no shame was felt on account of the exposure. The men and women of the tribe bathed promiscuously, but preserved the utmost respect. For clothing, skins of deer were used, but nakedness, except in winter, was the rule.

Cæsar goes on to say that the Germans were little given to the cultivation of the soil. "Nor," says he, "has any one a fixed portion of land or definite boundaries to his possessions. In each year the magistrates and chiefs allot to each one, in what place it is considered best, a certain portion of ground, and in the following year they compel the occupants to remove to another tract." For this custom they ascribed the following reasons; namely, that the possessors of lands might lose their warlike disposition by the acquirement of estates, and that the more powerful would absorb the lands of the weak and humble. To this the additional reason is added that the common people, seeing the lands of the great held by the same tenure as their own, would be more likely to remain contented with their lot.

There was another fiction of the Teutonic barbarians that that state has the greatest praise whose borders are solitudes and whose frontiers are a waste. "They think it a peculiar evidence of their valor," adds the Roman historian, "that their neighbors, expelled from their lands, abandon them, and that no one dare settle near their boundaries." At the beginning of war an officer corresponding to the military dictator of the Romans was chosen who, during the continuance of hostility, wielded the power of life and death, but in peace there was no such supreme magistrate, the chiefs of each canton resuming control of their respective tribes. The Germans are said by Cæsar, perhaps not without a touch of slander, to have held robbery as no crime when committed beyond the limits of their own state. They even regarded depredation abroad as a healthful exercise for the youth of the nation, a free school for the training and development of those manly powers which were essential to the maintenance of a robust community.

The peculiar usage of self-election to leadership is cited by the Roman historian as another feature of German political life. It appears that any chief sitting in the council of the tribes might proclaim himself a leader and call upon those who desired to follow his fortunes to express their preference by announcing their names. When such a choice had once been made it might not be revoked, and those who had enlisted and then failed to follow the chieftain were reckoned as deserters and traitors.

In common with the other Aryan races the Germans recognized the rights of hospitality. They thought it not lawful to injure guests or to fail in courtesy to those whom will or accident had thrown into their communities. The stranger coming to the German village must be housed and fed. His person was inviolable, and, if necessary, the German sword must be drawn to protect him from injury.

Another feature of Teutonic life, to omit the mention of which would be resented by the descendants of the old barbarians of the North, is the chivalrous respect which they are said to have shown to woman. Upon a passage of Tacitus, Germanic pride has reared the temple of traditional honor and sentiment. The German wife and mother is said to have been regarded not only by those of her own household, but also by all the members of her nation, with a sentiment of veneration bordering on awe and worship. Although so great a thinker and historian as Guizot has declared the statement of Tacitus, regarding the superior honor of womanhood among the Germans, to be a pure chimera, it would nevertheless appear from the rank which woman attained under German auspices, in the age of chivalry, and from the strong domestic ties manifested to the present day in the households of Fatherland, that the claim of German patriotism may well be allowed to stand unchallenged.

It is, however, with the influences of the ancient Teutonic peoples upon modern civilization that the historian of to-day is mostly concerned. There appear to be at least two of the sentiments upon which the modern world is largely framed which owe their origin to the barbarians. The first of these is the notion of *personal independence*, which constituted, indeed, the very essence of all that is

pleasurable in the barbaric life. It is, perhaps, impossible for one of our day to appreciate the full force of this sentiment as it existed among the primitive tribes of Northern Europe. Personal self-assertion was the most potent element in the best character of the times. The life of enterprise and adventure, filled with every hazard and vicissitude, bounded by no restrictions of law or customs, gave full scope and stimulus to the individual development of man. Restraint became intolerable and liberty a necessity.

M. Thierry, in his history of the Norman Conquest, has contributed a masterly sketch of the character and dispositions of the people who laid the foundations of Modern Europe. The instincts, passions, prejudices, motives, and sentiments are drawn with a skill and fervor which leave little wanting to the completeness of the picture. Though there was much that was coarse and selfish in the unrestrained and violent life of the barbarian as he fought back and forth over the frontier of the Rhine or wandered at will through the labyrinths of the Black Forest; though the chivalrous sentiment for women did not always preserve him from brutality, or his profession of honor prevent the perpetration of gross crimes against morality and the better laws of human conduct, yet there were many ennobling traits and much moral grandeur in the strongly personal, even willful, character and life of the barbaric tribes; and these latter qualities have flowed down in invigorating streams into the veins of every modern state to whose population the Teutonic race has contributed a moiety of its strength.

It was of vast importance that such an idea as the personal worth and individual right of man should be asserted and transmitted to the modern world. In the ancient states, the importance of men was *derived*. In Rome, the honor and rights of the patrician were deduced from the order to which he belonged. The same was true of every other rank of citizenship. The individual was born into society, and took his status from the body of which he was a member. Even in Athens, the citizen democrat asserted his rights as common to the democracy, and in Sparta every grade of manhood, from the supreme oligarch to the degraded Helot, de-

rived his relative importance from the social class to which he was attached.

It thus happened that the liberties of the ancients, such as they were, appeared to be deduced from the state—to be conceded by some of the organic forms of society. With the German warriors, however, all this was different. Each member of the tribe claimed and exercised his rights as *his own*. They were not derived, but inherent; not deduced from some body of which he was a member, but born with himself as an inheritance which none might alienate. The barbarian spoke of his *free doom*, not of his liberty. His individuality predominated in all the conduct of life. Whatever compacts he made in society, he did of his own free will; and any demand which society made of him was likely to be resented if the requisition seemed to trench upon his personal rights and freedom.

The second idea which modern times have inherited from the barbarian nations is that of *military patronage*, or the tie which, without destroying the freedom of the individual, attaches one man to another. At first, no doubt, this loyal bond which linked the individual to his fellow existed without respect to the relative importance of those who were so united. Soon, however, the tie became one of graduated subordination. The one was in the service of the other, and the latter protected the first. The sanction of the bond was personal loyalty and devotion—an idea which, in the course of a few centuries, became a passion throughout Europe, and constituted not only the essential principle, but also the redeeming trait, of feudalism. Indeed, but for the growing fidelity of man to man, it were hard to discover how human society could have continued to exist in such an age of decadence and gloom as that into which Europe plunged after the overthrow of the Roman Empire.

The second and third groups of barbarian nations, namely, the Slavic and Scythic families, require a less extended notice. The former division embraced the Bosnians, the Servians, the Croatians, the Wendi, the Poles, the Bohemians, the Moravians, the Pomeranians, the Wiltsians, the Lusathians, the Livonians, and the Lithuanians. Of these the more important were the Poles, the Bohemi-

ans, the Pomeranians, and the Lithuanians. As already said, it is held by some ethnologists that these Slavic, or Slavonic, tribes were originally an offshoot from the great Teutonic stock of mankind. Be that as it may, it is certain that the Slavic group of barbarians have exercised a less important influence upon the destinies of modern Europe and the world than have the Teutonic nations.

The BOSNIANS came into Europe in the seventh century. Their first impact was upon the people of Illyria, whom they dislodged from a portion of the country. They have their modern representatives in the people of Albania, where they constitute the ruling class, embracing the boys, nobility, and landowners. The Servians first made their appearance in Thrace, whence they came into the country which now bears their name. In the early days of the Empire they were conquered by the Romans, and were attached to the province of Illyricum, the Servian district being designated as *Moesia Superior*. This country was overrun by the Ostrogoths and the Huns. It was afterward attached to the Byzantine Empire, until the middle of the seventh century, when it was devastated by the Avars, to whom a portion of the lands were permanently allotted. Serbia then remained a dependency of the Eastern Empire until the time of the Crusades.

The CROATIANS, or CROATES, belonged to the Illyrico-Serbian branch of the Slavic race. Their primitive European settlement seems to have been in the south-western angle of Hungary. This country was originally a part of Pannonia, and became a part of the Empire in the times of Augustus. It was overrun first by the Goths and afterwards by the Avars. It then became subject to the Eastern Empire, and so remained until the tenth century, when the Croatian princes became independent.

The WENDI, or WENDS, were one of the north-western tribes of the Slavic family. From the fourth to the ninth century they were found in the country stretching from the Saale and the Elbe northward to the Eider. In the times of Charlemagne they became aggressive, and were driven back by that warrior in the direction of the Vistula. Subsequently they were well-nigh exterminated by

the German kings, and by the sixteenth century they existed only as a scattered population in the region now known as Brandenburg and Cilicia.

The POLKS constitute one of the principal branches of the Slavic race. Their first European appearance seems to have been in the country which now bears their name. Somewhat later they spread into the region between the Oder and the Vistula. They were known as the *Polans*, meaning the People of the Plain, and soon became the most conspicuous of all the Slavic nations. The history of Poland and the Poles will hereafter demand our attention as a special study.

The BOHEMIANS grew from the tribe of the Boii, classified by Cæsar among the Celtic peoples of Gaul. They were displaced from their original settlements by the Marcomanni. They migrated into Bavaria and Bohemia, and were subsequently incorporated with Slavic Czechs. German colonists also settled in the country, and the people became composite. Of their own accord the Bohemians sought annexation to the empire of Charlemagne, with which they were associated for several centuries.

The tribes known as MORAVIANS made their appearance in the early times of the Empire, in the country which still bears their name. Here with difficulty they maintained themselves against the successive assaults of the Quadi, the Rugii, the Heruli, and the Lombards. The country was subsequently conquered by Charlemagne, who, after his usual manner, imposed tribute upon the Moravians and obliged them to accept the Christian religion. Of the ancient POMERANIANS very little is known, except that they were of the Slavic race and constituted a part of the old monarchy of the Wends. The same may be said of the LUSATIANS, who seem to have been a mixture of the Wendic and Germanic stock, and who, after a period of independence, were reduced to the tributary relation by Henry I. of Germany, in the early part of the tenth century.

The LIVONIANS first made their appearance in the country stretching eastward from the bay of Riga. The modern representatives of the race are found in the Finns and Letts; but neither the ancient country nor its inhabi-

tants were made known to Europe until about the middle of the twelfth century, when intercourse was opened up between Riga and the West by the merchants of Bremen. The existence of Lithuania and her people was made known a century and a half earlier, at which time the inhabitants were still in a state of half-savagery, subsisting for the most part on wild products of the woods. From this time forth their country became subject to the various Russian princes who were just then beginning to be felt in the affairs of Europe. In the twelfth century they achieved their independence, and in the thirteenth maintained it in a long and severe struggle with the Teutonic knights who had established themselves on the shores of the Baltic.

The third or Scythic division of the barbarian nations included, besides the great race of the Huns, the Alani or Alans, the Averi, the Bulgarians, the Hungarians, the Turks, and the Tartars. Of all the savage peoples who beat along the borders of the Roman Empire and finally broke through and destroyed the civilization of the ancient world, the most ferocious were the HUNS. Beyond their Asiatic origin, nothing has been ascertained of their primitive history. To the Greeks they were known, in a general way, by the name of *Chuni*, and by that title they are described by the historian Ptolemy as early as the second century of our era. They are believed to have come originally of a Tartar stock, and to have had their primitive seats in the country north of the great wall of China. After long and bloody wars with the Chinese, they were at last subdued by the emperor Vontsi; but the unbroken spirit led to a migration of the race in preference to submission.

Accordingly, in the first century of our era, they left their original settlements to discover and conquer new homes in the West. One division of the tribes, known as the White Huns, took possession of the country east of the Caspian, but the great body continued their westward march to the banks of the Volga. In the course of the third century they crossed the river and overran the country of the Alani, many of whom they incorporated with their own nation. After another century, continuing their march to the west, they fell upon the Goths, and, in A. D. 375,

defeated them in battle. Then it was that the Gothic people were pressed between the upper and the nether mill-stone. Behind them were the swords of the Huns, and before them the lances of the Romans. It was in this emergency that the Goths sought and obtained permission to settle within the borders of the Empire. The Huns then fixed their habitation on the banks of the Don and the Dnieper. They took possession of Pannonia. Rome fought for the defense of her provinces, but Attila, the "Scourge of God," led his tremendous armies of savages to glut themselves with the accumulated spoils of centuries. The story of his invasion of Italy has already been narrated in the preceding Volume.¹

In A. D. 453 Attila died, and the vast dominion which he had established fell to pieces. His followers were broken up into bands, and gradually amalgamated with succeeding hordes of barbarians from the North. Of all the wide dominions, ruled by the sword rather than the scepter of Attila, only the modern kingdom of HUNGARY has preserved the name of his ferocious people; and of the various races included within the borders of that kingdom, only the Magyars are of genuine Hunnish descent.

The origin of the ALANI is shrouded in uncertainty. They appear to have migrated from the eastern part of the Caucasus to the river Don. During the reign of Aurelian they were associated with the Goths in an expedition into Asia Minor. Near the close of the fourth century they were defeated by the Huns, whom they presently afterwards joined in a war with the Goths. In the year 406 they were confederated with the Suevi and the Vandals, who were then engaged in devastating Gaul. Subsequently a colony of Alans occupied the country south of the Loire, while another established itself in Spain. A portion of Northern Italy was also occupied by the Alani until they were displaced by subsequent invasions.

The third of the Scythic tribes that contributed to the overthrow of ancient civilization was the AVARI or AVARS. They first appeared in the West about the middle of the sixth century, when they began to try the Roman outposts on the line of the Danube.

¹See Book Tenth, *ante* p. 345.

Their original seats are thought to have been in the country between the Caspian and the Don. In the time of Justinian they were in alliance with the Greek Empire, and afterwards with the Lombards, whom they assisted in a war against the Gepidae. At one time they possessed the larger part of Pannonia,

subjects of the Khan revolted, and all of his kingdom, except Pannonia, fell away. In the struggle of the Bavarians against Charlemagne, the Avari aided the former; but both parties were overcome by the king of the Franks and were compelled to accept a tributary relation.



THE HUNS IN GERMANY.

and here they established a kingdom. The greatest of their sovereigns was KHAN BAIAN, who flourished from A. D. 570 to 630. His dominions are said to have extended from the river Elbe to the Euxine. Such was his authority that even the Emperor of the East was obliged to pay him tribute. The Avars conquered Dalmatia and harassed both Italy and Germany. In the year 640, the Slavic

The BULGARIANS first appeared on the western banks of the Volga. From this locality they migrated to the Don, and in the latter part of the fifth century passed westward to the Danube. After establishing themselves in the region on the other side of the river from that which now bears their name, they began a series of aggressions against the Eastern Empire. The many incursions of this

warlike people, who sometimes made their way to the very gates of Constantinople, have already been recorded in the preceding volume.¹ During the reign of Anastasius, the Empire was obliged to purchase peace by the payment of an enormous bribe. The Bulgarians retired only to return in the reign of Justinian; but the veteran Belisarius drew his sword against them, and they were quickly driven to their own place. Bulgaria was overrun by the Avars; but the conquest was

made into Mœsia Interior. Here, in the year 680, between that river and the Balkans were laid the foundations of the principality of modern Bulgaria.

The fifth branch of the Scythic family in Europe was the Hungarian. By this no reference is intended to the many other nations—Dacians, Illyrians, Pannonians, Bulgarians, Iazyges, Alans, Avars, Huns, Gepide, Lombards, Khajars—that have contributed to people the Hungarian Empire, but to the MAG-



ARRIVAL OF THE HUNGARIANS IN THEIR NEW HOME.

After the Fresco of Lotze, in the National Museum of Pesh.

of short duration, and the people soon regained their independence. The greatest of the Bulgarian khans was KUVRAT, who made a league with the Emperor Heraclius, and received from him the title of patrician. After his death the old Bulgarian dominion was broken up, and his five sons became as many conquerors in distant parts. The first subdued a district on the banks of the Don; the second established himself in Pannonia; the third, in Moldavia; the fourth, in Italy; and the fifth, named Asparukh, crossed the Dan-

UBE or HUNGARIANS proper. These were a warlike people, whose original seats were in the vicinity of the Caucasus. Their first migration carried them into the region between the Don and the Dniester. Afterwards they crossed the Carpathian mountains, led by ALMOS, one of their seven chieftains. They were at this time a band of seven tribes, united in a compact which, under the sanction of oaths, gave a guaranty of justice and equality to all members of the federation. Arpad, the son and successor of Almos, overran all of Hungary and Transylvania, and early in the tenth

¹ See Book Tenth, *ante* pp. 353-360.

century laid the foundations of the Magyar dominion in the country conquered by his arms.

Of the coming of the **TURKS** into Western Asia and Eastern Europe, some account has already been given in the preceding volume.¹ These people had the same original homes with the Hun and the Tartar. With them they engaged in those fierce wars with the Chinese which occupied the first centuries before and after the Christian era. As early as the establishment of the Roman Empire they had made their way westward to the river Don. In the third century a Turkish state was established in the country around Lake Balkash. Meanwhile the conflicts of the Turks and the Chinese continued in Tartary.

It will be remembered that in the sixth century the Emperor Justin II. made a Greco-Tureoman league against the Sassanids—an alliance which led to the permanent establishment of Turkish institutions in Western Asia. In the eighth century there were recognized no fewer than eight distinct Turkish nations, scattered in various parts of the vast region between Tartary and Asia Minor. During the sixth and seventh centuries they had already established themselves permanently in what is now Asiatic Turkey. The Seljukian dynasty, the most famous of all the Turkish mediæval powers, extended itself in the eleventh century almost to Constantinople, and after the collapse of this empire, the Ottoman dynasty arose on its ruins, grew powerful throughout the West, finally crossed

into Europe, and in 1453 completed the subversion of the Empire of the East.

The name of **TARTAR**, like so many other tribal appellatives, appears at the first to have been used to designate an assemblage of nations. Vast hordes of half-savage tribes similar in race and habits spread out indefinitely from their original seats in the table-lands of Central and Northern Asia. It is thought by ethnologists that the great Tartar expansion took its origin from the locality of modern Turkistan. Many scholars regard the Tureomans themselves as a Tartar race. The physical type, even to the present day, appears to indicate some such race-identity. It is from this source that the great Mongol dynasty of the Middle Ages arose and extended itself around so large a part of the world. From the fourth to the tenth century, the slopes of the Altai Mountains, which seem to have been a center of the Mongolian movement, threw off wave after wave of barbarous population, which sank successively in the countries toward the West. Perhaps the largest European influence of the Tartar race in modern times is seen in Eastern and Southern Russia.—Such is a sketch in outline of the principal barbarian nations who, from the first to the fifteenth centuries of our era, contributed by invasion and war to destroy the Europe that was, and to fill the Europe that now is with peoples of different races. It now remains to take up in their order and consider briefly the principal barbarian kingdoms which were founded on the ruins of Rome.

CHAPTER LXXIV.—BARBARIAN KINGDOMS IN ITALY.



FIRST of kingdoms established by the barbarians in Italy was that of the **HERULI**. This nation was led into the peninsula by the bold chieftain **ODOACER**, who assured his followers that they could obtain by force the compliance with their demand for the cession

of a third part of the lands. It will be remembered that this demand was resisted by **Orestes**, regent for his son, the helpless **Augustulus**, and that the father, for this patriotic but foolhardy conduct, was driven into Pavia and slain by the barbarians. This left the boy **Augustulus** like a shorn lamb, to the mercy of the winds. He could only implore the clemency of **Odoacer**, and when did a victorious barbarian forbear?

¹See Book Tenth, *ante* p. 379.

Augustus the Little, the boy-Cæsar of expiring Rome, was hurried away to the castle of Lucullus in Campania. Odoacer at once made himself king of Italy. Rome was down, and the residue was ground under the heel of a German chieftain out of the North, who, to the one-third of the lands of Italy which had been demanded by his followers as a recompense for their services, added the remaining two-thirds to fill up the measure.

King Odoacer soon showed himself master of the strange situation which had supervened in Italy. He wisely adapted his methods of government to the condition of the people. Having himself been previously in the service of the Empire, he was well acquainted with the character and disposition of the Roman race. He accepted the title of king, but refused the purple and the diadem, thus conciliating both the German princes and the phantom nobility of Italy. The Senate was allowed to remain and even to correspond in the usual way with the authorities of the Eastern Empire. The body went so far as to make out a programme, in accordance with which the seat of empire was to be transferred to Constantinople. Italy was to become a diocese, and the senators respectfully asked that this scheme be approved by the recognition of Odoacer as Patrician of the Italian province.

At this amusing by-play and non-sensical assumption of an authority which no longer existed, the king of Italy might well smile a smile of condescension. In a prudent way he deferred to the prejudices and political customs of his subjects. In the course of a few years he reconstituted the consulship and continued to avoid the Imperial dignity. The old laws were still enforced, and the old executive officers, including the prætorian prefect and his subordinates, were retained in their places. In a politic way, Odoacer devolved the unpleasant duties of administration, such as the collection of the public revenue, upon native Roman magistrates; but the execution of those measures which were likely to produce a favorable impression upon the people he reserved for himself.

Meanwhile the honor of Italy, which had been so long dragged in the dust by the degenerate descendants of Theodosius, was re-

vived by the sword of her barbarian monarch. On the north the old frontier of Italy was re-established, and was recognized by the chieftains of Gaul and Germany. Odoacer made a successful campaign in Dalmatia, and regained possession of that province. He crossed the Alps and made war upon the king of the Ruggi, whom he defeated and made prisoner. So great was his success in arms that the Roman Senate might well decree an honor to their warlike king.

Miserable, however, was the social and economic condition of Italy. Agriculture and commerce had almost ceased. For their current supplies of provisions the Romans were at the mercy of the winds and the seas. The granaries of Egypt and Africa no longer sent their abundance into the marts of the Eternal City. War, famine, and pestilence had added their horrors through generations of decay. The tendency to depopulation was seen on every hand. Prosperous districts were left without inhabitants; for the breast of dishonored Nature yielded sustenance no longer to a race of idlers and brigands. As to the industrial and artistic aspect of life, that was seen no more. The value of property declined to a minimum; for the senators knew not in what day or hour a new company of barbarian chieftains must be supplied with homes by the confiscation of estates. The Roman nobility led a life of tremulous anxiety, humbly subservient to the master to whom they owed their lives and the remnant of their fortunes. Nor did the king fail in many instances to interpose between the rapacity of his barbarian and the helplessness of his Roman subjects. The demands of the German chiefs were frequently resisted by the king, and several of the more insolent were put to death for the attempted robbery of native noblemen.

In the pursuance of this difficult policy Odoacer consumed the fourteen years of his reign. With him rose and fell the Herulian kingdom in Italy. His people were neither strong enough nor sufficiently civilized to found a permanent dominion. Already the great nation of the Ostrogoths, under the leadership of the justly celebrated *Thiodoric*, whom the discriminating Gibbon has declared to have been "a hero alike excellent in the

arts of war and of government," was ready to sweep down from the North and destroy the brief ascendancy of the Heruli in Italy.

Having established themselves in Pannonia and Gaul, the Ostrogoths had grown to be first in influence among the barbarian states. Friendly relations had been cultivated between them and the Empire of the East. The Emperor Zeno had conferred on the nation many marks of his favor, and upon Theodoric, their king, the titles of patrician and consul. The Goths, however, were still in a half-barbarous condition, and the various donatives, made to them by the Eastern Emperor, were quickly consumed in the license of appetite. It was in this condition of affairs that the far-seeing mind of Theodoric perceived in the state of Italy an inviting opportunity for the exercise of his own genius and a vent for the restless activities of his people.

He accordingly applied to the Eastern emperor. "Italy, the inheritance of your predecessor," said he in a letter to the court at Constantinople, "and Rome itself, the head and mistress of the world, now fluctuate under the violence and oppression of Odoacer, the mercenary. Direct me with my national troops to march against the tyrant. If I fail, you will be relieved from an expensive and troublesome friend; but, if with the Divine permission I succeed, I shall govern in your name and to your glory the Roman Senate and the part of the republic delivered from slavery by my victorious arms." This proposal of Theodoric was gladly entertained by the Emperor, who saw, no doubt, in the enterprise the prospective restoration of his own influence in the West.

Theodoric accordingly undertook the conquest of Italy. The invasion was in the nature of an emigration of the whole Gothic people. The aged, the infirm, the women and children, were all borne along with the immense procession of warriors, and the whole property was included with the baggage. During the progress of the march of seven hundred miles, undertaken in midwinter, the Gothic host was frequently threatened with famine. On the way Theodoric was actively opposed by the Bulgarians, the Gepide, and the Sarmatians, who had been prompted to such a course by Odoacer. Nevertheless, the

Goth fought his way through every opposing obstacle, passed the Julian Alps, and made his way into Italy.

Odoacer went boldly forth to meet him. The two hosts met on the river Sontius, and a decisive battle was fought, in which the Ostrogoths were successful. The country of the Veneti as far south as Verona thus fell into the hands of Theodoric. At the river Adige a second battle was fought, in which the Heruli were again defeated. Odoacer took refuge in Ravenna, and Theodoric advanced to Milan. At this juncture, however, the treachery of a deserter, to whom the command of the vanguard had been intrusted, suddenly reversed the fortunes of war and brought Odoacer again into the field. Theodoric was reduced to the necessity of calling for assistance to the Visigoths of Gaul; but, after a brief continuance, all Italy, with the exception of Ravenna, was delivered to the Ostrogothic king. In that city Odoacer immured himself during a three years' siege. Finally, however, he was obliged to yield, and the Ostrogoths took possession of Ravenna. After a few days, Odoacer, to whom an honorable capitulation had been granted, was stabbed at a banquet; nor is it doubtful that the blow was struck with the knowledge and connivance of Theodoric himself. Several of the principal adherents of the Herulian king were also killed, and Theodoric, proclaimed by his Gothic subjects, was acknowledged throughout Italy and reluctantly accepted by the Emperor of the East. Thus, in the year A. D. 493, the Ostrogothic kingdom was established in Italy.

Theodoric at once entered upon a reign of thirty-three years' duration. In accordance with the rights of conquest, a third of the lands was apportioned to his followers. To the Goths, long accustomed to the cheerless rigors of the North, their new homes in Italy seemed a paradise. The new nation that was thus transported to the South was estimated at two hundred thousand men of war, besides the aged, the women, and the children.

In some respects the new population was assimilated to the old, and in some, the old to the new. The conquerors assumed the more elegant dress and many of the social customs of the Romans; but the Gothic lan-

guage held its own against the Latin. It became the policy of Theodoric to encourage the Italians in the industrial pursuits, and to reserve the Goths as the warrior caste of the state. The latter held their lands as a gift of military patronage, and were expected to be ever ready to march at the sound of the trumpet. It was a part of the king's theory that his realm must be maintained by the same power by which it had been created, wherefore supreme reliance was placed in the arm of military power.

It is hardly to be doubted that, had he so chosen, Theodoric, after the subjugation of Italy, might have entered upon a general career of conquest in the West; but such a purpose was no part of his plans or policy. He devoted himself assiduously to the reorganization of Italian society, and with that work his ambitions were satisfied. He established his capital at Ravenna, and his court soon attracted ambassadors from all parts of Europe. His two daughters, his sister, and his niece were sought in marriage by the kings of the Franks, the Burgundians, the Visigoths, and the Vandals. Offerings were brought, as if to one of the magnificent princes of the East, a distance of fifteen hundred miles, from the far-off shores of the Baltic.

It is rare that history has the pleasant duty of recording the career of a sovereign beginning in war and ending in peace, as did that of Theodoric the Great. When obliged to abolish his peaceful policy, it was rather to act on the defensive or to enforce the edicts of the administration than to gratify the lust of conquest. He established a government of the provinces of Rætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia, thus extending his authority from the sources of the Danube to Illyricum.

It was natural that the successful career of Theodoric in the West should awaken the jealousy of the Eastern Emperor. A war broke out between the two powers, and in the year 505 came to a climax in battle on the field of Margus. Victory declared for Theodoric, who, more humane than his enemy, used his victory as not abusing it. Maddened by his defeat, the Emperor Anastasius sent a powerful fleet and army to the shores of Southern Italy. The ancient city of Taren-

tum was assaulted, the country along the coast laid waste, and the Italian trade temporarily broken up. But Theodoric made his way rapidly into the distressed region, equipped a fleet, and hastened the departure of the marauding squadron to the East.

About this time Clovis, king of the Franks, gained the ascendancy over the tribes of Gaul—a movement which was resisted by Theodoric as unfavorable to his kinsman, the king of the Visigoths. When the victorious career of Clovis could be no longer impeded, the remnant of the royal Visigothic family sought and found a friendly refuge at the court of Ravenna. At the same time the Alemanni, who were now severely pressed by the surrounding nations, were taken under the protection of the king of Italy, and the hostile Burgundians were so severely handled as to desire no further aggression. The cities of Arles and Marseilles were taken, and a free communication thus established between the two kingdoms of the Goths. Indeed, at this time Theodoric was recognized as the head of the Gothic race. The Visigoths of Spain paid revenue into the treasury of Ravenna, and the abuses which had grown up in the southern kingdom were rectified by the sovereign of Italy. The Gothic supremacy was thus established from Sicily to the Danube and from Belgrade to the Atlantic Ocean. It was a virtual restoration, under barbarian auspices, of the Empire of the West.

It was deemed expedient by Theodoric not to assume the insignia of Imperial authority. He accepted the title of king—a name more congenial than that of emperor to the nations of the North. As a legislator, the monarch was less fortunate than in the work of administration. Instead of making laws according to the fitness of things, as determined by the needs of his subjects, he copied for a constitution the effete statutes of Constantine. He studiously maintained his relations of amity with the Eastern Empire, and in his correspondence with Anastasius assumed a tone at once deferential and diplomatic. The sovereigns of the East and the West regarded themselves as in alliance, and the union was annually confirmed by the choice of two consuls, the one from Constantinople and the other from Rome.

The palace of the Gothic monarch at Ravenna was after the style of the later emperors of the West. The ministers of state were the praetorian prefect, the prefect of Rome, the master of the offices, etc., with the names and duties of whom the Romans were long familiar. The government of the fifteen "Regions" of Italy was assigned to seven consulars, three correctors, and five presidents; and the forms of administration were derived from the existing statutes of the Romans. In the courts of the country the proceedings were determined by the nationality of the parties to the cause. When the action was between Roman and Roman, then the trial was conducted according to the practice of the Empire. If the parties were Gothic, then the Gothic statutes were employed; and in case of a suit of a Roman and a Goth, a mixed court heard and determined the cause.

In the management of the affairs of the state, Theodoric exhibited much wisdom and liberality. Instead of persecuting the friends of Odacer, he appointed Liberius, one of the firmest supporters of the Herulian régime, to be praetorian prefect. He took into his council the two authors, Cassiodorus and Boethius, and deferred to their prudent advice. While learning was thus patronized, Theodoric also took pains to encourage the revival of Roman institutions by at least a respectful use of the old republican forms. The descendants of the patricians were flattered by hearing the name of the Republic; and the Roman poor were pleased with the old-time distribution of provisions. The games were reinstated in feeble imitation of the splendor of Imperial times. The African lion again bounded into the arena, and the gladiator and gymnast exhibited their prowess and skill before a mixed multitude of German and Italians.

In the year A. D. 500, Theodoric visited Rome, where he was received with all the glory that the diminished sun of the old metropolis was able to shed on her sovereign. For six months the Gothic king remained at the ancient capital of the Caesars, where his manners and morals were justly applauded by those who as children had witnessed the extinction of the Empire. The still remaining landmarks of power, such as the column

and forum of Trajan and the theater of Pompey, made a profound impression upon the mind of Theodoric, who conceived from these remnants of Roman glory a shadowy notion of what the Eternal City had been in the days of her renown. He formed the design of preserving, as far as possible, from further decay the grand monuments of a civilization which no longer existed. He issued edicts to prevent further injury to the great works which the city still possessed, and appointed architects and set aside revenues to repair and restore those structures which were falling into ruin. This liberal patronage was likewise extended to the works of art which the city still possessed, and even the barbarians became envious of their king in the work of rescuing from oblivion the trophies of the ancient world.

When his brief residence at the old capital expired, Theodoric returned to Ravenna. He set an example not only to those of the court, but even to the humble. With his own hand he pruned and cared for an orchard, and found an actual delight in all the pursuits of peace. When his borders were troubled by the barbarians, he removed his court to Verona. Not only that capital and Ravenna, but also the cities of Spoleto, Naples, and Pavia, exhibited in the multiplication of their churches and other buildings, which now for the first time showed the pointed architecture of the Goths, the manifest presence of a master spirit at the helm of state. Society became more settled and happy than at any time during the previous century. The peasant was again seen in the field, and the Roman nobleman in the porch of his villa. The agricultural interests of the state were rapidly revived, and the mines of Dalmatia and Bruttium were again worked with profit.

In religious faith Theodoric, like his people, was an Arian. This fact opened a chasm between the Goths and the Italians, the latter accepting the Nicene creed. The king, however, was little disposed to trouble or be troubled in matters of faith. He and his Gothic subjects pursued their own way, and the orthodox Catholics, theirs. Those of the Goths who preferred to apostatize to the Athanasian belief were permitted to do so without persecution. The whole career of Theodoric

was marked with a spirit of tolerance and moderation. The old theory of the Roman law that every citizen might choose his own religion was adopted as best suited to the condition of the people.

It would, however, be far from the truth to suppose that the government of Theodoric was above reproach or his times without their vices. In the beginning of his reign the Heruli were unjustly oppressed with taxation, and several of the economic projects of the king would, but for the opposition of Boethius, have greatly injured the industrial interests of the kingdom. The nobles and friends of the monarch were in some instances permitted to wrest estates from others and to hold their unjust acquisitions. Nor was it possible that the two hundred thousand Gothic warriors, by whose barbaric valor Theodoric had conquered an empire, could be, even in the midst of peaceful surroundings, converted at once from savagery to civilization. The native fierceness of these warriors, who could hardly be restrained to the prosaic life of a settled residence, had many times to be conciliated by a temporizing policy on the part of the king.

It appears that the religious toleration introduced into the state by Theodoric, though outwardly accepted by the Catholics, was exceedingly distasteful to their orthodoxy. Without the power to reverse or resent the policy of the king, the Italian zealots turned their animosity upon the Jews and made that persecuted race the object of their scorn and persecution. Many rich but defenseless Israelites—traders and merchants living at Rome, Naples, Ravenna, Milan, and Genoa—were deprived of their property and turned adrift as so many paupers. Their synagogues were despoiled and then burned, their homes pillaged, and their persons outraged. To the credit of Theodoric, he set himself against these manifestations of rapacious bigotry, and some of the chief leaders of the tumult were obliged to make restitution to their victims, and were then condemned to be publicly whipped in the streets by the executioner.

Then it was that the Italian Catholics set up a cry against the persecution of the Church. The clemency and good deeds of the king were forgotten by those who were opposed to martyrdom when themselves were the martyrs.

The later years of the king's life were clouded with these religious disturbances in his kingdom. Nor did the conduct of his Italian subjects fail to excite in the mind of the sovereign the small vices of jealousy and bitterness. It is alleged that he secured the services of informers against the malecontent but noble bigots of the kingdom, whom he suspected, not without cause, of a secret and treasonable correspondence with the Emperor of the East.

Certain it is that Justinian, who had now succeeded to power at Constantinople, resolved to purge the Church of heresy as well in the West as in his paternal dominions. An edict was issued from Constantinople against the Arian Christians in all the Mediterranean states. Those who refused to accept the established creed of the Church were to suffer the penalty of excommunication. This course was indignantly resented by Theodoric, who justly reasoned that the same toleration shown by himself to his Catholic subjects in the West should of right be extended to the Arian Christians in the Empire of the Greeks. Theodoric accordingly ordered the Roman pontiff and four distinguished senators to go on an embassy to Constantinople, and there demand of Justinian the rights of religious freedom. They were commanded in their instructions to urge upon that monarch that any pretense to a dominion over the conscience of man is a usurpation of the divine prerogative, that the power of the earthly sovereign is limited to earthly things, and that the most dangerous heresy in a state is that of a ruler who puts from himself and his protection a part of his subjects on account of their religious faith. The rejection by Justinian of this appeal furnished, so far as any act could furnish, to Theodoric good ground for issuing an edict that, after a certain day, the orthodox religion should be prohibited throughout Italy.

It was in the midst of the bitterness excited by this schismatic broil that the virtuous and philosophic Boethius, who had so long been the greatest and best of the king's counselors, was accused of treason, imprisoned in the tower of Pavia, and then subjected to an ignominious execution. As Theodoric became more gloomy in his old age, Boethius soared into a clearer atmosphere. In the practical

affairs of the administration he set himself against every cruel and tyrannical measure; and when the king, led by evil advisers to believe that the further existence of the Roman Senate was incompatible with his own safety, resolved upon the annihilation of that body, the philosopher boldly interposed between the bloody purpose of his sovereign and its object. At this juncture a senator named Albinus was arrested and brought to trial on a fictitious charge of desiring the liberty of Rome. In defending him Boethius made the declaration that, if Albinus were criminal, he himself and all the senators were equally guilty; and to this—if the informers of the court are to be believed—the philosopher added that, should he know of a conspiracy to liberate Rome from bondage, he would not divulge his information. A paper was discovered directed to the Emperor of the East, inviting him to the deliverance of Italy, and signed by Albinus and Boethius. The latter was accordingly arrested and thrust into prison. The subservient Senate passed a sentence of confiscation and death, and Boethius sat in his dungeon awaiting the blow which should deliver him from darkness.

To the imprisonment of this benign spirit the world is indebted for the composition of that sublime treatise, the *Consolation of Philosophy*—a work which the calm Gibbon declares to be "a golden volume, not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully, but which claims incomparable merit from the barbarism of the times, and the situation of the author." In it Boethius traverses the whole circuit of those themes in which the philosophic mind has found most interest since the human spirit first awoke to conscious being. The dungeon of the prisoner becomes more luminous than the chamber of the king. Reason teaches that the vicissitudes of good and evil fortune are alike as nothing to him whose mind has been disciplined in the school of self-restraint, and whose conscience is without offense. From the ethics of common life, the philosopher then goes forth to search out the mysteries of destiny. What is the supreme good? What of free-will, of chance, of foreknowledge, of time, of eternity? Why do good and evil struggle for the mastery of the world and of mankind? Such are the great themes which the sublime

spirit of Boethius grappled with in the dim light of his prison. Then came the executioners. A cord was drawn around the neck of the philosopher, and tightened until his eyes were bursting from their sockets. Then was he *mercifully* beaten to death with clubs. The life was out, but the work survived; and in a distant age, Alfred the Great of England found time to give to our Anglo-Saxon fathers a translation of the noble work of the Roman martyr.

Thus in his old age was the life of Theodorie clouded with suspicion and crime. It appears, however, that the severe German conscience within him laid upon him the merciless lash for his misdeeds and cruelty. As he fell into decrepitude and the shadows of death gathered near, the ghosts of his murdered victims glared at him out of the settling darkness. Especially did the specter of the venerable Symmachus, who had been executed soon after Boethius, frown out of the shadows and menace the trembling king, who hobbled into his chamber, and after three days of remorse died, in August, A. D. 526.

The decease of the Gothic sovereign was not so sudden as to prevent him from arranging the succession. The kingdom was divided between his two grand-sons, AMALARIC and ATHALARIC, the Rhone being fixed as the boundary between their dominions. To the former was assigned the throne of Spain, and to the latter the empire of Italy. Athalaric was at this time but ten years of age, and was under the control of his mother, the celebrated AMALASONTHA. Around the bedside of the dying Theodorie gathered the Gothic chiefs and Italian magistrates, and swore allegiance to the boyish prince, who, under the regency of his mother, was now destined to be their ruler. To perpetuate the memory of the great Gothic king, his daughter, Amalasontha, reared a conspicuous monument near the city of Ravenna, and here, in a vase of porphyry supported by four columns, his remains were deposited.

The government of a nation of two hundred thousand warriors was now intrusted to a woman. The mother of Amalasontha was the sister of Clovis, king of the Franks. The queen regent of Italy was thus descended from the two royal Houses of the *Merovingians* and the *Amalians*. Nevertheless, the laws of

the barbarians forbade the occupancy of their throne by a woman. Such, however, were the peculiar circumstances of her condition that, with the death of her father, the Goths were almost obliged to concede to her the prerogatives of sovereignty. She had contracted a fortunate marriage with prince Eutharic, of which union was born the youth, Athalaric, whom Theodoric designated as his successor. In the mean time Eutharic died, and the young widow, whose personal charms and keen intellect were heightened by the best education which the times could afford, became of necessity the chief personage in the Gothic state.

In the beginning of her regency, Amalasontha strove to obliterate the bitter memories which the last years of her father's reign had left in the minds of her subjects by restoring the children of Boethius and Symmachus to their lost inheritance. She also conciliated her Roman subjects and quieted the Goths by salutary restraints. The chief of her counselors was the statesman and orator, Cassiodorus, by whose wise advice she was generally guided. Meanwhile, she devoted herself assiduously to the education of her son. That youth, however, soon proved himself to be unworthy of his parentage. Having been properly punished by his mother for some neglected duty, he escaped from the palace and threw himself upon the sympathies of the half-barbarous Gothic chiefs, already become malecontent under the reign of a woman. They espoused the cause of their boy king, and determined to rescue him from the control of Amalasontha and her ministry. The lad was accordingly set free among the wild indulgences of the semi-barbaric life, and the queen found herself environed with enemies. Opposition stirred up the worst elements of her nature, and in order to maintain herself she resorted to assassination. Several of the Gothic nobles fell by treachery. In order further to strengthen her position, she then contracted a marriage with the prince THEODATIS, hoping to associate him with herself in the government. The Gothic faction, however, obtained control over the mind of Theodatus, and in 535 the queen was deposed from power, and subjected to imprisonment on an island in Lake Bolsena.

Now it was that the Emperor Justinian undertook to avail himself of the dissensions of

the Goths, and thereby recover Italy. By his agents he procured the signature of the captive queen to a document surrendering her claims in his favor. The Emperor thus found opportunity for interference in the affairs of the West; but before any serious measures could be taken, Amalasontha was strangled in her bath by order of Theodatus. Such, however, was the condition of affairs in Italy and Africa that abundant excuse was offered to the Byzantine court for prosecuting its designs against the barbarian kingdoms. The state of the Vandals was distracted with civil commotions. Hilderic, the rightful sovereign, had been deposed and imprisoned, and the usurping Gelimer was seated on the throne. The Catholic party of the West favored the restoration of the deposed sovereign, and appealed to Justinian to aid in that work. The latter fitted out a powerful expedition, the command of which was intrusted to BELISARIUS. In the year 533, the armament proceeded to the African coast. A battle was fought with the Vandals a few miles from Carthage, and Belisarius was completely victorious. The Eastern army entered the Vandal capital. Gelimer was again defeated and obliged to surrender. Within three months, order was restored in Africa and Belisarius returned to Constantinople to be received with distrust by his suspicious sovereign. Such was his popularity, however, that a great triumph was celebrated in his honor in the capital of the East.

An excuse was soon found for the continuance of Greek interference in the affairs of Italy. On the occasion of the marriage of a sister of Theodoric the Great to Thrasimond, king of Africa, the fortress of Lilybæum in the island of Sicily was given as a bridal present to the Vandals. An army of Gothic warriors accompanied the gift and participated in the conflict of the Vandals with the Moors. Soon, however, the Goths and the Vandals quarreled, and Belisarius was invited by the former to aid them in restoring Lilybæum to the kingdom of Italy. To this was added the motive of vengeance against the murderers of Amalasontha. Accordingly in A. D. 535, Belisarius was again sent out from Constantinople to reduce Sicily. That work was accomplished without serious opposition, and in the following spring Belisarius crossed over

into Italy. The whole country south of Campania was speedily reduced. Capua and Naples were taken. Theodatus showing no signs of capacity in the emergency of his country was deposed by the Gothic chiefs, who lifted their general Vitigēs upon their bucklers and proclaimed him king. Theodatus fled and was murdered in the Flaminian Way.

The old Roman faction of Italy, thoroughly orthodox and thoroughly tired of the supremacy of the Goths, went over to Belisarius, and the city of the Cæsars was once more rescued from barbarism. The king of the Goths, however, collected a formidable army in the North and in the spring of 537 besieged Belisarius in Rome. A line of fortifications was drawn around the city. Many of the ancient structures were demolished and the material rebuilt into the ramparts. The mausoleums of the old Emperors were converted into citadels. When the Goths swarmed around the sepulcher of Hadrian, the immortal marbles of Praxiteles and Lysippus were torn from their pedestals and hurled down upon the heads of the barbarians in the ditch. Belisarius made one audacious sortie after another, hurling back his inveterate assailants. Nearly the whole Gothic nation gathered around the Eternal City, but Belisarius held out until reinforcements arrived from the East, and after a siege of a year and nine days' duration, Rome was delivered from the clutch of her assailants. Vitigēs was obliged to burn his tents and retreat before his pursuing antagonist to Ravenna.

Great were the present afflictions of Italy. In the brief interval which followed the withdrawal of the Gothic king from Rome, the Frank, Theodebert, king of Gaul, sent down from the Alps an army of Burgundians to espouse the cause of the Goths. The city of Milan, which had gone over to Belisarius, was by them besieged, taken, and dismantled. In the next year (A. D. 539) Theodebert himself, with an army of a hundred thousand Frankish warriors, entered Italy, and encamped on the Po. It soon became evident that by him the Goth and the Roman were to be treated without discrimination. Theodebert fell at the same time upon the opposing camps of Belisarius and Vitigēs, and drove every thing before him. Soon, however, the provis-

ions of the Franks were exhausted, and a pestilence broke out among them which swept away a third of their army. The turbulent warriors demanded to be led back to their homes beyond the Alps, and Theodebert was constrained to comply with their wishes. The barbarian horde was quickly withdrawn, and Belisarius again found opportunity to follow up his successes against Vitigēs.

The king of the Goths now shut himself up in the impregnable fortifications of Ravenna. Nothing could tempt him to show himself beyond the defenses of the city. Nevertheless the Roman general laid siege to the place, and awaited the results of impending famine. He vigilantly guarded the approaches to the city, cut off supplies, fired the exposed granaries, and even poisoned the waters of the city. In the midst of their distress the Goths, conceiving that Belisarius but for his obedience to Justinian would make them a better king than their own, offered to surrender the city into his hands and become his subjects, if he would renounce his allegiance to the Emperor of the East and accept the crown of Italy. Belisarius seemed to comply. Ravenna was given up by the Goths, and the victor took possession. It was, however, no part of the purpose of Belisarius to prove a traitor to the Emperor, though the conduct of Justinian towards himself furnished an excellent excuse for treason. The suspicion of the thing done soon reached Constantinople, and Justinian made haste to recall the conqueror from the West. So the hero, who by his military genius and personal courage had well-nigh recovered the entire Western Empire of the Romans, took ship at Ravenna and sailed for the Eastern capital.

With the departure of Belisarius the courage of the Goths revived. They still possessed Pavia, which was defended by a thousand warriors, and, what was far more valuable, the unconquerable love of freedom. TOTILA, a nephew of Vitigēs, was called to the throne, and intrusted with the work of re-establishing the kingdom. Of the Roman generals whom Belisarius left behind him in Italy, not one proved equal to the task of meeting the Goth in the field. The latter traversed the country without opposition, marched through the heart of Italy, and compelled submission even to



SCENE OF BELLSAIRE'S FROM ROME.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

the extremes of Calabria. He then pitched his camp before Rome, and with an impudence not devoid of truth invited the Senate to compare his reign with the tyranny of the Greek Empire.

One of the alleged reasons for the recall of Belisarius had been that he might be assigned to the defense of the East against the armies of Persia. Having successfully accomplished this duty, he was again available as the chief resource of Justinian in sustaining the Greek cause in Italy. In the year 545 the veteran general was accordingly assigned to the command in the West. Care was taken, however, by the Emperor that the aged commander should be hampered with such restrictions as would make a conspicuous success impossible. Meanwhile Totila laid actual siege to Rome, and adopted starvation as his ally.

The city was defended by three thousand soldiers under the command of Bessas, a veteran Goth. The besieged were gradually reduced to the extremity of eating bread made of bran and devouring dogs, cats, and mice, to say nothing of dead horses and offal. When Belisarius landed in Italy he made an ineffectual attempt to raise the siege of the city, and the Romans were then obliged to capitulate. In the day of the surrender the barbarian in Totila asserted itself, and the city was given up to indiscriminate pillage. The walls were thrown down; some of the grand structures of antiquity were battered into ruins, and the Goth declared that he would convert Rome into a pasture. But before the worst could be accomplished Belisarius sent so strong a protest to Totila that the latter reversed his purpose, and the city was saved from general ruin.

The Gothic king next directed his march into Southern Italy, where he overran Lucania and Apulia, and quickly restored the Gothic supremacy as far as the strait of Messina. Scarcely, however, had Totila departed upon his southern expedition when Belisarius, who had established himself in the port of Rome, sallied forth with extraordinary daring, and regained possession of the city. He then exerted himself to the utmost to repair the defenses, and was so successful in this work that when, after twenty-five days, Totila returned from the South the Goths were repulsed in

three successive assaults. Nor did it appear impossible that with seasonable reinforcements from the East Belisarius might soon recover not only Rome but the whole of Italy. To the message of his general, however, Justinian replied only after a long silence; and even then the order transmitted to the West was that Belisarius should retire into Lucania, leaving behind a garrison in the capital. Thus paralyzed by the jealousy of the Emperor, the old veteran languished in the South, while the Goths regained the advantage. In 549 they again besieged and captured Rome. Totila had now learned that to destroy is the smallest part of rational conquest. The edifices of the city were accordingly spared; the Romans were treated with consideration, and equestrian games were again exhibited in the circus under the patronage of barbarians.

In the mean time Belisarius was finally recalled to Constantinople and was forced into an inglorious retirement by a court which had never shown itself worthy of his services. He was succeeded in the command of the Roman army in the West by the eunuch NARSES, who in a body of contemptible stature concealed the spirit of a warrior. The dispatch of Justinian recalling Belisarius had declared that the remnant of the Gothic war was no longer worthy of his presence. It was this "remnant" that in the year 551 was intrusted to Narses. His powers were ample and his genius sufficient even for a greater work. On arriving in Italy he made haste to bring matters to the crisis of battle. On his way from Ravenna to Rome he became convinced that delay would be fatal to success. On every side there were evidences of a counter-revolution in favor of the Goths. It was evident that nothing but a victory could restore the influence of the Byzantine government in the West. Advancing rapidly on the capital he met the Goths in the Flaminian Way, a short distance from the city. Here, in July of 552, the fate of the kingdom established by Theodoric was yielded to the arbitrament of arms. A fierce and obstinate conflict ensued in which Totila was slain and his army scattered to the winds. Narses received the keys of Rome in the name of his master, this being the *fifth* time that the Eternal City had been taken during the reign of Justinian. The remnants of the Goths

retired beyond the Po, where they assembled and chose TEIAS for their king.

The new monarch at once solicited the aid of the Franks, and then marched into Campania to the relief of his brother Aligern, who was defending the treasure-house of Cumæ, in which Totila had deposited a large part of the riches of the state. In the year 553 Narses met this second army in battle and again routed the Goths and killed their king. Aligern was then besieged in Cumæ for more than a year, and was obliged to surrender. It was evident that the kingdom of the Goths was in the hour and article of death.

At this juncture, however, an army of seventy-five thousand Germans, led by the two dukes of the Alemanni, came down from the Rhetian Alps and threatened to burst like a thunder cloud upon Central Italy. The change of climate, however, and the wine-swilling gluttony of the Teutonic warriors combined to bring on contagion and decimate their ranks. Narses went forth with an army of eighteen thousand men and met the foe on the banks of the Vulturinus. Here, in 554, the petty emuch inflicted on the barbarians a defeat so decisive as to refix the status of Italy. The greater part of the Gothic army perished either by the sword or in attempting to cross the river. The victorious army returned laden with the spoils of the Goths, and for the last time the *Via Sacra* was the scene of the spectacle of victory called a triumph. It was a vain shadow of the Imperial glory of the Cæsars.

Thus, in the year 554, after a period of sixty years' duration, was subverted the Ostrogothic throne of Italy. One-third of this time had been consumed in actual war. The country was devastated—almost depopulated—by the conflict. The vast area of the kingdom was reduced to the narrow limits of a province, which, under the name of the Exarchate of Ravenna, remained as an appanage of the Eastern Empire. As for the Goths, they either retired to their native seats beyond the mountains or were absorbed by the Italians. The Franks also receded beyond the limits of Italy, and the Emperor and the pope, using Narses as the right arm of their power, proceeded to restore a certain degree of order to the distracted peninsula.

In the mean time two other barbarian nations became competitors for the sovereignty of the North. These were the Gepidae and the Lombards. The latter, after having disappeared from history since the days of Trajan, again returned to the stage, and for a season became the principal actors of the drama. After a contest of thirty years, they succeeded in overthrowing the Gepidae, who before submitting fought to the verge of extermination. Audoin, king of the Lombards, was succeeded by his son, ALBOIN, who sought for his wife the princess Rosamond, daughter of the king of the Gepidae; but the demand was refused, and Alboin undertook to obtain by force the coveted treasure. A dreadful war ensued, which, as above stated, resulted in the destruction of the Gepidae. Alboin took the princess Rosamond after the heroic fashion, and converted the skull of his beloved father-in-law into a drinking cup.

Thus had the king of the Lombards a taste of the glory of war. He cast his eyes upon the sunny plains of Italy. Around his banners were gathered not only his own tribes, but also many of the Germans and Scythæ. Meanwhile, the able though tyrannical Narses, accused by his Roman subjects of exactions and cruelty, had been recalled from Italy, and was succeeded by the exarch, Longinus. Fortunate it was for the Lombards that the puissant emuch was not their competitor for the possession of the Italian prize. In the year 567, Alboin descended from the Julian Alps into the valley of the Po. Rumor spread her wings before the avenging avalanche, and no army could be found to confront the invaders. The people fled like sheep before the terrible Lombards, and Alboin was besought by the cowering multitudes to assume the lawful sovereignty of the country. Only the fortress of Pavia held out against the invaders until it was reduced by famine. Here Alb in established his court, and for more than two centuries Pavia, the ancient Ticinum, became the capital of Lombardy.

Brief, however, was the glory of the conqueror. The barbarian instincts of Alboin soon led to his destruction. Engaging in a night revel in a palace near Verona, he drank wine to furious intoxication. While his barbaric brain flashed with bilarious delirium, he

ordered the skull of Cunimund, his father-in-law, to be brought out and filled to the brim. He then had the horrid vessel refilled and carried to the queen with orders that she too should drink and *rejoice with her father!* Obligated to comply with the abominable request, Rosamond resolved on vengeance. She induced two chieftains to join her enterprise, and while the king was sleeping heavily from the effects of drink, she opened his chamber door and admitted the assassins. Thus in the year 573 the founder of the kingdom of the Lombards met his fate on the spears of murderers.

For the moment the remnant of the Gepide at Verona attempted to uphold their queen; but the Lombard chiefs quickly rallied from the shock, and Rosamond fled to Ravenna. Here she soon captivated the exarch Longinus, and with him she conspired to destroy Helmichas, the lover who had accompanied her in her flight. While in his bath she gave him a cup of poison, which he partly drained; but, discovering the treachery, he drew his dagger and compelled Rosamond to *drink the rest!*

In the mean time the Lombard chiefs had assembled at Pavia and chosen Clepho for their king. Short, however, was his reign. After a year and a half he was stabbed by a servant, and his hereditary rights and the regal office descended to his son Autharis. During his minority of ten years no regular regency was established, and Northern Italy was distracted by the conflicting claims and animosities of thirty dukes, Roman and barbarian. In the year 584 Autharis attained his majority and assumed the warrior's garb. He vigorously asserted his kingly rights, and again consolidated the Lombard party over the malcontent regions of Italy. It was well for the barbarians that their sovereign was able and warlike. Soon after the accession of Autharis, Childbert, king of the Franks, passed the Alps with a powerful army, which was presently broken up by the quarrels of the Alemannian and Frankish leaders. A second expedition was met and defeated by the Lombard king, and a third, after a partial success, yielded to famine and pestilence. The dominion of Autharis was indisputably established from the Alps to the headlands of Calabria.

In the year 590 Autharis died and left no heir. The Lombard chiefs laid upon his widow, Theodolinda, the duty of choosing a husband, who should be king. The queen's preference fell upon Agilulf, duke of Turin, who entered upon a reign of twenty-five years. Great was the reputation gained by Theodolinda among the Catholics; for she converted her husband to the true faith from the heresy of Arian. So marked was the favor which she thus obtained with the orthodox hierarchy that Pope Gregory presented to her the celebrated iron crown, afterwards worn by the kings of the Lombards. This famous royal bauble derived its name from an iron band with which it was surrounded, said to have been wrought from one of the nails used in the cross of Christ.

For a period of two hundred years Italy remained under the dominion of the Lombards. The petty exarchate of Ravenna also maintained its existence under eighteen successive governors. Besides the immediate territories ruled by the exarchs, the provinces of Rome, Venice, and Naples were also subject to their authority. Pavia continued to be the capital of the Lombard kingdom, whose confines swept around on the north, east, and west as far as the countries of the Avars, the Bavarians, the Austrasian Franks, and the Burgundians.

The Lombard monarchy was elective. The right of the chiefs to choose their own sovereign, though many times waived in deference to heredity and other conditions, was not resisted or denied. About eighty years after the establishment of the kingdom, the laws of the Lombards were reduced to a written code. Nor does their legislation compare unfavorably with that of any other barbarian state.

This epoch in history should not be passed over without reference to the rapid growth of the Papal Church in the close of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century. Most of all by Gregory the Great, whose pontificate extended from 590 to 604, was the supremacy of the apostolic see asserted and maintained. Under the triple titles of Bishop of Rome, Primate of Italy, and Apostle of the West he gradually, by gentle insinuation or bold assertion, as best suited the circumstances, elevated the episcopacy of Rome into a genuine papacy

of the Church. He succeeded in bringing the Arians of Italy and Spain into the Catholic fold, and thus secured the solidarity of the

Western *ecclesia*. Greater even than these achievements was the conversion of our Anglo-Saxon fathers of Britain. Forty monks under



ST. AUGUSTINE BEFORE ETHELBERT.

Drawn by L. P. Lyendecker.

the leadership of St. Augustine were sent out by Gregory to rescue the island from paganism, and such was their success in evangelism that in a short time Ethelbert, king of Kent, with ten thousand of his Saxon subjects, had been baptized in the name of Christ. Such was the beginning of the great spiritual monarchy of Rome. Though the independence of the Greek Church was yet reluctantly recognized by the popes of the West, and though the open assertion of their temporal dominion was still withheld as inexpedient or premature, yet the foundations of the great hierarchical kingdom in the midst of the nations were securely laid, chiefly by the genius and statesmanship of Gregory the Great.

It was the growth and encroachment of Catholic power in Italy that ultimately led to the overthrow of the Lombard kingdom. As the eighth century drew to a close and the kingdom of the Franks became more and more predominant beyond the Alps, the popes with increasing frequency called upon the Carolingian princes to relieve Italy of the Lombard incubus. As early as the times of Gregory III., Charles Martel was solicited to come to the aid of his Catholic brethren in the South. The entreaties of Pope Stephen were still more importunate, and Pepin, king of the Franks, was induced to lead an army across the Alps. Two centuries of comparative peace had somewhat abated the warlike valor of the Lombards. They were still brave enough to make occasional depredations upon the provinces and sanctuaries of the Holy

Church, but not brave enough to confront the spears of the Franks. Astolphus, the Lombard king, cowered at the approach of Pepin, and he and his princes eagerly took an oath to restore to the Church her captive possessions and henceforth to respect her wishes.

No sooner, however, had the Frankish sovereign returned beyond the mountains than Astolphus broke his faith and renewed his predatory war on the Catholic diocese. A second time the angered Pepin came upon the recreant Lombards, whose country he overran and left the kingdom prostrate. For a period of about twenty years the Lombard state survived the shock of this invasion, and then returned to its old ways. Again the Romans were dispossessed of their property and driven from their towns. Pope Adrian I. had now come to the papal throne, and Charlemagne had succeeded his father Pepin. Vainly did the Lombards attempt to guard the passes of the Alps against the great Frankish conqueror. By his vigilance he surprised the Lombard outposts and made his way to Pavia. Here, in 773, Desiderius, the last of the Lombard princes, made his stand. For fifteen months the city was besieged by the Franks. When the rigors of the investment could be endured no longer, the city surrendered, and the kingdom of the Lombards was at an end. The country became a province in the empire of Charlemagne, but Lombardy continued for a time under the government of native princes. So much was conceded to the original kinship of the Lombards and the Franks.

CHAPTER LXXV. KINGDOMS OF THE VISIGOTHS, VANDALS, AND FRANKS.



HEN, in the year 410, Alaric, the Goth, was buried in the channel of the Basentius, his followers chose his brother-in-law, ADOLPHUS, to be their sovereign. The new king opened negotiations with the Emperor of the West, and offered his services to that sovereign in repelling the barbarians beyond the

Alps. Honorius gladly accepted the proffered alliance, and the Goth directed his march into Gaul. The cities of Narbonne, Toulouse, and Bordeaux were permanently occupied, and the Gothic dominion was soon extended to the ocean.

The friendly league between Adolphus and the Roman Empire was further cemented by his marriage with Placidia, daughter of Theodosius the Great. By the year

PERSIA.

- 3. **Chosroes II.**, 101-63 A.D., he is all the vices of his predecessors, but surpasses them in his great qualities.
- 40. He lays waste Syria, and Justinian pays him 500 pounds for the sake of peace.
- 51. He renews the war and cuts to pieces a Roman army of 40,000 men.

- 40. Library of Alexandria (700,000 volume) destroyed by the command of **Omar**.
- 45. **Othman**. He subdues Bactriana and his father.
- 57. **Siroes**, after murdering 60. **Al Hasan**, his little-brother, 60. **Moawiyah (Ommias)**, first **Hormisdas**, 60. **OMMIADES**, 87. **Ab**

ARABIA.

The Arabians were descendants of Ishmael, the son of Abraham. They have always lived independent, although generally at war with their neighbors. As their history is unknown and unimportant, except in its connection with other nations, it is unnecessary to mention them until the time of Mohammed and the subsequent conquests of his followers, the Saracens, who were Arabians.

Mohammed,

- 12. Begins to propagate his doctrines.
- 27. He is saluted king. From Mecca to Cujah.
- 22. **The Hegira**, or flight of Mohammed, the era from which his followers reckon time.
- 32. **Abu-Beker**, his father-in-law, succeeds him as caliph; takes Damascus.
- 33. **Omar**. In one campaign he conquers Syria, Phoenicia, Mesopotamia, and Chaldæa; in the next, the whole of Persia. His general subdue Egypt, Libya, and Numidia.

- 61. **Justin II.**, a weak prince.
- 27. **Justinian I.**, celebrated for his famous code of laws, and for the victories of his generals, Belisarius and Narses.

EASTERN EMPIRE.

- 71. **Tiberius III.**, He defeats the Persians.
- 34. **Belisarius** takes Carthage, and ends the Vandal kingdom in Africa.
- 49. **Attila**, Drenthal position, many cities wholly depopulated.
- 82. **Maurilius**.

- 10. **Heraclius**. The Persians make great ravages in the empire. He defeats them in five campaigns.
- 2. **Phocas**, usurper.
- 6. He makes some concessions to the bishop of Rome, which forms the beginning of the temporal power of the Pope.
- 11. **Heraclius II.**
- 12. **Heracleonas**.
- 12. **Constant II.** or **CONSTANTINE**, who inherits the throne.
- 38. **Edict of Heraclius**, called the "Ethesis or Exposition," by which he prohibits any dispute upon the question of one or two wills in Jesus Christ.
- 70. The Saracens conquer the whole of Europe and are defeated by **Justinian**, who celebrates the "Ethesis or Exposition," by which he prohibits any dispute upon the question of one or two wills in Jesus Christ.

VISIGOTHIC KINGDOM.

The West Goths conquer all Spain, except Galicia and Navarra.

83. The Suevi conquered by the Visigoths.

WESTERN EMPIRE

- 40. **Heldiadus**.
- 41. **Erarc**.
- 56. **Vitiges**.
- 26. **Althalaric**.
- 37. **Belisarius** takes Rome.
- 46. **Totila** the Goth takes and retakes Rome.
- 49. Rome retaken by Belisarius.
- 50. **Agathin** overthrown by Totila.
- 59. **Gregory I.**, the Great.
- 75. Thirty dukes govern.

- 62. **Grimoaldus**, in revenge he invites Italy to invade the country.
- 68. **Albion** king of the Franks.
- 70. **Clephas**. The Lombards.
- 71. **Anarchy**, 91 A.D.
- 84. **Antharis**, the Lombard king.
- 13. **Adalaoaldus**.
- 39. **Rotharis**.
- 52. **Rodolaldus**.
- 83. **Aribertus**.
- 86. **Cunibert**.

AND

KINGDOM OF THE OSTROGOTHS.

33. The emperor Justinian applies to the bishop of Rome to settle a controversy, saying, "We have sent to submit all things to Your Holiness, who are the head over all the holy churches."

Middle Ages Begin.

- 16. Computation of time from the Christian era introduced by Dionysius the monk.
- 50. Extreme unction introduced, and the invocation of the Virgin and saints.
- 55. **Fifth General Council**, at Constantinople, where the errors of Origen, as well as the Arians, and the Three Chapters, are condemned as heresies.

GAUL

11. **Childebert** has Paris, **Clotaire I.** has Soissons, **Clodomer** has Orleans, and **Thierry** has Metz. Clotaire reunites the kingdom by 559, but at his death, in 562, it is again divided among his sons.

FRANCE.

MEROVINGIAN HOUSE.

- 62. **Chilperic** has Soissons, **Charibert** has Paris, **Grotan** has Burgundy, and **Sigebert I.** has Austrasia.
- 84. **Clotaire II.** succeeds Chilperic. He establishes the kingdom.

SAXON HEPTARCHY.

- 27. **ESSEX**, founded by **Sigobert**.
- 71. **EAST ANGLIA**, founded by **Offa**.
- 47. **NORTH MERCA**, founded by **Idda**.
- 97. **MERCIA**, founded by **Crida**.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART No. IV. BARBARIAN AND MOHAMMEDAN ASCENDENCIES.

From 500 to 900 A. D.
PREPARED BY JOHN C. LARK LINNATH, LL. D.
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LOMBARDS IN ITALY.

- 4. **Sabinianus**, the GREAT.
- 6. **Boniface III.**
- 7. **Boniface IV.**
- 25. **Ariovaldus**.
- 40. **Severinus**.
- 40. **John IV.**
- 39. **Marlin I.**
- 42. **Theodore**.
- 55. **Honorius I.**
- 72. **Aedealdus**.
- 76. **Vitalianus**.
- 70. **Donus I.**
- 85. **John V.**
- 86. **Agatho**.
- 86. **Canon**.
- 87. **Sergius**.
- 83. **Benedict II**.
- 80. **Sixth General Council** and several

- 32. **Dagobert** commits all the real power into the hands of the mayor of the palace, which accounts for the character of the succeeding kings, aptly denominated "stogardis."
- 38. He dies, and his dominions are divided between his two sons.
- 38. **Clovis II.** has Neustria, and **Dagobert II** has Austrasia.
- 65. **Clotaire II.**
- 73. **Thierry II.**
- 87. **Pepin d'Heristal**, Thierry; defunct authority, the honors of the kingdom.
- 91. **Clovis II**.

WALES.

- 13. **Cadwan**.
- 34. **Cadwall**.
- 78. **Cadwallader**.
- 86. **Iddwallo**.

SCOTLAND.

- 4. **Kenneth** (of CLENETH) I.
- 56. **Donald IV.**
- 68. **Malduin**.
- 50. **Ferchard II.**
- 88. **Eugene V.**
- 92. **Eugene VI.**

49. **Abul-Abbas**, first of the **ABBASSIDES**. 79. **Al Modi**. 84. **Musa 'I Hadi**.

7. **Al Amin**. 13. **Al Mamun**, a great encourager of learning. 33. **Al Motasem**. 61. **Al Motlaser**. 62. **Al Mostaim**. 63. **Al Molaz**. 68. **Al Mohtadi**.

SARACEN EMPIRE.

4. **Soliman**. 17. **Omair II**. 19. **Yezid II**. 21. **Hesham**. 43. **Walid**. 44. **Yezid III**. 44. **Merwan II**. 45. **Al Mansor**; does much for science. 62. **Bulduk Bagdad** for his capital, and calls it the city of Peace. In consequence of this, Arabia loses much of its importance.

7. **Haroun Al Raschid**, a brave and brilliant captain; he is the Augustus age of Saracenic literature. 41. **Al Wathek**. 69. **Al Motamed**. 46. **Al Motawakkel**. 50. **Turkish slaves** formed into the body-guard of the caliphs. 61. After the murder of the caliph, the Turkish guards seize the throne at their pleasure.

Constantinople. 11. **Philippicus Bardanes**. 17. **Anastasius II**. 15. **Theodosius III**. 16. **Leo III**. 16. **ISAURIC RACE**. 20. Leo publishes an edict against the veneration of images, which causes disturbances.

2. **Nicephorus**. 41. **Michael I**. 42. **Leo V**. 42. **Michael II**. 42. **Theophilus**. 42. **Leo V**. 42. **Michael II**. 42. **Michael III**. 42. **Leo VI**. 42. **Photius**, patriarch of Constantinople, formed with Leo V.

12. The Visigoths conquered by the Saracens, who, having extended their dominion along the northern coast of Africa, invade Spain from Mauritania, whence they are called Moors. The Goths retire into Asturias.

7. **Abderrahman II**. 72. **Abdallah**, a mild and enlightened prince. 60. 81. **Rebellion of Omar**. 44. **Irruption of the Norman Sea-kings**, a race of pirates from Scandinavia, who, during two centuries, from 800 to 1000, ravage almost every coast in Europe.

18. Pelagius forms the kingdom of ASTURIAS.

44. **Hildebrandus** deposed by **Desiderius**. 49. **Asiolphus**; he retakes Ravenna and is defeated by **Peppin**. 71. The donation of **Peppin** rewards **Pope Stephen** by whom the exarchate of Ravenna is enlarged. 57. **Paul I**. 67. **Stephen III**. 95. **Leo**. 72. **Adrian I**.

7. **Charles the Bald**, king of France. 77. **Carloman**. 81. **Charles the Fat**, emperor of the empire. 81. **Gayd Spodilo**, and **Berenger of Friuli** dispute the crown. 11. **Sergius II**. 87. **Martin II**. 87. **Adrian III**. 24. **Eugenius II**. 17. **Leo IV**. 72. **John VIII**. **Stephen VI**. 27. **Valentine**. 89. **Benedict III**. 17. **Pascal I**. 89. **Nicholas I**.

PAPAL CHURCH.

15. **Gregory II**. 26 to 87. **Controversies respecting image-worship**. At Constantinople, at which **Pope Honorius** bishops are solemnly anathematized.

17. **Adrian III**. 17. **Leo IV**. 72. **John VIII**. **Stephen VI**. 27. **Valentine**. 89. **Benedict III**. 17. **Pascal I**. 89. **Nicholas I**.

14. **Charles Martel** succeeds his father as mayor. 47. **Chilperic III**. 47. **Chilperic II**. 41. **Peppin le Bref**, son of **Charles** in **Austrasia**. 52. He applies to the pope with reference to the deposition of **Childeric III**. The decision is that "As **Peppin** possesses the power, he shall also bear the title of king." The last of the **Merovingians** is therefore dismissed into a convent. 71. **Carloman** dies. 68. **Charles the Great**, or **CHARLEMAGNE**, inherits the liberties and religion of Europe. 72-803. **Charlemagne** subduces the Saxons seven times. 73. He defeats **Desiderius**, who had invaded the dominions of the pope.

14. **Louis I**, THE PIOUS. 40. **Lothaire I**. His empire, which had reached beyond his dominions, and **Louis** 75. **Charles II**, THE BALD. **Charles the Great**, grandson of **Lothaire I**. 81. **Arnold**, great grandson of **Louis I**. 86. He retakes Rome.

Charlemagne, or **CHARLES THE GREAT**, crowned emperor of the West; brave and industrious; a statesman and patron of learning. The Normans overthrow all the western provinces, burning and destroying and Carloman. 87. **Charles** deposed for covetousness and the imperial dignity transferred from France to Germany. 81. **Charles II**, THE GREAT. 83. **Normans** besiege Paris.

Egbert the Great reigns in Wessex and Essex. 29. **Alfred the Great**, the "father of his country," defeats the Danes in eight battles, divides England into counties, and establishes the first university. 86. **Formosus** elected pope. 86. **Ethelbert**. 66. **Ethelred**.

EDE, "the Venerable," an ecclesiastical historian, d. 35, a. 62.

20. **Roderic I**. 55. **Conan**. 21. **Mordach**. 64. **Fergus III**. 87. **Achalis** or **ARCHANIS**. 24. **Dongal**. 57. **Donald V**. 43. He extirpates the Picts, and takes the title of king of Scotland. 75. **Gregory the Great**. He defeats the Danes and Welsh.

18. **Merwin Uriel**, King of Man, and his wife **Ethelred**, heiress of Wales. 43. **Roderick II**, THE GREAT. 57. **Donald V**. 43. He extirpates the Picts, and takes the title of king of Scotland. 75. **Gregory the Great**. He defeats the Danes and Welsh.

414 nearly the whole of Gaul had submitted to the conqueror, who next turned his arms against the barbarians of Spain. Five years previously the Spanish peninsula had been overrun by the Vandals, who with but little opposition gained possession of the country. Adolphus now made his way across the Pyrenees and began a career of conquest, which in the following year was cut short by his assassination. The chieftains, however, chose Wallia as a successor, and in three successive campaigns drove the Vandals out of Spain. The country was thus nominally reannexed to the Western Empire. On returning into Gaul, in the year 418, the Goths were rewarded by Honorius by the cession of Aquitaine, the same being the extensive region between the Garonne and the Loire. The Gothic capital was fixed at the city of Toulouse, and a more settled state of affairs supervened than had been witnessed since the beginning of the barbarian invasions.

During the reign of Theodoric he was frequently called upon to protect his Visigothic friends in Gaul and Spain. The Franks, however, became more and more aggressive. By the year 507 Clovis had fixed his capital at Paris. In a council held at that city he declared his purpose of making war on the Goths because of their heresy in following the creed of Arian. The nobles proclaimed their readiness to follow and their determination never to shave their beards until victory had crowned their enterprise. Clotilda, the queen, added woman's zeal to the cause, and through her influence Clovis vowed to build a church to the holy apostles, who were expected to be his patrons in the extermination of the Gothic heretics. A campaign was accordingly organized for the recovery of Aquitaine.

At this time the king of the Visigoths was Alarie, a warlike prince, but no match for Clovis. After mutual preparations the two armies came face to face a few miles from Poitiers, where the overthrow of the Goths was easily effected. The two kings met in the battle, and Alarie fell under the battle-axe of his rival. The conquest of the rich province of Aquitaine was the result of the conflict, but the Goths were permitted to retain the narrow tract of Septimania, extending from the Rhone to the Pyrenees. As to the rest of

the Gaulish possessions of the Visigoths, they were permanently annexed to the kingdom of France.

In the mean time, during the latter half of the fifth century, the race of Alarie had planted itself firmly in Spain. In this country the barbarians made little concealment of their purpose to extinguish the Roman Empire. Theodoric II, who had himself obtained the Visigothic throne by murder, was in his turn assassinated by his brother, Euric, who proved to be as able as he was base. In the year 472 he passed the Pyrenees and captured Saragossa and Pampeluna. The nobles of the Roman party gathered an army to resist his progress, but were defeated in battle. He then extended his conquest into Lusitania, and reduced the whole peninsula. Even the little kingdom of the Suevi was made to acknowledge the authority of the Gothic sovereign.

With the beginning of the following century the royal line of the Goths was broken by the death of the infant grandson of Theodoric, and the government fell into the hands of Count Theudes, whose valor as a chieftain had already made him a power in the nation. At this time the Goths were engaged in a war with the Vandals, and it was resolved to invade Africa. In the year 535 an expedition was made against Ceuta, on the African coast. The place was besieged, with every prospect of success on the part of the besiegers; but on the Sabbath day the pious Goths forebore to press the enemy and engaged in worship. Taking advantage of this respite, the irreligious Vandals sallied forth and broke up the investment. It was with difficulty that Theudes made his escape into Spain. In a short time, however, an embassy came from Gelimar, now in the deepest distress; for Belisarius was victorious over the Vandals, and their king was a fugitive. In 534 he applied to Theudes for help; but the latter merely temporized with the messengers until he learned of the downfall of Carthage, whereupon he dismissed them.

After the conquest of Africa, Belisarius repaired to Italy and the Visigothic kingdom was for a while left undisturbed. When Theudes died the succession was disputed, and the less worthy of the two candidates appealed

to Justinian for the support of his claims. The Emperor espoused his cause, and received in return several cities and fortresses as a recompense. In this way the influence of the Eastern Empire was, to a certain extent, restored in Spain, and during the remainder of the sixth and the early part of the seventh century the kingdom of the Visigoths might well be regarded as a dependency.

Between the years 577 and 584 the great religious revolution was accomplished by which, in Gaul and Spain, the Arian faith was overthrown and the orthodox creed established as the true belief of the Christians. As usual in such movements, personal agencies were blended with general causes in effecting the result. At the period referred to, Leovigild was king of the Goths. He, like his subjects, held to Arianism. His son, Hermenegild, chose for his wife the orthodox daughter of Sigebert, king of the Franks. Between her and the wife of the Gothic monarch violent disensions arose, and the younger princess was at last beaten almost to death and ordered to be drowned in a fishpond. Hermenegild, backed by the archbishop of Seville, prevented the execution of the murderous purpose of the queen. The Catholic party rallied to the support of Hermenegild and his wife, and civil war—which was really a war of religions—broke out in the kingdom. For the time success declared for the side of the king and the Arians. The rebellious son was overthrown, and finally, after repeated acts of treason, was put to death.

When Leovigild died, he was succeeded by his son, Reccared, who, like his brother, was of the orthodox belief. He declared himself a Catholic. He called a council of the Arian clergy, and reason and superstition were both employed to persuade them from their error. By various means they were won over, though several nascent rebellions had to be crushed before the change in the national faith could be effected. The whole body of the Visigothic people was gradually brought within the Catholic fold, and the Suevo of North-western Spain were also added to the Church.

One of the principal acts of the reign of Reccared was the calling of the great Council

of Toledo—first of the conventions of that name. Seventy bishops of the Church assembled and testified the zeal of new converts by extending the doctrines of the Nicene Creed. The king celebrated the religious recovery of his people by sending costly presents to Gregory the Great, and that pontiff reciprocated by returning to Reccared the hairs of John the Baptist, some of the wood of the True Cross, and some iron rust from the chains of St. Peter.

During the seventh century the Visigothic kingdom in Spain flourished as greatly as might be expected of a barbarian power in a barbaric age. One of the marked features of the times was the establishment of many colonies of Jews in the Spanish peninsula. The warlike spirit in the sons of Israel was now extinct, but their bulletings among the nations had developed in the race that marvellous faculty of gain by which the Jewish people have ever since been characterized. Their rapid accumulations had made them the victims of avarice in every state where they had settled. Nor were the pious Visigoths any exception to the rule of persecution. Of course the religion of the Jews was generally made an excuse for the perpetration of deeds the real object of which was mere confiscation and robbery. Indeed, it may be stated as a general fact that, during the Middle Ages in Europe, the right of property was never regarded except when enforced by the sword.

In the beginning of the seventh century the Visigothic king was Sisebut. During his reign a great persecution was instituted against the Spanish Jews. The real motive was plunder. Ninety thousand of the Israelites were compelled under penalty of confiscation to accept the rite of baptism. Those who refused were put to torture; nor were the recusants permitted to avoid the alternative by escaping from the country. It was baptism or death. The obstinacy of the Jews was such that most of their property passed to the hands of their persecutors. When there was little more to be obtained by robbery one of the successors of Sisebut issued an edict for the banishment of all Jews from his dominion. One of the great councils of Toledo required all succeeding sovereigns to subscribe to the law of banishment; but cu-

pidity was generally stronger than an oath, and it became the practice to despoil and enslave the Jews rather than drive them to foreign lands. Notwithstanding the distresses which they suffered the Jews continued to increase, and it can not be doubted that they were the agents of that intercourse by which in the early part of the eighth century the Moors of Africa, already panting for such an enterprise, were induced to cross the strait and undertake the conquest of Europe.

The story of this great movement, by which the Mohammedans were precipitated into Spain, will be reserved for its proper place in the Second Book. It is sufficient in this connection to say that in the year 711 a great army of mixed races, all professing the faith of the Prophet, and led by the great chieftain Tariq, crossed the strait of Gibraltar and began a career of conquest which resulted in the subjugation of Spain. The Visigothic ascendancy was ended, except in the Christian kingdom of Castile, in which the remnant of the Christian powers were consolidated and were enabled to maintain themselves during the remainder of the Middle Ages.

Of the KINGDOM OF THE VANDALS a good deal has already been said in the preceding pages. The progress of this people from the north and their settlement in Spain will readily be recalled.¹ Having once obtained a foothold in the peninsula they gradually prevailed over their adversaries. Even the Roman general Castinus, who in 428 was sent out against them, was defeated in battle and obliged to save himself by flight. The cities of Seville and Carthage fell into the hands of the Vandals, who thence made their way to the islands of Majorca and Minorca, and then into Africa. Into the latter country they were invited by King Boniface, who had become the leader of an African revolt against his rival Aetius. The disposition of the Vandals to extend their conquests beyond the sea had been quickened by the warlike zeal of the great GENSERIC, who, after the death of his brother Gonderic, was elected to the Vandal throne. So great was the prowess of this mighty warrior that his name is written with those of Alaric and Attila as the third of the barbaric thunderbolts by which the great tree

of Rome was riven to the heart. He is represented as a man of medium stature, lame in one leg, slow of speech, taciturn, concealing his plans in the deep recesses of his barbaric spirit. His ambition was as great as his policy was subtle. To conquer was the principal thing; by creating strife among his enemies, if might be, by open battle if necessary.

When about to depart for the war in Africa—though Genseric contemplated no less than the removal of the whole Vandal race to the south side of the Mediterranean and the consequent abandonment of the Spanish peninsula—he turned about to chastise the king of the Suevi, who had rashly presumed to begin an invasion of the territory from which the Vandals were departing. Genseric fell upon the impudent violators of the peace and drove them into the river Anas. Then in the year 429 he embarked at the head of his nation, crossed the strait of Gibraltar, and landed on the African coast.

The number transported for the succor of Boniface amounted to fifty thousand men of war, besides the aged and infirm, the women and the children of the nation. It was, however, the prestige of victory rather than the array of numbers that rendered the Vandal invasion so formidable to the African tribes. Strange, indeed, was the contrast between the florid-complexioned, blue-eyed German warriors, strangely dressed and still more strangely disciplined, and the swarthy natives of that sun-scorched shore. Soon, however, the Moors came to understand that the Vandals were the enemies of Rome, and that sufficed for friendship. The African tribes crowded around the camp and eagerly entered into alliances with Genseric, willing to accept any kind of a master instead of the relentless lords of Italy.

No sooner had the Vandals established themselves in Africa than Count Boniface and the Princess Placidia found abundant cause to repent of their rashness in soliciting the aid of the inexorable barbarians. It became manifest that neither Tyrian nor Trojan would receive any consideration at the hands of the stern king of the Vandals. Boniface sought and obtained the pardon of Aetius. Carthage, and the other Roman posts, by which Africa had long been overawed and

¹ See Book First, p. 36.

held in subjection, returned quickly to their allegiance, and Boniface with an army of veterans would gladly have cooperated with the constituted authorities in driving the Vandals beyond the sea. But Genseric soon annihilated the forces of Boniface, and carried his victorious banners far and wide until only the cities of Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo Rhegius remained in the possession of the Romans.

The religious condition of Africa contrib-

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THE LANDING OF THE VANDALS IN AFRICA.

Drawn by F. E. Wolfrom.

uted to its rapid conquest by Genseric. A sect called the DONATISTS, so named from their leader, Donatus, who flourished in the beginning of the fourth century, fell under the ban of the orthodox party and were bitterly persecuted. Three hundred bishops and thousands of clergymen of inferior rank were deprived of their property, expelled from their country, and driven into exile. Intolerable fines were imposed upon persons of distinction supposed to be in sympathy with the heretics. Under these persecutions many of the Donatists gave way of necessity and entered the Catholic fold; but the fanatical element could not be subdued, and this numerous party became the natural ally of Genseric. The sacking of the Catholic churches which ensued, and which, as reported by the fathers, has made the word *vandalism* a synonym for wanton robbery, is doubtless to be attributed to the uncontrollable vengeance of the Donatists rather than to the barbarians themselves, who, on the whole, were less to be dreaded for their savagery than either the Goths or the Huns.

In the year 430, the seven rich provinces stretching from Tangier to Tripoli were overrun by the invaders. The cities were generally destroyed. The wealth accumulated by ages of extortion was exposed by the torture of its possessors, and seized with a rapacity known only to barbarism. In many instances the unresisting inhabitants of towns were butchered by the frenzied Vandals. Boniface himself, after vainly attempting to stay the work which he had provoked, was besieged in Hippo Rhegius. For fourteen months the garrison held out, but was finally reduced by famine. Meanwhile, the Empire sent what succor might be spared to shore up the tottering fortunes of Africa. A powerful armament, under the command of Aspar, leaving Constantinople, joined the forces of Boniface, and the latter again offered battle to the Vandals. A decisive conflict ensued, in which the Imperial army was destroyed. Boniface soon after fell in Italy in a civil broil with his old rival, Aetius.

It appears that, after the capture of Hippo Rhegius and the overthrow of Boniface, Genseric did not press his advantage as might have been expected. He entered into nego-

tiations with the Emperor of the West, and agreed to concede to that sovereign the possession of Mauritania. Several aspirants for the Vandal throne, notably the sons of Genseric, appeared to annoy rather than endanger the supremacy of the barbarian monarch. Nor could the turbulent populations which he had subdued be easily reduced to an orderly state. An interval of eight years was thus placed between the defeat of Boniface and the capture of Carthage. When the city fell into the hands of the assailants, it was despoiled of its treasures after the manner of the age. The dominant party of the Carthaginians was subjected to the severest treatment by the conqueror. The nobles, senators, and ecclesiastics were driven into perpetual banishment.

With the downfall of Carthage the supremacy of the Vandals in Northern Africa was completely established. The maritime propensities of the Moorish nations had not been extinguished by centuries of warfare. Nor was Genseric slow to perceive that the ocean was now the proper pathway to further conquest and glory. The coast towns again rang with the shipbuilders' axe, and the Vandals emulated the nautical skill of the subject people. It was not long till an African fleet conveyed an army into Sicily, which was readily subjugated. Descents were made on the coasts of Italy, and it became a question with the emperors, not whether they could recover Africa, but whether Rome herself could be saved from the clutches of Genseric.

A Vandal fleet anchored at the mouth of the Tiber. Maximus had recently succeeded Valentinian on the Imperial throne, but at the end of three months he was murdered and his body thrown into the Tiber. Three days after this event, the Vandals advanced against the city. The Roman bishop, Leo, and a procession of the clergy came forth, and in the name of religion and humanity demanded that the inoffensive should be spared and the city saved from ruin. Genseric promised moderation, but vain was the pledge of barbarism. For fourteen days and nights Rome was given up to indiscriminate pillage. The treasures of the Eternal City were carried on board the Vandal ships, and wanton destruction, fire, and murder added to the horrors of the sack.

She that had despoiled the nations was in her turn outraged and left lying in her own blood by the banks of the Tiber.

From this time, for a period of eight years, the Vandals became the terror of the Mediterranean. The coasts of Spain, Liguria, Tuscany, Campania, Lucania, Bruttium, Apulia, Calabria, Venetia, Dalmatia, Epirus, Greece, Sicily, Sardinia, and indeed of all the countries from Gibraltar to Egypt, were assailed by the piratical craft of Genseric. With all of his conquests and predatory excursions the Vandal king showed himself capable of policy and statecraft. After the capture of Rome, he took the Empress Eudoxia and her daughter, Eudocia, to Carthage. He compelled the young princess to accept his son Hunneric in marriage, and thus established a kind of legitimacy in the Vandal government. Eudoxia and her other daughter, Placidia, were then restored from their captivity.

The separation between the Eastern and Western Empires had now become so complete that the one could no longer depend upon the other for succor. The West was thus left to struggle with the barbarians as best she might; nor were her appeals for aid much regarded by the court of Constantinople. The warlike Count Ricimer, leader of the barbarian armies in Italy in alliance with Rome, was reduced to the necessity of tendering the submission of the country to the Eastern Emperor as the condition of protection against the Vandals.

On his return to his African kingdom, Genseric again found himself embroiled with his Catholic subjects. The orthodox bishops openly disputed with his ministers in the synods, and the king resorted to persecution as a means of intellectual conquest. In the reign of HUNNERIC, who succeeded his father in the year 477, the Catholic party was still more seriously proscribed. Many were exiled, and a few were tortured on account of their religious creed. After the death of Hunneric in 484, the throne descended successively to his two nephews, GENDAMUND and THRASIMUND, the former of whom reigned twelve and the latter twenty-seven years.

This period in Vandal history was occupied with the quarrels and wars of the Arian and orthodox parties in the Church. Meanwhile,

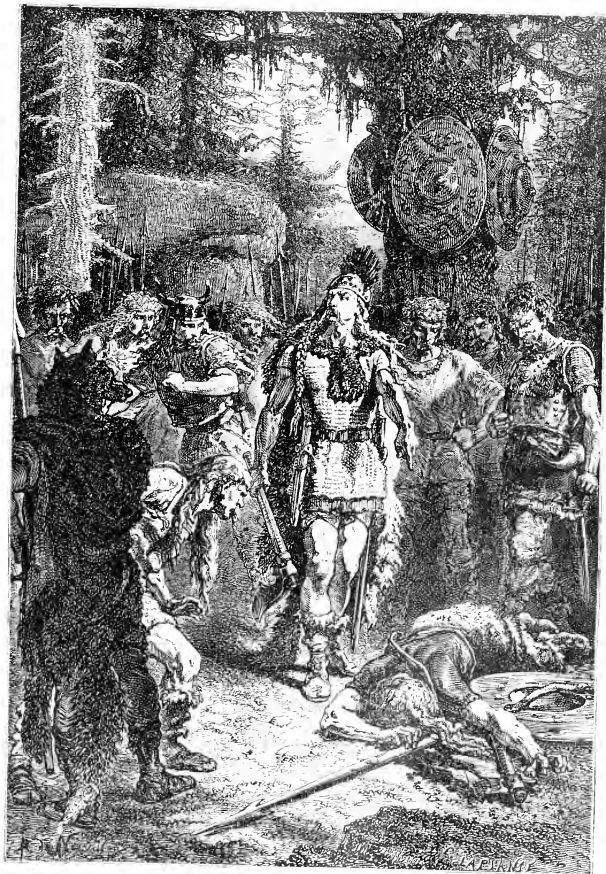
HUNNERIC, the son of Hunneric, grew to his majority, and after the death of his cousin THRASIMUND, in 523, acceded to the throne. His disposition was much more humane than that of his predecessors, but his goodness was supplemented by feebleness, and, after halting through a weak reign of seven years, he was supplanted on the throne by his cousin GELIMER. The end of the Vandal power, however, was already at hand. Partly with a view to exterminate the Arian heresy, and partly for the purpose of restoring the supremacy of the Empire throughout the West, Belisarius was dispatched into Africa and intrusted with the work of reconquering the country. The years 530-534 were occupied by the great general in overthrowing the dominion established by Genseric south of the Mediterranean. Gelimer was driven from the throne, and attempted to make his escape to the capital of the Visigoths in Spain. He made his way as far as the inland districts of Numidia, but was there seized and brought back a prisoner. In the year 534, Belisarius was honored with a triumph in the streets of Constantinople, and the appearance of the aged Gelimer in the captive train was a notification to history that the kingdom of the Vandals existed no longer.

The origin and course of the FRANKISH NATION down to the time of Clovis has already been narrated in the preceding pages.¹ It will be remembered that, after their settlement in Gaul in the beginning of the fifth century, the Franks were ruled in the German manner by a noble family, which traced its origin to the prince MEROVEUS and was known as the Merovingian House. The chieftains of this family were elevated on the bucklers of their followers and proclaimed kings of the Franks. They were represented as having blue eyes and long, flaxen hair, tall in stature, warlike in disposition. CLODOX, the first of these kings, held his court at a town between Louvain and Brussels. His kingdom is said to have extended from the Rhine to the Somme. On his death the kingdom was left to his two sons, the elder of whom appealed to Attila, and the younger—Meroveus—to the court of Rome. Thus was prepared one of the conditions of the Hunnish invasion of Gaul. Of

¹See Book First, p. 37.

the reign of Meroveus not much is known. The next sovereign, named CHILDERIC, was banished on account of his youthful follies. For four years he lived in retirement in Ger-

many, where he abused the hospitality of the king of the Thuringians by winning away his queen, who accompanied him on his way into Gaul. Of this union was born the



"THU'S DUST THOU TO THE VASE AT SOISSONS."

prince KILODWIG, or CLOVIS, who is regarded as the founder of the Frankish monarchy. In the year 481 he succeeded his father in the government, being then but fifteen years of age.

Clovis was a warrior from his youth. His disposition was audacious in the extreme. In one of his earlier campaigns he captured the cathedral of Rheims and spoiled the altar of its treasures. Among the rich booty was a marvelous vase of great size and value. When it came to a division of the spoil, the king—against that usage of the German race which required that all the spoils of war should be divided by lot—sought the vase for himself. For the bishop of Rheims had sent to him a request for a return of the priceless trophy, and Clovis would fain make friends with the Christian nobleman. But one of the Frankish chiefs struck the vase with his battle-axe and destroyed it.

Clovis was greatly angered, but for a while concealed his wrath. In the course of time there was a military inspection of the Franks, and when the king came to examine the arms of him who had broken the vase he found them rusty and unfit for use. He wrenched the battle-axe out of the hands of the chief and threw it on the ground, and when the owner stooped to recover it dashed his own ponderous weapon into the skull of the stooping warrior. "Thus," said he, "didst thou to the vase at Soissons." Nor did any dare to resent the murder of the chief.

At the time of the accession of Clovis the kingdom of the Franks embraced only the provinces of Tournay and Arras, and the number of Clovis's warriors did not, perhaps, exceed five thousand. It was, however, a part of the freedom of the German tribes to attach themselves to what chieftain soever appeared most worthy to be their leader.

At first Clovis was a soldier of fortune. In his earlier expeditions and conquests the spoils of battle were divided among his followers. Discipline, however, was the law of his army, and justice the motto of his government. His ascendancy over the Franks and other German tribes soon became the most marked of any thus far witnessed since the beginning of the barbarian invasion. Soon after his accession to authority, Clovis was

obliged to contend for his rights with the Roman Syagrius, who claimed to be master-general of Gaul. That element in Gaulish society, however, which was represented by Syagrius had so greatly declined in numbers and influence that Clovis gained an easy victory, and his rival was delivered over to the executioner.

The next conflict of the king of the Franks was with the Alemanni. This strong confederation of tribes claimed jurisdiction over the Rhine from its sources to the Moselle. Their aggressions in the kingdom of Cologne brought them into conflict with Clovis, and the latter defeated them in a great battle fought in the plain of Tolbiac. The king of the Alemanni was slain, and his followers were obliged to submit to the conqueror. The result of the conflict was so far-reaching that Theodoric the Great sent his congratulations from Ravenna.

In the year 496 Clovis was converted from paganism to Christianity. In the mean time he had married Clotilda, a Catholic princess, niece of the king of Burgundy. It was through her instrumentality that the king's mind was gradually won from the superstitions of the North. The tradition exists that in the crisis of the battle of Tolbiac, when the kingdom as well as the life of Clovis was hanging in the balance, he prayed aloud to the "God of Clotilda," whereupon victory declared in his favor. The pious warrior could do no less than recognize his obligation by accepting the religious faith of his queen.

It appears, moreover, that the doctrines of Christianity had already diffused themselves not a little among the chiefs of the Frankish nation. Though it was anticipated that the conversion of Clovis would be illy received by his people, yet the opposite was true. The chiefs of the Franks applauded his course and followed his example. In the year 496 Clovis was publicly baptized in the cathedral of Rheims, and the officiating bishops and priests spared no pains to make the ceremony as solemn and magnificent as possible. Three thousand of the principal Franks were likewise baptized into the new faith.¹ Thus, nominally,

¹ It is narrated that Clovis was greatly excited on hearing repeated the tragic story of the crucifixion of Christ. His feelings were a mixture of

at least, the new kingdom established by the genius of Clovis was planted upon a basis of Christianity.

It could not be truthfully claimed, however, that the lives and characters of the Frankish king and his subjects were much modified by their conversion. The ferocious manners and coarse instincts of the barbarians still continued to predominate until what time the gradual influences of enlightenment dispelled the darkness of heathenism. The reign of Clovis thus became a mixture of Christian profession and pagan practices. He accepted the miracles performed at the holy sepulcher at Tours by St. Martin, and drank in the entire superstition of his times. He received from the Catholic clergy the title of Eldest Son of the Church; for he was the first of the pagan kings to accept the doctrines of Christianity as they were promulgated from the See of Rome.

But neither the professions of religious faith, nor the baptismal ceremony, nor any humanity in the king himself prevented him from imbruing his hands in the blood of the innocent. He assassinated all the princes of the Merovingian family as coolly and deliberately as though he were an Oriental despot; nor was any human life or interest permitted

to stand between him and his purpose. In the year 497, the Armoricians were obliged to submit to the new French monarchy. About the same time, the remaining troops and garrisons within the limits of Gaul were overpowered by the Franks. In further conquests Clovis extended his authority over the northern provinces, and in 499 he began war on Gundobald, king of the Burgundians. In the



CLOVIS MURDERS THE MEROVINGIAN PRINCES.
Drawn by Viege.

realms of that monarch, as previously in those of the king of the Franks, religious clamor was at its height between the Catholic and Arian parties. The king adhered to the latter, and the former, having a natural affiliation with Clovis, a good excuse was given to the king of the Franks for undertaking the war in the name of religion. In the year 500 a great battle was fought between Langres

Christian pathos and barbarian vengeance. "Had I been present with my valiant Franks," he exclaimed in wrath, "I would have revenged his injuries."

and Dijon. Victory declared for Clovis. Burgundy became tributary to the Franks. Within a short time Gundobald violated the conditions which were imposed by the conqueror, and the war was renewed. Gundobald, however, continued his nominal reign until his death, and was succeeded by his son, Sigismund.

With him the kingdom of the Burgundians was destined to extinction. In the year 532, an army of Franks was led into the country, and Sigismund was driven from the throne, captured, and, with his wife and two children, buried alive in a well. The Burgundians were still allowed to enjoy their local laws, but were otherwise incorporated with the dominions of the conqueror. There thus remained to the sons of Clovis a realm almost as broad as the Republic of France.

In the mean time Clovis had established his capital at Paris. In the first quarter of the sixth century occurred the great struggle between the Goths and the Franks for possession of the country north of the Alps. A personal interview was held between Clovis and Alaric on an island in the Loire. Many were the mutual professions of kingly and brotherly affection between the two distinguished monarchs, who each hid beneath the cloak of Christian regard a profound and settled purpose to undo his *friend* at the first opportunity. In the year 507 a great battle was fought about ten miles from Poitiers, in which the Franks were completely victorious.

In the next year the kingdom of Aquitaine was overrun by Clovis and annexed to his dominions. Hearing of these great conquests and especially delighted with the Christian profession of the king of the Franks, the Emperor Anastasius, looking out from Constantinople to the west, conferred upon him the imperial titles. The king entered the church of St. Martin, clad himself in purple, and was saluted as *Consul* and *Augustus*.

Something was still wanting to complete the establishment of the French monarchy, and this was supplied a quarter of a century after the death of Clovis. The city of Arles and Marseilles, the last strongholds of the Ostrogoths in Gaul, were surrendered to the Franks, and the transfer was sanctioned by Justinian. The people of the provinces beyond the Alps were absolved from their allegiance

to the Emperor of the East, and by this act the independent sovereignty of the Franks was virtually recognized. So complete was the autonomy of the new government that gold coins, stamped with the name and image of the Merovingians, passed current as a measure of value in the exchanges of the Empire. The settled state of affairs which thus supervened among the people of Gaul, contributed powerfully to stimulate the nascent civilization of the epoch. Already under the immediate successors of Clovis, the Franks or French became of all the recently barbarous peoples of the North the most polite in manners, language, and dress.

It may be interesting in this connection to add a few paragraphs respecting the growth of law, and, in general, of the social usages which prevailed among the barbarian peoples, especially among the Franks, in the times of the Merovingian kings. Before the elevation of the House of Meroveus, namely, in the beginning of the fifth century, the Franks appointed four of their sagest chieftains to reduce to writing the usages of the nation. Their work resulted in the production of a code known as the *Salic Laws*. These statutes were reported to three successive assemblies of the people and were duly approved. When Clovis became a Christian he found it necessary to modify several of the laws which touched upon questions of religion. His successors in the kingdom further revised the Salic code until in the course of a century from the time of Clovis the statutes were reduced to their ultimate form. About the same time the laws of the Ripuarian Franks were codified and promulgated; and these two bodies of law were made the basis of the legislation of Charlemagne. It will be remembered that when the Alemanni were conquered by the Franks they were permitted to retain their own local institutions. The same was true in the case of the conquest of the Bavarians. The Merovingian kings took care that the laws of the two peoples last mentioned should also be compiled as a part of the local statutes of the kingdom. In the case of the Visigoths and the Burgundians, written legislation had already preceded the Frankish conquest. Among the former people King Euric himself was the tribal legislator, by whom the immemorial

usages of his nation were reduced to statutory form.

In general, the barbarian laws were such as sprang necessarily out of the conditions present in their rude society. Each tribe had its local customs and usages, which in the course of time obtained first the sanction of observance and then of authority. When the kingdom was consolidated under the Merovingians each tribe was permitted to retain its own laws; nor did Clovis and his successors attempt to exact uniformity. The same freedom which was thus extended to the various nations composing the Frankish power was conceded to the different classes of society. In some sense there was a law for each member of the tribe. Individuality was the essential principle—*free doom* the first thing consulted in legislation.

The barbarian customs were persistent—transmitted from father to son. The child received and followed the law of the parent; the wife, of her husband; the freedman, of his patron. In all procedures the preference was given to the defendant, who must be tried in his own court, and might choose the law under which he was prosecuted.

The peculiar vice of the barbarian legislation was the fact of its being *personal*. Crime was regarded as committed against the individual, not against society. This led inevitably to the substitution of private vengeance for public punishment. As among the American aborigines, so among the ancient Germans, revenge was regarded as honorable. Society conceded to each the privilege of vindicating his own rights and punishing the wrongdoer. The individual executor of the law was thus in his turn subjected to the will of the kinsmen of any whom he had punished. Vengeance and counter-vengeance thus became the common methods of obtaining redress. The *lex talionis* was the law of society. To the extent that this principle prevailed the magistrate was reduced to an advisory officer, whose duty was to mediate between man and man, rather than enforce by authority a common law upon all.

Growing out of these vicious principles was the idea present in nearly all the barbarian codes that human life might be measured by monetary valuation, that blood had its price.

The admission of this element into the legislation of the Germans left the principle of fine and forfeiture as almost the only restraint against the commission of crime. Each member of society was permitted to take the life of the other, subject only to his ability to pay the price of the deed. Every person was appraised for criminal purposes. Upon the life of each was set an estimate, and this estimate was freely admitted as the basis of criminal proceedings. Of the *Antrustions*, or persons of the first rank, the lives were appraised at six hundred pieces of gold. The next grade of persons, embracing those who sat at the king's table, were listed at one-half as much as the *Antrustions*. The ordinary Frankish free-man was reckoned as worth two hundred pieces of gold, while the lives of persons of inferior quality were set at a price of a hundred or even fifty pieces. In general, the commission of crime against the life of a person was followed by the payment of a fine equal to the price at which the murdered man was appraised. It was perhaps fortunate that this irrational and inadequate punishment was reinforced by the fear of that personal vengeance which might in turn be taken upon the murderer.

With the lapse of time greater rigor was introduced in the administration of justice; and by the time of the advent of Charlemagne legislation had for the most part become impersonal—that is, punishment was thenceforth inflicted in the name of society, and not in the name of the individual.

In the sixth century the law was generally executed by the duke or prefect of the county. The judge was nearly always unlearned, passionate, perhaps vindictive. The methods employed in the alleged courts of justice were worthy of a barbarous age. The defendant might introduce his friends as witnesses, and prove that they *believed* him innocent! If as many as seventy-two persons could be found so to testify, it was sufficient to absolve an incendiary. It was found that the barbarian conscience was a very indifferent safeguard against the crime of perjury. In order more certainly to obtain the truth, two new methods were invented of putting the parties to the test. These were known by the common name of the "Judgment of God." The first was by

fire, the second by water. The accused was put to the test of handling a red-hot iron, which if he might do with impunity he was adjudged innocent. In the other case the criminal was put into the water. Should he be buoyed up, the judgment was, *Not Guilty*; should he sink, *Guilty*. Such was the benign legislation attributed to the lawgiver Gundobald, king of the Burgundians.

Another method of procedure in the barbarian court was that of judicial combat. In this case the accused was expected to confront the accuser, and to vindicate his innocence by battle. The combatants met each other on foot or on horseback, and fought, each according to the method of his own countrymen; and the court adjudged that he who fell was the criminal. This irrational and cruel method of deciding disputes, begotten, as it was, by ignorance and cradled by superstition, spread throughout all the states of Europe, and continued to prevail for many centuries. Nor might the weak, except by the aid of a champion, hope to contend successfully with the violence of the strong oppressor.

As far back as the days of Ariovistus, a claim was established by the Germans upon the lands of Gaul. At first one-third, and afterwards two-thirds, of the territory of the Sequani was assigned to the warriors beyond the Rhine. After five hundred years these claims, once recognized, were reasserted by the Visigoths and Burgundians, and became the basis of the subsequent land titles of Gaul.

At the time of the Frankish invasion, the rights of the original Gauls and Romans ceased to be regarded. The land distribution made by Clovis to his followers has already been mentioned. The Merovingian princes took and retained large domains out of the conquered territory. They also assumed the right of conferring upon the Frankish nobles certain lands called *benefices*, which were to be held in the feudal fashion on the conditions of military service and homage to the suzerain. Besides the royal estates and beneficiary lands, two other classes of title, known as the *allodial* and *Salic* possession, were also recognized. Already the system of Feudalism might be seen oozing out of barbaric France.

The system of slavery was adopted by the Franks as well as by the Romans. The bar-

barians reduced to servitude the prisoners taken in war. In general, however, the captives thus reduced to serfdom were attached to the *estates* of their masters, and were henceforth regarded as belonging to the land rather than subject to personal ownership. Still the power of life and death was freely exercised by the lord, and none might question his right to treat his serfs according to the dictates of interest, caprice, and fashion.

The consolidating and civilizing forces which began to assert themselves during the reign of Clovis were greatly retarded after his death. That event occurred in Paris in the year 511. The king was buried in the basilica of the Holy Apostles, which had been erected by him at the instance of Clotilda. The king left four sons as his successors. The first, named Theodoric, was born of a German wife, who preceded Clotilda. The other three, named Childebert, Clodomir, and Clotaire, were the sons of the queen. The unfortunate policy was adopted of dividing the kingdom among them. Theodoric received for his portion parts of Western Germany and Aquitaine, together with the country bounded by the Rhine and the Meuse. Childebert reigned at Paris; Clodomir, at Orleans; and Clotaire, at Soissons. The last named king was destined to unite the dominions of his brothers with his own.

At first the three sovereigns of Gaul formed an alliance and made a successful war on Burgundy, in the course of which Clodomir was killed, A. D. 531. Thereupon, Clotaire and Childebert conspired together to take his kingdom. The territory of the Orleans prince was accordingly divided between Paris and Soissons. After this Childebert made an expedition into Spain, and achieved some success over the Visigoths, but made no permanent conquests. Returning into France, a dispute arose between him and Clotaire, and the brothers undertook to settle their troubles by battle. But before the contest was decided, Childebert died; and by this mortal accident, the French territories of Clovis were again consolidated in the hands of his son. Meanwhile, the eastern part of the Frankish Empire, called Austrasia, remained under the authority of Theodoric. Two of the sons of Clodomir arose to claim the restitution of the Orleans province

which had belonged to their father; but they were hunted down and murdered by Clotaire.

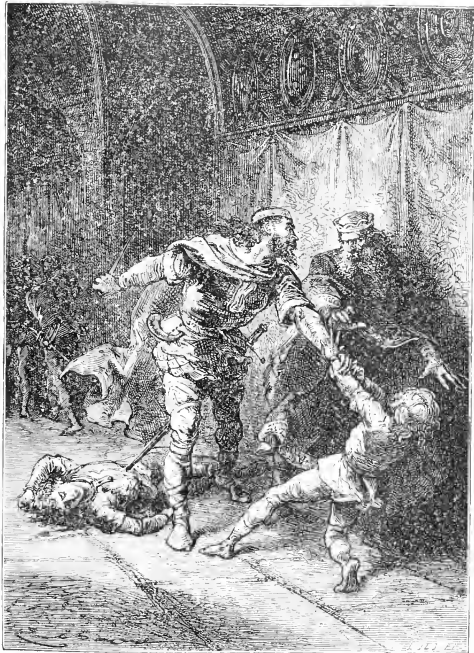
A rebellion headed by Chramme, the king's son, was next suppressed by the royal army; and the disloyal prince, together with his wife and children, was burned alive. Theodoric's crown descended to his grandson, who died without issue, and Austrasia also was added to the kingdom of Clotaire, which now equaled in extent the realm governed by his father. His reign was extended for three years after the extinction of the Austrasian branch, when he died, leaving the Empire again to be divided among his four sons, Charibert, Gontran, Chilperic, and Sigebert. These all belonged to the race of *Rois Fainéants*, or Royal Donothings, as they were called, in contempt of their indolent disposition and slothful habits.

On the death of Chilperic the crown descended to a second Clotaire, who, at the ripe age of four months, was left to the regency of his mother, Fredegonda. At this time the Austrasian government was under the regency of the Princess Brunehaut, who governed

in the name of her grandsons. Between the two regents a war broke out, kindled with the double ferocity of barbarism and womanhood. In the year 613 Brunehaut was overpowered by the nobles of Burgundy and delivered into the hands of Clotaire, who put her to death with an excess of cruelty. Her extinction removed the last obstacle to the reuniting of

the kingdom of Clovis in a single government.

Clotaire II. died in the year 628, and was buried in the sepulcher of the Merovingians at Paris. He was succeeded in the government by his son Dagobert I. Before the death of his father, namely, in 622, he had been



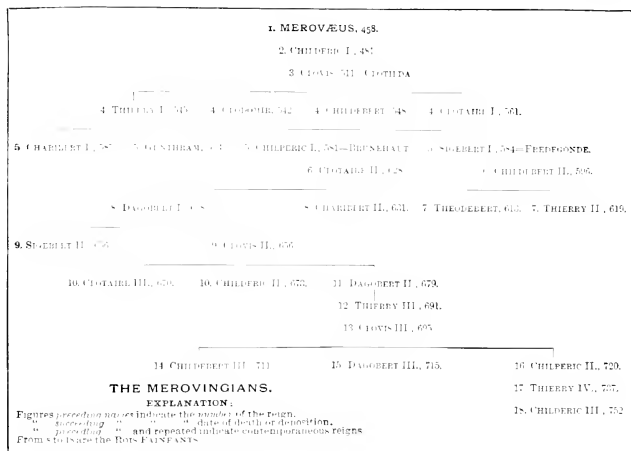
MURDER OF THE CHILDREN OF CLODOMIR.

recognized as king of Austrasia. After the decease of the king, Neustria and Burgundy fell to Dagobert by inheritance; and three years later the kingdom of Aquitaine, which had been previously assigned to Charibert, was reannexed to the consolidated Empire.

Dagobert proved to be a sovereign of great abilities and ambitious. He made his capital

the most splendid in Western Europe. He patronized learned men and great artisans. He endowed monasteries and abbeys. He revised the old Salian and Ripuarian statutes into a common code. He was called the Solomon of the Franks, and the name was well earned, both by the wisdom of his public and the social vices of his private life. Striking was the treachery displayed in his conduct toward the Bulgarians. Then he invited to accept an asylum within his dominions and then murdered. The royal household became

den in the palace. When Dagobert II. was assassinated Pepin and Martin were honored with the titles of dukes of the Franks. At the same time the kingly title was abolished in Austrasia. In the year 680 Martin was killed in battle, and Pepin became master of the state. The German tribes on the border had now become hostile, and Duke Pepin was obliged to exert himself to maintain his eastern frontier. In 687 he inflicted a signal defeat on the enemy, and then invaded the territory of Neustria. He met the forces of



for the time a kind of Oriental harem, distracted with the broils of three queens and numberless concubines. He died in the year 638, and was buried at St. Denis.

Passing over the brief and inglorious reign of Sigebert II., we come to Dagobert II., who held the throne from 674 to 679, when he was assassinated by PEPIN OF HERISTAL and his brother Martin, mayor of the palace. This office had, during the alleged reigns of the *Rois Fainéants*, become the most important in the Frankish government. The mayor of the palace was the great functionary of the state, and the king with his imbecile glory was hid-

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perhaps no other prince ever had more "kings" at his disposal than Pepin had. He did not, after the manner of Clovis, attempt the extermination of the remaining Merovingians, but permitted them each in his turn to occupy the nominal throne, behind which he himself stood a grisly terror. The kings Thierry III., Dagobert II., Clovis III., Chilperic III., and Dagobert III. were so many

royal puppets in the hands of the great Frankish master. Once a year, on May-day, when the national assembly was convened at Paris, Pepin would bring forth his little sovereign and show him to the people. After this ceremony had been performed the king was sent back to the seclusion of his villa, where he was kept under guard, while Pepin conducted the affairs of state.

The period reaching from the year 687 to 712 was occupied with fierce struggles between the Franks and Frisians on the Rhine frontier. The former, however, having now gained the strength of civilization without having lost the heroic virtues of barbarism, were more than a match for the savage tribes whom they encountered in the north-east. The Frisians and the Alemanni were compelled, after repeated overthrows, to acknowledge the mastery of the victorious Franks.

Great were the domestic misfortunes to which Pepin in his old age was subjected. A fierce rivalry broke out between his queen, named Plectruda, and his mistress, Alpaïda. Grimoald, son of the former, the legitimate heir of his father's power, was murdered; and the king was obliged to indicate a grandson, Dagobert III., as his successor. The son of Alpaïda was Karl, or Charles, afterwards surnamed Martel, meaning the *Hammer*. When in the year 714, the boy grandson of Pepin acceded to power, he was placed under the regency of the widowed queen Plectruda; but Charles Martel soon escaped from the prison in which he had been confined by his father, seized his nephew, the king, and drove the queen from the palace. The way was rapidly preparing for a new dynasty.

In his restoration to liberty, Charles was aided by the Austrasians, who proclaimed him their duke. The Franks were now, as always, greatly discontented with the rule of a woman. Wherefore, when Martel led an army of Austrasians into Neustria, he easily gained the victory over the forces of the queen; and the Western Franks were little indisposed to acknowledge his leadership and authority. Becoming mayor of the palace, he permitted Dagobert to continue in the nominal occupancy of the throne. After his death three other kinglets, Chilperic, Clotaire, and Thierry, followed in rapid succes-

sion, playing the part of puppets. But when, in 757, the last of this imbecile dynasty died, Charles refused to continue the farce, and no successor was appointed. He, himself assumed supreme direction of affairs, and the *Rois Fainéants* were dispensed with. The new monarch, however, declined to accept any title of royalty, merely retaining his rank as Duke of the Franks.

Great was the energy now displayed in the government. This was the epoch in which the struggle began to be manifested between the Frankish kings and their nobles. The barbarian aristocracy was little disposed to submit to the rule of a monarch. They felt that their free doom was curtailed by the authority of a king. Charles Martel was compelled to take arms against the powerful chieftains of Austrasia before they would submit; and the prelates of Neustria were in like manner reduced to obedience. He was also successful in several campaigns against the German tribes on the north-eastern frontier; but the great distinction of his reign and glory of his own genius were shown in his conflict with the Mohammedans.

The appearance in Spain of these fiery followers of the Arabian Prophet, their victories over the Visigoths, and the establishment of the Moorish kingdoms in the peninsula have already been referred to and will hereafter be narrated in full.¹ Having conquered Spain, the Moslems crossed the Pyrenees and invaded Gaul. Their purpose of conquest was nothing less than all Europe for Allah and the Crescent. In the south of France a gallant defense was made by Count Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine, who in 721 defeated the Saracens in a battle at Toulouse, where Zama, leader of the host and lieutenant of the caliph, was slain. The Moslems rallied, however, under their great leader Abdalrahman, and continued the invasion. Count Eudes called loudly to the Franks for aid, and the call needed no second; for the Saracens had already penetrated as far as Poitiers, and the kingdom was threatened with extinction.

Charles took the field at the head of his Frankish and German warriors and confronted the Moslem host on the memorable field a few miles north-east of POITIERS. Here,

¹ See Book Second, pp. 114-154.

on the 31 of October, 732, was fought one of the great battles of history, in which the religious status of Europe was fixed. All day long the conflict raged with fury. The Arabian cavalry beat audaciously against the ranks of the heavy-armed German warriors, who with their battle-axes dashed down whatever opposed. At sunset the Arabs retired to their own camp. During the night some

recovered and permanently annexed to the Frankish dominions. Charles continued to rule the empire until his death in 741, when the government descended to his two sons, CARLOMAN, who received Austrasia, and PEPIN THE SHORT, to whom was assigned the remainder of the Frankish dominion. The latter son obtained possession of his Austrasian province, as well as his own, assumed the



CHARLES MARTEL IN THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

After a painting by Pluëblemann.

of the Moslem tribes fell into battle with each other, and on the morrow the host rolled back to the south. Thus just one hundred years after the death of the Prophet, the tide of his conquests was forever stayed in the West.

In honor of his triumph over the Saracens, Charles received the name of the Hammer; for he had beaten the infidels into the earth. Without any imprudent attempt to pursue the Mohammedan hordes beyond the limits of safety, he nevertheless pressed his advantage to the extent of driving them beyond the Pyrenees. The province of Aquitaine was

name of king, and thus became the founder of THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY.

On his first accession to power, Pepin adopted the policy of his immediate predecessors and set up a Merovingian figure-head in the person of Childeric III. This poor shadow of an extinct House was made to play his part until the year 752, when a decision was obtained from Pope Zachary in favor of the Carlovingian family. Childeric was thereupon shut up in a monastery, and Pepin the Short was anointed and crowned as king by St. Boniface in the cathedral of Soissons. He

signalized the first year of his reign by annexing to his dominions the province of Septimania, which for several years had been held by the Saracens of Spain. In 753 he engaged in a war with the Saxons, and compelled that haughty race to acknowledge his supremacy, to pay a tribute of three hundred horses, and to give pledges that the Christian missionaries within their borders should be distressed no more.

From the days of Clovis friendly relations were cultivated between the Frankish kings and the bishops of Rome. After the defeat of the Saxons, Pope Stephen III. made a visit to France, and earnestly besought the aid of Pepin against the barbarian Astolphus, king of the Lombards. The Frank readily accepted the invitation, and led an army into Italy. Astolphus was besieged in Pavia, and soon obliged to sue for peace. A favorable settlement was made by Pepin, who then retired to his own capital; but no sooner was he beyond the Alps than Astolphus violated the terms of the treaty and threatened the capture of Rome. In the year 755 Pepin returned into Lombardy, overthrew Astolphus, conquered

the exarchate of Ravenna, and made a present of that principality to the head of the Church. Thus was laid the foundation of the so-called temporal sovereignty of Rome.

Five years later the attention of Pepin was demanded by the condition of affairs in Aquitaine. In that country a popular leader, named Waifar, had arisen; and under his influence the province was declared independent. For eight years the war continued with varying successes; nor was Pepin at the last able to enforce submission until he had procured the assassination of Waifar. In 768 the king of the Franks returned to his capital, where a few days afterwards he died at the age of fifty-three. The kingdom descended to his two sons, Carloman and Charles, or Karl, commonly known as Charles, or Karl the Great, or still more generally by his French name of CHARLEMAGNE.—Such in brief is the history of the Frankish kingdom from the half-mythical and wholly barbarous times of Meroveus to the coming of that great sovereign, who by his genius in war and peace may be said to have laid the political foundations of both France and Germany.

CHAPTER LXXVI.—THE ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOMS.



TO people of the English-speaking race, the story of the Anglo-Saxons can never fail of interest. The hardy and adventurous stock transplanted from the stormy shores of the Baltic to the foggy island of Britain has grown into imperishable renown, and the rough accent of the old pirates of Jutland is heard in all the harbors of the world.

The native seat of the Anglo-Saxons has been already defined. From the river Scheldt to the islands of the Jutes, and extending far inland, lies a low and marshy country, through which the rivers for want of fall can scarcely make their way to the sea. The soil is a sediment; the sky, a bed of dun mist and heavy clouds, pouring out their perpetual

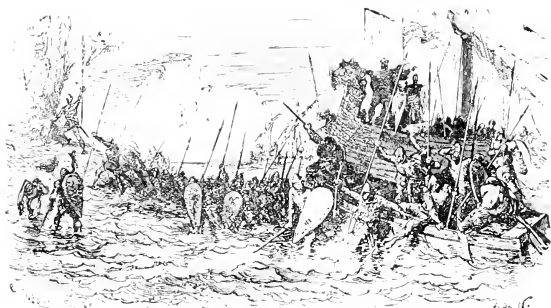
rains. Ever and anon the storms roll in from the North Sea, and the black waves plunge and roar and bellow along the coast. From the first, human life in this low and doleful region has been an everlasting broil with the ocean.

It was from these dreary regions that the storm-beaten, war-hardened fathers of the English race came forth in the middle of the fifth century to plant themselves in Britain. Nor was the natural scenery of the new habitat, shrouded in fogs and drenched with rain, girdled with stormy oceans and clad in sunless forests, better calculated than their original seats to develop in our forefathers the sentiments of tenderness and refinement. By the banks of the muddy British rivers, and on the margin of the somber oak woods, the mixed tribes of Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and

Frisians established themselves and began to work out the same but grand problems of English civilization. Of the personal characteristics and intellectual features of the race much has been written, but nothing better in the way of description and analysis than the essay of the eloquent Eddic. Of the Anglo-Saxons he says:

"Huge white bodies, cool-blooded, with fierce blue eyes, reddish-blaxen hair; ravenous stomachs, filled with meat and cheese, heated by strong drinks; of a cold temperament, slow to love, home-stayers, prone to brutal drunkenness; these are to this day the features which descent and climate preserve in the

man-hunt is most profitable and most noble; they left the care of the lands and flocks to the women and slaves; seafaring, war, and pillage was their whole idea of a freeman's work. They dashed to sea in their two-sailed barks, landed anywhere, killed every thing; and having sacrificed in honor of their gods a tithe of their prisoners, and leaving behind them the red light of their burnings, went farther on to begin again. 'Lord,' says a certain litany, 'deliver us from the fury of the Jutes.' 'Of all barbarians these are strongest of body and heart, the most formidable,'—we may add, the most cruelly ferocious.



LANDING OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS IN BRITAIN.

Drawn by A. de Nourville.

race, and these are what the Roman historians discovered in their former country. There is no living in these lands without abundance of solid food; bad weather keeps people at home; strong drinks are necessary to cheer them; the senses become blunted, the muscles are braced, the will vigorous. In every country the body of man is rooted deep into the soil of nature; and in this instance still deeper, because, being uncultivated, he is less removed from nature. In Germany, storm-beaten, in wretched boats of hide, amid the hardships and dangers of seafaring life, they were preëminently adapted for endurance and enterprise, inured to misfortune, scorers of danger.

"Pirates at first: of all kinds of hunting

"When murder becomes a trade, it becomes a pleasure. About the eighth century, the final decay of the great Roman corpse, which Charlemagne had tried to revive, and which was settling down into corruption, called them like vultures to the prey. Those who remained in Denmark, with their brothers of Norway, fanatical pagans, incensed against the Christians, made a descent on all the surrounding coasts. Their sea-kings, 'who had never slept under the smoky rafters of a roof, who had never drained the ale-horn by an inhabited hearth,' laughed at winds and storms and sang: 'The blast of the tempest aids our oars; the bellowing of heaven, the howling of the thunder, hurt us not; the hurricane is our servant, and drives us whither we wish to go.'

“Behold them now in England more settled and wealthier. Do you look to find them much changed? Changed it may be, but for the worse, like the Franks, like all barbarians who pass from action to enjoyment. They are more gluttonous, carving their hogs, filling themselves with flesh, swallowing down deep draughts of mead, ale, spiced wines, all the strong coarse, drinks which they can procure; and so they are cheered and stimulated. Add to this the pleasure of the fight. Not easily with such instincts can they attain to culture; to find a natural and ready culture we must look among the sober and sprightly populations of the South.”

Such is a picture of the character and life of the Anglo-Saxons when they began to possess themselves of England. It was in the middle decade of the fifth century of our era that the half-civilized Celtic people of South Britain, left naked by the withdrawal of the Roman legions, and hard pressed on the north by the Piets and the Scots, adopted the fatal expedient of inviting to their aid the barbarians of the Baltic. The tribes thus solicited were the Jutes, the Angles, the Saxons, and the Frisians. The first mentioned dwelt in the Cimbric Chersonesus, now Jutland, or Denmark. Parts of Schleswig and Holstein were also included in their territories. In the latter country the district known as Angeln was the native seat of the Angles. To the south of these two regions, spreading from the Weser to the delta of the Rhine, lay the country of the Saxons, embracing the states afterwards known as Westphalia, Friesland, Holland, and a part of Belgium. A glance at the map will show that these tribes occupied a position of easy approach by sea to the British Isles.

At this epoch the condition of Britain was much the same as it had been during the Roman Supremacy. With the retirement of the legions from the island the life of the British Celts had in a measure flowed back into its old channel. The institution of the ancient race had been in large part revived. Especially had the religious superstition of the Celts reasserted its sway, and the Druidical ceremonial was again witnessed under the oaks and by the cliffs rising from the sea. Here, as of old, the Druid priests by their mysterious and often bloody ritual reached

out the hand of power over their savage subjects and swayed their passions at will. Albeit, in matters of war the British Celts were no match for the rude barbarians of the North, who now descended in countless swarms upon the coasts of the island.

It is believed that Hengist and Horsa, the leaders of the barbarian host which accepted the call of the Celts, as well as a majority of their followers in the first expedition, were Jutes. With them, however, a large body of Angles from Holstein, and Saxons from Friesland, was joined in the invasion. So came a mixed host into England. At this time the king of the British Celts was Vortigern. Him the Jute chieftains aided in driving back the Piets and Scots. When the island was thus freed from its peril the Celtic king was entertained at a feast given by Hengist.

Beautiful was Rowena, the daughter of the warlike host. By her was the heart of Vortigern fatally ensnared. Humbly he sought and gladly received her hand, and in proof of gratitude he gave to the Jutes the isle of Thanet. Here the invaders found a permanent footing and would not be dismissed. Fresh bands were invited from the Baltic.

The fertility of exposed Britain and the wealth of the Celtic towns excited the insatiable cupidity of the barbarians. First quarrels and then hostilities broke out between them and the Celts. The sword was drawn. Vortigern was deposed and his son Vortimer elected in his stead. A hollow and deceptive truce was concluded, and the chief personages on both sides came together in a feast. When the drinking was at its height, Hengist called out to his Saxons, “*Nimud cure seonias*” (Take your swords); whereupon each warrior drew forth his blade and cut down all who were present except Vortigern. The result of the first contest in the island was that all of Kent, the ancient Cantium, was seized by the invaders and ruled by Eric, the son and successor of Hengist. Thus was established the first Saxon kingdom in England.

Thus far the predominating foreigners were Jutes, mixed with Angles. This condition of affairs continued with little change for about a quarter of a century. In the year 477 a Saxon leader named Ella and his three sons landed a powerful force of their countrymen

in what was afterwards called Sussex, or South Saxony. The first settlement made by the immigrant warriors was at Withering, in the island of Selsey. Thus far the Celtic populations had measurably held their own, but a serious struggle now began for the possession



DRUIDS OFFERING HUMAN SACRIFICE.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

of Britain. The native peoples took up arms and made a spirited resistance. A great battle was fought in which the Saxons were victorious, and the Celts were driven into the forest of Andredswold. Meanwhile new bands of Saxons poured into the island and joined their countrymen. The British princes established a confederacy, but Ella defeated their army in a second battle and gained possession of nearly the whole of Sussex. Such was the founding of the second Saxon kingdom in Britain.

The coast now in possession of the invaders extended from the estuary of the Thames to the river Arun. Near the close of the fifth century the Saxon leader, Cerdic, with a second army from the continent, landed in the island and carried the conquest westward over Hampshire and the Isle of Wight to the river Avon. Thus was founded Wessex, or the kingdom of the West Saxons. West of the Avon the country was still held by the Britons, who now fought desperately to maintain their frontier against the invaders.

North of the river Thames the first conquest was made in 527 by the Saxon prince, Ecrenvine, who overran the flat country of Essex, establishing here the kingdom of the East Saxons. Subsequent conquests soon extended the Saxon border northward to the Stour, which was maintained as the frontier till 547.

The next descent made by the German tribes from the Baltic was on the coast at Flamborough Head. A long space was thus left between the frontier of the East Saxons and the scene of the new invasion. This time the invaders were Angles. The wild country between the Tees and the Tyne, embracing the present county of Durham, was overran, and here was founded the kingdom of Bernicia. The next incoming tribe was also of the Angle race. The territory between the Tees and the Humber was now occupied, but not without a long and bloody contest with the natives. This region became the kingdom of Deira.

Near the close of the sixth century the barbarians came in swarms. The most populous bands were out of Angeln. The names of the chieftains by whom they were led have not been preserved. The new-comers were divided into two bands, called the South Folk

and the North Folk. They overran the country between the Stowe and the Great Ouse, including the present counties of Suffolk and Norfolk. This district constituted the state of East Anglia. The country of which these last invaders possessed themselves was almost insular in its isolation from the rest of the island. Around its western frontier lay a series of bogs, meres, and lakes, and to the defense thus naturally afforded the East Angles added a long earthwork, the line of which is still plainly to be seen, being known as the *Devil's Dike*.

Still the northern tribes poured into the island. In the beginning of the seventh century the country between the Wash and the Humber, constituting the modern Lincolnshire, was conquered, the same being the only chasm now unoccupied by the foreigners between the Avon of Hampshire and the North Umbrian Tyne. The northern boundary was now extended to the Frith of Forth. In the year 617 the Angles of Bernicia and Deira were united and formed into the kingdom of North Umbria. The western coast of England, from the Frith of Clyde to the Land's End in Cornwall and the southern coast from Cornwall to the borders of Hampshire remained in possession of the Celts.

The inland frontier of the Saxon kingdoms was for a long time wavering and uncertain. It was perpetually fixed and unfixed by the varying fortunes of war. During the seventh century a branch of the populous Angles founded the inland kingdom of Mercia, extending from the Severn to the Humber, and bounded on the west by Wales. In this district a war of conquest was not so violent as in other parts of the island. A large proportion of the original Celts remained in their homes, and were blended with the conquering people. The Mercian Angles are said to have contributed more than any other of the northern tribes to the general subjugation of Britain.

Such was the Saxon conquest of England, and such is the story of the establishment of the seven petty kingdoms known by the name of the *HEPTARCHY*. The movement of the German tribes from the north occupied a period of nearly two hundred years. More than half of that time (so stubborn was the resistance of the Britains) was occupied with fierce

was between the invaders and the invaded. Of the previous history of the British Celts very little is known. Nor can the traditions which have been preserved of the famous Prince Arthur and his chivalrous knights of the Round Table be accepted as historical truth. Old British patriotism has woven the fiction of a mythical, national hero, whose actual exploits were attended doubtless with the disasters and misfortunes of the Saxon conquest, and might be regarded as heroic only because they were performed by a patriotic and valorous prince striving to defend his country.

It has been matter of dispute among those who have most critically examined the history of the Saxon Heptarchy whether the kings of the different states were of equal and independent rank, or whether one was recognized as superior to the rest. According to Bede, the Anglo-Saxon chronicler, one of the princes of the kingdoms held the title and rank of *Britwadda*, or Wielder of the Britains, being sovereign of the rest. If, however, any such tie of sovereignty bound together the several kingdoms of the Heptarchy, it was a very feeble and ineffectual bond.

The first Britwadda, or ruler of Britain, is said to have been Ella, the conqueror of Sussex, who held that rank until 519. After this for a considerable period no prince was pre-eminent. Then arose Ceawlin, king of Wessex, who became Britwadda in 568, but his right of sovereignty was disputed by Ethelbert, fourth king of Kent, and a descendant of Hengist. Hostilities broke out between the two princes; but Ceawlin held the primacy until his death in 593. The office then fell to Ethelbert. This prince took for his queen the beautiful Bertha, daughter of Charibert, one of the *Rois Fainants* of Paris. It was the fortune of Ethelbert to be in authority at the time when the forty Christian monks sent out by Gregory the Great came into Britain and set up the standard of the cross. Now it was that the Anglo-Saxons were induced to abandon the superstitious and practices of paganism and accept the doctrines of Christianity.

The first three Britwaddas—Ella, Ceawlin, and Ethelbert—were Saxons, or Jutes. The fourth was Redwald, king of East Anglia, who is said to have obtained the supreme rank in

the year 617. His reign was occupied with wars, first with the Scots, and afterwards with Edilfrid, king of the North Umbrians, whom he defeated in a great battle in Nottinghamshire. Nevertheless a few years later the office of Britwadda passed to Edwin, king of North Umbria, whose assumption of authority marked the transfer of political power from the south to the north of the island. The old historian Fabian has this to say of the peaceful reign of Edwin: "In this time was so great peace in the kingdom of Edwin that a woman might have gone from one town to another without grief or annoyance; and for the refreshing of way-goers this Edwin ordained at clear wells cups or dishes of brass or iron to be fastened to posts standing by the said wells' sides; and no man was so hardy as to take away those cups, he kept so good justice." Such are the simple annals of a simple age.

It was during the reign of Edwin that the Isles of Man and Anglesea were added to North Umbria. So powerful became the king that all the Saxon chiefs of South Britain acknowledged his authority. In the year 633, however, Penda, the Saxon king of Mercia, rebelled against Edwin, and formed an alliance with Cadwallader, king of Wales. In the next year a great battle was fought at Hatfield, near the river Trent, in which Edwin was defeated and killed. Penda next invaded the country of the East Angles. In these movements he stood as the representative of the old paganism of the Angles. It was impossible, however, that the principles which he represented should make much headway against the converted nations along the coast. In 634 Oswald, a nephew of Edwin, gathered an army, fell unexpectedly upon Cadwallader and his Welsh in their camp near Hexham, and routed them with great slaughter. Cadwallader himself was among the slain. The temporary ascendancy of Wales was destroyed. Oswald retook the territories which Edwin had lost, and he was soon afterwards recognized as Britwadda of the Heptarchy.

In this epoch in the history of the Anglo-Saxon fathers, churches and monasteries began to be built in various parts of the kingdoms. Oswald himself was a patron of such structures. He gave his daughter in marriage to Cynegils, king of Lindesfarne, for the conver-

sion of whose people and those of Wessex labored assiduously. The energy of his government can not be doubted. He compelled even the Scots and Picts to acknowledge his authority. In him rather than in any of the preceding Britwaldas might be recognized the lineaments of a real king of the Angles.

In 642 Oswald was slain in battle, whereupon Penda, the pagan king of Mercia, endeavored to regain his ascendancy over the Angles; but Oswy, the brother of Oswald, rallied his countrymen, and the Mercians were beaten back. Oswy, however, was not recognized as Britwaldas. Under the repeated assaults of Penda he was restricted to the old kingdom of Bernicia, while Deira was given to a prince named Odelwald. In 652 the Mercian king again advanced into North Umbria, laying waste with fire and sword like a savage. In his despair Oswy sued for peace, which was granted on such terms as greatly to weaken the North Umbrian kingdom. Two years later, however, the compact was broken and a great battle was fought near York between the Mercians and North Umbrians. In this conflict Penda and thirty of his princes were killed. In gratitude for his unexpected victory, Oswy established ten abbeys and sent one of his daughters to become a nun with the Lady of Hilda.

Following up his success the victorious Oswy inflicted a signal vengeance on the Mercians. All the territory north of the Trent he annexed to his kingdom, and soon afterwards added the remainder south of the river. In 655 he assumed the office of Britwaldas, but his claim was disputed by a rival. In the following year the North Umbrians revolted under Wulfere, son of Penda, and not only regained their kingdom, but also made a successful conquest of a part of Wessex. About this time Oswy was greatly afflicted by the revolt of his son Alchfrid, who demanded that a part of North Umbria should be given to him in sovereignty. The king was obliged to comply with the wish of the rebellious prince. Meanwhile an epidemic called the yellow plague broke out with violence, and for twenty years continued to decimate the island. In 670 Oswy died, being the last of the Britwaldas, unless an exception should be made in the case of Ethelbald, king of Mercia.

In the mean time a consolidating tendency had appeared among the states of the Heptarchy. The seven kingdoms were reduced to three. Kent, Su-sex, Essex, and East Anglia were swallowed up in North Umbria, Mercia, and Wessex, which now became the ruling states of England. This fact of consolidation greatly simplifies the remaining history of the Saxon kingdoms, and further on we shall find the tendency to union constantly illustrated until the final mergerment in the times of Egbert.

The successor of Oswy in North Umbria was his son Egfrid. Scarcely was the latter seated on the throne when his northern frontier was assailed by the Picts. In 671 they were defeated by Egfrid's cavalry and driven to their own territories. Eight years afterwards the king made war on Mercia, and his army met that of his enemy on the banks of the Trent. Here was fought another bloody battle, in which many brave leaders on each side were slain. Peace was made by the interposition of a Christian bishop, who induced the rival Saxons to desist from further bloodshed. In 685 the Picts and the Scots again rushed down from the North, and were confronted by Egfrid. This, however, was the last of his battles. He was slain in a conflict with Brude, the Pictish king.

Such was the violence of these times, that of the fourteen kings who reigned in England during the seventh century, six were slain by rival competitors, generally their own kinsmen; five were overthrown by their rebel subjects; two sought refuge in monasteries; and one died with the crown on his head. Of such bloody materials was composed the concrete under the heavy walls of the English Monarchy!

During the first quarter of the eighth century, a dubious contest was waged between the kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex. The tide seemed to set against the latter, and the kings of Wessex were reduced to a kind of vassalage. In 797, Ethelbald, king of Mercia, was recognized as monarch over the whole country south of the Humber, excepting Wales. In the fifth year of that monarch's reign, however, the Saxons of the West Kingdom rose against the Mercians and defeated them in a great battle at Buxford, in Oxford.

shire. From 757 to 794 the paramount authority of Mercia was again recognized, especially in the reign of King Offa, who, after subduing Sussex and Kent, overran all that part of the kingdom of Wessex on the left bank of the Thames. He then made war on Wales, and drove the king beyond the river Wye. The country between that stream and the Severn was permanently occupied by Saxon colonists. In order to secure this region from reconquest, he caused a ditch and an earthwork to be drawn for a hundred miles along the Welsh frontier. The line of this defense is still to be traced from Basingwerke to Bristol.

King Offa was called the Terrible. Well might he so be named by the yeomanry of Wales, who many times felt his vengeful blows. Those whom he met in battle he slew, and the captives he reduced to slavery. Albeit, he was a taciturn spirit, always abounding in silence, subtle to conceive, quick to execute his designs; not without pride, but above a petty vanity. His cruelties in war were so many and merciless that not even the monkish chroniclers have been able to make his reputation other than that of a bloody tyrant.

In the year 795 the king of Mercia died, and the power which he had established by his warlike deeds began rapidly to decline. At the same time North Umbria fell into a weak and helpless condition. Meanwhile the kingdom of Wessex had been gradually gaining an ascendancy which was soon to be asserted in a still more striking manner. At the time of Offa's death the West Saxons were ruled by Beotrie. His right, however, was disputed by Prince Egbert, who, after a short and unsuccessful struggle for the crown, was obliged to seek safety in flight. He found refuge at the court of Mercia, whither he was followed by the messengers of Beotrie, who demanded that the Saxon refugee should be killed, and Eadburgha, daughter of Offa, be given to himself in marriage. Escaping from the Merician capital, Egbert fled to the camp of Charlemagne and took service in the army of that great monarch. Beotrie obtained Eadburgha for a wife, but she soon proved to be the bane of the kingdom. She instigated her husband to the perpetration of many crimes. She then became a murderess herself. She prepared a cup of poison for one of Beo-

trie's noblemen, but by mistake the potion was drunk by the king himself, who died in a horrid manner. The thanes and warriors then rose against the bloody-minded queen, and she was expelled from the kingdom. Flying to the court of Charlemagne, she was sent to a convent for security. Here her bad disposition reasserted itself, and she was turned out of doors. Years afterwards she was seen, haggard and forlorn, begging bread in the streets of Pavia.

Learning of the death of Beotrie, Egbert returned from the continent and claimed the kingdom of Wessex. He was received by his subjects with great joy, and acknowledged without further opposition. His first enterprise was to establish his authority in Devonshire and on the side of Cornwall. Scarcely had this work been accomplished when Wessex was invaded by the Mericians. Egbert now established his character as a great captain by inflicting a decisive defeat on the enemy. Following up his advantage he subdued the whole kingdom of Mercia, and annexed it to his own dominions. He appointed a governor for the country and others for East Anglia and Kent. The country north of the Humber was next invaded, and in a short time North Umbria was compelled to submit. Eanred, the North Umbrian king, became a vassal of Egbert, whose authority was acknowledged from Cornwall to the Frith of Forth.

Thus in the year 827 were the kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy consolidated under a single ruler. It was three hundred and seventy-six years since the landing of Hengist and Horsa, and eleven years after the death of Charlemagne. It will thus appear that the tendency to political union was felt somewhat later in England than on the continent, where the great Frankish emperor had already established a single rule over most of the barbarian states. Egbert continued to style himself the king of Wessex and Britwalda of the Saxon states. The name of king of *England* was reserved for his illustrious grandson.

For seven years the island enjoyed the blessings of a government more regular and extensive by far than any previously established in Britain. Local insurrections here and there were easily suppressed, and the English people began to feel the influence of

civilization. Scarcely, however, had this state of affairs supervened when the country was profoundly shaken by a new invasion from the north. The Anglo-Saxons were in their turn made to feel the blows of lawless barbarism. Now it was that the Danes, disturbed in their native seats on the Baltic, took to sea, as the Angles and Saxons had done, and threw themselves on the shores of England.

No brood of pirates more reckless, fierce, and hardly had ever gone forth on the hazardous seas of fortune. The first landing of these Northmen was effected in the Isle of Sheppey in the year 832. In the following year a new band was landed from thirty-five ships at Chertmouth, in Devonshire. Here they were met by the army of Egbert, and, after a stubborn conflict, driven back on ship-board. The Saxons were astonished at the desperate valor displayed in battle by their new enemy. The whole coast became infested with the sea-robbers, who captured, killed, or destroyed whatever came in their reach. They made a league with Cornwall, and in 834 landed an army in that country to cooperate with the Cornish king against Devonshire. Egbert, however, was not to be discouraged, much less alarmed, by the activity of the Danes.

The people of Cornwall were in a state of comparative independence. They felt themselves well able to regain the political position which they had had before the invasion of Egbert; but this hope was vain. They were met by the Saxons at Hengsdown Hill, and defeated with great slaughter. Great was the misfortune to Wessex and all England when, in 836, the warlike Egbert died. It became at once apparent that the kingdom which he had founded had been maintained by his genius and sword. Scarcely was he buried until the supremacy of the West Saxons was denied, and the states began to reassert their independence. The crown of the West Saxons descended to Egbert's son Ethelwulf, who began his reign by conferring the kingdom of Kent on his son Athelstane. Mercia revolted and regained her independence. Thus at the very time when the piratical Danes were swarming along the coast, that political union by which only England might hope to protect herself against the invaders was broken up.

Finding that the great Egbert was dead,

the Northmen spread inland everywhere. The southern parts of Wessex and Kent were completely overrun, and a fleet of Danes sailing up the Thames captured and pillaged London. So desperate became the condition of the country that, in 851, the bishops and thanes of Wessex and Mercia met in a congress at Kingsbury to devise means of defense. Barhulf, king of Mercia, led an army against the Danes, but was defeated and slain. Better success attended the campaign of Ethelwulf, who, with his West Saxons, overthrew the Northmen in Surrey, inflicting upon them such a bloody defeat as they had never before suffered in the island. Another victory was gained over the pirates at Sandwich by Athelstane, of Kent. Ceorl, chief of Devonshire, also defeated the Danes at Wenbury.

The distractions of France were at this time such as to make that country a more inviting field than England to the rapacious Northmen. In the time following their defeats they sailed up the Seine, captured Paris, and laid the city in ashes. England was for the moment relieved by this diversion of her enemies. Ethelwulf even found time to make an expedition into Wales and to punish the people of that country for a recent insurrection. He carried his banners as far as Anglesey, and the Welsh were obliged to yield.

Returning from his war, Ethelwulf, whose religious zeal was even greater than his military abilities, determined to make a pilgrimage to Rome. In the year 853 he passed over to the continent, crossed the Alps, and reached Rome, where he remained for nearly a year. On his return into France, the aged zealot fell in love with Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, of France. Obtaining her father's consent, he led the princess to the altar of the cathedral at Rheims, where they were married, with a solemn ceremony.

Ethelwulf had five sons. Athalstane, the eldest, who had been king of Kent, was now dead. Ethelbald, the next of the brothers, was ambitious to receive the kingdom from his father. A plot was formed to anticipate the course of nature by dethroning Ethelwulf. The conspiracy extended over all Wessex. A manifesto was issued, in which the direful flagitiousness of Ethelwulf was set forth in this—that he had openly eaten with his French

queen at the table! It is believed, moreover, that the favor shown to his youngest son, ALFRED, had something to do with his elder brother's resentment. The boy Alfred had been taken by Ethelwulf to Rome, and there the pope had anointed the young prince with oil. It is also thought that Osburgha, the king's first wife and mother of his sons, was not yet dead, but only put away to make room for Judith.

The old king was greatly distracted by the broil in his kingdom. Finally he agreed to a division of Wessex, by which the better part was given to Ethelbald. Ethelwulf did not long survive. He died in 857, and Ethelbald succeeded to the government of the whole kingdom. It now appeared that his antipathy to his father's French queen was entirely insincere, for he immediately took that princess for his own wife, thus setting at defiance all consistency and law. So flagrant, however, was this offense that the Church at once lifted her hand and demanded a divorce. Judith returned to France, and presently found solace with a third husband, Baldwin of Ardennes. Her son became Earl of Flanders, and married Elfrida, daughter of Alfred the Great, of whom was born that Maud, or Matilda, who, as the wife of William the Conqueror, became the great mother of all the subsequent sovereigns of England.

After a brief reign, Ethelbald was succeeded by his brother, Ethelbert. Meanwhile the Danes returned in swarms and hovered

around the coasts. They made inroads from every quarter. Winchester, the capital of Essex, was seized and burned. In 867 the king died and was succeeded by Ethelred. During the first year of his reign he fought nine pitched battles with the Danes. Hundreds and thousands of the invaders fell under the swords of the Saxons, but as soon as one horde was destroyed another arose in its place. As the war progressed, it became constantly more apparent that the main reliance of the Saxons must be placed in Prince Alfred, who in the fierce battles fought by his brother with the Danes displayed not only the greatest courage but also the highest qualities of generalship. In the fierce battle of Ashton the day was saved by his valor and presence of mind. In the year 870, two fierce conflicts occurred in which the Saxons were defeated, and in the following year Ethelred died. The crown then descended without dispute to Alfred, the youngest and greatest of the sons of Ethelwulf. For him destiny had reserved a more distinguished part than for any other sovereign of primitive England. The events of his glorious career, and the circumstances attending the real founding of the English Monarchy will be fully narrated in the Third Book of the present Volume.—Such is a brief sketch of the principal states and kingdoms founded by those barbarous nations that converted the Roman Empire into a desolation and then established themselves amid the ruin.





Book Twelfth.

THE MOHAMMEDAN ASCENDENCY.

CHAPTER LXXVII.—CAREER OF THE PROPHET.



MOHAMMED, the son of Abdallah, of the tribe of Hashem, was born in Mecca on the mid-eastern shore of the Red Sea, in the year 569. His infancy was obscure and unfortunate. The family were poor Arabs, and the child was afflicted with epileptic spasms. His uncles and aunts, of the Hashem tribe, declared him to be possessed of the Djin, or Demons. So that from his childhood he was looked upon with a certain measure of superstitious dread; but the boy proved to be amiable, and the prejudice of his kinsfolk against him was gradually relaxed.

The father, Abdallah, died when Mohammed was but two months old, and the child was given to a Belouin nurse, who reared the little epileptic on a regimen of goat's milk and rice. By and by he was returned to his mother, but the latter, unwilling to endure his convulsions, gave him to his grandfather, a tough old personage, named Abd el Mottalib. When he was six years old his mother died, and presently the tenacious grandfather

also ceased, after which the young Prophet was put under the care of an uncle named Abu Taleb, who disliked his ward and abhorred the Djin by whom he was possessed.

At the age of nine the boy Mohammed was mounted on a camel and dispatched on a merchandising expedition into Syria. While abroad he saw the sacred places of the Jews. He stood on the spot where the King of Salem came out and did obeisance to Abraham. He was shown the place where his great mother, the bondwoman Hagar, went forth leading Ishmael by the hand. He saw Damascus, city of the desert, and Sinai, the mountain of the law. Then he returned to Mecca full of visions and dreams.

When twelve years old Mohammed left Abu Taleb and lived with another uncle named Zubeir. He was also a merchant, but did not, like Abu Taleb, trade in the direction of Palestine and Egypt. Zubeir led his caravan into Southern Arabia, and him Mohammed, now reaching his sixteenth year, accompanied on a second expedition of trade and travel. He continued in his service till he was twenty years of age. Then, becoming

weary of irksome dromedaries and monotonous journeys, he turned his attention to war. The Meccans became involved in a quarrel with an East-Arabic tribe called the Beni Kinamah, and Mohammed enlisted with his countrymen. After the war was over he returned to Mecca and took up the vocation of a shepherd. Afterwards he formed a partnership with a linen merchant named Sabi, and so divided his attention between his flocks and his merchandise. While engaged in carrying on the linen trade, he became acquainted with the rich widow Kadijah, living at the town of Hajasha. Her, though much older than himself, he presently married, thus obtaining a faithful wife and a large estate. He thereupon gave up the business of watching flocks, and lived at Kadijah's home in Hajasha.

Thus, from the age of twenty-six to thirty-five, Mohammed passed the time as an Arab citizen in private life. About the year 594, however, he was brought to the attention of his countrymen in a conspicuous way. The idolatrous temple in Mecca was called the Kaaba. When the patriarch Abraham lived at that place, the angel Gabriel gave him a white stone as an emblem of the original purity of the race. Over this stone the temple was built. With the growing wickedness of the world the stone became as black as pitch. The Kaaba had now become dilapidated, and it was decided by the chiefs of Mecca that the edifice must be rebuilt. This was accordingly done; but when it came to the sacred task of removing the Black Stone into its new resting-place, the chiefs fell into violent quarrels as to who should perform the work. At last it was agreed that the matter should be decided by arbitration, and Mohammed was called from Hajasha to be the umpire. On coming to Mecca he performed his difficult duty in a manner highly satisfactory to all concerned. It was the first public transaction of the Prophet's life.

It appears that the dispute of the chiefs about the Black Stone of the Kaaba made a profound impression on Mohammed's mind. To a man of his clear understanding, it is likely that the quarrel appeared in its naked absurdity. He may have said to Kadijah, on his return home, that the fathers of his race, Abraham and Ishmael, would be ashamed of

such wrangles as he had lately witnessed at Mecca.

Mohammed was exceedingly unfortunate in his children. One after another they died. The bereaved father grew melancholy and morose. The motherly Kadijah was growing old. The Prophet walked alone among the hills and talked abstractedly to himself. One day he wandered among the rocks at the foot of Mount Hara. He entered the mouth of a cave and sat musing. All at once—so he afterwards told Kadijah—he fell into an agony. He was shaken as by an unseen power, and great drops of sweat rolled down his face. While he sat shuddering, all of a sudden a light flashed around him, and there stood the angel Gabriel. Mohammed was overwhelmed with terror, but the angelic voice spoke out clearly and said:

"Cry! In the name of the Lord who has created all things; who hath created man of congealed blood. Cry! By the most beneficent Lord, who taught the use of the pen; who teacheth man that which he knoweth not of himself. Assuredly. Verily man becometh insolent, because he seeth himself abound in riches. Assuredly." Such is the first chapter of the KORAN.

Mohammed is reported to have run home after his swoon and cried out: "O, Kadijah! I have either become a soothsayer or else I am possessed of the Djin and have gone mad." The good Kadijah answered: "O, Abu 'l Casem! God is my protection. He will surely not let such a thing happen unto thee, for thou speakest the truth. Thou dost not return evil for evil; neither art thou a talker abroad on the streets. What hath befallen thee?" Mohammed told her what had happened to him in the grotto. The wife replied: "Rejoice, my husband, O, Abu 'l Casem, for my life shall stand as a witness that thou wilt be the prophet of this people." Mohammed thought, however, that he was possessed of the Djin, and on the next day, being in despair, he went out to Mount Hara to kill himself; but Gabriel reappeared, held back the rash Arab from his purpose, and said: "I am Gabriel, and thou art Mohammed, the Prophet of God." Still the son of Abdallah trembled and refused to believe.

It is related that at this juncture Moham-

med and Kadijah took a certain Jew, or, as some say, a monk, named Waraka, into their confidence, and told him all that had occurred. Thereupon the holy man said: "I swear by Him in whose hands Waraka's life is, that God has chosen thee, O Abu'l Casem, to be the Prophet of this people."—Such was the commission of Mohammed, the beginning of his prophetic office.

For more than twenty years revelations continued to be given by Gabriel, as circumstances seemed to require. No one ever saw the celestial visitant but the Prophet himself: he was his own interpreter. What Gabriel told him in the grotto he repeated to Kadijah or other believers; and these revelations, gathered together by his followers after his death, constitute the Book Al Koran, the Bible of Islam.

Having persuaded himself of the truth of his visions, Mohammed began proclaiming his mission to the Arabs. His first converts were those of his own household. From this nucleus his doctrines leavened the surrounding neighborhood. Finally the tribe of Hashem was called together in council. Before the assembly the Prophet stood up and explained his purpose and the principles of the new faith. There was much contrariety of opinions among the Hashemites. The Prophet's uncle, Abu Taleb, arose and pronounced him a fool. Young Ali, son of Abu Taleb, however, expressed his admiration for his cousin's doctrines and his purpose to follow him and fight for his cause. Most of the tribe voted in the same way; but Abu Taleb remained an infidel. He used to say, as Mohammed passed by: "There he

goes now! Look out! He is going to talk about Heaven! Assuredly."

After a brief proclamation of his doctrines



VIEW OF MECCA

at Hajasha, Mohammed repaired to Mecca. Here he preached with passionate vehemence. He told the Meccans that they were a race of miserable idolaters, unfit either to live or to

die. "There is no God but Allah," he shouted by day and night. He stood up in the very face of the Koreish, the Arabian Levites, who had charge of the Kaaba, and denounced their traditions and practices. The Koreish took flight and called upon Abu Taleb to suppress his nephew as an enemy of religion; but Abu could not do it. The alternative was thus placed before the priests of themselves being converted or taking up arms. They chose the latter course, and hostilities were about to begin at Mecca.

Mohammed was sagacious. Seeing himself not sufficiently strong to cope with his enemies, disliking at first to undertake the propagation of religion by the sword, he escaped from his native city and took refuge at the court of Abyssinia. The king received him and was converted, as were also the members of his court. Nor did his flight from Mecca discourage his followers in that city. They continued to proclaim his doctrines and await his return. Many took sides against the Koreish, and the latter were obliged to consent to peace. Mohammed returned little less than victorious.

A new factor was now introduced into the situation. About sixty miles from Mecca was the town of Yathreb. In this place there was a large colony of Jews, who, with that tenacity of religious belief for which over all the world they are proverbial, had established a synagogue. Here on every Saturday the priests stood up and expounded *Hallichah* and *Haggadah*—the Law and the Tradition. They looked for a Messiah, and said "Lo here and Lo there." These Israelites traded with Mecca and found that city profoundly agitated by the presence of Mohammed. They heard the Meccans reciting how the Son of Abdallah of the tribe of Ha-shem had become a great Prophet. This news was carried to Yathreb, and the synagogue became excited with the belief that the Messiah had come. The Rabbins took council together, and said: "If this Mohammed is indeed that great Prophet, let us, first of all, tender to him our allegiance. Wherefore, when he shall have become the ruler of the nations, he will honor us as the first to accept him." An embassy was sent to Mecca to ascertain the truth, and to tender the submission of the Jews. Mohammed cau-

tiously accepted the offer. "For," said he, "Ishmael our father was the uncle of Jacob. Assuredly."

The Koreish now became desperate. They held a council, and resolved that Mohammed should be assassinated. A committee was appointed to do the bloody work; but when the night came for the perpetration of the wicked deed Mohammed, informed of the conspiracy, wrapped himself in his cousin Ali's cloak, and aided by the darkness, escaped from the perilous city and fled towards Yathreb. This event, which occurred in the year 622, is called the HEGRA, and is the Era of Islam.

As Mohammed approached Yathreb the gates were opened by the Jews. He entered and was safe. The name of the city was changed from Yathreb to Medinet al Nabbi, or City of the Prophet—the modern Medina. From this time forth, the Son of Abdallah awaited an opportunity to be revenged on the Meccans. The city of his birth soon became distracted with the civil feuds of his friends and his enemies. When the time ripened for the event, the Prophet, accompanied by a great band of pilgrims, set out from Medina and returned to Mecca. In that city, so powerful had his influence now become, the Koreish were obliged to submit. They sent out an embassy and concluded a treaty with the conqueror for a period of ten years. The neighboring tribes also sent messengers, tendering their acceptance of his doctrines. The star of Islam was in the ascendant.

After a year or two the Meccans broke their treaty; but Mohammed was now strong enough to enforce obedience. The vocation of the Koreish was gone. The idolatrous images were knocked from their places in the Kaaba, and the renovated temple was dedicated to the worship of Allah.

The Prophet now lost no time in giving shape to the new religion. He built a mosque at Medina. He systematized his dogmas. He labored with the discordant elements of Arabian thought. He struggled with belligerent factions. He allayed feuds, jealousies, and schisms. He consolidated the scattered bands of his followers, and planned great foreign wars. His purpose contemplated no less than the subjugation of the world by the Book and sword of Islam.

In the beginning of his military career Mohammed was unsuccessful. In his first battle, however, which was fought with Abu Sofian, chief of the Meccans, the Prophet gained the victory. Afterwards he met with a series of reverses. In 625 he was defeated by the Korci-hites in the battle of Mount Ohod. Two years later he was besieged in Medina. Among his own followers there were dangerous factions and contentions. His connection with the Jews proved unfortunate. He could not be their Messiah; they would not be his people. His alienation from the sons of Israel became so great that war ensued, and he conducted several campaigns against the Jewish tribes in Arabia. In revenge for these aggressions against her countrymen, a Jewess, named Zainab, fed the Prophet a poisoned lamb, the effects of which burned in his bones until his death.

By this time the idea of propagating the doctrines of Islam by the sword had taken complete possession of the mind of Mohammed. He sent to Chosroes II., king of Persia, a written demand that he should submit himself and his people to Allah and his Prophet. When this was refused, he undertook to enforce compliance by war. A desperate battle was fought at Muta, in which Mohammed's general, KHALED, so greatly distinguished himself that he received the surname of the "Sword of God."

Meanwhile the Meccans again revolted. After a severe struggle, however, they were subdued, and their submission was the end of present resistance in Arabia. For a season the Prophet returned to Medina, where, in the ninth year of the Hegira, he received ambassadors from many of the surrounding states. He next made a demand of submission upon Heraclius, Emperor of the East, but the same was rejected with as much disdain as that somewhat mild-mannered sovereign could command. Mohammed there-upon declared war, but his attempted conquest resulted in a ridiculous failure. The soldiers of the Prophet became discontented and mutinous, but were finally quieted.

Resuming his station at Medina, Mohammed now busied himself with the preparation of a great pilgrimage to Mecca. The event was set for the tenth year of the Hegira. At

least forty thousand pilgrims assembled for the journey. The rites and ceremonies of the preparation and the march have ever since remained the models of the annual pilgrimage of the faithful to the shrine of their Prophet. In the year 632, three months after his return to Medina, he was taken with a fatal illness. He clearly foresaw the end which his friends would have concealed from his vision. He had himself taken to the house of his favorite wife Ayesha—for the good Kadijah was now dead. This house adjoined the mosque, and the Prophet ordered himself borne back and forth from his couch to the shrine. He spoke of his approaching death. He liberated his slaves and distributed sums of money to the poor. He then prayed for support in the final struggle and quietly breathed his last.

There was much dispute about the place of the Prophet's burial. It was, however, finally determined that he should be interred in the house where he died, adjacent to the mosque of Medina. Subsequently the temple was enlarged so as to include the spot where the bones of Abdallah's son are still reposing. Of all his children only a daughter named Fatima survived her father. She was married to Ali, the Prophet's cousin, and became the mother of the rulers and nobles of the Mohammedan world.

Mohammed was a man of medium stature and of a well knitted and sinewy frame. His body was of the Oriental type, and his constitution delicate. He had a fine oval face, full of tender lines, and a massive head with slightly curling dark hair. His long well-arched Arabian eyebrows were separated midway by a vein which swelled and throbbed visibly when he was excited. His eyes were large, black, and restless. His hand, which in salutation he never first withdrew from another, was exceedingly small, and soft as the hand of woman. His step was quick and energetic, and is described in tradition as being like that of one who steps from a higher place to a lower. When his attention was called he stopped short, and turned not only his face but his whole body in that direction.

In mind the Prophet had the rare union of womanly timidity with extraordinary courage. In times of danger he would, without a moment's hesitation, put his life in peril. He

was of a nervous and restless temperament, and often low spirited. He was sometimes talkative, but more frequently taciturn, and often walked alone, moody and brooding. When he spoke his words came forth with emphasis and an overwhelming fluency. "If you had seen him smile," said the early chronicler of Islam, "you would have thought it of the sunshine."

In the character of Mohammed there were traits of childlike simplicity. After Kadijah's death he used to sit in the house and play with the dolls which his girl-wife Ayesha had brought with her. The love of solitude and the



THE PROPHET MOHAMMED.

desire to be considered a famous man seem to have been the prevailing passions in the heart of the founder of Islam. "O my little son," says one of the Arabic traditions, "if thou hadst seen him by moonlight thou wouldst have looked first at him and then at the moon, for his dress was striped with red, and he was brighter and more beautiful than any moon. Assuredly."

In order to gain a full understanding of the character of Mohammed it is desirable to glance at the physical condition of his race and country. At the close of our era the peninsula of Arabia was occupied by the tribes of Ishmael. From the Persian Gulf to the Red

Sea, from the Strait of Bab el Mandeb to the borders of Palestine, people of any other blood were either infrequent or entire strangers.

The wild off-spring of Hagar's son led the life of nomads. Their hand was against every man and every man's hand against them. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, many of the fugitives escaped into foreign lands. Not a few bands and colonies found refuge in Arabia. Geographical proximity, the vagrant disposition of the Arabs, which had left large districts sparsely peopled or not peopled at all, the ties of consanguinity by which the Arabs and the Jews were bound together, the affinity of their languages—both derived from a common original—all invited the unfortunate sons of Israel to find a new home among their erratic kinsmen of the South. So Jewish settlements were formed in Arabia. Before the close of the fourth century the whole coast of the Red Sea from Suez down to Mecca and beyond was lined with little Jewish rookeries like swallows' nests under the eave. There were also inland colonies, so that by the seventh century Jewish and Arabian opinions and customs were well intermingled, if not amalgamated. On the question of religion, however, each people kept to its own traditions and beliefs. The Arabs continued idolaters, and the Jews observed the laws and ritual of Moses.

Meanwhile Christianity arose and flourished in the North. The missionaries of the Cross, full of zeal, planted the seeds of the new faith in every quarter of the globe. Many of these monks, evangelists, travelers, penetrated Arabia, and there preached first of all to the unrepentant Israelites. They found their hearers sitting, as their fathers had done, in the synagogue and listening to the exposition of *Hallelulah* and *Haggadah*. But these Jews were as stubborn as flint under the preaching of the Gospel. A few less obdurate than the rest, with numbers of the native Arabs, were converted to the new doctrines; so that by the beginning of the seventh century Christians as well as Jewish settlements were frequent in many parts of Arabia.

It will thus be seen that at the birth of

Mohammed two Semitic religions, neither in a very flourishing condition, existed side by side in the land of his appearing. Judaism and Christianity, the old and the new development of Mosaism, dwelt together in a sort of subdued antagonism. The time had now come when a third Semitic faith, more aggressive than either and possessing the same original ingredients as both, should appear to contest with its predecessors the battle-field of faith.

The system of Mohammed may be defined, first of all, as an effort to rescue the Arabs from idolatry. But in a larger and more philosophic sense it was an effort on the part of the Prophet to furnish a common ground and basis of union between the Christians and the Jews by which all the descendants of Abraham might be gathered into a single religious household. The scheme was worthy of a great and capacious genius. It showed that Mohammed realized the condition of the religious world. He saw in the chaos of the Semitic race around him the materials for the aggrandizement of his own nation and the glory of his own name. He conceived it possible to readjust the Semitic fragments and to bind together both Christian and Jew by an indissoluble tie; but he misjudged the peoples with whom he had to deal. So far as his own countrymen were concerned they were soon brought within the fold of Islam; but the sons of Israel and the followers of Christ remained immovable in their respective beliefs. After several tentative efforts on the Prophet's part, an open rupture occurred between the three religious parties in Arabia. Islam began its own independent career; Judaism fell away into obstinate conservatism, and Christianity parted company with both. From this time forth the three Semitic religions are seen like three ships sailing apart on the expanse of ocean.

It may be of interest, before proceeding to notice the political development of Mohammedanism, to review briefly the points of concord and dissonance between the three religious systems here referred to. In many of their fundamentals they were all at one. All had a common historical basis. That there is one God, Father Omnipotent and Maker of heaven and earth, Judaism, Islam, and Christianity all emphatically affirm. Secondly, that the Divine authority in the world is to be up-

held by a government—a kingdom—and that this kingdom is to be perpetually ruled by a Messiah, Judaism and Christianity affirm; Islam denies. Thirdly, that Moses was an inspired lawgiver and prophet, Judaism, Islam, and Christianity all affirm. Fourthly, that Christ was an inspired Teacher and Prophet, Islam and Christianity affirm; Judaism denies. Fifthly, that Christ is the Messiah and Savior of the world, Christianity affirms; Judaism and Islam strenuously deny. Sixthly, that Mohammed was an inspired Teacher and Prophet, Islam vehemently affirms; Judaism does not affirm; Christianity denies. Seventhly, that the Scriptures of the Old Testament contain the inspired and authoritative doctrines of God, Judaism, Islam, and Christianity affirm. Eighthly, that the Scriptures of the New Testament are the words of Divine truth, Christianity affirms; Islam affirms *in part*, and Judaism denies. Ninthly, that the Book Al Koran is the revealed truth of God, Islam strongly affirms; Judaism denies *in part*, and Christianity denies *in whole*. Tenthly, that the world is ruled by eternal Fate, Islam affirms; Judaism does not affirm, and Christianity denies. Eleventhly, that man is a free or, at any rate, responsible agent, Christianity affirms; Judaism does not deny, and Islam denies. Twelfthly, that man is rewarded for those actions which are called virtuous and punished for those which are called vicious, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam all affirm. Thirteenthly, that there is a resurrection of the body after death, Christianity and Islam affirm; Judaism neither affirms nor denies. Fourteenthly, that it is the highest duty of man in this life to serve God in faith and obedience, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam all affirm. Fifteenthly, that God is Triune, Christianity affirms; Judaism and Islam deny. Sixteenthly, that God made the universe out of nothing, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam all affirm. Seventeenthly, that there is appointed a Day of Judgment in which God will judge all men according to their works, Christianity and Islam affirm; Judaism either does not affirm or denies.

This list of fundamental propositions might be greatly extended, but will perhaps prove sufficient to give a clear idea of the leading features of the three religious systems.

The material of the Koran was all produced during Mohammed's life. The whole work is emphatically monotheistic. The oneness of God is the dominant thought of the whole. *Lo Ilah il Allah*, "there is no God but Allah," is reiterated on almost every page. Not the severest passages of the Jewish Pentateuch are more singular in their enunciation of one supreme and indivisible Deity than are the repeated declarations of the scriptures of Islam. Thus in the one hundred and twelfth Chapter:

"Cry! God is one God; the eternal God; he begetteth not, neither is he begotten; and there is not any like unto him."

An extract from the second chapter is as follows: "To God belongeth the east and the



ARABIC COPY OF I

west; the face of God is everywhere, for God is omnipresent and omniscient. Yet they say God hath begotten children; God forbid! To him belongeth whatever is in heaven or in earth; and when he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be; and it is."

The third chapter, also, has this to say respecting Divine Unity: "There is no God but God, the living, the self-existing; he hath sent down unto thee the Book Al Koran; for he formerly sent down the Law and the Gospel; and he hath also sent down the distinction between good and evil. Verily there is no God but he, the mighty and the wise."

Chapter thirtys-seventh of the Koran begins as follows: "By the angels who rank themselves in order; and by those who drive forward and dispel the clouds; and by those who read the Koran for an admonition, verily your God is one."

Islam was ever at war with Christianity respecting the sonship of Christ. To admit this doctrine was regarded by the Mohammedans as destroying the unity of the Deity.

The idea that God had had a son, born of woman, in any other sense than that all men are his offspring, was so repugnant to the mind of Mohammed as to call forth his severest denunciations. In the nineteenth Chapter the Koran says:

"This was Jesus, the son of Mary, the word of truth, concerning whom they doubt. But it is not meet for God that he should have a son; Praise to Allah! Yet they say God hath begotten a Son. In this they utter a blasphemy; and but little is wanting that the Heavens should tear open, and the earth cleave asunder and the mountains fall down, for that they attribute children to the most Merciful. Verily it is not meet for God to have a Son."

The imminent peril of the Day of Judgment is everywhere depicted in the Koran. The threatened retribution is held forth as the most powerful motive of human conduct. In the expectation of this final ordeal, Islam sets forth every deed of man and utters against every species of sin the terrible invectives of the coming wrath. Everywhere the Koran proclaims the approach of inexorable doom for every soul that sinneth. The fifty-first Chapter has the following paragraph:

"Cursed be the liars who wade in deep waters of ignorance neglecting their salvation. Forsooth they ask, When will the Day of Judgment come? By the winds dispersing and scattering the dust; and by the clouds bearing a load of rains; and by the angelic bands who distribute things necessary for the support of all creatures; verily that where-with ye are threatened is certainly true, and the Day of Judgment will come. Assuredly."

In the fifty-second chapter the same strain is continued: "By the mountain of Sinai; and by the book written in an expanded scroll; and by the visited house; and by the elevated roof of heaven; and by the swelling ocean; verily the punishment of the Lord will surely come down, on that day wherein the heaven shall be shaken and shall reel, and the mountains shall stagger and pass away."

In many parts the Koran breathes a spirit of piety strangely at variance with the vindictive utterances of other portions. There are occasional tender and beautiful passages which may well be compared with the best of the

Vedic Hymns or the Psalms of David. The following, which stands as Chapter first in most of the editions, might well have been sung by the son of Jesse:

"Praise be to God, the Lord of all his creatures; the most merciful, the King of the Day of Judgment. Thee do we worship and of thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way, in the path of those to whom thou hast been gracious; not in the way of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray."

The Koran is preëminently sensuous in its imagery. The delights of the blessed and the torments of the wicked are given with all the realism of detail peculiar to the Arabian imagination. Paradise and Hell are painted with a vividness that might well add new gleams of light and darkness to the glory and dolor of the *Divine Comedy*. The fifty-sixth Chapter of the Koran gives a true idea of Islam's abodes of peace and anguish:

"When that inevitable Day of Judgment shall suddenly come, no soul shall charge the prediction of its coming with falsehood. Then the earth shall be shaken with a violent shock; and the mountains shall be dashed in pieces, and shall become as dust scattered abroad; and men shall be separated into three distinct classes: the companions of the right hand; (how happy shall the companions of the right hand be!) and the companions of the left hand; (how miserable shall the companions of the left hand be!) and those who have been preëminent in the faith of Islam. These last are they who shall approach nearest unto God, and shall dwell in the gardens of delight. They shall repose on couches adorned with gold and precious stones, and shall sit opposite to each other's face. Youths who shall continue in their bloom forever shall go round about to attend them with goblets, and bearers and a cup of flowing wine: their heads shall not ache for drinking it, neither shall their reason be disturbed; and with fruits of the sorts which they shall choose, and with the flesh of birds of the kind which they shall desire shall they be fed. And there shall accompany them fair damsels having great black eyes resem-

bling pearls that are hidden in their shells; and these shall be the reward for the work which the righteous shall have wrought. They shall not hear therein any vain discourse, or wrangling, or charge of sin; but only the salutation of Peace! Peace!—And the companions of the right hand (how happy shall the companions of the right hand be!) shall have their abode among lotus trees that are free from thorns, and trees of Manz laden regularly with their produce from top to bottom; under an exalted shade, near a flowing water and amidst abundant fruits which shall not fail, nor be forbidden to be gathered. . . . But the companions of the left hand (how miserable shall the companions of the left hand be!) shall dwell amidst burning winds, and scalding water, under the shade of a black smoke neither cool nor agreeable; and they shall eat of the fruit of the tree of Al Zakkum, and they shall fill their bodies like to burst, and shall drink boiling water like a thirsty camel. This forsooth shall be their entertainment on the Day of Judgment. Assuredly."



SEAL OF MOHAMMED.

But it is in his imprecations against infidelity, and in his terrible oaths in attestation of the truth of his mission, that the Prophet of Islam rises to the height of his power. He swears by the foaming waters and by the grim darkness, by the flaming sun and the setting stars, by Mount Sinai and by Him who spanned the firmament, by the human soul and the snail's voice, by the Kaaba and by the Book, by the moon and the dawn and the angels, by the ten nights of dread mystery, and by the Day of Judgment! Such are the oaths of Islam, and such is Islam's book—a book under whose fiery influence the wild Arabian tribes were converted into a terrible nation, whose flaming swords and fierce unquenchable valor conquered an empire greater than that of Alexander.

CHAPTER LXXVIII. CONQUESTS OF THE FIRST CALIPH.



MOHAMMED died without a successor. The Arabs, however, were so fired with religious enthusiasm, caught from the spirit of the Prophet, that there was no danger of dissolution. Before the death of Abdallah's son four of his followers—two of them civilians and two military heroes—had already acquired a national reputation. The civilians were Mohammed's kinsmen, his uncle Abu Beker and his cousin, the noble young Ali, heretofore mentioned. The two military leaders were the Prophet's generals, the austere Omar and the old veteran Khaled. Each of these had his partisans, and each might have pressed his claims as the rightful successor of Mohammed. But the leaders of young Islam were too wise and full of zeal to indulge in open quarrels. The succession was allowed to pass quietly to Abu Beker. Ali could well abide his time, and the generals were satisfied with carrying the banners of the new faith into foreign lands. The remainder of the present Book will be occupied with the narrative of the Mohammedan conquests, beginning with Arabia.

The Caliph Abu Beker contented himself with the title of king or prince, rejecting all claims to be the vicar of God on earth. He was surnamed *El Sadeek*, or the Testifier of the Truth. He was also called the father of the virgin, the reference being to Ayesha, the only one of the Prophet's wives who was married a maiden.

Abu Beker soon showed the highest qualities of leadership. His purposes, moreover, were for the promotion of the cause of Islam and the general good of the Arabian people. He was a man of virtue and integrity, little susceptible to the influence of luxury and indolence. In the government he received no emoluments, accepting only a camel and a black slave. On entering into office he directed Ayesha to make an inventory of his personal

estate, lest any might accuse him of enriching himself from the Caliphate.

The death of Mohammed was the signal of great commotions. All Arabia was afflicted by the intelligence that the Prophet was no more. After the bitter persecutions to which, in the beginning of his ministry, the son of Abdallah had been subjected, he had proclaimed the propagation of Islam by the sword. It will be remembered that the larger part of the ten years of his public career was devoted to the work of religious conquest. The establishment of his power in Arabia was by force; the Arabs feared him as a conqueror. The condition was such as to lead inevitably to revolt when his death was known.

The Arab tribes, believing that they had nothing further to fear, now rose in rebellion. They gave no heed to Abu Beker. They refused to pay the *Zaad*, or religious tribute, which the Prophet had imposed. The revolt spread far and wide, until in a short time there was nothing left of the empire of Islam but the three cities of Mecca, Medina, and Tayef.

The rebels took the field under the lead of the chieftain Malec Ibn Nowirah. He was noted as a valorous Arab knight, as well as a poet and man of culture. His popularity, moreover, was increased by the fame of his wife, who was reputed to be the most beautiful woman in Arabia. The advance of Malec against Medina gave notice to Abu Beker that the insurgents aimed at the entire extinction of his authority and the restoration of tribal independence throughout the country.

The Caliph hastened to fortify the city. The women, the children, the aged, and the infirm were sent to the mountains to find freedom and security. The chief reliance of Abu Beker was upon the veteran Khaled, to whom the command of the army was intrusted. At the head of four thousand five hundred men the fiery soldier of Islam went forth and quickly overthrew Malec in battle. He had been instructed by Abu Beker to

treat the rebel chieftain with courtesy, but Khalid was devoid of sentiment, and proceeded to lay waste the territories of the revolted tribes. He had Malec brought into his presence and demanded why he had refused to pay the *Zekat*; and when the captive answered that he could pray without any such exactions, his head was struck off by one of Khalid's soldiers. Abu Beker felt constrained to permit the murder of the prisoner to pass by unavenged.

Meanwhile, in the city of Yamama, the false prophet Muselmia had arisen and corrupted the belief of many. He went about uttering rhapsodies, and claiming to be the inspired messenger of Allah. Hearing of his progress, the poetess Sedjah, wife of Abu Cabdla, prince of the tribe of Tamin, visited the alleged prophet, and the twain became enamored. While this brief idyl was enacting, Khalid marched forth from Medina and overthrew the followers of Muselmia near the capital of the rhapsodist. The prophet himself was killed, and the remnant of his forces escaped destruction by professing the faith of Islam. Khalid then marched from tribe to tribe, enforcing obedience and exacting tithes and tribute. The rebellion was everywhere broken up, and before the end of the first year of Abu Beker's reign, the Mohammedan empire was re-established throughout Arabia.

Now it was that Abu Beker undertook to collect and reduce to form the precepts and revelations of the Koran. Many of the speeches of the Prophet already existed in writing, but many others were preserved only in the memories of his friends and followers. Abu Beker perceived that in the course of nature, to say nothing of the hazards of battle, the associates of Mohammed would soon pass away, and that the precious words which he had uttered would ere long be given to the uncertainties of tradition. "In a little while," said the zealous Omar, "all the living testifiers to the faith who bear the revelations of it in their memories will have passed away, and with them so many records of the doctrines of Islam."

Urged by these considerations, Abu Beker proceeded to collect from various sources the materials of the Book. The surviving disci-

ples were diligently questioned as to the sayings of the Prophet, and whatever could be thus obtained was written down, revised, and made authentic. Such parts as already existed in manuscript were compared and edited by the scribes of the Caliph, and the whole work brought into nearly the form which the Koran at present bears. The work, however, was subjected to a subsequent revision by a later Caliph, after which further modifications were forbidden. But the chief honor of the permanent composition of the Bible of Islam belongs to the reign of Abu Beker.

As soon as the reconquest of the Arabian tribes had been completed, the vision of universal dominion again rose on the court of Medina. The prophet had said that the world should be subdued to his doctrines. Either persuasion or the sword should avail to bring all nations to submission. By his oft-repeated injunctions, his followers were incited to undertake the conquest of the world. From Arabia the scepter of authority was to be stretched out to the remotest habitable borders; and pagans, idolaters, and unbelievers should bow to the sway of Allah and his servants.

Nor was the time inauspicious for the undertaking. The Roman Empire of the West was under the heel of the barbarians. The Byzantine power and the Empire of Persia had exhausted themselves with long-continued wars. Scarcely a single state of Western Asia, and not one of the kingdoms whose territories touched the Mediterranean was in a condition to offer a successful resistance to a new and aggressive power. Abu Beker, therefore, made haste as soon as Khalid had reduced the Arab tribes, to assume the work enjoined by Mohammed. The first country against which he raised his arm was Syria.

The Syrian states, embracing Phœnicia and Palestine, had long been consolidated into a province of the Eastern Empire of the Romans. Heraclius now reigned at Constantinople, but the Byzantine power had so much declined from what it was in the days of Theodosius as to invite attack from every quarter. Syria was especially exposed; nor did the Arabs fail to perceive in that country a fair field of conquest. Their caravans going and coming from the Syrian cities had made

them familiar with the abundant resources of the province, no less than with the comparative defenceless position. At the close of the second year of his reign, Abu Bekker

his Prophet! This is to inform you that I intend to send an army of the faithful into Syria to deliver that country from the infidels, and I round you that to fight for the truth is to obey God."

No sooner was this summons issued than the wild horsemen of the desert flocked to Medina, eager to join the expedition. The command of the host was given Yezed, and Abu Bekker himself accompanied the army for the first day's march, walking as a servant of the Prophet. He then gave to Yezed his parting injunctions, which may well be repeated as illustrative of the spirit of young Islam going forth to conquest:

"Treat your soldiers with kindness and consideration," said Abu Bekker to his general. "Be just in all your dealings with them, and consult their feelings and opinions. Fight valiantly, and never turn your back upon a foe. When victorious, harm not the aged and protect women and children. Destroy not the palm-tree or fruit-trees of any kind; waste not the corn-field with fire; nor kill any cattle, excepting for food. Stand faithfully to every covenant and



ABU BEKKER, THE KHALIF.
FROM THE EAST.

issued to the *Ulema* of the Two Arabias the following proclamation:

"In the name of the Most Merciful God, Abdallah Allah, Fou Yon Kahahr to all true believers health, happiness, and the blessing of God. Praise to God and Mohammed

promise: respect all religious persons who live in hermitages or convents, and spare their religions. But should you meet with a class of unbelievers of different kind, who go about with slaven crowns and belong to the synagogue of Satan, be sure you cleave their

skulls unless they embrace the true faith or render tribute."

So Yezed began the invasion of Syria. On the borders of the country he met an army which Heraclius had sent to oppose his march, and the Mohammedans gained an easy victory. Twelve hundred of the enemy were left dead on the field, and a long train of booty was sent to Medina. Arabia was fired with the intelligence of triumph. A new army was quickly gathered at Mecca, placed under the command of Amru, and sent to the Syrian frontier. In a short time no fewer than four Mohammedan generals were carrying the banners of Islam through the enemy's country. Amru invaded Palestine. Obcidah marched against Emessa. Seid proceeded towards Damascus, and Hassan overran the country beyond the Jordan. All four of the armies were to act in concert, and Obcidah was to be general-in-chief.

While the Syrian war was thus put in motion, a second campaign was undertaken into ancient Babylonia, now tributary to the Persian monarch, and of this expedition the command was given to the veteran Khaled. With ten thousand men he undertook the subjugation of the country. He besieged the city of Hira, carried the place by storm, and killed the king in battle. The Chaldean kingdom was quickly subdued, and an annual tribute of seventy thousand pieces of gold was imposed upon the conquered people. The conqueror then marched against the city of Aila, where he overthrew the Persian general Hormuz, and sent his crown, a fifth part of the booty, and an elephant, to Abu Beker. Such were the first instances of a tribute levied by Islam upon a foreign nation.

Nothing could withstand the headlong career of Khaled. Three Persian armies were successively beaten down before him. The Babylonian cities were taken one after another until opposition on the banks of the Euphrates ceased. The name of Khaled became a terror to unbelievers. Establishing his head-quarters in Babylonia, he wrote a letter to the Persian monarch, saying: "Profess the faith of Allah and his Prophet or pay tribute to their servants. If you refuse both, I will come upon you with a host who love death as much as you love life."

As the spoils taken by Khaled in the East poured into Medina the Arabians fairly flamed with enthusiasm. The trophies seemed but the earnest of universal triumph. The fiery zeal of the followers of the Prophet was fed with the sight of captured crowns snatched from the heads of infidel princes; and the Koran promised immortal bliss to the faithful soldier who should fall in battle. The Arab chiefs rushed to the uplifted standard of Islam, eager to join the victorious general on the Euphrates. "By Allah," said old Abu Beker, "all womankind is not able to give birth to another such as Khaled."

Meanwhile, however, the Mohammedan armies in Syria were attended with less success. Abu Obcidah proved unequal to the task which was imposed upon him by the Caliph. While each succeeding dispatch from Khaled brought to Medina the news of victory, the news from Obcidah was full of discouragement and alarm. He had heard that great armies were on the march from Constantinople to oppose him and deemed himself unable to confront the hosts of Heraclius. Great was the contrast thus exhibited to the mind of Abu Beker by the headlong career of Khaled and the timid inactivity of Obcidah. The Caliph accordingly ordered his victorious general to leave the Euphrates and assume the direction of the war in Syria.

Khaled at once hastened across the Syrian desert with a force of fifteen hundred horse and joined the army of his countrymen before the city of Bosra. This important mart near the Arabian frontier was a place of great strength. Romans, the governor, estimating the probabilities of the conflict, would have surrendered to the Mohammedans, but the garrison and the inhabitants resisted the proposition and insisted on defense. Before the arrival of Khaled, the city was already assailed by ten thousand Mohammedan horsemen under the command of the veteran Serjabil; but the garrison sallied forth, threw the Moslems into confusion, and cut them down with great slaughter.

The terrified Mohammedans were already breaking into a rout when a great cloud of dust on the horizon announced the arrival of Khaled. The impetuous warrior dashed upon the field, restored order, drove the Syrian gar-

rison again into the city, and set up his own banner before the gates. With the early morning the besieged army again sallied forth confident of victory. Romanus, riding before his army, entered into a sham, personal combat with Khaled, telling his terrible foe man to strike softly and he would surrender the city into his hands. Khaled readily assented to the proposition, but when Romanus returned into Bosra he was deposed by the indignant garrison and a new governor appointed in his stead. Another sally was made and a personal combat ensued between the commander and the young Abdalrahman, son of the Caliph, who appeared as the champion

for quarter. The city was taken and the carnage ended by the order of Khaled. The inhabitants were obliged to renounce Christianity and to accept Mohammed as their Prophet.

After the downfall of Bosra Khaled fixed his eyes on Damascus, the flower of the Syrian desert. With a force of thirty-seven thousand men he pressed forward to the rich plain and groves of palm in which the city is situated. So beautiful was the sight which greeted the eyes of the Moslem host that it seemed to them a vision of that Paradise which the Prophet had promised to the faithful. The city was strongly fortified, and defended by a



DAMASCUS

numerous garrison. Nor did it appear to Heraclius, who was then holding his court at Antioch, that the expedition of Khaled was more to be feared than a predatory foray of nomads. He therefore merely ordered a force of five thousand men to march from Antioch for the succor of Damascus. Arriving at the city, Calous, the general of the detachment, attempted to assume the command, and

of Khaled. The governor was wounded and put to flight. Thereupon the whole Moslem force charged upon the opposing army and drove the besieged headlong into the city. With nightfall the gates were closed and Bosra was invested.

Taking advantage of the darkness Romanus, who had been confined in his own house near the wall of the city, broke an opening through the rampart and made his way to the tent of Khaled. Abdalrahman was sent with a hundred men into the city to open the gates. At a preconcerted signal the Moslem hosts rushed forward, poured through the gates, and the people of Bosra were suddenly aroused with the shrill battle-cry of Islam. Thousands were cut down, and other terrified thousands cried

violent discussions ensued. Meanwhile Khaled drew near at the head of his army, and a sense of danger served to unite the factions within the walls. The garrison was drawn out through the gates, and the two armies were brought face to face in the plain. A fierce battle ensued, in which both the Christian commanders were killed, and their army driven within the ramparts.

Damascus was now besieged. Heraclius, learning the real character of the foe with whom he had to grapple, sent forward from Antioch an army of a hundred thousand men. But the undaunted Khaled sallied forth into the desert, met the approaching hosts in detachments, and inflicted upon them a complete overthrow and rout. The siege was again re-

sumel, but Heraclius, now thoroughly alarmed, raised another army of seventy thousand men, and a second time hurried to the relief of Damascus. Khaled called upon the Moslem chiefs of Arabia for aid, and as soon as possible broke up his camp before the city, marching in the direction of Aiznadin. The garrison of Damascus sallied forth and pursued the retiring army. Khaled, however, turned upon them and inflicted a severe defeat; but the assailants succeeded in carrying off a part of the baggage and many of the Moslem women. These in turn were recaptured by Khaled, and the assailants were glad to make good their escape within the fortifications of the city.

Meanwhile the Moslem reinforcements arrived before Aiznadin, where Khaled now gathered his entire force for the impending battle. The Imperial army greatly exceeded the Mohammedan in number, and was thoroughly equipped and disciplined according to the Roman method. After lying face to face for a day Werdan, the commander of the Christian host, sought to circumvent Khaled by treachery; but the latter outwitted his rival, and Werdan was caught and slain in his own stratagem. Taking advantage of the temporary dismay of the Imperial army, Khaled, though outnumbered two to one, charged upon the opposing camp, and a massacre ensued hitherto unparalleled in the fierce conflicts of those desert lands. Those of the Christians who survived the onset fled in all directions. The spoils of the overthrown were greater than the victorious Moslems could well dispose of. An immense train of booty was dispatched to Medina, and Abdalrahman was commissioned to bear the news of the victory to Abu Bekcr.

It appeared that all Arabia was now ready for the field. Every chief and his tribe were eager to join the victorious Khaled for the capture of Damascus. After the victory of Aiznadin the Mohammedans resumed the investment of the city, and the siege was pressed with such severity that neither citizen nor soldier durst venture beyond the ramparts. The Moslems, however, were repelled in several assaults, and the garrison in turn was driven back at every sally. For seventy days the siege continued with unrelenting rigor. When at last the people were reduced to extremity, an embassy went forth, and one of

the city gates was opened to Obcidah. At the same time Khaled obtained possession of the gate on the opposite side, and fought his way into the city, where he met the forces of Obcidah, peacefully marching in according to the terms of capitulation. Great was the rage of Khaled, who swore by Allah that he would put every infidel to the sword. For a while the slaughter continued; but Khaled was at length induced to desist, and to honor the terms which had been granted by the more merciful Obcidah.

So Damascus fell into the hands of the Moslems. A part of the inhabitants remained and became tributary to the Caliph, and the rest were permitted to retire with their property in the direction of Antioch. The latter, however, were pursued by the merciless Khaled, overtaken in their encampment beyond Mount Libanus, and were all slain or captured. This exploit having been accomplished, the Moslems hastened back to Damascus, where some time was spent in dividing the spoils of the great conquest.

In the mean time Abu Bekcr grew feeble with age, and died at Medina. His death occurred on the very day of the capture of Damascus, and before the news of that great victory could reach him. Perceiving his end at hand, the aged Caliph dictated a will to his secretary, in which he nominated Omar as his successor. The latter was little disposed to accept the burden of the Caliphate. Having extorted from Omar a promise to accept the office and to rule in accordance with the precepts of the Koran, good Abu Bekcr, after a reign of a little more than two years, left the world in full assurance of Paradise.

The succession fell peaceably to OMAR, who began his reign in A. D. 634. He was a man great in mind and great in stature, strong of will and resolute of purpose. The two years' successful reign of his predecessor had left the Caliphate in the ascendant; and it was not likely that Omar would allow the conquests of Islam to stop with their present limits. His religious zeal was equal to his warlike valor, and his private life was as temperate as his public example was commendable. For the false luxury of the world he had no liking. His manners were as severe as those of John the Baptist. His beverage was water;

his food, of barley bread and dates. His motto was: "Four things come not back: the spoken word; the sped arrow; the past life; and the neglected opportunity."

On ascending to power Omar received the title of *Emir al-Moumenin*, or Commander of the Faithful. He began his career by introducing several salutary methods in the administration of justice. He ordered to be prepared a twisted scourge for the backs of a certain class of offenders, and the remedy was so freely applied as to provoke the saying, "Omar's twisted scourge is more to be feared than his sword."

One of the first acts of the new Caliph was to reappoint Abu Obeidah to the command of the army in Syria. The measure was one of great peril; for neither did Obeidah desire to be general-in-chief, nor was it by any means certain that Khaled would quietly submit to his own deposition. The supremacy of Islam, however, prevailed over all minor considerations, and the fiery warrior, who had received the surname of the "Sword of God," accepted a position subordinate to Obeidah. A short time after this transfer of the command the Syrian town of Abyla, whereat a great fair was holding, and hundreds of merchant princes were met to exhibit their stuffs, was taken by a division of horsemen under the command of Khaled, and another rich harvest of booty gathered from the infidels. A long train of spoil was driven back to Damascus, and the plunder distributed among the faithful.

By this time the Saracens had become a terrible army of veterans. The discipline of the Koran enjoined moderation in all matters of appetite, and the simple fire of the followers of Islam conduced to their excellence as soldiers. While the army was reposing at Damascus, however, the use of the interdicted wine-cup began to prevail, and Omar and Obeidah were scandalized with occasional reports of drunkenness. "By Allah," said the Caliph, "what is to be done with these wine-bibbers." A message was prepared at the suggestion of Ali, wherein Obeidah was directed to have the offenders publicly whipped. On receiving the dispatch the general summoned the guilty, and had the bastinado laid upon their flesh until the honor of Islam was

vindicated. Such was the heat of religious fervor that many whose petitions had been in secret came forward of their own accord, acknowledged their sin, and were whipped till their consciences were satisfied.

Leaving a sufficient garrison in Damascus, Obeidah now went forth to complete the conquest of Syria. The two most important cities still remaining uncaptured were Emessa and Baulbec. As soon as the expedition was begun Khaled was sent forward with one-third of the Moslem army to scour the country in the direction of Emessa. The main body, under the general and chief, advanced by way of Jusheyah, which city purchased immunity for a year by the payment of a large ransom to the Mohammedans.

On reaching Emessa, Obeidah found that Khaled had already begun a siege. An investment ensued; but the authorities of the city, like those of Jusheyah, preferred to secure a temporary peace by the payment of ten thousand pieces of gold and two hundred silken robes. It was stipulated that at the expiration of a year Emessa should be surrendered to the Moslems, on condition that the latter should in the mean time have taken the cities of Aleppo, Alhadir, and Kenesrin, and that they should have defeated the Imperial army. By these heavy contributions Obeidah secured unlimited means of prosecuting his campaigns and of filling the coffers of the government at Medina.

As soon as the merchants of Emessa found themselves secure from aggression they opened the gates of the city, established fairs, and began to ply a profitable trade with their conquerors. The god of Thrift began to recover from Mars a portion of his spoils. The Mohammedans meanwhile ravaged the surrounding country, fell upon the villages of the unbelievers, and seized the property of whoever would not profess himself a follower of the Prophet. The Syrian Greeks, having much of the religious-suppleness for which their race had ever been noted, soon learned that the readiest and safest way of reaching a conclusion of their peril was by voluntary submission and the payment of tribute. The Mohammedans were keepers of their faith. Town after town sent deputations to Obeidah and secured peace, until by their own act the

whole territories of Emessa, Alhadir, and Kennesrin were saved from devastation.

Relations quite friendly were thus established between the dominant Moslems and the subject Syrian populations. The policy of Obeidah was so successful that when for a long time no intelligence of further conquest was borne to Medina, Caliph Omar, believing that Obeidah had ceased to glorify the Prophet, wrote him a letter complaining of his apathy in the cause. Stung by the reproaches of his master, Obeidah left Khaled to await the expiration of the year's truce at Emessa, and himself at once set forward on an expedition to Baalbec. While on the march he captured a rich caravan of merchants and found himself in possession of four hundred loads of silks and sugars. The caravan, however, was permitted to ransom itself and continue on its way to Baalbec. Thus were the people of that city notified of the approach of the Moslems.

Herbis, the Syrian governor, believing that the disturbers of his peace were only a band of marauders, sallied forth with an army to put to flight the assailants of his people; but Obeidah inflicted on him a severe defeat and he was glad to secure himself within the walls of Baalbec. The city was soon besieged, but the garrison made a brave defense. In a sally which was ordered by Herbis, the Moslems were driven back. Shortly the besieged made a second sortie in full force, and a general battle ensued, in which the Syrians were defeated. Being reduced to extremities, Herbis finally sought a conference with Obeidah, and Baalbec, like Emessa, was ransomed from pillage at a heavy cost. The same scenes which had been witnessed at Emessa were now reenacted in the recently captured city. Merchantmen grew fat by the establishment of a trade with the victorious but reckless Moslems, who, burdened with the spoils of war, were quick to purchase at an exorbitant price whatever pleased their fancy.

Meanwhile the year of truce with Emessa expired, and Obeidah demanded the actual surrender of the city. The sole condition of exemption was the acceptance by the people of the faith of Islam or the payment of an annual tribute. "I invite you," said Obeidah, "to embrace our holy faith and the law revealed to our Prophet Mohammed, and we

will send pious men to instruct you, and you shall participate in all our fortunes. If you refuse, you shall be left in possession of all your property on the payment of annual tribute. If you reject both conditions, come forth from behind your stone walls and let Allah, the supreme judge, decide between us."

The authorities of Emessa rejected this summons with contempt. The garrison presently sallied forth, and the Moslems were handled roughly. Obeidah then resorted to stratagem and proposed to the inhabitants that he would retire and undertake the conquest of other cities, on condition that his army should be provisioned for a five days' march from the storehouses of the city. The proposal was gladly accepted, but when the five days' provisions were dealt out to the Moslems, Obeidah, pretending that the supply was still insufficient, asked the privilege of purchasing additional stores. This granted, he continued to buy until the supplies of Emessa were greatly reduced. The Moslem army then marched away and quickly captured the towns of Arrostan and Shaizar. This done, he returned with all haste to Emessa, claiming that his promise to leave the city was by no means a promise not to return.

Thus by craft and subtlety the inhabitants of Emessa found themselves overreached and subjected to the hardships of another siege. After several days' fighting, during which the Moslems found themselves unable to make any impression on the steady phalanxes of the Syrian Greeks, they resorted to their usual stratagem of pretending to fly from the fight. The opposing army, believing that the Arabs were really routed, rushed forward in pursuit and fell to plundering the Moslem camp. Suddenly, however, the forces of Obeidah turned from their flight and threw themselves headlong upon the broken ranks of the Syrians. The latter were thunderstruck by the unexpected onset of a foe whom they considered overthrown, and were unable to reform the phalanx. Then a terrible slaughter ensued. The field was strewn with Christian dead. The huge bulk of the governor was discovered among the slain, his bloody garments still fragrant with the perfumes of the East.

The city, unable to offer further resistance, immediately surrendered. Obeidah, however,

was unable to avail himself of the advantages of victory. For in the moment of triumph, intelligence was received that Constantine, son of the Emperor, was approaching with an immense army of heavy-armed Greeks, flanked by a host of auxiliaries, against whom the Moslems could not hope to stand. It became a serious question in Obaidah's camp what course should be pursued to maintain the now unequal contest. In a council of war it was decided to march to Yermouk, on the borders of Palestine, and there await the approach of Constantine. For the position was such as to be within supporting distance of Medina.

The rumor of the approaching Imperial army was well founded. For the Emperor Heraclius, at first despising the reports of the Mohammedan aggressions on the south-west, was now thoroughly alarmed at the portentous intelligence which foretold the Moslem conquest of all Syria. An army of eighty thousand men was accordingly organized and placed under the command of Manuel, who was ordered to recover the Syrian province from the Arabs. Manuel was joined *en route* by another army numbering sixty thousand, led by a renegade Ishanite, named Jabalah. Such was the powerful host, the rumor of whose coming had obliged the hasty retirement of the victorious Moslems after their capture of Emessa.

The Arab generals, now posted at Yermouk, sent a message to the Caliph describing their peril and asking for reinforcements. Eight thousand men were hastily collected, placed under the command of Seid, and sent forward to Obaidah. Before the arrival of this force, however, the impetuous Khaled had sallied forth with a body of picked troops, fallen upon the traitorous Jabalah, who led the hostile advance, and inflicted on him a severe defeat. As Manuel approached with the main army, he opened negotiations with Obaidah. Khaled was sent to a conference, but nothing was effected except the release of some Arab prisoners. It was evident that the issue must be decided by the sword.

In the impending battle, Obaidah, distrusting his own abilities, gave the chief command to Khaled. That veteran, before beginning the conflict, made to his men a characteristic address. "Paradise," said he, "is before you;

the devil and hell behind. Fight bravely, and you will secure the one; fly, and you will fall into the other." The hostile armies met near Yermouk. The battle began at morning, and raged furiously throughout the day. Three times the Moslems were driven back by the steady charges of the Greco-Syrian phalanx, and three times the cries and entreaties of the Arab women in the rear prevailed with the warriors to renew the fight. Nightfall gave a brief respite to the tired army of the Prophet.

With the morning light the battle was renewed, and again continued to the darkness. The third and fourth days of the conflict were decisive. The Christian hosts were at last thrown into confusion by the fiery assaults of the Moslems. Manuel was slain and his army completely routed. The conflict was decisive as it related to the possession of Syria.

After a month's rest at Damascus, the Arab army proceeded to besiege Jerusalem. The inhabitants of that city prepared for defense by gathering provisions and planting engines on the walls. The usual demands made by the Moslem leaders that the people should either embrace the faith of Islam or become tributary to the vicar of the Prophet were rejected, and the investment began. For ten days the assaults were renewed from time to time, and a second summons to surrender was followed by a conference between the Christian patriarch Sempronius and Obaidah. It was agreed that the Caliph Omar should himself come from Medina and receive the city. That potentate accordingly traversed the Arabian desert, and the Holy City was given into his hands. It was stipulated that the Christians should build no new churches in the countries which they surrendered; that the doors of all places of worship should be kept open to travelers and Mohammedans; that the bells should ring no more, and that the cross should not be publicly exhibited. Having subscribed the articles of capitulation, Omar assured the people of his protection and took possession of the city of David.

Omar scrupulously observed the terms of the surrender. The Moslems were forbidden to pray in the Christian churches. The devotions of the Islamites were at first limited to the steps and porches of the sacred edifices,



ENTRANCE OF OMAR THE GREAT INTO JERUSALEM.
From *Levo's* Engraving.

The Caliph *Umar*, did not fail to add the sanctity of Jerusalem to that of Islam. Searching in the site of the temple of Solomon, he found a consecrated spot of the *Abrahamic* of centuries, and laid thereon the foundations of the great mosque. *Al-Bi* still bears his name, and has ever been regarded as among the most magnificent specimens of Arabian architecture. Thus, in the year A. D. 637, the ancient and holy capital of the Jewish nation passed into the hands of the followers of the Prophet.

Before leaving Jerusalem *Omar* planned the completion of his Syrian conquests. Southern Syria was assigned to *Abu Sofian*, while the northern region lying between *Hauran* and *Aleppo* was committed to *Obaidah*. At the same time an invasion of Egypt was ordered, and an expedition against that country put under command of *Amr*. These arrangements being completed, *Omar* returned in triumph to *Mosina*. During his absence the affairs of state had been managed by *Ali*, whom the Caliph had intrusted with the government.

Meanwhile, *Obaidah* began his march to the northeast. The cities of *Kennesrin* and *Alhadir* were surrendered to him without a conflict. The great mercantile metropolis of *Aleppo*, however, was not to be given up without an obstinate struggle. This wealthy city was strongly fortified, and the citadel, standing upon a high mound, seemed impregnable to assault. The place was under command of an able soldier named *Youkenna*, who encouraged the people by word and example, and prepared to fight for the city to the last. Before *Obaidah* could reach *Aleppo*, *Youkenna* sallied forth with ten thousand men to confront the approaching Moslems. During his absence the peace-loving traders of *Aleppo* sent a deputation to *Obaidah*, offering to make the city tributary on condition of being spared. But, while the negotiations were pending, *Youkenna* surprised the Arab advance and gained a partial success; then, hearing what the citizens of *Aleppo* had done, he hastened back to the city to prevent a surrender.

On resuming the gates *Youkenna* charged upon the citizens, and hundreds were put to the sword. A scene of bloodshed and con-

fusion ensued as terrible as any thing which was to be apprehended from the Moslems, and before this desperate, internal strife could be quieted, *Khalid* appeared with his army before the walls. The city was stormed, the conflict raging fiercely for many hours, until even the headlong *Khalid* was obliged to desist from the assault. The heads of the Arab prisoners were cut off and thrown down from the walls in contempt, and *Youkenna*, by frequent sallies, made himself a terror even to the undaunted Moslems.

For five months the citadel was besieged, until *Obaidah* was ready to give up the enterprise; but the Caliph ordered the investment to be pressed to a conclusion. At last an Arab stratagem succeeded where courage had failed. A certain Moslem Hercules, named *Damas*, with a band of thirty reckless followers, scaled the castle wall by night, killed the guard, threw open the portal, raised the battle-cry of Islam, and held the gate until *Khalid* and his irresistible host poured in and captured the citadel. *Aleppo* was the prize of victory. The terrible *Youkenna*, finding the Arab sword at his throat, saved himself by a sudden conversion to Islam, and most of the garrison followed his example. He signaled his defection from the Christian cause by taking up the sword of the Prophet. He betrayed the city of *Aaziz* into the hands of *Obaidah*, and then undertook no less an enterprise than the delivery of *Antioch* to the Mohammedans. To this end he gave himself up at one of the Imperial outposts, and was taken into the presence of *Heraclius* at the Syrian capital. He pretended to be a fugitive. The Emperor accepted his story, and put him in command of the very band of renegades whom he had led within sight of the city. He rapidly rose in the Imperial favor. He was made a counselor of the court, and became one of the most important personages in *Antioch*.

Meanwhile, *Obaidah* came on with the main army to besiege the city. The treacherous *Youkenna* was intrusted with the defense. The forces of the Emperor were drawn up and reviewed without the walls, and *Heraclius* himself made a present of a crucifix to each battalion. The main dependence for the safety of *Antioch* was the great stone bridge across the river *Orontes*. This passage must be

secured by the Moslems before they could hope to take the city. The guards of the bridge, however, had a private spite to be gratified, and as soon as the Arab army drew near surrendered themselves and their charge to Obeidah. Thus was the approach to Antioch laid open, and the two armies were brought face to face before the walls of the city.

In the mean time Youkenna, who held command within the ramparts, completed his treason by liberating the Arab prisoners. When the intelligence of his proceedings was carried to Heraclius, the latter fell into despair, slipped away from the Christian camp with a few followers, took his course to the sea-shore, and embarked for Constantinople. The generals of the Emperor, however, remained and fought. In the severe battle which ensued before the walls of the city, the Moslems were again triumphant. Antioch surrendered, and was obliged to purchase her exemption from pillage by the payment of three thousand ducats of gold.

The conquest of Syria was now virtually complete. Khaled, at the head of a division of the army, traversed the country as far as the Euphrates. Everywhere the towns and villages were compelled either to profess the faith of Islam or pay an annual tribute. Another leader, named Mesroud, undertook the conquest of the Syrian mountains. Little success, however, attended the expedition until Khaled went to the assistance of Mesroud, whereupon the opposing army of Greeks withdrew from the country.

In the mean time Amru, to whom had been assigned the subjugation of Egypt, proceeded against Cesarea. Here was posted Constantine, son of the Emperor, in command of a large army of Greco-Syrians. Great were the embarrassments of Amru in the conduct of his expedition; for many Christian Arabs, who could not well be discriminated from the true followers of the Prophet, hovered as spies about the Moslem camp and carried to Constantine intelligence of whatever was done or purposed. None the less, the Christian general entertained a wholesome dread of the Moslems, and on their approach sought a peaceable settlement. He remonstrated with Amru, and at the same time

protested that the Greeks and Arabs were brethren.

Amru maintained, however, that according to the Noachic distribution of the world Syria belonged to the descendants of Shem; that they had been wrongfully dispossessed and thrust into the deserts of Arabia, and that they were now come to repossess their inheritance by the sword. After much parley, the usual alternative was presented by the Mohammedan. The people of Cesarea must either accept Mohammed as their Prophet and acknowledge the unity of God or else become tributary to the Caliph Omar. The armies then prepared for battle. It was the peculiarity of all these conflicts that challenges to personal combat were given and accepted by the leaders. Before the wall of Cesarea a powerful Christian warrior rode forth and defied the Moslem host to send a man to match him in fight. An Arab youth from Yemen offered himself for martyrdom and was quickly slain. A second and third followed his example. Then the veteran Serjabil went forth and was prostrated by the Christian hero. But when the latter was about to take the life of his fallen foeman, his own hand was cut off by a saber stroke of a certain Greek, who came to the rescue.

Presently after this adventure—the weather being cold and boisterous—Constantine immured himself in Cesarea. That place was then besieged by the Moslems, and Constantine, instead of being reinforced, received the intelligence of the capture of Tripoli and Tyre. He also learned that a fleet of munitions and supplies which had been sent to his relief had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Discouraged by these tidings, he gathered together his treasures and family, slipped away from Cesarea, and embarked for Constantinople. As soon as the authorities of the city learned that the prince had fled, they made overtures to Amru and secured their safety by the payment of a ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of silver. A few other places of minor importance were taken by the Mohammedan, and by the following year, A. D. 639, opposition ceased. All Syria was wrested from the Empire of the East and added to the Caliphate of Medina.

It will be remembered that on the accession

of Omar that potentate displaced the victorious Khaled from the command of the Syrian army, and in other ways showed his dislike for the favorite general of Abu Beker. Khaled was a hero according to the Arab heart and model. Eschans, one of the many poets of the desert, sang the praises of the Sword of God and attributed to him the full glory of the Syrian victories. For this bit of adulation Khaled was weak enough to make the poet a present of thirty thousand pieces of silver. To the austere Omar, already inimical to Khaled, this vainglory appeared intolerable. The veteran soldier was, moreover, accused of embezzlement, was deposed from his command, and disgraced with a trial. Already aged and infirm, the hardy warrior could not recover from his disgrace. He died of a broken heart, but from the sepulcher his fame shone out more brightly than ever. For it was found that instead of enriching himself by embezzlement, his whole estate consisted of his war-horse and armor.

Amru was now free to prosecute his invasion of Egypt. Having crossed the border, his first work was to capture Pelusium, which he did after a siege of a month's duration. He then marched against Misrah, the ancient Memphis, which, next to Alexandria, was now the most important city of Egypt. The place was invested for seven months, nor might it then have fallen into the hands of the Moslems, but for the treason of the governor, Mokawkas, who entered into a correspondence with Amru, and agreed to surrender the city on condition that he be permitted to retain the treasures which he had collected while in office.

Having thus possessed himself of Memphis, Amru next set out for Alexandria. By the terms of capitulation the people were obliged to prepare the way before him, bridge the canals, and supply provisions. The malcontent—especially the Greek—element of Egyptian society fell back before the invading army and took refuge in Alexandria. So strongly fortified was this city, so well provisioned and defended, and so easily accessible to all the fleets of the Mediterranean, that its attempted reduction by the men of the desert appeared the project of insanity. Nevertheless, Amru made the usual demands of relig-

ious and civil submission to the Prophet and his vicar, and when these were refused, boldly laid siege to the powerful capital. In a short time he succeeded in capturing the citadel, but the Greeks rallied in great force, drove out the assailants, and made prisoners of Amru and several of his officers. Not knowing, however, the rank and importance of their captives, the victors permitted them to depart on the easy mission of obtaining favorable terms from Amru! The far-resounding shouts of the Moslems on beholding the safe return of their general gave notice to the credulous governor of Alexandria that he had but fly the most important bird of the desert.

For fourteen months the siege of the city continued. Nothing could disappoint the desperate Moslems of their prey. Caliph Omar sent army after army to reinforce the besiegers. It is said that twenty-three thousand of the Arabs fell in various unsuccessful assaults before the city was obliged to yield. At last, however, the end came, and the capital of Egypt succumbed to the followers of the Prophet. The fiery Crescent took the place of the Cross in the metropolis of Africa.

Most of the Greeks, who for some centuries had been the predominant class in Egypt, took ship and left the country. For a while, however, they hovered about the coast, and when it was learned that Amru, leaving a small garrison in Alexandria, had started on his march up the valley of the Nile, a large force of the Greek fugitives suddenly returned and retook the city. Great was the wrath of Amru on hearing what was done. He at once marched back to the capital, and after a brief investment, again carried the citadel by assault. Most of the Greeks were cut to pieces, and the rest escaping to their ships took flight by sea. The Mohammedans were now mad for the pillage of the city, and were with difficulty held in check by Amru and a message from the Caliph. Omar was very far from desiring that the magnificent metropolis should be destroyed. At this time Alexandria is said to have contained four thousand palaces, five thousand baths, four hundred theaters, twelve thousand gardeners, and forty thousand tributary Jews. The Caliph was sufficiently wise to understand that not pillage but the imposition of tribute was the best

method of replenishing the coffers of Medina and providing the resources of war.

Formidable resistance ceased in Egypt with the capture of the capital. The other towns and villages surrendered at the first summons and became tributary to the conqueror. A tax of two ducats was laid upon every male Egyptian, and a large additional revenue was derived from the landed property of the kingdom. It was estimated that the Caliph received from these various sources the sum of twelve millions of ducats.

At the time of the conquest of Egypt, there was resident in Alexandria a certain Christian scholar of the sect of the Jacobites, known by his Greek name of Johannes Grammaticus, and the cognomen of Philoponus. With him Amru, himself a scholar and a poet, became acquainted. The antagonism of religious zeal was for once overcome by the sentiment of personal regard. While still resident in the city, the Grammarian informed Amru that Alexandria contained one treasure, which he had not yet beheld, more valuable and glorious than all her other riches. This was, in brief, the renowned ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY, the vastest collection of manuscripts known to the ancient world. It had been founded by Ptolemy Soter, who placed the vast collection made in his own times in a building called the Bruchion. Here was gathered during the reigns of the earlier Ptolemies a mass of four hundred thousand volumes. An additional building, called the Serapeon, was subsequently procured, and in this another collection of three hundred thousand was stored. During Julius Cæsar's invasion of Egypt, he was besieged in Alexandria; a fire broke out, and the Bruchion with its contents was destroyed. The Serapeon was saved from destruction. Afterwards, as far as practicable, the lost collection was restored. During the ascendancy of Cleopatra, the library of Pergamus was brought by her lover, Mark Antony, to Egypt, and presented to the easy-going but ambitious princess. Notwithstanding the injuries which the great library at various times sustained, it was, at the time of the Moslem invasion, by far the grandest and most valuable collection of books in the world.

In making an inventory of the treasures of

the city according to directions received from Omar, Amru, through ignorance of its existence, failed to take notice of the library. The Grammarian thereupon besought him that he himself might be made the possessor of the vast collection. Amru, disposed to favor his friend, referred the matter to the Caliph Omar for decision. From that potentate he presently received the following fatal missive: "THE CONTENTS OF THOSE BOOKS ARE IN CONFORMITY WITH THE KORAN OR THEY ARE NOT. IF THEY ARE, THE KORAN IS SUFFICIENT WITHOUT THEM; IF THEY ARE NOT, THEY ARE PERNICIOUS. LET THEM, THEREFORE, BE DESTROYED."

This reckless mandate of ignorant bigotry was carried out to the letter. The invaluable treasures of the Bruchion and Serapeon were torn from their places and distributed as fuel among the five thousand baths of the city. So vast were the collections that six months were required to consume them. At last, however, the work of barbarism was completed, and the library of Alexandria was no more.¹

The capture of Alexandria ended the dominion of the Roman Empire in the South-east. So great was the affliction of Heraclius on account of his losses that he presently fell into a paroxysm and died. The crown descended to his son Constantine, but that prince had neither the courage nor ability to undertake the reconquest of Syria. Fortunate it was for the Mohammedans that Egypt fell at this juncture into their hands. A great dearth ensued throughout Arabia, and Caliph Omar was obliged to call upon Amru to furnish Medina and Mecca with supplies. The rich granaries of Egypt were emptied of their stores to save the people of the South from starvation.

In order to open and facilitate communication between Egypt and Arabia, Amru completed the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea—a work which had been begun by the Emperor Trajan. By this means an all-water

¹The story of the destruction of the Alexandrian Library has been doubted by so careful an authority as Gibbon, who found the act unmentioned by two of the most ancient historians, and regarded it, moreover, as a deed altogether inconsistent with the intelligence and character of Amru.

route was established between the Egyptian store-houses and the capital of the Caliphate. Amru continued for some time in the government of the country which he had conquered, exhibiting in peace talents as remarkable as those which he had displayed in war.

In the mean time, while the conquest of Syria and Egypt had been progressing, the Mohammedan dominion had likewise been extended in the direction of Persia. The victories of the Romans in that country, no less than the civil broils and murders with which the Persian court was constantly disgraced, invited the sons of Islam to undertake an invasion. The capital of the country was now the city of Madain, on the Tigris, the site of the ancient Ctesiphon. The conquests of Khaled on the Euphrates before his recall to aid in the subjugation of Syria have been already narrated. It will be remembered that on going to the aid of Obeidah, Khaled left the larger part of his army under command of Mosenna to carry on the war. On the accession of Omar a new officer was appointed to the governorship of Babylonia, which Khaled had subdued to Islam. It does not appear that Mosenna was competent as a military chieftain. For a time nothing was added to the Mohammedan dominion, and Caliph Omar, tired of his subordinate in the East, sent a second Obeidah, surnamed Sakfi, to supersede Mosenna and carry out the policy of Abu Bekr.

On the approach of the new commander to the capital, an army of thirty thousand men was sent out by the Persians to confront the invaders on the border. A battle was fought between the advance detachments of this force and the Arabs, in which the latter were victorious. The main body came up too late to succor the routed van, and was itself signally defeated. The reserves of the kingdom were now brought out under the command of Behman, who led into the field a new army and thirty elephants. The Persian forces were reorganized on the plains of Babylon, and were vastly superior in number to the Moslems, whose army consisted of nine thousand men. There was a dispute between Obeidah and the other commanders as to whether they should hazard a second battle or retire into the desert, and wait for reinforc-

ments from Arabia. Obeidah was for fight, and his views prevailed over the adverse opinions of his generals. The Arabs crossed the Euphrates and attacked the Persians on the opposite bank, but reckless valor could not prevail over the hosts of the enemy. Obeidah was slain, and four thousand of his men were either killed or drowned in attempting to retreat. Had the Persians followed up their success with energy, the whole Moslem army must have been destroyed. Mosenna, however, succeeded in rallying three thousand of his men, and was soon reinforced by detachments out of Syria. Thus enabled to reassume the offensive, Mosenna ravaged the Babylonian plains, capturing towns and villages.

After the battle on the Euphrates, Queen Arzemia, then the ruler of Persia, gave the command of her army to Mahran, who was ordered to check the career of Mosenna. The hostile armies again met in battle near the town of Hirah, on the confines of the desert. From midday until the setting of the sun the fight raged fiercely, and the victory remained undecided, till at last Mosenna and Mahran met in single combat. The latter was slain, and the Persians took to flight. A revolution in the capital followed the news of the battle. Arzemia was dethroned by Rustam, prince of Khorassan, who put his captive sovereign to death. A new army was mustered, and it was determined to scourge the Arabs from the land.

Meanwhile, the Caliph Omar had not been idle. A large contingent of nomad warriors was gathered at Medina, and Omar was with difficulty dissuaded from taking the field in person. The command of the reinforcements was at length given to the veteran Abu Wakkas, who had been a companion of the Prophet. He was given the general command of all the Moslems in Persia, and was intrusted with the completion of the conquest. Mosenna presently died, and the whole responsibility devolved on Abu Wakkas.

The Persians still greatly outnumbered their assailants. Their army, under command of Rustam, was posted at Kadesia, on the frontier. So great was the disparity of numbers that Abu Wakkas would fain have waited for reinforcements; but the messenger

of the Caliph exhorted the general to bear not, but to strike in the name of the Prophet. Before venturing on a battle, however, Abu Wakkas determined to attempt the conversion of his enemy by persuasion. An embassy, consisting of the most eminent Arabs, was sent to the Persian capital, and the king was exhorted to turn to the faith of Islam. The latter was indignant at the impudent demand, and the conference was broken up with mutual recriminations.

Again the fate of the kingdom was submitted to the arbitrament of battle. The two hostile armies were drawn up on the plains of Kadesia. Here a terrible conflict ensued, but night came without decisive results. The next day was consumed in skirmishing and personal combats, in which several of the leaders on both sides were slain. The third day's fight was attended with varying successes, and the battle continued during the night. On the next morning Rustam was killed, whereupon the Persian army took to flight, and the camp was despoiled by the Moslems. Thirty thousand of the Persians were slain in the battle and the pursuit, and an incalculable amount of booty fell into the hands of the victors. The sacred banner of Persia was captured by an Arab soldier, who received therefor thirty thousand pieces of gold. Thus, in the year 635, was fought the great battle which decided the fate of Persia.

The work of organizing the Babylonian country was now devolved by the Caliph on Abu Wakkas. A new capital, named Bassora, was founded on the united Euphrates and Tigris, and here were established the head-quarters of the Mohammedans in the East. In a short time the city grew into importance, becoming a great mart for the commerce of India. Until the present day Bassora is regarded as one of the principal emporiums of eastern trade.

As yet the capital of Persia had not been assailed by the Moslems. But after the battle of Kadesia, the people were so dispirited that the completion of the conquest by the Arabs was only a question of time. Many cities and strongholds were given up without even a show of defense. What remained of ancient Babylon thus fell into the hands of the followers of the Prophet.

After a short time Abu Wakkas gathered his forces, crossed the Tigris, and advanced against Madain. On his approach to the capital the Persian counselors besought the king, Yazdegerd, to save himself and them by flying into Khorassan. No settled policy was determined on until the Moslems were within one day's march of Madain. Then the king, accompanied by his panic-struck household, took to flight. There was no formal resistance to the entrance of the Arabs into the capital of Persia. The city was left sitting with her treasures in her hand. "How many gardens and fountains," said Abu Wakkas, "and fields of corn and fair dwellings and other sources of delight did they leave behind them?"

The abandoned capital was given up to pillage. A scene ensued like that of the sack of Rome by the barbarians. The Arabs of the desert broke into the magnificent palace of Chosroes and revelled in the splendid halls of the Sassanian king. While the Prophet lived he had written a letter to the Persian monarch, demanding his submission to the new kingdom which Allah was establishing in the earth; but the haughty sovereign tore up the Prophet's letter in contempt. "Even so," said Mohammed, "shall Allah rend his empire in pieces." When the Arabs gained possession of the Persian basilica, they cried out: "Behold the white palace of Khosru! This is the fulfillment of the prophecy of the Apostle of God."

Abu Wakkas established himself in the royal abode. Most of the treasures which through ages had been accumulated in the vaults of the capital were seized by the Moslems. These untold spoils of war were distributed according to the Arab method. One-fifth of the whole was set apart for the Caliph, and the remainder was divided among the sixty thousand followers of Abu Wakkas, each soldier receiving twelve hundred pieces of silver. A caravan of nine hundred heavily laden camels was scarcely able to convey the Caliph's portion to Medina. Never before had such an enormous train of spoil been seen in the streets of the City of the Prophet.¹

¹As illustrative of the spirit of the Mohammedans, an incident may be related of the division of the spoils. The royal carpet of the Persian palace, perhaps the most famous piece of tapestry

Thus, in the year 637—the event being coincident with the capture of Jerusalem by Omar—the Empire of Persia passed under the dominion of the Mohammedans. The cloud, apparently no larger than the hand of a man, rising from the shores of the Red Sea, had spread out to the east until its shadow fell beyond the valley of the Euphrates and the lofty range of Zagros.

Remaining in the capital of Persia, Abu Wakkas sent forward an army of twelve thousand men in pursuit of the fugitive king. The latter had fled to Holwan, in the Median hills. This place was besieged for six months, and finally captured. From this place Yezdegird made good his retreat to Rhaga, the ancient residence of the Parthian kings. The further pursuit of the monarch was forbidden by the Caliph, who urged that the welfare of the believers was of more importance than booty taken from infidels.

Abu Wakkas soon discovered the unhealthfulness of the situation at Madain. At the suggestion of the Caliph it was determined to seek a more salubrious position for the Arab army. The village of Cufa, on the western bank of the Euphrates, was accordingly chosen and made the future headquarters of the Moslems of the East.¹ In building his new city Abu Wakkas despoiled the old; for many of the edifices of Madain were pulled down to furnish material for the new structures on the hither side of the Euphrates.—And now came a characteristic event in the career of the conquering Islam.

It appears that Abu Wakkas was too susceptible to the influences of Persian luxury. He began to assume the habit and splendid manners of the East. He had built for him-

self at Cufa a magnificent Kiosk, or summer residence, where he assumed the state of royalty like that of a Persian prince. Great was the mortification of Caliph Omar when the news of these proceedings was borne to Medina. He immediately wrote a message to Abu Wakkas, and despatched the same by the hands of a faithful envoy named Mohammed. The latter repaired at once to Cufa, where he signaled his advent by burning to the ground the sumptuous Kiosk of Abu Wakkas. When that distinguished personage came forth indignantly and demanded to know the reason of this incendiary work, the ambassador put into his hands the following letter from Omar: "I am told thou hast built a lofty palace, like to that of the Khorsus, and decorated it with a door taken from the latter; with a view to have guards and chamberlains stationed about it to keep off those who may come in quest of justice or assistance, as was the practice of the Khorsus before thee. In so doing thou hast departed from the ways of the Prophet (on whom be benedictions), and hast fallen into the ways of the Persian monarchs. Know that the Khorsus have passed from their palace to the tomb; while the Prophet, from his lowly habitation on earth, has been elevated to the highest heaven. I have sent Mohammed Ibn Muslemah to burn thy palace. In this world two houses are sufficient for thee; one to dwell in, the other to contain the treasure of the Moslems."

Islam had now become an Empire. The austere Omar found himself burdened with the cares of state. His main dependence in the transaction of public business was in the advice of Odman and Ali. Between them and himself he drew as closely as possible the ties of relationship and interest. In the same year with the founding of Cufa he married the Arab princess, Omm Kol-sam, daughter of Ali and Fatima, and granddaughter of the Prophet. The relation of the reigning Caliph with what may be called the royal family of Islam was thus more closely drawn, and the support of Ali secured for the future.

Meanwhile Hormuzan, satrap of Susiana, looked with ill-concealed aversion upon the Mohammedan power in Babylonia. To him the founding of the city of Bassora on the

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Lower Euphrates appeared as a menace. The haughty prince foresaw that his province must also presently succumb to the aggressive Mohammedans, or else that they must be repelled from his borders. He accordingly resolved on war and made Bassora the object of his hostility. The people of that city applied to the Caliph for assistance, and another army of the faithful was sent out from Medina.

The conflict was short and decisive. Hormuzan was defeated in a series of battles, and half of his province was added to the Moslem dominions in the East. In the mean time Yezdegird, the fugitive king of Persia, sent word from Rhaga to the governor of Fari-tan to take up arms in common with Hormuzan for the recovery of the kingdom. The conflict was accordingly renewed. Reinforcements were sent forward by the Caliph, and Hormuzan was pressed to the border. Besieged in the fortress of Ahwaz, he was finally compelled to surrender, and taken as a prisoner to Medina. Here, in order to save his life, he was compelled to accept the doctrines of Islam and be enrolled among the faithful.

Nothing gave greater cause of anxiety to Caliph Omar than the apprehension that his generals would be corrupted by the luxurious habits of the people whom they conquered. Especially was the distrust of Omar directed against Abu Wakkas, who was again reported at Medina as having assumed the manners of a Persian prince. This report so offended the Caliph that he deposed Abu Wakkas from the command and appointed Numan to succeed him. When the news of this proceeding was carried to Yezdegird, his hopes again revived, and he ordered the governors of the provinces still unsubdued to send forward all their available troops to rendezvous at Nehavend, fifteen leagues from Ecbatana. Here in a short time an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men was collected for battle. This force was greatly superior in numbers to that of the Moslems, but the latter were disciplined in all the hard-hips of war and trained to victory until they regarded themselves as invincible. The command of the Persian host was given to Firuzan, an aged warrior, whose discretion was as great as his courage. On assuming control of the army, he adopted the policy of fortifying himself in

an impregnable camp until what time the Moslems should wear out their energies by ineffectual assaults.

Accordingly, when Numan arrived before the Persian camp, the army of Firuzan could not be induced to come forth and fight. For two months the Arabs beat in vain against the position of the enemy. But when valor failed stratagem succeeded. Pretending to break up his camp and retreat, the crafty Numan fell back for one day's march and was followed cautiously by the Persians. For another day the Moslems continued their feigned retreat; but on the third morning, with the break of day, they turned back with terrible impetuosity on their pursuers, and in an hour inflicted upon them a disastrous defeat. The Arabs, in their turn, pursued the routed host and cut them down by thousands. Both Numan and Firuzan were killed, the former in the heat of battle and the latter in the flight. The number of the Persian dead was reckoned at a hundred thousand. So decisive of the fate of the Persian Empire was this great conflict that the Moslems ever afterwards celebrated their triumph as the "Victory of Victories."

Soon after this signal success of the Mohammedans, a strange Persian rode into the Moslem camp and promised, under pledge that his life should be spared, to show the Arab commander a greater treasure than any his eyes had yet beheld. It appeared that this stranger had received from the hand of the fugitive Yezdegird a box containing the crown jewels of Persia. The casket was opened in the presence of Hadifeh, who had succeeded to the command after the death of Numan. The Moslem general accepted the treasure; but since it had not been taken by the sword, it might not be distributed to the soldiers. The scrupulous Hadifeh accordingly sent the box to the Caliph; but the latter looked upon the flashing jewels with ill-concealed contempt alike for the precious stones and for any who could be dazzled by them. "You do not know," said he, "what these things are. Neither do I; but they justly belong to those who slew the infidels and to no one else." He then ordered the box to be carried back to Hadifeh, by whom the jewels were sold to the merchants who followed the

Moslem camp. The proceeds of the sale were distributed to the army, each soldier receiving for his portion four thousand pieces of gold.

In the mean time the remnants of the Persian army overthrown on the field of Nehavend had collected at Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana. Here, in a strong fortress, they took refuge and made a stand. Habesh, the commander, in order to gain a brief interval for preparation, entered into a treaty with Hadifih, at the same time preparing an obstinate defense for the city. Learning of the treachery which had been practiced upon his lieutenant, Caliph Omar sent forward a detachment of his army to besiege Hamadan and bring Habesh to his senses. The latter in a short time led out his army, and a great battle was fought before the Median capital. After a struggle of three days' duration the conflict ended with the overthrow of the Persians and the capture of Hamadan.

All Media now lay open to the invaders. The Arab general, Nuhaim, was despatched to hunt down the king in his hiding place at Rhaga. Hearing of his approach the monarch fled, leaving the defense of the town to a subordinate officer. The gates were soon opened by a rival chieftain; two thousand Mohammedans were admitted; the Persian governor was cut down in the streets, and the city taken in the midst of much slaughter. The traitor Zain, who had betrayed the place to the Moslems, was made provincial governor. Bodies of troops were sent out to reduce the surrounding country. Resistance was virtually at an end. Town after town yielded to the invaders and became tributary to the Caliphate. The province of Tabaristan paid five hundred thousand pieces of gold to purchase exemption from the levying of troops within her borders. It was evident, moreover, that so far as the religious systems in conflict were concerned that of Persia was tottering to its fall; and in proportion as the time-honored faith of the people gave way, just in that degree did the national spirit fail. The more thoughtful among the Persians foresaw and predicted the inevitable result. A certain aged hero, named Eirkhan, stood up among the military leaders, and said: "This Persian religion of ours has become obsolete; the new religion is carrying every thing before it.

My advice is to make peace and then pay tribute."

During the conquest of Hamadan, the Moslems had to encounter the soldiers of Azerbaijan, who had come from their own province in the north-west of Media to aid their countrymen in the South. It was not likely that Islam would overlook such an affront, more particularly when it proceeded from the Fire Worshipers, who had their altars at the foot of Mount Caucasus. No sooner, therefore, had Hamadan fallen into the hands of the Mohammedans than they turned their arms against Azerbaijan. The Magian priesthood and secular princes of the country rallied their forces to resist the invasion; but the god of fire was no match for Allah, and the sacred altars of the Magi, long time atlantc with the consuming symbol of the deity, were overthrown by the followers of the Prophet. The armies of Azerbaijan were beaten to the earth, and the province was added without a serious conflict to the now vastly extended dominions of the Caliphate.

The plain countries south of the defiles of the Caucasus had now all been subdued. It remained for the rocky passes of the North to be seized by the men of the desert. Of old time these passes had been guarded by fortresses and iron gates, behind which a few courageous soldiers were able to keep at bay the innumerable hordes of Gog and Magog from beyond the mountains. It was necessary to the further progress of Islam that the defiles of the Caucasus should be held by the friends of the Prophet. To secure this result, several bodies of troops were sent forward after the conquest of Azerbaijan, and the passes were taken from the enemy. One fortress, known as Demir-Capi, or the Gate of Iron, was wrested from the barbarians only after a severe conflict, in which not a few of the Moslems fell.

When the gateways of the North were thus secured, Caliph Omar appointed Abdalrahman governor of the region of Caucasus, to keep the passes against any possible irruption of barbarism from the North. The governor, in performing his duty as guardian of the outposts of Islam, took into his confidence and pay one of the mountain chieftains, named Shahr-Zad, whom he made his subordi-

nate in the work of defense. The acquaintance of the Moslem with this barbaric leader, and the stories which the latter told of the mysterious regions of Gog and Magog, finally determined the adventurous Abdalrahman to carry his arms beyond the desiles and make new conquests in a part of the world hitherto unknown to the faithful. He accordingly penetrated the countries between the Caspian and the Euxine, where he encountered the ancestors of the Turks, who were astonished at the strange demeanor of the Arabs. "Are you angels or the sons of Adam?" said they to the Moslems. To which the true believers gave answer that they were the sons of Adam, but that the angels were on their side, fighting the battles of the servants of Allah.

For a while the barbarians were kept aloof by awe; but presently, when the spell was broken, they fought the invaders with savage audacity. By degrees, however, the Turcomans were overcome, and Abdalrahman turned his arms against the Huns. He laid siege to Belandsher, the capital city of the barbarians, but the place withstood his assaults. The Turks came to the assistance of their beleaguered neighbors. A hard battle was fought before the walls, and Abdalrahman, who had undertaken the expedition without the consent of the Caliph, paid for his rashness with his life. His body was taken by the enemy, and became an object of superstitious reverence. The army of the faithful made its way back into the passes of the Caucasus. Selman Ibn Rabiiah, brother of Abdalrahman, was appointed as his successor in command of the northern outposts of Islam.

For the Caliph Omar the day of fate was now at hand. Among the Persian prisoners taken to Medina was a certain carpenter, named Firuz. He was a follower of the Magi, worshipping the fire. Like others of his class, he was subject to the taunts and exactions of the Mohammedans. Being compelled by the authorities to pay a tax of two pieces of silver a day, he went to the Caliph, complained of the abuse to which he was subjected, and demanded a redress of his grievance. Omar heard his story, and decided that one who received such large wages as Firuz did (he being a manufacturer of windmills) could well afford to pay a tax of two pieces a day. Firuz

turning away exclaimed: "Then I will build a windmill for you that shall keep grinding until the Day of Judgment!" "The slave threatens me," said the undisturbed Omar. "If I were disposed to punish any one on suspicion, I should take off his head." Firuz, however, was allowed to go at liberty. Nor was it long until his murderous menace was carried into effect. Three days after the interview, while the great Caliph was praying in the mosque of Medina, the Persian assassin came unperceived behind him and stabbed him three times with his dagger. The attendants rushed upon the murderer, who defended himself as long as he could, and then committed suicide rather than be taken.

The good Omar finished his prayer, and was then borne to his own house to die. He refused to name a successor, declaring that he preferred to follow the example of the Prophet. He, however, appointed a council of six, to whom the question of succession should be referred. Foreseeing that the choice would likely fall on Ali or Othman, he exhorted both those princes to beware of unrighteousness and personal ambition. To his own son Abdallah he gave much fatherly counsel, instructing him especially to repay into the public treasury eight-en thousand dirhems, which he himself had borrowed. He also wrote a touching letter to him who should be his successor, full of admonitions and patriotic maxims. He then made arrangements with Ayesha that he should be buried by the side of Abu Bekker; and then, on the seventh day after his assassination, quietly expired. His death occurred in the eleventh year of his reign and the sixty-third of his age.

A bloody scene followed the murder of the Caliph. The enraged Abdallah was easily persuaded that others as well as Firuz were accessory to the taking-off of his father. Believing that a conspiracy had existed, he flew upon the imagined conspirators and cut them down without a trial. Thus were slain Lulu—the daughter of Firuz—a certain Christian, named Dschofime, and Hormuzan, who will be remembered as the captive satrap of Susiana.

So distinguished a part did Caliph Omar bear in the establishment and propagation of Islam as fairly to entitle him to his appellation of the Great. He had all the virtues which

spring from the fanatical enthusiasm of the Prophet. To great natural abilities he added the discipline of experience. Perhaps no great ruler was ever less subject to the impulses of personal ambition than was Omar. His whole career showed him to be a man whose guiding star was integrity, whose fundamental maxim of government was justice. The temptations of riches and the allurements of power passed harmlessly by this unbending apostle of the early Islam, and to him more than to any other ruler or man, save only the Prophet, the establishment of the Empire of the Mohammedans must be referred. Some of the maxims of his government may be favorably compared with those of the greatest and best sovereigns. It was a rule of his reign that no female captive who became a mother should be sold as a slave. In the distribution of money to the poor from the public treasury it was the need of the applicant and not his worthiness that determined the bounty. In explanation of his course the Caliph was accustomed to say: "Allah has bestowed the good things of this world to relieve our necessities, not to reward our virtues. Our virtues will be rewarded in another world."

It was also a settled principle of Omar's government to pay pensions to those who distinguished themselves in the cause of the Prophet. Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed, was granted a yearly stipend of two hundred thousand dirhems. Nearly all the veterans of the Syrian, Persian, and Egyptian wars were rewarded with bounties varying from one thousand to five thousand dirhems. Nor would

the Caliph brook with patience the criticisms or strictures of any who complained of these disbursements. Upon the factious opposers of his policy he hesitated not to heap the curses of Allah.

It was during the reign of Omar that the government of Islam began to assume a regular form. There was a division of labor in the administration of affairs. An exchequer was organized and put under the direction of a secretary. The year of Mohammed's flight from Mecca was made the Era of Islam from which all events were dated. A system of coinage was established, each piece bearing the name of the Caliph Omar with the inscription, *LO ILLAH IL ALLAH*,—"There is no God but Allah."

It was, however, by the vast work of conquest that the reign of Omar the Great was most distinguished. The Mohammedan records claim the capture of thirty-six thousand towns and fortresses as trophies of the ten-and-a-half years of his administration. But Omar was by no means a destroyer. As far as was practicable he preserved all that was taken from the enemy. Not only so, but he built in the conquered territory many new cities and emporiums of commerce. Under his authority the Caliphate was consolidated and his reign became the source of the Hlad of Islam, teeming with great enterprises and heroic adventures. Out of this epoch rose the gigantic figure of Saracen dominion, and to it must be referred the rise of that political greatness which for many generations made the Arabians the masters of the East.

CHAPTER LXXIX.—OTHMAN AND ALI.



As soon as the Caliph Omar had received sepulture, the electoral council which he had appointed convened for the choice of a successor. Ali and Othman were both members of the body. At first the electors tendered the Caliphate to the former. In doing so they required of him a pledge that he would govern accord-

ing to the Koran, obey the traditions of Islam, and follow the precedents established by Abu Beker and Omar. To the first two conditions he readily assented, but as it related to his predecessors he declared that he would follow the dictates of his own conscience rather than their example. Upon this expression of his will the electors again assembled, and the choice fell on OTHMAN, who accepted the terms of the council, and was proclaimed Caliph.

The new potentate was already seventy years of age, gray as to his flowing beard, tall, swarthy, and in every sense Arabian. He had not the austerity of manners or simplicity of character which had belonged to Omar; but in the strict observance of religious duties he emulated his predecessor. It was, however, in the matter of expenditure that Othman differed most from the second Caliph. He was lavish in the distribution of the great riches which conquest had turned into Medina. Nor was there wanting among the faithful a spirit to appreciate the liberality of the ruler. In times of famine the poor were freely supplied from the bounty of the state. The Caliph failed not in his antecedents and present conduct to excite the admiration and loyalty of the true believers. He took in marriage two daughters of the Prophet, thus combining in his household the profoundest elements of personal veneration known to the Islamites. In his previous history Othman had been intimately associated with Mohammed, and had been a partner of both of his flights. Nor did any of the companions of the Prophet stand more closely in his affections than did the faithful Othman. Of him the son of Abdallah said: "Each thing has its mate, and each thing its associate; my associate in Paradise is Othman."

The fugitive Yezdegerd still hung like a shadow on the borders of the ancient kingdom. Hope of recovering his former power, there was none; but the friends of the exiled king still rose in rebellion here and there, and gave trouble not a little to the Moslems. The latter, under their veteran leaders, continued their conquests in all directions. Ancient Assyria was overrun by their arms. The ruins of Nineveh, as those of Babylon had already been, were trodden under foot by the men of the desert. Yezdegerd was pursued from town to town, from province to province. Being driven from Rhaza, he found shelter for a brief season at the magnificent city of Ispahan, and then fled to the mountains of Fari-tan, whence in ancient times the Achaemenian kings had gone forth to the conquest of the world. Afterwards Yezdegerd sought refuge in Istakar, among the ruins of Persepolis, and here he barely escaped capture by his enemies. Thence he fled to the province of Kerman, and thence into Khorassan. For a while he hid himself

on the borders of Bactria. In his flight he still maintained the forms of kingly authority. About four thousand dependents of the old Persian court at Madain still followed the wretched king and shared his fortunes.

While tarrying at the city of Merv, Yezdegerd busied himself with his superstitions. He built a temple for the fire-worship, and hoped, perchance, to win through the favor of heaven what he had lost by the folly of earth. Meanwhile the city of Ispahan was regarrisoned by the fragments of the Persian army which had survived the battle of Nehavend. But on the approach of the Moslems the governor proved treacherous, and the city was given up. A sterner defense was made at Istakar. Around this venerable site were gathered the traditions of Persian glory. Within the ramparts of the city were collected no fewer than a hundred and twenty thousand men, who, under the leadership of Shah-Reg, the provincial governor, made a final brave stand for Persia. But no courage or patriotism could avail against the furious assaults of the Moslems. A great battle, fought outside the walls, resulted in the annihilation of the Persian forces. Shah-Reg was killed, and Istakar fell into the hands of the Mohammedans.

The province of Khorassan was the next to be overrun by the invaders. One district after another was subdued until Yezdegerd, driven to the border, crossed the river Oxus and fled to the Scythians. Nor did his wanderings cease until he presented himself to the khan of Tartary and the emperor of China. Returning from these remote pilgrimages and supported by the Tartars, he crossed into Bactria and renewed the effort to recover his kingdom. Soon, however, he was deserted by his Northern allies, while his own nobles, who had so long adhered to his fortunes, entered into a conspiracy to betray him into the hands of the enemy. Discovering the treason, he escaped from Merv and continued his flight to a river, whither he was pursued by a band of horsemen and backed to death with their cimeters. Thus, in the year 651, expired the last of the old kings of Persia. With him the fire-temples of the East tottered to their fall, and the dynasty of Cho-roës was extinct. Persia became a Mohammedan province.

Meanwhile Egypt had remained quietly

under the governorship of Amru. The people, if not contented with the change of masters, accepted the Crescent as the emblem of their fate. A tolerable degree of quiet was maintained until the accession of Othman, when Amru was removed from the governorship to make room for Saad, brother of the Caliph. The new officer owed his elevation to favoritism, and was by no means the equal of Amru in executive abilities. The latter had, indeed, won the affections of the Egyptians by his justice and moderation, and they bitterly resented his deposition. From the first the ears of the new governor were greeted with the mutterings of revolt. Nor did the emperor, Constantine, who had succeeded Heraclius at Constantinople, fail to take advantage of the dissension which had thus been fomented in Egypt. A fleet was immediately equipped, placed under the command of Manuel, and sent against Alexandria. With him the Greeks of the great metropolis entered into correspondence, and the city was presently betrayed into his hands. Thus of a sudden, the political condition of the kingdom was reversed, and Othman found quick occasion to repent of his folly in appointing an incompetent favorite to office.

Amru was at once reinstated. The old general repaired to the scene of action, raised a large army, composed largely of the anti-Greek element in Egypt, and again laid siege to Alexandria. It was now the third time that that city had been invested by the forces of Amru. The veteran now registered an oath in heaven that it was the *last* time that the capital of Egypt would find herself in a condition to become the subject of a siege. Accordingly, when, after an obstinate defense on the part of the Greeks, the city again fell into his hands, he leveled the ramparts to the earth and left the metropolis exposed to assault on every side. Manuel and his Greeks, glad to escape with their lives, took ship and sped away to Constantinople. The rest of the inhabitants were, for the most part, spared, and the spot where the slaughter was stayed was commemorated by the merciful Amru, who built thereon a mosque called the Mosque of Mercy.

As soon as the danger was passed and Egypt pacified, the Caliph Othman aggra-

vated his former folly by again deposing Amru from the governorship and reappointing Saad in his stead. The latter, smarting under a disgrace which could not be wiped out by the fictitious honors of office, resolved to gain glory by foreign conquest. He accordingly fixed his eye upon Northern Africa as an inviting field for his operations. There, from the borders of Egypt, stretching away across Barca to Cape Non in the distant West, lay a country more than two thousand miles in extent, many of the districts populous and fertile to exuberance, and all of historic fame. Here were the countries of Libya, Marmarica, Cyrenaica, Carthage, Numidia, and Mauritania, especially inviting to the rapacious zeal of the Mohammedans. After the disastrous wars related in the last Book of the preceding and the first of the present Volume, the African states had, during the sixth century, sunk into a condition of helpless decay. They were now to be roused from their stupor by the clamorous waresery of Arabia.

As soon as Saad had settled the affairs of Egypt after his reinstatement in office, he began to prepare for his contemplated African campaign. An army of forty thousand Arabs, fully equipped, mostly veteran soldiers, well supplied with camels for the march across the desert, was mustered on the border of Egypt, looking out to the west.

A toilsome march was now begun across the trackless wastes of Libya. But to the Arab and the camel the desert was a native place of peace and freedom. Arriving at the city of Tripoli, one of the most wealthy emporiums of the African coast, Saad began a siege. A valiant resistance, however, was made by the inhabitants and the Greek auxiliaries who came to their assistance, and the Moslems were driven back with severe losses. Meanwhile the Roman governor, Gregorius, arrived on the scene with an army numbering a hundred and twenty thousand men. Most of these, however, were raw recruits whom the general had gathered in Barbary for the defense of his African territories. The host, though greatly outnumbering the Moslems, was little capable of standing before the Arab veterans in battle.

The two armies met before the walls of Tripoli. For several days the conflict was

desperately renewed from morning till noon, when the African sun would drive the combatants to the shade of their tents. Saad distinguished himself in the battle. In the part of the field where he fought the enemy was driven back with slaughter, but in other parts the Moslems were repulsed. One of the most conspicuous personages of the fight was the warlike daughter of Gregorius, who, mounted on a tremendous steed, flashing in burnished armor, scoured the field like Bellona.

The Roman general, unable to rout the Arabs, undertook to accomplish by perfidy what he could not do by force. He offered a reward of a hundred thousand pieces of gold and the hand of his Amazonian daughter to any one who would bring him the head of Saad. Hearing of this proposal, the Arab leader was induced to keep aloof from the field, and the battle went against him until what time it was suggested that he in his turn should offer a hundred thousand pieces and the hand of the same maiden—so soon as she should be taken captive—to him who would cut off the head of Gregorius. Then the Arabs fell to stratagem. On the following morning, pretending to renew the fight, they held most of their forces in reserve until the heated hour of noon. Then the Moslems, fresh from their rest, led by the valiant Zobeir, broke from their tents, fell upon the exhausted enemy, killed Gregorius, captured his daughter, and inflicted an overwhelming defeat on his army. Zobeir, by whom the Roman general was slain, refused to accept the reward, and though he was made the bearer of the news of victory to Medina, he forebore all reference to his own deeds in reciting to the Caliph the story of the battle.

Though completely triumphant over the army of his enemy, Saad was unable to follow up his successes. So great had been his losses that he could not further prosecute his conquests. He was not even strong enough to retain possession of the territories which he had overrun, but was obliged, after an absence of fifteen months, to return to Egypt. The expedition had been more fruitful in slaves and spoils than in the addition of territory to the dominions of Islam. In the following year Saad made similar expeditions from Upper Egypt into the kingdom of

Nubia. The people of that land had been christianized by the agency of traveling missionaries, who had set up the Cross as far south as the Equator. The Nubian king was compelled by the Moslems to acknowledge the supremacy of the Caliph, and to emphasize his own dependency by an annual contribution of Ethiopian slaves.

In establishing the authority of the Caliphate over the distant countries subdued by the prowess of the Arabs, it became necessary to organize provinces and to establish therein a kind of satrapial governments. In pursuing this policy, Caliph Othman appointed as governor of Syria one of his ablest generals, named Moawyah Ibn Abu Sofian, chief of the tribe of Koreish, to which belonged Mohammed. Abu Sofian proved to be an able and ambitious officer. During his service under Omar he had frequently sought permission of that Caliph to build a fleet and extend the authority of Islam over the seas. Omar, whose policy it was to hold his ambitious generals in check, refused the permission; but after the accession of Othman, namely, in the year 649, it was agreed that Abu Sofian should equip an armament and try the fortunes of the Mediterranean. The outlying Asiatic islands still owned a nominal dependence upon the Empire of the East; but the decadence of the government at Constantinople had left the insular kingdoms exposed to easy conquest. Abu Sofian directed his first movement against the island of Cyprus. The garrison proved too weak to make any effectual resistance, and a conquest was easily effected. In the island of Aradus, however, the Moslems met with a more serious reception. Once and again they landed, and as often were repulsed by the heroic inhabitants. With superior forces the Arabs then renewed the attack, overran the island, fired the principal city, and drove most of the native Aradians into exile.

In the mean time the Emperor Constantine fitted out a squadron, took command in person, and went forth to encounter the Moslem fleet in the Phœnician Sea. It was the first decisive conflict of Islam on the deep. Constantine ordered psalms to be sung and the Cross to be lifted on high as his ships went into battle. On the other side the golden

Crescent was displayed above the mast, and passages of the Koran were recited by the faithful as they began the conflict. The battle soon showed that, by sea as well as by land, a new power had arisen to contest for the supremacy of the nations. The fleet of the Emperor was either wrecked or driven from the scene, and Constantine himself barely escaped by flight. Such was the battle of the Masts.

The next movements of the Moslems were directed against Crete and Malta. Landings were effected, cities taken, conquests made in the name of the Prophet. The island and city of Rhodes suffered a memorable assault. That celebrated Colossus, which was reckoned one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world, was broken into fragments, shipped to Alexandria, and sold to a Jewish merchant.¹

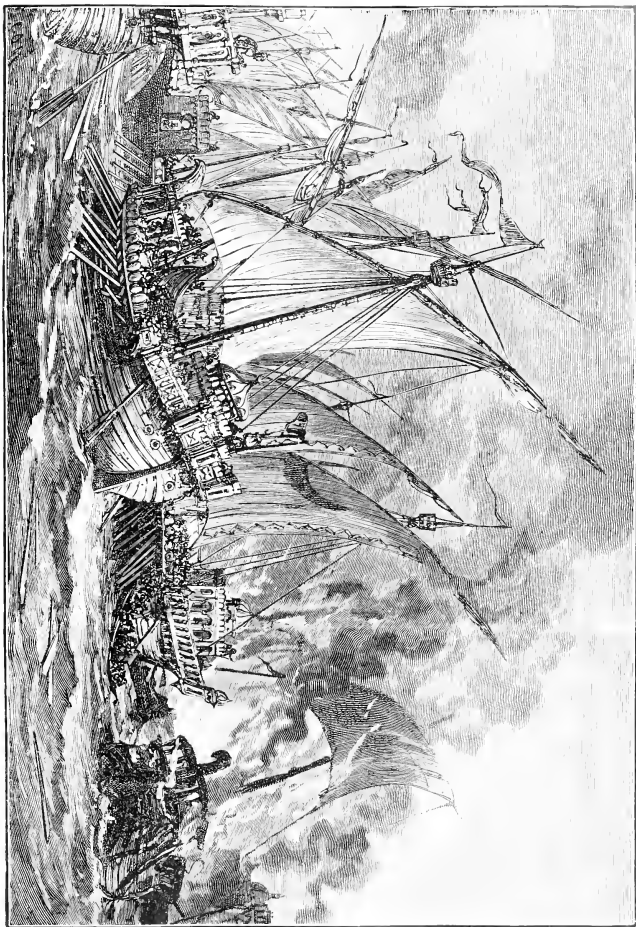
Soon afterwards a second sea-fight was had with the Christians in the Bay of Feneke, less decisive in its results than the so-called Battle of the Masts in the Sea of Phenicia. Subsequently the Arabs coasted along the shores of Asia Minor, crossed the Hellespont, and flaunted the emblem of Islam within sight of the turrets of Constantinople. Thus in a few years did the inflamed followers of the Camel-driver of Mecca, springing, as it were, from the parched sands of the desert, inspired with the sullen dogma of Fate and the rapturous vision of Paradise, rear their victorious banners over the ruins of the most famous states of antiquity.

Ominous was the accident which now befell the Caliph Othman. Mohammed had had a ring. At his death he gave it to the venerable Abu Beker. After his departure the sacred relic passed to Omar, and from him to Othman. It consisted of a band of silver, inscribed with the words, "Mohammed, the Apostle of Allah." One day, while gazing into a brook, Othman dropped the ring into the water. The stream was searched in vain; the relic could not be found. It was the signet of authority. Great was the dread which fell upon the superstitious Arabs on account of this irreparable loss.

¹The fragments of the great bronze statue are said to have been so many and heavy that it required a caravan of nine hundred camels to transport them across the desert.

It came to pass that since the days of Abu Beker the Book of Al Koran had become corrupted by the interpolation of many spurious passages and false versions. Violent disputes arose among the teachers of Islam as to what was and what was not the true Koranic doctrine. The quarrels of the doctors became a scandal to the faith, and Othman was impelled to correct the abuses by authority. A council of the chief Moslems was called, and it was decreed that all the copies of the Koran, excepting one only which was in the hands of the old princess Hafza, widow of Mohammed, and which was recognized as genuine, should be burned. The precious volume of the widow was then used as the basis of seven carefully made transcripts, and one copy of the authentic original thus established was ordered to be placed for preservation in the seven cities of Mecca, Yemen, Damascus, Bahrein, Bassora, Cufa, and Medina. All others were given to the flames. Wherefrom the careful Othman received the title of the Gatherer of the Koran.

The Caliph was already in his dotage. For several years his secretary, named Merwan, had had an undue ascendancy over the old man's mind and was indeed the master-spirit in the government. Two other circumstances tended powerfully to render the administration unpopular. In the first place, during the quarter of a century from the death of Mohammed, the true moral enthusiasm of his followers had somewhat abated. The motives of action which impelled the leaders of Islam were more worldly, less sincere. Of course the fiery zeal for the propagation of the faith still burned in the hearts of soldier and civilian, but the dross of personal ambition and the cross-purposes of enmity and jealousy prevailed over the higher principles and impulses of the first believers. In the next place, the personal and administrative character of Othman was of a kind well calculated to offend and incite the faithful to discontent. Othman had assumed a bearing more haughty than that of his predecessors. His expenditures of the public money were unreasonably lavish. He wasted the treasures of Islam upon friends and favorites, many of whom were unworthy of respect. To the parasites of the court he gave money without stint. The ambitious secretary received a gift of more than five



BATTLE OF THE MASTS.

hundred thousand dinars, the donative being appropriated out of the spoils of Africa. Nor would the haughty old potentate brook with patience the criticisms and complaints of his people. His conduct in removing the able Amru from the governorship of Egypt and the appointment in his stead of Saïd, his own foster brother, had laid the foundations of distrust in the beginning of his administration. Other removals of faithful officers had added to the discontent, and now, for the first time in the history of Islam, were heard the mutterings of revolt and mutiny.

Accidental circumstances fired the train of rebellion. On a certain occasion the Caliph went into the pulpit of the mosque and defended himself against the charges which were freely circulated. He declared that the money in the public treasury belonged to Allah, and that the Caliph, as the successor of the Prophet, had a right to distribute the funds in what manner soever he would. Hereupon a certain veteran Moslem, named Ammar Ibn Yaser, who had been one of the companions of the Prophet, spoke out openly in the mosque, contradicting what the Caliph had said. For this he was attacked by the kinsfolk of Othman and shamefully beaten until he fainted away. When the intelligence of this outrage was spread abroad the smouldering elements of sedition were fanned into a flame.

At this juncture a certain leader arose, being a converted Jew of the name of Ibn Caba. Knowing the distempered spirit of the people he went about inciting to revolt. He visited Yemen, Hidschaf, Bassora, Cufa, Syria, and Egypt, denouncing the government of Caliph Othman and inviting the multitude to dethrone their sovereign. He advised that a fictitious pilgrimage to Mecca be undertaken with the ulterior object of collecting an army against the government. It began to be said that Ali was the rightful potentate of Islam, and that the reign of Othman had been a usurpation from the first. This was done, however, without the connivance of Ali, who remained faithful to Othman.

The seed sown by Ibn Caba took root and grew and flourished. Bands from all parts of the country began to assemble at Medina. Encamping at a distance of a league from the city, the insurgents sent a message to the Ca-

liph, demanding that he should either reform the abuses of his government or abdicate the throne. So critical became the situation that Othman was obliged to seek the services of Ali as a mediator of the people. The latter agreed to use his influence for peace on condition that the Caliph would denounce the errors of his reign and make reparation for the wrongs which he had inflicted. The aged Othman was obliged to go into the mosque and make a public confession of his sins, and to offer prayer to Allah for reconciliation and forgiveness. The multitude was quieted, and a temporary peace secured.

In a short time, however, the Caliph, acting under the inspiration of his secretary, who had been absent from Medina during the recent crisis, returned to the old abuses; and the people, learning of his perfidy, again rose in revolt. Ali refused to interfere; for Othman had broken faith. When the rebellion was about to break into open violence, the Caliph again came to his senses and eagerly sought to maintain the peace. He implored Ali to lend his aid in placating the multitude. The latter finally agreed, on condition of a written pledge, that the abuses in the government should be corrected, to go forth again and persuade the people to desist from violence. Saïd was removed from the governorship of Egypt, and the popular Mohammed, son of Abu Beker, was appointed in his stead. The new officer set out for Alexandria, and affairs at Medina again assumed a more peaceable aspect; but while Mohammed was on his way to Egypt, one of the slaves of Merwan, riding by, was taken, and upon his person a dispatch was found directed to Saïd, and signed by Othman. The former was directed by the latter to seize Mohammed on his arrival in Egypt, and put him to death! Thus had a double treachery been perpetrated by the government at Medina.

Mohammed at once marched back to the capital. Othman was confronted with his letter, but he denied all knowledge of its composition. Suspicion fell on Merwan, but the Caliph refused to give up his secretary to the vengeance of the people. A great tumult arose in the city. Ali and other patriotic Moslems sought in vain to allay the excitement. The insurgents, led by Mohammed and Ammar

Ibn Yaser, broke into the Mosque, where Othman, now eighty-two years of age, sat reading the Koran. By some he was struck with clubs and by others pierced with swords till he was dead. The treasure-house was plundered, and the body of the murdered Caliph was buried in his bloody garments.

As soon as it was known that vengeance had done its work, the city became first calm and then repentant. The magnanimous Ali gave public expression to his sorrow, and rebuked his sons for not having fought more bravely in defense of the dead Caliph. It appeared, moreover, that the treacherous letter to the emir of Egypt had really been written by Merwan for the purpose of hastening the revolution; for he, in the mean time, had secretly abandoned the cause of Othman, and gone over to the insurgents. Thus in the year A. D. 655, the third Caliph of the Mohammedan states ended an unpopular reign with a shameful death.

Though no successor was named by Othman, the popular voice at once indicated Ali. But several candidates appeared for the vacant Caliphate and the delegates who came to Medina from the various parts of the Moslem Empire were clamorous for their respective favorites. From the first, however, it appeared that the election of Ali could hardly be defeated. He was by birth the Prophet's cousin; by marriage, his son-in-law. He was courageous, eloquent, and liberal. He had reputation both in the field and in the cabinet. It was perceived, moreover, that his election would establish the crown in the House of Mohammed; for Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, was the wife of Ali, and the mother of all the lineal descendants of Abulallah's son. The chief of the opposing candidates were Zobeir, who had distinguished himself in the war with Barbary by the slaying of Gregorius; Telha, who had been one of the electoral council appointed to choose a successor to Omar the Great, and Moawyah, the satrap of Syria.

Medina was thrown into great excitement on the occasion of the election. Nor might the choice of a new Caliph be postponed; for the people were clamorous for a new ruler. The leading men pleaded with Ali to accept the office, and he was disposed to yield to their entreaties; but he refused, as in the elec-

tion twelve years previously, to bind Yamsir¹ with pledges, declaring his purpose, should he be elected Caliph, to administer the government with independence and justice to all. The election was held in the mosque of Medina. The *Ummah* fell on Ali, and the other candidates came forward and gave their right hands in token of allegiance. Moawyah, however, was not present at the election, and his family, the tribe of Ommiah, withdrew as soon as they perceived the result of the election. It was doubtful also whether the pledge given by Zobeir and Telha was any thing more than a superficial recognition of what they were unable to prevent. Their merely nominal loyalty was soon discovered in an effort which they made to ensnare Ali in difficulty by advising him to investigate the assassination of Othman and to punish the perpetrators of that deed. This, if undertaken, would have hopelessly embroiled the government with some of its most able supporters. Ali prudently adopted the policy of letting the dead past bury its dead; nor did he omit any measure which wisdom could dictate to propitiate the favor of the tribes of Korish and Ommiah, which had so strenuously supported Moawyah for the Caliphate.

Ali had the genius to discover and the will to correct the governmental abuses which had sprung up during his predecessor's reign. He began his work by reforming the provincial governments. The subject states of Islam had received as their governors at the hands of Othman a class of favorites who, as a rule, had little fitness for their office. It became the duty of Ali to displace these worthless satraps and to appoint others in their stead. In the performance of this duty he displayed his usual courage. Notwithstanding the temporizing advice of his counselors he proceeded to depose the incompetent and to put the faithful in their places. Strenuous efforts were made to retain Moawyah in the governorship of Syria. His wealth and influence were so great as to make him a terror to the timid advisers of the Caliph. But the disloyalty of Moawyah was so manifest that Ali could not blink the situation without jeopardizing his own authority.

The governor of Syria had recently displayed one of the bloody garments of Oth-

man in the mosque of Damascus and had exhorted the Syrians to demand the punishment of the wretches who had slain their sovereign. To permit Moawyah to retain authority in the East was a virtual abdication on the part of Ali. A new catalogue of governors was accordingly made out, and the officers so appointed were at once sent to their respective provinces.

These measures were attended with much hazard. The new officers were either not accepted at all or received with aversion and distrust. The deposed governor of Arabia, Felix, resigned to his successor, but carried off the treasures of the province to Medina and delivered them to Ayesha, who was of the party of the malcontents. The new governor of Bassora found his subjects in such a state of eruption that he was obliged to retire from the city, and was glad to effect his escape. Ammar Ibn Sahel, who had received the satrapy of Cufa, found the people of his province in arms, supporting the former governor, whom Othman had appointed. Saad Ibn Kais, who had received the governorship of Egypt, was met by multitudes who demanded that the murderers of Othman should first be punished, and provincial governors appointed afterwards. Ibn Kais, like the rest, unable to support his claims by force, returned to Medina. Nor did better success attend the effort of Sahel Ibn Hanif to install himself in the governorship of Syria. So completely were the people of this province under the influence of Moawyah, that they drew their cimeters on the very borders, and forbade the satrap to set his foot within their territory. It thus happened that four out of the five provincial governors were obliged to return as if from a fool's errand into foreign parts, and present themselves empty handed to the Caliph.

It was now evident that affairs had reached a crisis. Ali dispatched a messenger to Moawyah demanding his allegiance, and the Syrian governor sent back to Medina by the hands of an officer a sealed missive; but when the letter was opened it was found to contain not a word. Such a mockery could not be otherwise interpreted than as a challenge to battle.

Moawyah immediately prepared for the conflict. He hung up in the mosque of Damascus the bloody vest of Othman, and by

his ascendancy over the passions of the Syrians soon mustered an army of sixty thousand men. But Ali was not to be intimidated. He made a public declaration in the name of Allah and the Prophet that he was guiltless of the blood of his predecessor. He then dispatched messengers into all the provinces, demanding that the true believers should rally around the emblem of Islam.

Meanwhile, Ayesha, Zobeir, and Telha withdrew with their confederates from Medina and made their head-quarters at Mecca. The birthplace of the Prophet became the seat of a conspiracy for the dethronement of his successor. Ayesha was the leading spirit of the great rebellion. Supported by the two powerful families of Koroish and Ommiah, she sent out couriers inviting the cooperation of those governors whom Ali would have deposed and inciting the people of the provinces to insurrection. In a council which was held at Mecca, it was resolved that the rebellious army, under the leadership of Telha, should march to Bassora and make that city the base of future operations against the Caliph. At the same time the following proclamation was prepared by Ayesha and trumpeted through the streets of Mecca:

"In the name of the Most High God, Ayesha, Mother of the Faithful, accompanied by the chiefs Telha and Zobeir, is going in person to Bassora. All those of the faithful who burn with a desire to defend the faith and avenge the death of the Caliph Othman, have only to present themselves and they shall be furnished with all necessaries for the journey."

The retirement of the insurgent host from Mecca was not unlike the embarrassed movements of the Prophet and his friends in the early days of Islam. Ayesha, mounted on a camel, led the way; but the princess was distracted with superstitious fears. On arriving at Bassora the gates were closed against her and her army; for the people of the city were divided in their allegiance, and the party of Ali had gained the ascendancy. Some went forth and joined the camp of Ayesha, and skirmishing began between the two factions.

Meanwhile, a message was sent to Medina to know whether Telha and Zobeir had freely assented to the election of Ali or had acted

under compulsion. While this business was pending, however, the partisans of Ayesha broke into the city, killed the governor's guard, and obtained possession of his person. By this means the party of Ali was suppressed and Bassora remained in the hands of the rebels. The latter conducted themselves with more prudence than was to have been expected, for they forebore to persecute the adherents of the Caliph, seeking to win them from their allegiance by kindness and blandishments.

Ali was not idle in the emergency. Being an orator, he harangued the multitudes from the mosque. There was, however, less enthusiasm for his cause in the city than a sanguine prince would hope for. Still the people came to his standard, and when two learned doctors of the law made a solemn declaration that Ali was in no wise implicated in the murder of Othman, the loyalty of the people was kindled to full heat. Taking advantage of the uprising, the Caliph marched forth from the city and proceeded against Bassora. He sent word to Abu Musa Alashair, governor of Cufa, and to the other satraps who were favorable to his cause to come to his assistance; but the ruler of Cufa was little disposed to aid a prince who had attempted to depose him from office. A reply was accordingly sent which meant either evasion or nothing at all. Meanwhile, the governor of Bassora, who had been put out of office by Ayesha, and whose beard had been contemptuously pulled out hair by hair, came to the camp of Ali and made a plaint of his degradation. The Caliph next dispatched his son Hassan and Ammar Ibn Yaser to expostulate with the governor of Cufa and to demand a contingent of troops.

These messengers were kindly received by the governor, and urged upon him the reasonableness of Ali's demands; but he held aloof from complying. He was for arbitration, for investigating the offense which was charged to the Caliph, for every thing, indeed, except furnishing the troops. While the negotiations were pending, another one of the Caliph's ambassadors had struck to the bottom of the question by seizing the citadel of Cufa, scourging the garrison into obedience, and sending the soldiers of the escort to stop the nonsense

which was enacted at the mosque. The people thereupon turned suddenly to the cause of Ali. Nine thousand of the inhabitants followed the ambassadors to the Caliph's camp. Bassora was invested by a loyal army of thirty thousand men. Seeing the futility of resistance to such a force, Zobeir and Telha would have capitulated; but the vindictive Ayesha defeated the negotiations for peace; and the issue was decided by battle.

A severe conflict ensued outside the walls, in which Ayesha, seated on her camel, rode up and down among her partisans, urging them to strike for victory and spoil. After a bloody fight, in which Moslem cut down Moslem with no better inspiration than the breath of faction, victory declared for Ali. Telha was killed, and Zobeir, withdrawing from the field, set out towards Mecca, but was overtaken at a brook and slain while kneeling down to pray. When his gory head was borne to Ali, the generous Caliph wept bitterly at the sight, and bade the wretch who brought it to carry the tidings of his bloody deed to Ben Safiah in hell! Thus perished the two rebels who had been the main support of the insurrection. As to Ayesha, she continued the fight until her camel, backed with the merciless swords of Ali's men, sank to the earth and left her a prisoner. Ali, however, had given orders that no indignity should be offered to her who had received the absurd name of Mother of the Faithful.¹ The spoils of victory were divided according to the rules of war, and the rebellion in Arabia was at an end.

Not so, however, with the revolt in Syria. Here the powerful Moawyah stood in arms and defied the authority of the Caliph. The minds of the Syrians had been abused with the belief that Ali was guilty of the murder of Othman, and the local power of the provincial governor was used to divide them more and more widely from all sympathy with the government at Medina. Nor was Moawyah wanting in the subtle policy peculiar to ambitious chieftains. He sent word to Amru, the deposed governor of Egypt, now in Palestine, to come and join his standard, promising to restore him to the high authority which he had held under the former Caliphate. Amru

¹ Absurd, for Ayesha had no children.

was not insensible to the appeal. Journeying to Damascus, he had an interview with Moawyah, and publicly cast in his fortunes with those of the rebellion. It thus became necessary for Ali to continue in the field in order to keep the throne.

For the prosecution of his Syrian campaign

of the prophets. Ali accordingly directed his attendants where to dig, and a huge stone being with difficulty overturned, the well of antiquity was found. The army was saved from thirst and the hermit converted to Islam.

In the year 657 the forces of the Caliph came face to face with those of Moawyah in



CAPTURE OF AYESHA BY ALI.

Drawn by F. Fikentscher.

the Caliph raised an army of ninety thousand men. Arriving on the borders of Syria, the soldiers suffered for water; but a Christian monk who lived in the neighborhood produced an ancient parchment, said to have been written by Saint Peter, wherein it was predicted that a well digged of old by Israel should be reopened by the lawful successor of the last

the plain of Siffin, near the Euphrates. The army of the enemy, led by the rebellious governor and Amru, numbered eighty thousand men. The leading generals on the other side were Ali himself and the venerable Anmar Ibn Yaser, now ninety-two years of age, of old time one of the companions of the Prophet. When the two hosts came in sight Ali attempted to se-

cure peace by negotiations; but Moawyah was implacable, and the issue was given to the decision of the sword—and the decision was rendered in favor of the Caliph.

During the four months that followed several battles ensued, but the results were indecisive. The general advantage was on the side of Ali, whose successes, however, were clouded by the loss of several able officers, among whom was the patriarch Ammar Ibn Yaser. In one of the desultory fights Ali spurred his steed within hearing of Moawyah, and challenged him to come forth and decide their quarrel by a personal combat; but the wary rebel would not put his life upon such a hazard. His refusal precipitated a general battle, which was fought during the night, and which resulted in the rout of the Syrian army. When, however, the defeated insurgents were driven to their camp, and were about to be exterminated, they hoisted the Koran on a lance and demanded that the dispute should be settled by the decisions of the Book. The victorious Ali was little disposed to surrender the fruits of a triumph so hardly won to an arbitration which Moawyah had many times refused; but the religious prejudices of the Moslems were so strong that they trailed their lances in the presence of the Koran, and would not fight against those who appealed to its decision. An arbiter was accordingly appointed from each army, Abu Musa being chosen by Ali and Amru by Moawyah.

The ambassadors met at Jumat al Joudel, and the negotiations were undertaken. It soon appeared that Musa was overreached by the wit and subtlety of Moawyah's agent. Amru succeeded in persuading him to a decision by which both Ali and Moawyah were to be deposed and a new Caliph elected. When, however, it came to the proclamation of the result, and a tribunal had been erected between the two armies, Musa was induced to go up first and to announce that Ali was deposed. It was then Amru's turn to declare the deposition of Moawyah; but instead of making the proper proclamation, he ascended the tribunal and said: "You have heard how Musa on his part has deposed Ali; I on my part depose him also, and I adjudge the Caliphate to Moawyah, and I invest him with it

as I invest my finger with this ring, and I do it with justice, for he is the rightful successor and avenger of Othman."

Great were the surprise and discontent on the announcement of this fraudulent decision. Strange that a decision so procured and promulgated should have been regarded of binding force; but the bigotry and superstition of the age were ready to enforce an agreement which bore the *semblance* of faith, though its *substance* was clearly a fraud. Ali accordingly withdrew his army, and personal hatred and religious animosity between the opposing powers were substituted for honorable battle.

Thus it was that victory already achieved vanished from the grasp of the Caliph. The Caliphate was profoundly shaken by the catastrophe, and the influence of Ali faded away for a season. Dissensions sprang up among those who had been his adherents. One party, called the Karigites, denounced the Caliph bitterly for allowing himself to be circumvented by Moawyah and Amru. The fanatics declared—and with great truth—that the compact was, on the part of the Syrians, a palpable fraud, and that its observance on the part of the Arabians was a piece of superstitious folly. The Karigites renounced their allegiance and took up arms, and Ali was obliged to suppress them by force.

Meanwhile, Moawyah attempted to make good the promise which he had given to Amru respecting his restoration to authority in Egypt. In order to secure by subtlety what he could not accomplish by force, the Syrian governor forged a letter purporting to be written to himself by Sa'ad Ibn Kaus, the governor of Egypt, in which treacherous overtures were made respecting an alliance against Ali. This letter was permitted to fall into the hands of the Caliph, whose mind was thereby poisoned against Sa'ad, and who appointed Mohammed, the son of Abu Bekr, to supersede him. The government of Sa'ad in Egypt had been as popular as that of Mohammed proved to be distasteful to the people. Dissensions were spread abroad and revolt followed. Learning of the condition of affairs, Ali sent out a new governor, named Malce Shuttur; but the latter was poisoned before reaching his destination. Affairs were thus thrown into such confusion that Moawyah dispatched Amru with an army

to seize the Egyptian government for himself. The movement was successful. The party of Ali was overthrown. Mohammed was slain, and his body, inclosed in the carcass of an ass, was burnt to ashes. Thus was Egypt suddenly snatched away from the successor of the Prophet.

Moawyah now became more active than ever. He assumed the offensive, carried his arms into Arabia, ravaged Yemen, and hoisted his banner over the Kaaba at Mecca. The spirits of Ali were so greatly depressed that he fell into melancholy, and he, who had been called the Lion of Islam, went about with an abstracted air or sat in moody silence. At length, however, he roused himself to action. He raised an army of sixty thousand men, and determined that Moawyah should feel ere long the force of a staggering blow. But at this juncture the remnants of the Karigites became a factor in the political condition of the times. Three of the fanatic sect, meeting in the mosque of Mecca, and attributing the distractions of Islam to the ambitious rivalries of Ali, Moawyah, and Amru, resolved upon the assassination of all three of the rulers. The conspirators then separated and went to their allotted stations.

Barak, who undertook the murder of Moawyah, went to Damascus, took his stand in the mosque, and as Moawyah knelt to pray, dealt him a terrible blow with his sword. The governor, however, was saved alive, and finally recovered from his wound; but the assassin was taken and put to death. The second murderer, Amru, the son of Asi, repaired to Egypt, entered the mosque, and killed the Imam Karijah, mistaking him for the governor. This assassin was also taken and executed. The third conspirator, named Abdalrahman, made his way to Cufa, which was now the capital of Ali. Here he entered the house of a Karigite woman, to whom he presently made an offer of marriage. She agreed to give her hand on condition that her husband would bring her as a dowry three thousand pieces of silver, a slave, a maid-servant, and the head of the Caliph Ali. All these things Abdalrahman agreed to bestow.

He accordingly took into his confidence two confederates, and the three stationed themselves in the mosque to await the coming of their victim. When Ali drew near they fell upon him with their swords and inflicted a fatal wound. One of the murderers escaped, one was slain as he was flying from the scene, and Abdalrahman was taken. "Let him not be tortured," said the benignant Caliph before he expired, and his orders were obeyed. Thus, in the year A. D. 660, the fourth successor of the Prophet died a violent death.

The character of Ali suffers not by comparison with that of any of the early Moslems. In war he was a warrior, in peace, peaceable. But for the rebellion of Moawyah, Zobeir, and Telha his reign would, perhaps, have been the most prosperous among those of the early Caliphs. Nor should failure be made to mention his patronage of letters and art; for it was from this epoch that the Arabians began to be distinguished as poets, historians, and philosophers. Ali himself was a devotee of the Arabian Parnassus. His career throughout showed the man of sentiment and reflection rather than the fiery zealot which was revealed in Omar. "Life," said the poetic Ali, "is but the shadow of a cloud, the dream of a sleeper."

The family of the Caliph Ali embraced the lineal descendants of Mohammed. His first wife, Fatima, was the Prophet's daughter, and by her he had three sons, Mollasan, Hassan, and Hosein, two of whom survived their father. Of his other eight wives were born twelve sons and eighteen daughters. The children of Fatima, as being of the blood of the Prophet, were held in great esteem. They were permitted to distinguish themselves by their turbans and other dress from all other Moslems. The descendants of this line were known as the FATIMITES, from the name of their great mother, and were ever regarded by the Arabians as the legitimate sovereigns of Islam. By that people the memory of Ali was held most sacred, next to that of the Prophet, and the anniversary of his death is still scrupulously observed as a solemnity by the faithful.

CHAPTER LXXX.—OMMIADES AND FATIMITES.



AFTER the death of Ali his son HASSAN was chosen to the Caliphate without opposition. He was well fitted by the excellence of his character and the benevolence of his purposes for the sovereignty of a great state; but the times were distracted with rebellion and turmoil, and Hassan was little disposed to war. Nevertheless, in his inaugural ceremony he pledged himself to uphold the Book of Allah, to follow the tradition of the Prophet, and to make war against all opposers. The people, in their turn, pledged themselves to support his government, both in peace and in war.

The circumstances of the accession of a new Caliph were such as hardly to permit him to remain at peace. There, on the Syrian horizon, stood the hostile figure of Moawyah. Against him the Caliph Ali, at the time of his assassination, had already prepared an army of sixty thousand men. The warlike Hosein, brother of Hassan, was eager for the fight. The Caliph accordingly took the field in the first year of his reign, and marched against the Syrians.

In a short time, however, his inefficiency as a general was manifest. A tumult having broken out in the army, he was unable to enforce discipline, and treachery became rife around him. His courage failed, and he resolved to make overtures to Moawyah. He accordingly sent to that potentate an embassy, proposing to surrender to him the Caliphate on condition that he himself should be permitted to retain the public treasury, and that no further slanders should be uttered against the memory of his father. The first condition was fully agreed to, and the second in part. Hassan himself was not to be offended by hearing his father's name spoken with contempt. It was also stipulated as a part of the terms of Hassan's abdication that he should return to power on the death of Moawyah.

Notwithstanding the anger of the war-

like Hosein, and notwithstanding that the people of Cufa refused to surrender the treasury, which they claimed as their own, the settlement was carried into effect, and the governor of Syria became Caliph, with the title of MOAWYAH I. Hassan received a large revenue, and retiring to Medina found compensation for the loss of power in distributing to the necessities of the poor.

The dissensions of the Empire being thus quieted, and the shade of Othman placated by the destruction of those who had taken his life, Islam had peace. About the only faction remaining to disturb the state of the faithful were the Karigites, who stirred up a revolt in Syria and were with difficulty suppressed. They were a sect of fanatical zealots who, contemptuous of all the forms of government, attempted to establish a reign of spiritual frenzy over the prostrate form of reason.

The new line of sovereigns beginning with Moawyah was known as the OMMIAD DYNASTY, being so called from Ommiah, the ancestor of the tribe to which the Caliph belonged. The opposing party of princes in the politics of Islam, representing the true descendants of the Prophet, were, as already said, known as the FATIMITES.

The powerful warrior, whose ambition was thus at last gratified with the possession of the throne of Islam, now gave his attention to the arts of peace. He called about him many learned men, poets, scholars, and statesmen, many of whom were brought from the Grecian islands, and whose culture added to the luster of the court of Damascus. But while the Caliph thus strengthened himself in the world of letters, a strange family complication introduced some excitement in the world of politics. It had happened in the days of yore that Abu Sofian, father of Moawyah, had, while sojourning in the city of Tayef, become enamored of a Greek slave, who afterwards bore him a son. The child, being illegitimate, was named Ziyad Ibn Abihi, that is, Ziyad the son of Nobody. But

the blood of his ancestry told in spite of the ban. The youth had genius. He drew to himself by his eloquence the attention of the people. During the reign of Omar he became a distinguished judge in the courts of Islam. The Caliph Ali appointed him governor of Persia, and that position he still held on the accession of his half-brother to the throne.

But the Son of Nobody by no means hastened to recognize Moawyah as Caliph. The latter became alarmed at the silence of Ziyad and sent a kindly invitation for him to come to Cufa. Accepting the invitation, he was met and embraced by Moawyah, who thus publicly acknowledged the governor as his brother. An act was scented by which Ziyad was made a legitimate branch of the House of Koreish and a prince of the realm of Islam.

Great was the anger of the aristocratic Omniades to be thus scandalized by the introduction into their ranks of the parvenu son of a Greek slave. But the far-sighted Moawyah let fume their idle passion, for he had gained a powerful friend and supporter. Nor did the Caliph fail to make good use of his new-found brother. He sent him to assume authority in the city of Bassora, where a reign of anarchy and assassination had been established. The city had become a den of thieves, and its reputation a stench in the nostrils of Islam. To all this the Son of Nobody put a speedy termination. Two hundred ruffians were put to death on the first night after his assumption of office.

Order was at once restored. The governor was then sent to Khorassan. So exemplary were his measures that quiet reigned wherever he went. As he journeyed from city to city, he made proclamation that the people should leave their doors open at night, promising to make good whatever was taken by theft. Having reduced all Babylonia to good government, he set out for Arabia Petra. But while on his way thither he was attacked with the plague and died. So great had been his merit that his family rights were confirmed to his son Obeidallah, who was made governor of Khorassan and a prince of the empire. Another son, named Sabun, was, in like manner, honored, and so great was his popularity that twenty thousand children were said to have received his name. The third son,

Kameil, was also so much distinguished by his talents that he was made a prince of Arabia Felix, and his descendants considered it an honor to be called the children of Ziyad. It thus happened that the base-born Son of Nobody became the illustrious Father of Somebody. Nature had written her sign-manna! above the puny status of men.

Moawyah kept his faith with Aun by reinstating him in the governorship of Egypt. But the latter did not long survive the recovery of what had been the object of his ambition. In A. D. 663 he died, and Islam had cause to lament the fall of one of the ablest veterans of the faith. Like many of his fellow-leaders, he became in his old age enamored of letters, and sought by pain, age and example to hasten the return of the day of light and learning.

The reign of Moawyah was noted as the epoch when hostility to the Eastern Empire became a part of the settled policy of Islam. The warlike impulses of the Caliph were turned in the direction of Constantinople. The injunction of the Prophet to conquer the world still rang in the ears of true believers, and the general quiet of the Mohammedan states encouraged the half-dormant desire of foreign conquest. It was now almost a half century since the death of the Prophet. His promise of full pardon for all the sins committed by the soldiers who should conquer Constantinople was not wanting as an incentive of war in the breasts of faithful veterans who recalled with a sigh the glorious days of early Islam.

An army was accordingly mustered to march against the distant Greeks. The command was given to the veteran Sofian, who, with several other aged patriots, companions of Mohammed, undertook the enterprise with the fiery zeal of youth. Hosein, the brother of Hassan, was given a command, and a chivalrous spirit pervaded the army, to which the soldiers of the Crescent had become strangers during the civil wars. The enthusiasm of battle was in the ranks, and future victory was regarded as a part of that necessity which the Prophet had proclaimed as the immutable law of the world. On the other hand, a general flavor of decay was noticeable throughout the Empire of the Greeks. Especially were

the armies which issued from the gates of Constantinople fatigued, as it were, with the lassitude of declining age. In no respect, moreover, was the weakness of the Eastern Empire more displayed than in the will and character of Constantine IV., the reigning sovereign, whose chief element of greatness was a famous name.

In the preceding volume¹ a brief reference has already been made to this effort of the Moslems to capture Constantinople. No extensive details of the expedition have been preserved. It is only known that the Mohammedan squadron passed the Dardanelles in safety and debarked the army a few miles from the city. The Arabs with their accustomed vehemence began a siege, but very unlike were the battlements of Constantinople to the puny ramparts surrounding the towns of Syria and the East. The Greek capital, moreover, was well defended by troops collected from many quarters, most of them veterans in the defense of cities. The employment of Greek fire spread terror among the assailants, to whom such explosive and portentous bombs seemed no less than the favorite hand-balls of Ben Safiah. Of course, the besiegers with their nomad armor could make no impression on the rock-built bastions of the city. So, despairing of success, they fell away from the prize which was beyond their grasp and ravaged the adjacent coasts of the two continents. They established themselves in the island of Scyzicus, and from time to time renewed the conflict through a period of two years.

As the war continued, the forces of the Moslems were gradually wasted. On the other hand, the courage of the Greeks was revived when it was seen that they only had been able to interpose a bar to the progress of Islam. By and by they marched forth with their forces and pursued the Mohammedans, inflicting several defeats. Moawyah was first driven to act on the defensive, and then compelled to seek an expensive peace. A truce was established for thirty years, and the Caliph agreed to pay the Emperor an annual tribute of three thousand pieces of gold, fifty slaves, and fifty Arabian steeds.

In the mean time the Caliph had grown old. The compact still existed with Hassan

that the latter should succeed to the government on the death of Moawyah. But Yezid, the Caliph's eldest son, was already a conspirator to secure the succession for himself. In the year 669, the exemplary and unambitious Hassan ended his career by poison. Nor is it doubtful that the potion was administered by an Arab woman at the instigation of Yezid, who promised to reward her crime with marriage. The prince died as he had lived, in a serene frame of mind, calmly consigning his murderers to the mercies of Allah, before whom they must presently stand, stripped of all disguises.

The politic Yezid refused to marry her whose crime had opened to him the way to the throne; but he procured her silence with large gifts of money and jewels. Though Hassan himself was destroyed, his family was by no means extinguished. He left as his contribution to the House of Fatima fifteen sons and five daughters. One of his marriages had been with the daughter of Yezdegird, the last king of Persia, and the expiring glory of the Sassanide was blended with the prophetic blood of Islam. A few years after the death of Hassan, the celebrated Ayesha, who had survived the death of Mohammed forty-seven years, and by the perpetual feuds springing from her jealousy of Fatima had kept the court of Medina constantly embroiled, expired, A. D. 678. She left no offspring; nor did any of the other wives of the Prophet, excepting only Fatima, transmit his name to posterity.

It will be remembered how the unpopular Abdallah Ibn Saad attempted to make good his claim to leadership by the conquest of Northern Africa; and how he failed before the walls of Tripoli. Afterwards the attention of the Moslems was absorbed in the civil wars, and then in the contest with Constantinople. Thus for a while the African enterprise was abandoned. The foothold which Islam had gained on the coast west of Egypt was broken, and the dominion of the Crescent was again almost restricted to the valley of the Nile.

After the failure of his war with the Greeks, Moawyah determined to devote the energies of his old age to the recovery of what had been lost on the African coast. To this end an army was organized and placed under command of Aabah, who at the head of his forces at once

¹See Book Tenth, *ante* p. 353.



THE ARAKS CROSSING THE DARDANELLES.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

departed from Damascus to enter on his campaign. His first movement was directed against the province of Cyrenaica, and its capital, Cyrene. The city was besieged and taken, its walls thrown down, the country conquered.

From the borders of this province Aebah then continued his march to the west. Through dense and serpent-haunted woods and trackless wastes of sand, he pressed onward to the site of ancient Carthage. Here he chose a heavily wooded valley as the place in which to found a city which should serve as the headquarters of Islam in the West. Nor has tradition failed to record how Aebah went forth into the dank wilderness, infested as it was with lions, tigers, and serpents, and conjured them to fly to other jungles. "Hence!" said he; "avaunt, wild beasts and serpents! Hence, quit this wood and valley!" Then they fled to parts unknown.

When the news of the progress of Aebah was borne to Moawyah, he added the newly conquered countries to the province of Egypt, and appointed Muhegir governor. But the action of the Caliph was based upon ignorance of the vast extent of the territory which Aebah had overrun. The latter had meanwhile established himself in his new city and exercised authority over the surrounding country. When Muhegir arrived in Egypt, he became desperately jealous of the fame of Aebah, and slandered him in letters to the Caliph to the extent of securing his recall and deposition from his command. The valorous Aebah, however, indignant at the injustice done him, hastened to Damascus and made so manly a remonstrance that he was at once reinstated. Returning by way of Egypt he found that Muhegir had used the interim to destroy, as far as possible, the results of the conquest. Aebah accordingly deposed him from authority and placed him in irons, and then went about to remedy the mischief which he had accomplished.

In a short time he had reduced the country to such a state of quiet that he was able to resume his work of conquest in the West. From the frontier which he had already established at Cerwan, he marched into Algiers, the ancient Numidia, and setting up the banners of Islam, compelled the barbarous tribes to reverence the name of the Prophet. He then proceeded into Morocco, the Mauritania of

the ancients, and in like manner reduced the inhabitants to submission. Still westward he pressed his way until reaching the Atlantic, he rode into the salt waves to his saddle girth, and drawing his cimeter, declared that only the sea prevented him from honoring the Prophet by further conquests in his name.

In the mean time intelligence was borne to the victorious Moslem that the Greeks of the African coast behind him, as well as the savage tribes of the interior, had revolted and were about to overthrow his authority. His capital of Cerwan was threatened with capture. Returning by rapid marches he was attacked in Numidia by the Berbers or Moors, who gave him great annoyance, but could not be brought to battle. "Hence!" said he, however, Aebah found that his lieutenant Zohair had beaten the rebels in battle, and restored order in the province. As soon as every thing was made secure, the adventurous governor returned into Numidia to punish the audacious Moors.

Meanwhile, the Greeks of the coast had joined their fortunes with the barbarians of the mountain slopes, and Aebah found a large army ready to oppose him. The leader of the Moors was a noted chieftain named Abu Cahina. When Aebah came in sight of the enemy, he perceived that their numbers were so great as to make a victory over them impossible; but with the dauntless zeal of a true follower of the Prophet, he determined to conquer or die. He struck off the chains of Muhegir and gave him a horse and armor. The two then rode, side by side, into the hopeless conflict. The Moslems fought with thinning ranks, but invincible courage. At last only a handful remained, but they faced the enemy until all had perished. The dead body of Aebah was discovered still grasping his sword and surrounded with a heap of infidel slain. The destruction of the heroic band of Islam was complete.

Meanwhile, important events had taken place in the Caliphate. The aged Moawyah, forecasting the end of his career, named Yezid as his successor. This act was in violation of the precedent established by Mohammed and observed by Abu Beker, Omar, and Othman. It was a direct effort on the part of Moawyah to make the crown of Islam hereditary in his

family to substitute the principle of descent for the right of election. Such a policy ran counter to all the maxims of Arabian politics; but so powerful was the influence of the Caliph, that when he sent abroad a summons to the various provinces to appoint delegates who should perform the act of fealty to the prince Yazid, nearly all the regions made a favorable response, and the prince was acknowledged as the representative of the Omniades and the heir expectant to the crown of Islam. Thus was established by the will and power of Moawyah the dynasty of the House of Omniyah, from which fourteen Caliphs were destined to arise.

The institution of a regular court, after the manner of the East, had now become an established fact in the Caliphate. The stern demeanor of the primitive successors of the Prophet relaxed in the soft airs of Damascus. The transformation from the austere *vigine* established by Abu Beker and Omar was mostly effected during the reign of Moawyah I. Already before the death of that potentate, his household and government, in the luxurious capital of Syria, had assumed the typical aspect of the courts of the East. The plain food, simple garb, and severe manners of the early Moslem rulers yielded to the influences of ease and opulence, and the exemplary virtues of the first Caliphs were no longer regarded as the passports to Paradise.

Superstition still held sway over the minds of the greatest. It was a part of the policy of Moawyah to make Damascus one of the sacred cities of Islam. To this end he conceived the project of transferring from Medina some of the relics most sacred in the eyes of true believers. Among the objects to be removed were the walking staff of the Prophet and the pulpit from which he used to discourse to the people. The staff was found and transferred to the new capital, but when the pulpit was about to be removed an eclipse of the sun occurred and the faithful were terrified. To see the stars in daytime was too much even for Moawyah, and the pulpit of the Prophet was allowed to remain in Medina.

Feeling his end approach Moawyah summoned Yazid into his presence and gave him his parting injunctions. In A. D. 679, being then in the twentieth year of his reign, the

great Caliph was gathered to his fathers. His sepulcher was made at Damascus, which had now become the chief city and capital of the Mohammedan Empire. Great was the fame which Moawyah had won by his deeds, and great was the grief which the true believers manifested on his departure for Paradise.

The succession had already been appointed to YAZID. He received the royal garments in the spring of 680. The new prince came to the throne under the full impulse of his father's popularity and the reputation won by his own abilities and ambitions. Nevertheless his character as a youth had been greatly injured by his associations in Damascus, and his accession to power at the age of thirty-four found him indolent, intemperate, and sensual. He entered upon his reign, however, with many auspicious omens and no opposition, save from Mecca, Medina, and some of the towns on the Euphrates.

The personal rivals whom he had most cause to fear were Hosein, brother of Hassan, and Abdallah, son of Zobeir. To the danger to be apprehended from these princes the new Caliph was fully awake. A plot was made against their lives, but they escaped from Medina and fled to Mecca. While resident here Hosein received a secret message from the city of Cufa, declaring that the people of that metropolis were ready to acknowledge him as the rightful successor of the Prophet. He was informed that on going thither he would be recognized and obeyed as Caliph.

To ascertain the truth of these reports a messenger was sent to Cufa, who found affairs as represented, but the governor of the city had no knowledge of the conspiracy. By some means, however, intelligence of the true state of affairs was conveyed to the Caliph, who despatched Obeidallah, son of Ziyad, to suppress the revolt. This general hastened to Cufa, took possession of the city, killed the ambassador of Hosein, and scattered the conspirators in all directions.

In the mean time the unfortunate prince, who expected to reach the Caliphate by means of the insurrection, set out from Mecca and journeyed toward Cufa. On the borders of Babylonia he was met by a band of horsemen, sent out by Obeidallah to bring the aspirant into his presence. The prince was led along

to the banks of the Euphrates. Finding that every thing had turned against him he would fain have returned into Arabia. Those who had him in charge would gladly have shown consideration to a descendant of the Prophet, but Obeidallah had resolved that Hosein should acknowledge Yezid or perish for his temerity. The son of Ali, however, chose to die rather than submit. With his small band he attempted to defend himself in his camp.

Desultory fighting continued for several days. His followers fell one by one until he

The assassination of their prince made a profound impression on the minds of the Fatimites. The day of his death became an anniversary of mourning, and was called the Day of Hosein. On the spot where he fell a sepulcher was built, and tradition recited to the coming generations, the omens and portents wherewith Allah threatened the world when the descendant of his Apostle was slain.

Among those whom the dying Moawyah had named as persons to be feared by his successor was Zobeir's son, Abdallah. The caution was



TOMBS OF THE CALIPHS, DAMASCUS.

was left alone. At last he sank to the earth, bleeding with thirty wounds, and died under the swords of his assailants. His head was then cut off and carried to Obeidallah in Cufa. After being displayed to that savage warrior the bloody trophy was sent to the Caliph Yezid at Damascus, who either through real or affected grief denounced the murder of the prince and cursed Obeidallah as the son of a Greek slave. The Caliph treated the family of Hosein with consideration, and thus in some measure made atonement for the destruction of the grandson of the Prophet.

well taken; for after the death of Hosein the tribe of Hassem proclaimed Abdallah as Caliph, and he was recognized as such by the people of Medina and Mecca. The prince thus made conspicuous was ambitious and warlike. The party of Fatima, enraged at the murder of Hosein, rallied to the support of Abdallah, and a seer out of Egypt declared that the Prophet Daniel had predicted for this prince the honors of royalty. The Caliph Yezid became alarmed at the condition of affairs in Western Arabia; but pretending to despise the presumption of Abdallah, he sent

word to the governor of Medina to put a silver collar around the neck of the pretender, should he not desist from his claims, and send him in fetters to Damascus. The governor, however—as did also his successor—feared to undertake the duty which Yezid had assigned. Nor did the task allotted by the Caliph to his subordinate become less onerous when the stories of his own immoral life were circulated among the abstemious and continent Arabs. The unpopularity of the reigning prince became so great that an insurrection broke out in Medina, and the few adherents of Yezid were obliged for safety to shut themselves up in the palace of the governor. It was with great difficulty that the Caliph secured an army and a general to go against the insurgents. At length the veteran Meslem assumed command, and the expedition departed to suppress the revolt.

Meanwhile the people of Medina dug a trench around the city, and prepared to defend themselves to the last. When Meslem arrived he summoned the place to surrender, but for three successive days the demand was refused. On the fourth Medina was attacked and carried by storm. The friends of Yezid were liberated from the governor's palace, and the city given up to indiscriminate slaughter and pillage. Having completed the work of destruction, Meslem started on the march for Mecca, but died before reaching his destination. The command devolved upon Hozein Ibn Thanir, who proceeded to the city and began a siege. For forty days the walls were battered by the Syrian engines. A part of the Kaaba was broken down, and the rest burned to ashes. The Meccans were brought to the last extremity; but in the day of their despair a messenger came announcing the death of Yezid. Thereupon Zobeir, who commanded the city, sent the intelligence to Hozein, and demanded that since the Caliph was no more, hostilities should come to an end. As soon as the news was confirmed the besiegers assented to a truce. The siege was abandoned, and the Syrian army, accompanied by the family of Ommiah, retired to Damascus. Nor did the true believers of the party of Fatima fail to ascribe the sudden death of the Caliph to the avenging hand of Allah; for the pillage of Medina, the sacred home of

the Prophet, was a sacrilege well calculated to excite the indignation of heaven.

MOAWYAH II., son of Yezid, was at once proclaimed Caliph. He was still a mere youth, weak in body and in mind, fickle in conduct, and somewhat heretical in belief. For his teacher, Almeksus, being of the sect of the Kalarii, taught the freedom of the will as against the doctrine of predestination, and the young Moawyah imbibed the dangerous heresy. He was afflicted with weak eyes, and obliged to avoid the daylight, from which circumstance the Arabs gave him the surname of *Abulokah* or *Father of the Night*. For six months he nominally held the scepter and then abdicated, refusing to name a successor. This unheard-of proceeding greatly excited the Ommiades, who attributed the prince's resignation to the influence of Almeksus. Him they accordingly seized and buried alive.

The recreant Moawyah not only refused to name his successor, but even went so far as to denounce the Ommiad line, saying that his grandfather was a man less worthy than Ali, and that Yezid had been unfit to reign. He also very properly included himself in the list of unworthies. Having thus relieved his conscience, he shut himself in a dark chamber and remained there until he died.

It thus became necessary for the princes of Islam to choose a new Caliph. In a convention at Damascus, the election fell on MERWAX, the same who had once been the secretary of Othman. It was stipulated, however, that at his decease—for he was already aged—the crown should descend to Khaled, the junior son of Yezid. Merwan gave the required pledges and entered upon his reign at Damascus. Meanwhile Abdallah, the son of Zobeir, was acknowledged as Caliph throughout the West. Not only Arabia, but also Khorassan, Babylonia, and Egypt, recognized him as the legitimate ruler of Islam. At the same time, the bloody-minded Obeidallah, son of Ziyad and emir of Bassora, endeavored to obtain the Caliphate. He pleaded that the dissensions between the Houses of Fatima and Ommiah were sufficient cause for the independence of Bassora and his own appointment as Caliph. The chiefs of the city were ready to second the movement, and Obeidallah was called upon to accept the primacy, at least

until a new ruler could be legally elected. This action, however, was soon repented. The people of Cufa, still remembering the atrocious conduct of Obeidallah in the murder of Hosein, rejected his claims with disdain; and the inhabitants of Bassora, turning upon their own creature, drove him from power. He was obliged to disguise himself as a woman and fly for his life. He escaped into Syria, and perceiving the present hopelessness of his situation, gave his influence to Merwan and aided in his election to the Caliphate. This adherence of Obeidallah to the cause of the Ommiades was one of the circumstances which led to the defection of Babylonia and the transfer of the allegiance of that country to Abdallah, Caliph of the West.

The accession of Merwan was thus recognized only in Syria, and among the Syrians themselves a strong party arose in opposition to his claims. The leader of the disaffected was a certain chieftain named Dehae Ibn Kais, recently governor of Cufa, who sympathizing with the politics of the people of his former province, declared for Abdallah and raised an army to support his pretensions. Merwan at once took the field against his Syrian enemies, and a bloody battle was fought, in which Dehae was killed and his army cut to pieces. Merwan returned in triumph to Damascus, and began his administration from the palace of Moawyah and Yezid.

The great age of the Caliph and the general suspicion that he would attempt to violate the agreement respecting the succession led to a movement on the part of the authorities of Damascus to secure a guaranty. They demanded that Merwan should marry the widow of Yezid, and thus place himself *in loco patris* to the young Khaled. He complied with reluctance; but in order to extricate himself as far as possible from the complication, he raised an army and set out on an expedition against Egypt. The campaign was attended with success, and the party of Abdallah was overthrown in that province.

Merwan then returned to Damascus. But scarcely had he reached the capital when news came that Musab, the brother of the Western Caliph, was marching upon Egypt to recover what was lost. A second time the Syrian army, led by Amru, the son of Saad,

marched against the Egyptians, and another hard-fought battle resulted in a complete victory for Merwan and the re-establishment of his authority in the valley of the Nile. He appointed his son Abdalaziz governor of the conquered country, and again returned to the capital of Syria.

In the mean time the people of Khorassan, disgusted with the quarrels of the rival Caliphs, chose for their governor Salem, the son of Ziyad, who was to act as regent of the province until what time the political affairs of the Caliphate should be settled. While Khorassan was thus virtually made independent, the people of Cufa, long ill at ease on account of the murder of Hosein, sought by repentance to make their peace with the Fatimites. A society was organized, called The Penitents, embracing in its membership the principal men of the state. The whole movement had for its ulterior design the restoration of the House of Ali to the undivided sovereignty of Islam. The leader of the revolutionary party was Solyman Ibn Sorad, who had been one of the companions of the Prophet. An army was mustered, which, after passing a day and night in prayer on the spot where Hosein was murdered, began its march into Syria. But before Solyman reached Damascus, Obeidallah came forth at the head of twenty thousand men and scattered the revolutionists to the four winds.

It will be remembered how the hero Aelah, on the far-off plains of Numidia, was overpowered and destroyed by the Moorish host led by Abu Cahina. The latter, after his victory, pressed on to Cerwan where he began a siege. At this juncture, however, reinforcements arrived, sent out from Egypt by Abdalaziz, the recently appointed governor. Every thing looked to the speedy repulse of Cahina and the restoration of Moslem authority in Northern Africa. But in the mean time the sleepy court of Constantinople had aroused itself to action and dispatched an Imperial army to make common cause with the Moors in the expulsion of the Mohammedans. Against these combined forces of Christianity and barbarism, Zobeir, the governor of Cerwan, made a desperate but ineffectual resistance. The Moslems were defeated in battle and driven back to Barca. Cerwan was assaulted

and taken, and all the western parts of the African coast restored to the condition in which they had been before the conquest by Aebah.

Just after the tiaso of Solyman in Syria, the intelligence of the loss of Northern Africa was carried to Damascus. It had the effect of an electric spark upon the half-paralyzed right arm of Islam. For the nonce, the bitter feuds of faction were consigned to oblivion. Though Zobeir recognized the Caliph of the West, Merwan sent forward a large army, under command of his son Abdalmalec to assist the African governor in recovering his province. The forces of Zobeir and those of Syria were united in the Barcan desert, and an expedition was at once begun to regain the lost territories. The old spirit of the Arabs was fully aroused in the struggle with the unbelievers. The Christians and Moors were driven back precipitately upon Cierwan. The city was besieged and retaken, and the whole region recovered from the enemy more quickly than they had won it. Zobeir was reinstated as governor of Africa, and Abdalmalec marched back to join his father at Damascus.

In his last days, the aged Merwan attempted to undo the terms of settlement by which he had been elected to the Caliphate. It was evident that his oath to transmit the crown to Khaled had been taken with mental reservation. It transpired that when engaged in the struggle for the recovery of Egypt, Merwan had promised the succession to Amru Ibn Saad on condition that that prince would aid him in the establishment of his power. This promise also was made in bad faith; for the monarch all the while entertained the purpose to advance his own son, Abdalmalec, to the throne. Circumstances favored the scheme; for Abdalmalec returned in great glory from his African campaign, and was received with such favor by the Damascenes that Merwan found little difficulty in having him recognized as his successor. This act, however, hastened the exit of the Caliph and substituted violence for the order of nature. The prince Khaled reproached his faith-breaking step-father for his conduct, and the latter denounced the prince as a son of unchastity. Thereupon the mother who was thus insulted

thrust a pillow into the face of the feeble old Caliph and *sat upon it* until he was smothered to death. Thus, in the year 684, the Caliphate of Damascus was transferred to ABDALMALEC.

The new potentate was acknowledged by Syria, Egypt, and Africa. From the first he exhibited the qualities of a powerful and ambitious ruler. He gave his attention to affairs of state and laid extensive plans for the promotion of the interests of Islam. The chief weaknesses of his character were superstition and parsimony. He was a scrupulous observer of dreams and omens, and his conduct was so sordid that the Arabs gave him the surname of Ruffol Hejer, or the *Sweat-Shair*.

Abdallah, the son of Zobeir, still held the Western Caliphate, having his capital at Mecca. Not a little fame was added to his government by the fact that the sacred city of the Mohammedans was the seat of his authority. It was deemed desirable by Abdalmalec to establish in his own dominions a second sacred place to which the faithful might direct their pilgrimages. To this end the temple of Jerusalem was selected, and the enterprise of enlarging and beautifying the edifices on Mount Moriah and of filling them with holy relics was undertaken by the Caliph. The stone upon which the patriarch Jacob laid his head on the night of his heavenly vision was placed in position to receive the kisses of true believers, even as the Black Stone of the Kaaba was saluted in the holy place at Mecca. Thus did the Caliph endeavor to divert the Moslems from visiting the scenes which were associated with the memory of the Prophet in the capital of Abdallah.

Among those chieftains who in the city of Cufa had favored the cause of Hosein was a certain Al Thakifi, surnamed Al Moktar, the Avenger. When the emir Obeidallah suppressed that unfortunate insurrection, Al Moktar was persecuted and imprisoned. He received from Obeidallah a blow which put out one of his eyes. Being released by Yezid, he swore eternal enmity against the tribe of Obeidallah, and his vengeance neither waited nor slept. Finally his time came to be avenged. Before the accession of Abdalmalec, at whose court the family of Obeidallah was in high

favor, Al Moktar had gone to Mecca and espoused the cause of Abdallah, where he fought with great bravery until the death of Yezid occasioned the raising of the siege. Afterwards he went to Cufa and became an agent in the organization of a band of Penitents. With the overthrow of that sect he was again imprisoned, but was released on the death of Merwan. He then went into Arabia, and became recognized as one of the strongest supporters of the House of Ali. At the head of a body of avengers he fell upon and destroyed Shamir, who had commanded in the massacre of Hosein and his friends. He slew Caulah, another of that band, and burned his body in his own dwelling. Others of the enemies of Hosein met a similar fate, until the larger number were destroyed.

Al Moktar established himself in Cufa and extended his authority over all Babylonia. The attitude which he here assumed was such as to bring upon him the hostility of both the Caliphs. They accordingly made preparations to suppress him by force. Al Moktar entered into a correspondence with Mohammed, half-brother of Hosein, then residing at Mecca, but could not induce him to do any thing disloyal to Abdallah. But the suspicions of the Western Caliph were excited, and Mohammed and his friends were thrown into prison. Al Moktar now advanced with a small army of horsemen to release his friends by force. The assailants made their way into Mecca, broke open the prison, and set the son of Ali at liberty. The frightened Caliph, however, was permitted to remain in authority, and Al Moktar returned to Cufa to defend himself against Obeidallah, who was approaching at the head of a Syrian army. The latter was encountered a short distance from the city, and utterly routed by the forces of the Avenger. Obeidallah was killed, and a large part of his followers destroyed in the flight. When the head of the slain emir was carried to Al Moktar he struck the bloody face a terrible blow, as if to repay the stroke which he had himself received from Obeidallah, and by which one of his eyes had been destroyed.

The Avenger was thus left victorious at Cufa. A combination, however, was soon formed against him, and armies were mustered to besiege his capital; but Al Moktar marched

forth boldly to meet his enemies in the open field. A battle was fought, in which he was defeated and driven into the citadel. Here, with about seven thousand men, he defended himself till he was slain. Thereupon the garrison surrendered to Musab, the general of Abdallah, and every man was put to the sword. The enemies of the house of Ommiah were avenged on the Avenger.

By the victory thus gained over Al Moktar the province of Babylonia became a dependency of the Western Caliphate. Musab, the governor, was the brother of Abdallah, and Abdalmalec perceived that in order to maintain his authority he must reconquer the country on the Euphrates. He accordingly mustered a large army, and leaving Amru as his regent at Damascus, set out on an expedition into Babylonia. No sooner, however, had the army departed than Amru, cherishing the memory of the wrongs which he had suffered at the hands of Merwan, usurped the vacant seat of the Caliph and undertook to perpetuate his authority. Hearing of this flagrant proceeding, Abdalmalec returned to Damascus, put the usurper to death, and drove his family into exile. The Caliph then again departed on his Babylonian campaign. A battle was fought with the Cufians, near the city of Palmyra, in which the army of Musab was completely routed. The emir and his son were both among the slain. It is narrated that when the head of Musab was carried to the Caliph an aged patriarch living in the castle took up his burden and said: "I am four-score and ten years old, and have outlived many generations. In this very castle I have seen the head of Hosein presented to Obeidallah, the son of Ziyad; then the head of Obeidallah to Al Moktar; then the head of Al Moktar to Musab, and now that of Musab to yourself." Determining that the fifth act should not be added by the presentation of his own head to another within that castle, Abdalmalec ordered the noble edifice to be leveled to the ground. Having done so much at the dictation of superstition, he appointed his brother Besner and the prince Khaled to be governors of Babylonia and Basora, and then returned to Damascus.

The next difficulty in which the Eastern Caliphate was involved was with a sect of

fanatics called the Separatists, a kind of communitistic party, were opposed to all government, and civil and religious. For a while these fanatics had been restrained by Mohalleb, one of the generals of Musab; but when the latter was slain the Separatists rose in arms, and when the Caliph sent his brother Abdalaziz to suppress the insurrection the fanatics were victorious, inflicting on the regular army a disastrous defeat. This overthrow however, occurred during the absence of Mohalleb at Bassora. That general was now restored to the command, and the Separatists were soon scattered to the winds.

During the continuance of these dissensions and bloody strifes the Emperor of the East had not failed to avail himself of the distractions of Islam. In order to save his dominions from invasion, Abdalmalec was constrained to add fifty thousand ducats to the annual tribute hitherto assessed by the court at Constantinople. By this means, however, the Caliph secured immunity, and having established his authority in all the eastern parts of his dominion, he resolved on the subjugation of Arabia, to the end that all the followers of the Prophet might be united in a single kingdom. An army was accordingly raised, placed under the command of Al Hejagi, and dispatched against Mecca. Abdallah soon found himself besieged in the sacred city. The investment continued for some time, and many assaults were made, in which both assailants and assailed suffered all the havoc of war. Abdallah was reduced to desperate extremities, but still persevered with the courage of a true Moslem. When most of his friends had fallen away or were slain in battle, he led forth the courageous few who remained, and assailed the enemy with the utmost fury until he was wounded and sank bleeding to the earth. "The blood of our wounds falls on our in-steps, not on our heels," said the dying Caliph; and the enemy struck off his head with a sword. Thus perished the valorous Abdallah, son of Zobeir, Caliph of the West.

The fall of his rival left Abdalmalec master of the Mohammedan Empire. The only emir to dispute his sovereignty was Abdallah bin Hazem, of the province of Khorassan. In order to intimidate this governor, Abul-

malec sent to him, as an earnest of what he might expect in case of hostility, the head of the dead Caliph of Mecca. But the loyal son of Hazem reverently enshrouded the gory relic and sent it home to the family of the slain sovereign. He then compelled the ambassador of Abdalmalec to eat the letter which he had brought, and threatened to cut off his head if he did not take himself out of sight. This piece of loyal bravado, however, cost the emir dearly. Al Hejagi was called from Africa and sent with a powerful army into Khorassan. Abdallah went bravely forth to fight, but was met by the enemy, defeated in several battles, and slain.

No signal had been the successes achieved by Al Hejagi that the Caliph next sent him to assume the duties of governor in Babylonia. He at once repaired to the city of Cufa, spoke to the people from the door of the mosque, and gave them to understand that their turbulence and treason would now be brought to an end. Nor was his threatening oration unbacked by equal severity of action. Beginning with the old enemies of the Caliph Othman, he proceeded with unsparing hand to weed out the elements of discontent. Among those who were singled out for destruction was the late prime minister of the province, the veteran Musa Ibn Nosceyr, who in order to save his life fled first to Damascus and thence into Egypt. At Bassora he was equally severe. An insurrection broke out under his despotic rule, but the same was quickly suppressed, and eighteen of the leaders lost their heads.

In the year 697 an attempt was made to do away with Abdalmalec by assassination. Two of the Separatists undertook to murder the Caliph, but the plot was discovered and the conspirators obliged to fly for their lives. They repaired to the town of Daras, in Mesopotamia, where they organized a revolt and took the field. The general Adi was sent against them, but was defeated and slain. In the next battle, however, the fanatics were beaten and one of their leaders killed. But the other rallied his men, and the army of the Caliph was again routed. Shebib, the Separatist chieftain, assumed the honors of government until Al Hejagi put him to flight and scattered his followers. The fanatic then

scoured Persia, rallied a new band, and again returned to the Tigris. Here, however, he was drowned in attempting to cross the river.¹

The next difficulty which the governor Hejagi had to contend with was with one of his officers, named Abdalrahman. In order to dispose of the refractory general, the emir sent him with an inadequate force against the Turks; but the general perceived the machination against himself, revealed the plot to his soldiers, and took the field against Hejagi. The latter went forth to suppress the rebellion, but was signally defeated in two bloody battles. Abdalrahman entered Cufa in triumph, and was proclaimed Caliph. The Babylonians recognized the usurpation and rejoiced to be set free from the tyranny of Hejagi. The latter, however, soon collected a third army, divided the insurgent forces, drove the moek Caliph into a fortress and besieged him, until Abdalrahman, losing all hope of escape, threw himself down from a tower and was killed.

Among the Mohammedans the emir Hejagi acquired an unenviable reputation. He is said to have caused the death of a hundred and twenty thousand people. When near his end, he sent for a soothsayer to know if any distinguished general was about to die. The seer consulted the stars and reported that a great captain named Kotah, or the Dog, would soon expire. "That," said the dying emir, "is the name by which my mother called me when I was a child. And since you are so wise, I will take you with me that I may have the benefit of your skill in the other world." He then ordered the astrologer's head to be cut off.

Finding himself at length freed from domestic enemies, the Caliph Abdalmalec sought the glory of foreign wars. He accordingly threw before the Emperor of the East the gage of battle, by refusing to pay any longer the enormous tribute which that sovereign received from Islam. This act of hostility was followed by another. The Mohammedan general Alid was sent to make inroads upon the territories of the Empire. Nor was the expe-

dition unattended with success. Several cities were taken by the invaders, and Alid returned to Damas-cus laden with an immense amount of booty.

During the time when the attention of the Caliph was absorbed with his troubles in Babylonia, the Eastern emperor had taken advantage of the situation to recover his ascendancy in Northern Africa. The fleets of the Greeks hovered along the coasts. Armies were landed wherever the weakness of the Moslems seemed to invite attack. Zohair, the Arab governor of Barca, was assailed, defeated, and slain. Such was the deplorable condition of the political affairs of Islam in the countries west of Egypt that a reconquest of Northern Africa was necessary to lift up the fallen Crescent. To this end, in the year 696, Abdalmalec called out an army of forty thousand men, and sent the same, under the command of Hossan Ibn Amnonan, on a campaign against the Africans. The general proceeded at once against the city of Carthage, and after a tedious siege, carried the place by storm. The walls were demolished, and a vast amount of booty, including a great number of Moorish maidens to be sold as slaves, was added to the treasures of Islam. A short time afterwards, however, an Imperialist fleet arrived unexpectedly in the harbor, and the Moslems were expelled from the city. But the success of the Greeks was only temporary. The Arabs soon rallied and returned to the attack with redoubled fury. Carthage was again taken and reduced to ashes.

Hossan now continued his expedition along the coast, carrying every thing before him. At length, however, he encountered a formidable rival in the princess Dhabba, who appeared among the Berbers as a prophetess. The nomad tribes of Mauritania and of the neighboring deserts flocked to her standard; nor was this strange woman without the ability to organize and discipline an army. A superstitious belief that their queen was divinely inspired added enthusiasm and audacity to the Moors, who attacked the army of Hossan with such fury that he was eventually driven back to the very borders of Egypt.

Having thus secured a momentary liberation from foreign despotism, the Berber prophetess exhorted her followers to reduce the country

¹Arabic tradition says that Shebib was literally the most *hard-hearted* of all rebels. For when the body was dragged up and opened, and his heart taken out, that organ was found to be like a stone.

to such a condition that not even the Arabs would longer be able to traverse the region which patriotisms had desolated. The advice was eagerly accepted, and the work of destruction began. Treasures were buried in the earth; orchards were cut down; gardens destroyed; houses demolished; walls leveled with the earth; cities burned to ashes, and the whole country between Tripoli and Tangier reduced to a desert.

These terrible measures, however, soon wrought their result. The ruin of their homes led the wild people of the devastated region to turn to the Moslems for protection. The hosts that had gathered around Dhabba deserted her standard and retired to their own districts. The queen attempted to check the march of Hossan, who was now returning with augmented forces; but she was presently defeated and taken prisoner. When brought before the Moslem general, she haughtily refused either to pay tribute or acknowledge Mohammed. Finding his fierce captive utterly intractable, Hossan ordered her to be put to death. Her savage head was embalmed and sent as a trophy to the Caliph.

After his victory over the Africans, Hossan returned to Damascus where he was received with great honor, and appointed governor of the conquered countries. Barca was included in his dominions; but this addition of territory proved a bane to the recipient. For Ablalaziz, the Caliph's brother, then emir of Egypt, claimed the Barcan province as his own. As Hossan was returning to the countries over which he had been appointed, his commission was taken away and destroyed by Ablalaziz, who did not cease from his persecutions until Hossan was brought to disgrace and death.

The next officer appointed to the governorship of Northern Africa was that Musa Ibn Nossayr, previously mentioned as a supporter of the Merwan House in Babylonia. He was already sixty years of age, but was in the full vigor of health and strength. Repairing to the African camp, he took command in the name of the Prophet and his successor. On his arrival he found the country of Tunis and Algiers terrorized by the Berbers, who, from the mountain slopes, would rush down upon the coast, devastate, pillage, burn, and then

fly to their inaccessible retreats. But Musa soon proved more than a match for the marauders. He pursued the Berbers to their fastnesses, and hewed them down by thousands. Great was the reputation which he thus achieved. He became upon the poetic tongue of Islam what Pompey the Great was to Rome after his destruction of the Cilician pirates.

Musa, like other faithful Arab conquerors, carried the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other. The Berber tribes might choose between the two. Not a few preferred the latter, and believing Moors began to be added to the mixed host of warriors—Arabs, Syrians, Persians, Copts—that gathered around the standard of Musa. He took advantage of every situation to establish and augment his authority. He patronized the old tradition that the Berbers were of the same original family with the Arabs. Presently the full tide of conversion swept over the plains of Mauritania and Numidia, and the Berbers by thousands took up the cry of Allah and his Prophet. Some of the tribes, however, still resisted and fought. Thus especially did the Zenetes and the Gomeris, until in the year 702 they were beaten down in the extreme West by the victorious army of Musa.

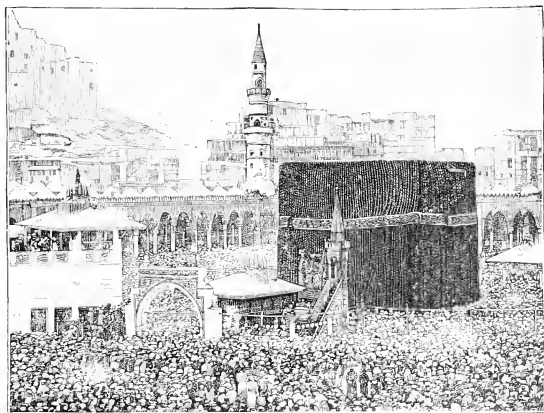
The great African governor now became a patron of fleets and navies. Notwithstanding the success which had attended a similar enterprise during the reign of Moawyah, the work undertaken by Musa was met with doubt and suspicion. But the veteran general was not to be diverted from his purpose. He organized a company of ship-carpenters, and a Moslem fleet was soon launched from the dock-yard of Tunis. The armament went to sea, and for a while secured much booty. At length, however, the squadron was caught in a storm and dashed to pieces on a rock-bound coast. But another armament was soon equipped, and not only the shores of Africa, but the distant islands of the Mediterranean, were coasted by the freebooters of Islam. Thus were laid the beginnings of those audacious Moorish piracies which have ever since vexed the civilization of the world.

In the year 705 the Caliph Abdalmalec died, and was succeeded by his eldest son WALED. A glance at the city of Damascus,

which was now the capital and chief glory of Islam, would show that the Arabs had by this epoch imbibed largely of the arts and learning of surrounding nations. Contact with the Greeks had contributed not a little to the development of the philosophic spirit. The political organization was mostly copied from the Persians, and the same people had contributed most of all to form the manners which henceforth prevailed in the Arabian court. But not all of the grandeur which Islam now displayed—not even the major part thereof—should be attributed to foreign causes. It

dishments, the unwarlike Caliph forgot the cares of state and abandoned the service of Mars. In better moments he gave himself to the arts and muses, and failed not to glorify the Prophet's name by an orthodox observance of religious rites. By him the mosque of Omar, in Jerusalem, was enlarged and beautified, and that of Medina was by his orders so extended as to include the tomb of Mohammed.

Of similar sort was the enterprise of enlarging the Kaäba at Mecca. The adjacent buildings were cleared away to make room



THE KAABA IN MECCA.

was the epoch of the Arabic evolution. The native genius of the race burst forth in effluence. The religious fervor kindled by the Prophet furnished the motive power of an abundant though bigoted activity, which at the first displayed itself in heroic conquest and afterward in direful cruelty.

It has been said that the new Caliph Waleed, whose youth had been passed in Damascus, was in his manners and tastes more Greek than Arabian. Certain it is that he was indolent in habit and voluptuous in disposition. The harem had already become one of the chief delights of Islam. Soothed by its blan-

for the more than magnificent structure which the architects of Damascus planned to occupy the site of the ancient edifice. Not without much regret and many conservative murmurings did the old people of Mecca behold these preparations, by which the most venerable structure known to the true believers was to be replaced with a new and more stately building. At Damascus, likewise, the Caliph commemorated his reign by the erection of one of the grandest mosques in the Mohammedan Empire. As a site for this magnificent edifice he selected the church of Saint John the Baptist, wherein, since the days of Constantine,

the Christians of Syria had withdrawn to deposit the bones and relics of saints. At first the pious Caliph ordered to purchase the church for many loads of money at 2000; but this being refused he resorted to what took forcible possession of the building, and would pay therefor no more.

Meanwhile the foreign affairs of the Caliphate were left to generals and secretaries. Moslema, one of Wab'd's fourteen brothers, made a successful campaign into Asia Minor, where he besieged and captured the city of Tyana. He afterwards carried his victorious arms into Pontus, Armenia, and Galatia, in all of which provinces he reared the Crescent and gathered the spoils of war.

On the side of the East the dominions of the empire were enlarged by Moslema's son, Khatila. Having been appointed to the governorship of Khorassan, he carried the Crescent across the Oxus into Turkestan, where he met and defeated a great army of Turks and Tartars. The city of Bokhara was captured and the khan of Chariam driven into Samarcand. The city was then besieged by the courageous Khatila, and after a long investment was obliged to surrender. A mosque was at once erected, and the conqueror himself ascending the pulpit explained the doctrines of Islam.

Still further to the east, another general, named Mohammed Ibn Casem, led an army of the faithful into India. The kingdom of Sinde was successfully invaded. A great battle was fought; the Moslems were victorious, and the head of the Indian monarch was sent as a trophy to Damascus. The expedition then continued to the east, until the victorious standard of the Prophet was erected on the banks of the Ganges.

In the far west the emir Musa was still busy with his army and fleet. In the year 704 a Mohammedan squadron committed ravages in Sardinia and Sicily. On land the emir carried his banner westward to where the spurs of the Atlas descend into the Atlantic. The countries of Fez, Duquella, Morocco, and Sus were added by successive conquests. The godless sway of Islam was extended to where the setting sun casts his last look at the headlands of Cape Non.

As a governor Musa established order. His administration was so wise and simple

that the Berber tribes soon became the loyal of his subjects. The whole coast of Northern Africa, with the exception of Tingitania, the coast being the northern projection of land next the strait of Gibraltar—acknowledged his authority and followed his banners. It remained for him, before beginning the conquest of Europe, to subdue the Tingitanians by capturing the two cities of Ceuta and Tangiers. These fortresses were now held by the Gothic Spaniards, whose kingdom on the opposite side of the strait was thus defended from invasion.

Musa collected an army and advanced against Ceuta, which was held by a strong garrison, under command of Count Julian. The Moslems laid siege to the fortress and several unsuccessful assaults were made, in which thousands of the assailants were slain. It had already become evident that with the imperfect besieging engineering of the Arabs, they would be unable to take the citadel.

At this juncture, however, the Count Julian committed treason. A correspondence was opened with Musa, and it was agreed that Ceuta should be surrendered to the Moslems. The treachery also embraced the delivery of the whole kingdom of Andalusia, then ruled by the Gothic king Roderic, to the followers of the Prophet! It transpired that Count Julian had been the victim of private wrongs at the hands of his sovereign, and he now sought this method of squaring the account. Great was the surprise of the veteran Musa in having thus opened to his imagination the easy conquest of Spain.

Meanwhile the great soldier Taric Ibn Saad, to whom had been assigned the capture of Tangiers, had succeeded in his work. Those of the garrison who belonged to the Berber race were converted to Mohammedanism, and the Christian inhabitants of the city were permitted to retire into Spain. Musa suspecting the sincerity of Count Julian—for the latter had represented that the people of Andalusia were already ripe for a revolt to overthrow the government of Roderic—now sent for Taric, and ordered him to cross the strait in company with Julian and ascertain the true condition of affairs in Spain. By summoning his friends, the Count seemed to verify the representations which he had made to Musa.

Nor did Taric, in returning to Africa, take a score the Spanish coast and carry home a full load of spoils and female captives. On sending his ambassador, Musa, at once wrote to the Caliph, depicting in glowing colors the glorious prospect which opened before his vision in Spain. He implored Waleed to permit him to undertake the conquest of the Visigothic kingdom, and the Commander of the Faithful was not slow to give his consent.

Accordingly in the spring of the year 711, an army under command of Taric was sent across the strait and landed on the opposite headland, to which the Moslems now gave the name of *Gebel al Taric*, corrupted by modern times into Gibraltar. King Roderic, on hearing of the invasion, sent Edeco, one of his lieutenants, to bind the audacious strangers and throw them into the sea. Edeco was easily defeated by Taric, and his forces scattered. Roderic then summoned the nobles of the kingdom to rally for defense. An army of ninety thousand men was quickly mustered to repel the invaders; but great disaffection prevailed, chiefly on account of Julian, who induced great numbers of the Christians to join the Arabs and share in the spoliation of Spain.

In mid-summer the two armies met on the opposite banks of the river Guadalete. For several days there was continuous skirmishing, which at last brought on a general battle. Victory inclined to the banners of the Christians. The field was strewn with sixteen thousand of the Moslem dead. "My brethren," said Taric, "the enemy is before you, the sea is behind; whither would ye fly? Follow your general! I am resolved either to lose my life or to trample upon the prostrate king of the Romans."

Before the battle was decided, another interview with Count Julian led to a defection in the Gothic ranks, and Taric rallied his men with the energy of despair. The Goths broke and fled. Roderic, leaping down from an absurd ivory car, in which by two white mules he had been drawn about the field of battle, attempted to escape across the Guadalete and was drowned. His crown and kingly robes and charger were found on the banks of the river.

A short time after this decisive victory, the city of Cordova was assaulted and taken by a

detachment of the Saracens, and Taric, while confined his various conquests, found the Sierra Morena until he took possession of Toledo, which at once capitulated. The conduct of the conqueror seemed so moderate, even on the page of modern history, that the Christians were permitted to continue their worship—the priests to officiate as usual. Nor were the Goths driven from civil authority, but were allowed to remain in the subordinate offices of the kingdom. Especially were the Jews, long and bitterly persecuted by the Christians, rejoiced at the fact of deliverance.

As yet, however, the collapse of the Gothic power was not complete. Some half-spirited, but futile, efforts were made to beat back the invaders. But Taric, marching forth from Toledo, carried his banners to the North until the regions of Castile and Leon were added to the Moslem conquests. A few invincible fugitives retreated into the hill country of the Asturias, and defied the Arabs to dislodge them.

Meanwhile Musa, excited and perhaps jealous on account of the successes of Taric, hastened to cross the strait with a second army under his own command. Something still remained for the sword of the master to accomplish. The fortified cities of Seville and Merida still remained in the hands of the Goths. Both cities were besieged and taken, though the latter fell only after an obstinate defense. Musa then continued his march to Toledo, where it soon became apparent that his feelings toward Taric were any other than kind and generous. The brave general was compelled to give an exact account of the treasures which had fallen into his hands, and was then scourged and imprisoned. Having established himself in the capital, the conqueror soon planned a campaign against the Goths of the North. He crossed the Pyrenees, conquered the province of Septimania, fixed his frontier at Narbonne, and returned in triumph to Toledo.

The remnants of the Gothic power in the peninsula were represented after the death of Roderic by the prince Theodemir. With him a treaty was now made by which he was allowed to retain the territories of Mureia and Carthagen, and to exercise therein the rights of a provincial governor. The conditions of peace embraced the following clauses: That

Theodemir should not be disturbed or injured in his principality; that he should deliver seven of his cities to the Arabs; that he should not assist the enemies of the Caliph; that he and each of his nobles should pay an annual tribute into the Moslem treasury.

Thus did the years 711-714 witness the overthrow of the Gothic monarchy of Spain and the substitution therefor of the institutions of the Arabs. Musa, however, did not long survive his triumph. The same ungenerous treatment which he had visited on Taric was now reserved for himself. He fell under the suspicion of the court of Damascus and was arrested by the messenger of the Caliph. His two sons, Adallah and Ablalaziz, were left in the governments of Africa and Spain. The journey of the veteran Musa into Syria, though he was virtually a prisoner was little less than a triumphal procession. Before he could reach Damascus the Caliph Waleed died, but his successor was equally unfriendly to Musa. The old general was tried on a charge of vanity and neglect of duty and was fined two hundred thousand pieces of gold. He was then whipped and obliged to stand in disgrace before the palace, until, condemned to exile, he was permitted to depart on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The resolute spirit of the aged soldier was broken, and he died on reaching the shrine of the Prophet.

In a short time after the conquest Spain became the most prosperous and civilized country of the West. Manufactures and commerce sprang up. Cordova became a royal seat. The city contained six hundred mosques, nine hundred baths, and two hundred thousand dwellings. Within the limits of the kingdom were eighty cities of the first class and three hundred of the second and third, and the banks of the Guadalquivir were adorned with twelve thousand hamlets and villages.

Having thus securely established themselves in the Spanish peninsula, the Arabs soon began to look for other fields of conquest beyond the Pyrenees. They aspired to the dominion of all Europe. Having conquered the barbarian kingdoms north of the Alps, they would carry the Cross at down the banks of the Danube until the Greek Empire, pressed on the east, and the west by the victorious evangelists of the Koran, should col-

lapse, and the banners of Islam be set up around the entire Mediterranean. Such was the outline of a purpose which wanted but little of fulfillment.

To the north of the Pyrenees lay the kingdom of the Franks, fallen into decline under the last of the Merovingians. The condition of the country was such as to provoke an invasion by the men of the South. Pepin the Elder, mayor of the palace, had died, and after a brief contention among his illegitimate children, his rights had descended to Charles, who was destined soon to win the sobriquet of the Hammer. Fortunate it was for the destinies of Christian Europe that the *Rois Fainéants* had been dispossessed of the throne of the Franks and the power transmitted to one who was able to defend it against aggression.

It has already been noted that in the first years of their Spanish ascendancy the Arabians carried their arms to the north of the Pyrenees and overran Septimania or Languedoc. By degrees the limits of their Frankish territory were extended until the south of France, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhone was included in the Moslem dominion.

This realm, however, was by no means as broad as the ambition of Abdalrahman, the Arab governor of Spain. To him it appeared that the time had now come to honor the name of the Prophet by adding Western Europe to his heritage. He accordingly determined to undertake a great expedition against the Frankish kingdom. In the year 721 he raised a formidable army and set out on his march to the north. Having crossed the Pyrenees he proceeded to the Rhone and laid siege to the city of Arles. The Christian army which came forth for its defense was terribly defeated on the banks of the river, and thousands of the slain and drowned were carried by the swift and arrowy Rhone to the sea. Meanwhile the valiant Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, mustered an army at the passage of the Garonne, where a second great battle was fought with the same result as the former. The Christians were again defeated with the loss of many thousands.

The progress of the Mohammedans northward had now continued unchecked a distance of more than a thousand miles from Gibraltar.

Another similar span would have carried the Crescent to the borders of Poland and the Scottish Highlands; and in that event the conjecture of the sedate Gibbon that the Koran would to-day be used as the principal textbook in the University of Oxford, would appear to be justified.

Destiny, however, had contrived another end. The battle-axe of Charles, the bastard son of the elder Pepin, still showed its terrible edge between Abdalrahman and the goal. The Frankish warrior was already hardened in the conflicts of twenty-four years of service. In the great emergency which was now upon the kingdom, it was the policy of Charles to let the Arabian torrent diffuse itself before

of the other, and forbore to close in the grapple of death, victory inclined the rather to the banner of Islam; but, on the seventh day of the fight, the terrible Germans arose with their battle-axes upon the lighter soldiery of the South and bowed them down by thousands. Night closed upon victorious Europe. Charles had won his surname of the Hammer; for he had beaten the followers of the Prophet into the earth. Abdalrahman was slain. In the shadows of evening the shattered hosts of Spain and Africa gathered in their camps, but the Moorish warriors rose against each other in the confusion and darkness, and ere the morning light the broken remnants sought safety by flight. On the morrow the Mo-



BATTLE OF TOURS.—Drawn by A. de Neuville.

attempting to stem the tide. Nor is the suspicion wanting that the delay of the great mayor in going forth to meet the enemy was partly attributable to his willingness that his rival, the duke of Aquitaine, should suffer the humiliation of an overthrow at the hands of the Mohammedans.

Meanwhile, Abdalrahman advanced without further resistance to the center of France, and pitched his camp in the plain between Tours and Poitiers. Here, however, he was confronted by the army of the Franks. Europe was arrayed against Asia and Africa; the Cross against the Crescent; Christ against Mohammed. For six days of desultory fighting, in which each party, apparently conscious of the crisis in the affairs of men, seemed wary

of the other, and forbore to close in the grapple of death, victory inclined the rather to the banner of Islam; but, on the seventh day of the fight, the terrible Germans arose with their battle-axes upon the lighter soldiery of the South and bowed them down by thousands. Night closed upon victorious Europe. Charles had won his surname of the Hammer; for he had beaten the followers of the Prophet into the earth. Abdalrahman was slain. In the shadows of evening the shattered hosts of Spain and Africa gathered in their camps, but the Moorish warriors rose against each other in the confusion and darkness, and ere the morning light the broken remnants sought safety by flight. On the morrow the Mo-

hammedan camp was taken by the Christians, and the spoils of one of the greatest battles of history were gathered by the Franks. The Arabs hastily retired across the Pyrenees. Count Eudes recovered his province of Aquitaine, and all Europe breathed freely after escape from a peril which was never to be renewed. Thus, in the year 732, precisely a century after the death of Mohammed, did the invincible valor of the Teutonic race oppose an impassable barrier to the hitherto victorious progress of Islam.¹ The triumphant

¹ It would have been supposed that Charles Martel would have received the highest honours which the Christian world could bestow. But a different result followed his victory. In raising and equipping his army, he had been obliged to

From the time of the capture of the city, the Moslems advanced to the gates of the city and the Moslems, who had been in the city, appeared. The city was then destroyed for the second time, and the city was given to the Moslems. A tradition is recorded that Charles the Great, who was a great saint, had a vision in which the city of Pavia was seen to be in flames, and a tradition gave a prophecy that when his tomb was opened, his body would be filled with the smell of sulphur and the apparition of a dragon.

ries in general possession of the country, Carosa had the seat of an and later. 2. The Arabs, who had been the origin of the West. A tradition is recorded of a people the unknown people beyond the Pyrenees and the Alps began to repair to the Mohammedan schools to receive an education which could not be obtained in the barbarous institutions of the North. The seeds of learning were scattered by the scholars of Islam, and the Crescent taught the Cross the rudiments of art.



**MAP X
CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE.**
From Thalheimer's *Medieval and Modern History*.
By permission.

Boundaries showing the three divisions
of the Empire made by the treaty of
Verdun, A. D. 843.

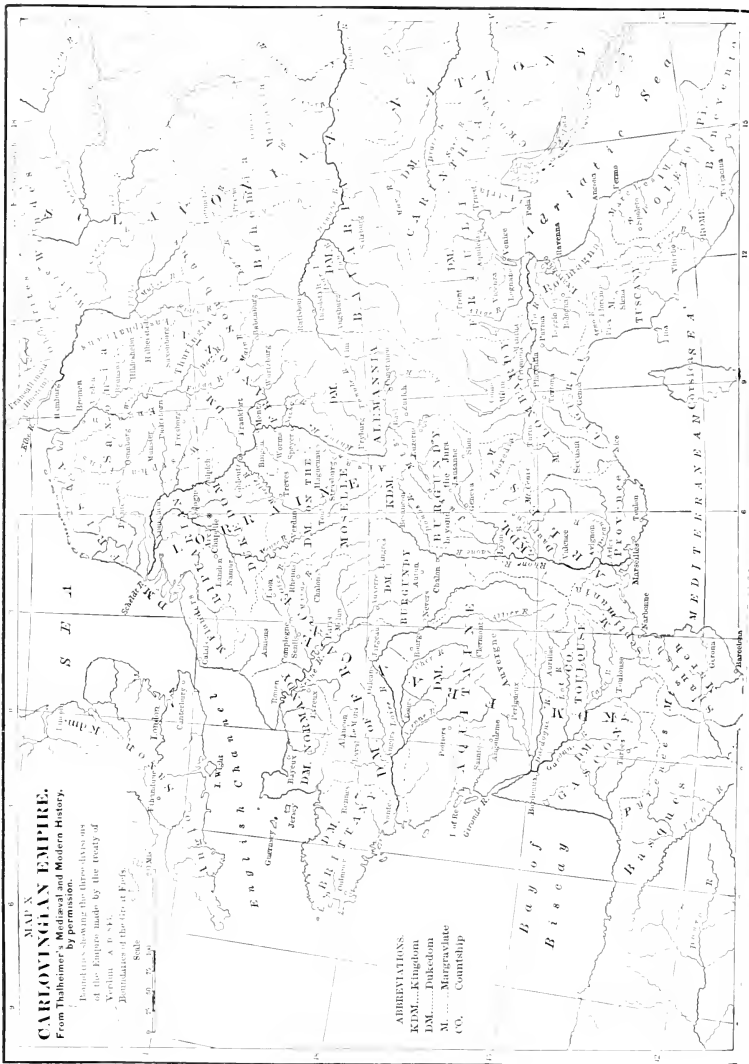
Boundaries of the *Gr. of Feud.*

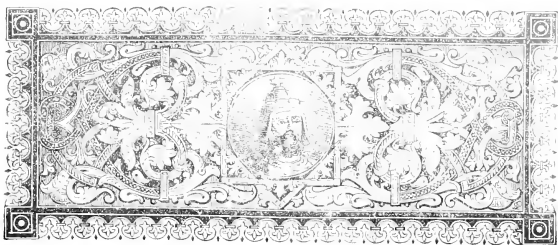
Scale

0 25 50 75 100

ABBREVIATIONS.

- KDM.....Kingdom
- DM.....Dukedom
- M.....Margravate
- CO.....Countyship





Book Thirtieth.

THE AGE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

CHAPTER LXXXI.—THE FIRST CARLOVINGIANS.



HE Aryan nations again claim our attention. After a long sojourn among the tribes of Ishmael—after following the flaming Crescent to its zenith over the field of Poitiers—

let us turn to the peoples north of the Alps and the Pyrenees, and, taking our stand in the great KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS, trace out the course of human affairs in the west of Europe.

The career of Pepin of Heristal, duke of the Austrasian Franks, has already been sketched in the First Book of the present volume.¹ It will be remembered that after the battle of Laon, A. D. 680, in which conflict his brother Martin was killed, Pepin became sole ruler of the Austrasians. In the years that followed he was engaged in several desultory wars with the German tribes on the right bank of the Rhine, and in 687 invaded the province of Neustria. The fate of this country was decided in the battle of Testry, in which Pepin was victorious. Roman France, as the northern part of Gaul was called, yielded to

the Austrasians; and Duke Pepin was acknowledged as the sovereign of the Frankish empire.

It was now the heyday of the *Rois Fainéants*. The kingly Donothings still occupied the alleged throne of the Franks. They had, however, been gradually reduced to the condition of puppets in the hands of the powerful mayors of the palace. For reasons of policy Pepin chose not to disturb the royal show, and the *Fainéants* were kept in nominal authority. Thus the puny race was lengthened out during the so-called reigns of Thierry III., Dagobert II., Clovis III., Childebert III., and Dagobert III. Once a year, namely, at the great national assembly in May, Pepin would bring forth the royal manikin, show him to the people, and then return him to the villa, where he was kept under guard.

For a quarter of a century (687–712) Pepin was engaged in almost constant wars with the Frisians and Alamanni dwelling on the Rhine. The hardest battles of the period were fought with these barbarians, who, after many defeats, were subdued by the Frankish king. It was, however, in the great family which he was about to establish, rather than

¹See Book Thirtieth, *chap.* p. 440.

in his wars, that Pepin was destined to distinguish himself as one of the chief personages of his times. But the founding of his family was attended with many troubles. Besides his wife Plectruda, he had a mistress, Alpaida, upon whom he lavished the greater part of his attentions. A bitter feud was thus

obliged to appease public indignation and private wrath by putting in prison the son of his mistress, afterwards known as Martel. That bold and impetuous spirit, however, could not long be kept in confinement. Regaining his liberty he soon overthrew the regency which Pepin had left to his widow during the minor-



MURDER OF GRIMOALD.

Drawn by W. Camibus.

created in the mayor's palace between the lawful and the unlawful wife of the ruler. In these rivalries Alpaida gained the ascendancy, and Plectruda, with her children, was thrust into the background. Finally Grimoald, her son, and the heir expectant of Pepin's rights, was murdered, and the party of Alpaida was involved in the crime. The mayor was

obliged to appease public indignation and private wrath by putting in prison the son of his mistress, afterwards known as Martel. That bold and impetuous spirit, however, could not long be kept in confinement. Regaining his liberty he soon overthrew the regency which Pepin had left to his widow during the minor-

ity of Grimoald's son, and seized the mayoralty for himself. The career of Charles Martel down to the battle of Poitiers has already been narrated in the two preceding Books.¹ After that great event his prudence forbade any reckless
18. B. Book, F. xvth, *ant.* p. 430 and Book Twelfth, c. p. 41.

pursuit of the Arabs, who, though overthrown north of the Pyrenees, were still in full force in Spain. He afterwards renewed the war with the Arabian emirs, who still retained a foothold on the Gallic side of the mountains, and the intruders were gradually forced out of the country. The annexation of Aquitaine to the Frankish kingdom followed; nor was there any longer a likelihood that the Saracens could regain what they had lost within the limits of Gaul. Charles continued in authority until his death. Like his father, however, he chose to be recognized as Mayor of the Palace rather than as King of the Franks. The assumption of the latter dignity remained for his son and successor, Pepin the Short.

At his death Charles Martel bequeathed his authority to his two heirs, CARLOMAN, who received Austrasia, and PEPIN, who inherited Neustria. The measures by which the latter circumvented his brother and became sole ruler of the Frankish kingdom have been already narrated. Pepin soon took upon himself the title of king. Childeric III., the last of the Rois Faineants, was sent to the monastery of Sithien, at Saint Omer, and Pope Zachary consented to the substitution of the CARLOVINGIAN for the MEROVINGIAN dynasty. Pepin was anointed and crowned by Saint Boniface at Soissons, in the year 752.

It was at this time that the province of Septimania, which had been overrun by the Mohammedans, finally submitted to the Franks. In 753 Pepin enforced the payment of tribute upon the Saxons, and also obliged them to receive with civility the Christian ministers who had been sent among them. At this juncture the relations existing between France and Italy were greatly strengthened and extended by the favor of the Pope to the Carolingian dynasty. Stephen III. crossed the Alps and visited Pepin, with a view to securing his aid against the Lombards. Astolphus, the king of that people, had become the oppressor of the papacy, and the Pope naturally looked for help to the Most Christian King of the Franks. Pepin received the great ecclesiastic with as much dignity as an uncourtly barbarian could be expected to maintain. He readily assented to lend the powerful aid of the Franks in upholding the dignity and honor of the Church.

A large army was at once collected and led across the mountains to Pavia, where Astolphus was besieged and brought to his senses. The Lombard king sought earnestly for a peace, but it soon appeared that his earnestness was in direct ratio to his fears. For no sooner had Pepin consented to cease from hostility and withdrawn his army than Astolphus repudiated the compact and threatened, should he again be disturbed, to capture and pillage Rome. But Pepin was a monarch whom threats merely excited to belligerency. He hastily recrossed the mountains and completely broke the power of Astolphus. The exarchate of Ravenna was overrun, and that province, together with the Pentapolis, was given to Pope Stephen. Thus, in the year 755, was laid the foundation of the temporal sovereignty of the Popes of Rome.

Five years later, the chieftain Waifar raised a revolt in Aquitania. The province was declared independent, and the Aquitanians defended themselves with great heroism. For eight years Pepin and his Franks were seriously occupied with the rebellion. Nor did the king succeed in bringing the refractory state to submission until he had procured the removal of Waifar by assassination. Pepin, however, did not long survive this crime. He died in 768, and left the kingdom to his two sons, Carloman and Karl, or Charles.

The elder son of the late king of the Franks exercised but a small influence on the destinies of the state. His character was without the element of greatness, and his early death, which occurred only three years after that of his father, cut short any small plans of ambition which he may have entertained. In 771 his younger brother, soon to be known as CHARLEMAGNE, or Charles the Great, became sole sovereign of the kingdom of the Franks, which now embraced the whole of Gaul and the western parts of Germany. But even this widely extended territory was by no means commensurate with the ambition of the young prince who occupied the throne. He soon developed a genius which, alike in war and peace, shone with such extraordinary luster that its brilliancy flashed into the courts of the East.

Charlemagne appears to have been one of those men of whom Guizot has said that to them

"the springs of society in a state of anarchy or immobility [are] revolting and almost unbearable. It occasions them an intellectual shudder as a thing that should not be. They feel an unconquerable desire to change it, to restore order; to introduce something general, regular, and permanent into the world which is placed before them. Tremendous power! often tyrannical, committing a thousand inequities, a thousand errors; for human weakness accompanies it. Glorious and salutary power, nevertheless, for it gives to humanity by the hand of man a new and powerful impulse."

In the very beginning of his career the new sovereign of the Franks was confronted with the necessity of a war with the Lombards. The ascendancy attained by his father south of the Alps was about to be lost by the ambitions and intrigues of the Lombard king, Desiderius. The jealousy between the two monarchs was mutual and based upon causes which mediæval kings were very prone to observe. Before his accession Prince Karl had married Desiderata, daughter of Desiderius; but after becoming king—being offended at the conduct of his father-in-law—he sent the queen home to her parents, for whom he took no pains to conceal his contempt. For his part, Desiderius received and protected the nephews of Charlemagne—an act which seemed to discover a purpose of supporting the claims of the family of Carloman. Desiderius also added to his offenses by unfriendly conduct towards the Pope, whose partiality for the Carolingians was notorious. It was not likely that Charlemagne would permit any indignity offered to the Holy Father to pass without adequate punishment. The personal anger of the king was combined with his religious prejudices, and both were excited by the loud call of Pope Adrian I., who besought the Frankish monarch to come to the rescue of the newly established but now imperiled patrimony of Saint Peter.

At the first, Charlemagne, preserving the appearance of peace, sent envoys to Desiderius requesting that that monarch should regard the rights of the Pope; but the Lombard refused, and Charlemagne immediately prepared for the invasion of Italy. One army, led by the king in person, crossed the

Alps by way of Mont Cenis, and the other descended upon Lombardy by way of Saint Bernard. On the other side of the mountains Desiderius made a brave resistance, but was soon obliged to take refuge within the walls of Pavia. Charlemagne at once advanced to the siege. The defense was conducted with obstinate courage. The assaults of the Franks were several times repelled, and the king of the Franks was obliged to sprinkle cool patience on his ardor. Finding that the investment was to continue during the winter, he converted his camp into a royal head-quarters, and built a chapel for the appropriate celebration of the Christmas festivities. He then sent for the Queen Hildegarde, a Suabian princess whom he had married instead of the discarded Desiderata, and with her made the hours of the siege less tedious. Winter wore away and the spring came, and still the Lombards held the city.

Meanwhile Pope Adrian was all anxiety to secure the presence of Charlemagne in Rome. The dream of the nuptials of the Holy See with the great Frankish bridegroom had risen in full splendor upon the vision of the pontiff, and he would fain make it real by a consummation of the ceremony. Charlemagne was induced by the Romish ambassadors to leave the siege of Pavia to his lieutenants and to hasten forward to the city of St. Peter.

On approaching the battlements of the ancient capital, the Frankish sovereign was met by the magistrates and people, who poured forth through the gates to welcome their great champion from beyond the mountains. The children of the schools came in processions, carrying palms and singing hymns of praise. He was cordially welcomed by the Pope, who, with a strange mixture of affection and dignity, heaped honors and distinctions on his guest. He gave to Charlemagne a book containing the canons of the Church from its foundation to the current date, and inscribed upon the title-page a copy of verses containing the following anagram: Pope Adrian to his most excellent son, Charlemagne, the king.

For some time the king of the Franks continued in conference with the Holy Father at Rome. The Pope took all pains during the sojourn of his distinguished guest to impress



CHARLEMAGNE CROSSING THE ALPS.
After the painting by Paul de Laocöche.

his mind as much as possible with the pageant of the Imperial city and the spectacle of the Imperial faith. He urged him to continue his conquests in the name of religion, but dissuaded him from incorporating Lombardy with his own dominions. As soon as the conference was at an end, the king returned to his camp before Pavia, and the siege of the city was presently brought to a successful conclusion.

The capital of Lombardy was surrendered to the Franks. The whole country fell before the conquering arms of the Carolingian. The various dukes and counts, who had hitherto, after the German fashion, maintained themselves in a state of semi-independence, hastened to make their submission, and resistance was at an end. The only exception was in the case of Aregisius, duke of Beneventum, who for a season held himself in hostility. Desiderius himself was taken prisoner and led into France, where first at Liège and afterwards at Corbie he found leisure to repent of his rashness in lifting his arm against Charles the Great.

It appears that his visit to Rome and the magnificent and holy things there witnessed made a profound impression upon the mind of Charlemagne. It should not be forgotten that this great personage was still in manners and purposes but half emerged from barbarism, and his dispositions were peculiarly susceptible to such influences as the adroit Bishop of Rome was able to bring to bear. The Holy See at this time made the discovery that the presentation of moral truth and obligation to the barbarian imagination was less effective than splendid shows and gilded ceremonies. She therefore adopted pageant instead of moral expostulation, and converted the barbarians with spectacles.

After tarrying at Rome until the spring of 774, Charlemagne returned to France. Having satisfactorily regulated the affairs of Italy, he now conceived the plan of extending the empire of religion in the opposite directions of Saxony and Spain. In furtherance of this purpose he convened at Paderborn, in the year 777, a general assembly of his people, and there the scheme of conquest was matured. The German chiefs had generally obeyed his summons and were present at the assembly, but

Witkind, king of the Saxons, was conspicuous by absence.¹

Charlemagne had already had occasion to note the obstinacy of the Saxon people. Of all the barbarians these were most sullen in their refusal to accept the doctrine and practice of Christianity. As early as 772 the king of the Franks had felt constrained to make war on the tribes dwelling north of the Elbe. He invaded Saxony, wasted the country with fire and sword, captured the fortress of Ehresburg, and overthrew the great idol whom the pagans called *Irmisul*.² These offenses, however, rather excited than allayed the belligerent spirit of the Saxons, who henceforth lost no opportunity to repay the Christian Franks for the injuries which they had inflicted. The border of the Elbe became a scene of constant depredation, inroad, and destruction of villages and towns. The fierce Saxons stayed not their hands wherever they could find the hamlets of their recreant countrymen, who had betrayed the faith of their pagan fathers.

Such were the antecedents of the contest which Charlemagne was now about to undertake with the barbarians of the North. The subjugation of Saxony became indispensable to the peace and safety of the kingdom, and it was manifest that no conquest could be effectual which did not include the substitution of Christianity for paganism. The Saxons fought not only for national independence, but for the whole myth and tradition of the German race. The Franks, on the other hand, entered the conflict under the full im-

¹It was at this assembly of the Saxon chiefs that Charlemagne gave his refractory subjects their option of baptism or the sword. The impatient barbarians, yielding in action but obstinate in mind, were compelled to kneel down at the bank of a stream while the priests who accompanied Charlemagne's army poured water upon their heads and pronounced the baptismal ritual. The king soon had cause to learn the inefficiency of such a conversion from paganism.

²It appears that the effigy called *Irmisul* (German, *Irrenmanns-Säule*, or Hermann's Pillar) was so named in honor of the great hero Arminius, who, by the destruction of the legions of Varus (see Vol. II, p. 272), had made Imperial Rome unable for her safety. On this great feat of the German arms Saxon patriotism had reared a pagan superstition.

fluence of a new-born religious zeal not unlike that which had fired the Saracens in the conquests of Islam. In courage and indomitable

will the combatants were not unlike, being of the same blood and proclivities. The struggle was destined to continue with varying



CHARLEMAGNE INFLECTING BAPTISM UPON THE SAXONS.

Drawn by A. de Noyville.

tudes for more than a quarter of a century, and to end with the triumph of the Franks.

In beginning the war Charlemagne adopted the policy of military occupation. Wherever he made a conquest he built a fortress and left a garrison. By the side of every castle rose a church, and at the right hand of every Frankish chieftain stood a priest. But victory under such circumstances and over such a foe could not insure permanency. As soon as the march was resumed into another district the pagans rose as if from the earth behind the conqueror. They stormed his castles, burned the churches, slaughtered the garrisons, and sacrificed the priests and missionaries to the gods of the North.

In the midst of these bloody scenes the priest was more audacious than the soldier. The missionaries in the very face of death made their way into the Saxon woods and preached the gospel to the barbarians. It was, however, a gospel of the sword rather than of peace. A certain priest, named Saint Liehwin, made his way to the banks of the Weser, and warned the general assembly of the Saxons to make peace with the powerful prince, who, as the captain of heaven's army, was about to fall upon them. "The idols ye worship," said the priest, "live not, neither do they perceive: they are the work of men's hands; they can do naught either for themselves or for others. Wherefore the one God, good and just, having compassion on your errors, hath sent me unto you. If ye put not away your iniquity I foretell unto you a trouble that ye do not expect, and that the King of Heaven hath ordained aforetime: there shall come a prince, strong and wise and indefatigable, not from afar, but from nigh at hand, to fall upon you like a torrent, in order to soften your hard hearts and bow down your proud heads. At one rush he shall invade the country; he shall lay at waste with fire and sword and carry away your wives and children into captivity."

So great a rage followed this denunciatory prophecy that many rushed into the forest and began to cut sticks on which to impale the priest alive; but a certain prince, Buto, appealed to the assembly of chiefs to respect the sacred rights of embassy. So Liehwin escaped with his life.

The Saxon nation at this time consisted of three or four different populations. These were the Eastphalians, the Westphalians, the Angrians, and the North-Albingians—though the latter were sometimes classified as a distinct people. Each of these principal nations was subdivided into many tribes, each with its own chieftain and local institutions. Charlemagne was thoroughly familiar with this German constitution of society, and well understood how to avail himself of the feuds and jealousies of the Saxon people. He adopted the plan of making war upon each tribe separately, and of preventing, as far as possible, any cohesion of the nation as a whole. If a given chieftain could be induced to submit and to accept Christianity, the king would treat with him separately and make peace on terms favorable to the tribe; and if others offered a stubborn resistance, they were punished with more than the usual severity. In a general way, however, the Saxons made common cause against the invader, and in doing so they found a leader worthy of the German name.

WITTIKIND, son of Wernekind, king of the Saxons north of the Elbe, appeared as the national hero. Besides his own hereditary rights and abilities as a chieftain, his relation with the surrounding states was such as to make him a formidable foe. He had married the sister of Siegfried, king of the Danes, and was in close alliance with Ratbod, king of the Frisians. He it was who now, in the year 777, refused to attend the assembly of chiefs called by Charlemagne at Paderborn; and by his refusal gave notice of his open hostility to the king of the Franks.

The previous disturbances of his country had made it necessary for Wittikind to find refuge with his brother-in-law, the king of the Danes. From this vantage-ground, however, he directed the council of the Saxon chiefs and encouraged them to a renewal of their rebellion. Following his advice, the people again rushed to arms, and the Franks recoiled from the fury of their assaults. In 778 the barbarian army advanced to the Rhine, and destroyed nearly all the towns and villages on the right bank of that river from Cologne to the mouth of the Moselle. No age, sex, or condition was spared by the

bloody swords of the enraged pagans. The Frankish forces met the insurgent barbarians on the Rhenish frontier, and for three years

The revolted tribes fell back from the Rhine and were driven to submission. Many of the chiefs sought peace, and accepted reconcilia-



CUTTING DOWN A SACRED OAK OF THE SAXONS.

Drawn by H. Leutemann.

the struggle with them continued almost without cessation.

Gradually, however, the superior discipline and equipment of the Franks triumphed over the obstinacy of their enemy.

tion with the king on condition of professing the Christian faith and receiving baptism. Wittikind returned into Denmark; but the politic Siegfried was now anxious for peace, and the Saxon king was obliged for a season

to make his head-quarters among the Northmen. Within a year, however, he again crossed into Saxony and incited his countrymen to another revolt. In 782 Charlemagne's armies were twice defeated on the banks of the Weser, and the king himself was obliged to take the field. Unable to meet his great enemy, Wittikind again fled to the Northmen, and the brunt of the king's hostility fell upon those who had participated in the revolt. Four thousand five hundred of the Saxons were brought together at Werden, on the river Aller, and were all beheaded by the orders of Charlemagne. Having thus soaked the river banks in blood, the king retired into France and made his winter quarters at Thionville.¹

The terrible vengeance taken by the king of the Franks was by no means sufficient to terrify the now desperate Saxons. On the contrary, their anger and determination rose to a greater height than ever. During the winter of 782-83 the tribes again revolted, and held out against the most persistent efforts of Charlemagne till 785. In the latter year the king's victories were more decisive, and it seemed that the pagans must finally submit. The king took up his residence at the castle of Ehresburg, and from that stronghold sent out one expedition after another to overawe the rebellious tribes.

Charlemagne had now learned what the barbaric despair of the pagan Saxons was able to do in war. Nor did he lack that kingly prudence upon which the desire for personal vengeance was made to wait in patience. He adopted diplomacy where force had failed. He sent across the Elbe a distinguished embassy to the place where Wittikind had his camp, and invited that austere warrior and his friend, the chieftain Abbo, to come to him under protection and to confer on the interests of Saxony. At first the great

barbarian feared to trust himself to the good faith of his foe, but was finally induced to accept the invitation. He accordingly presented himself to the king at the palace of Attigny, and so considerate was the reception extended by Charlemagne, and so favorable the proffered conditions of peace, that Wittikind was induced to accept them for himself and his countrymen. He accordingly professed the Christian faith and underwent the rite of baptism. He received at the hands of Charlemagne a full amnesty and the title of Duke of Saxony, though the sovereignty was thenceforth to be lodged with the king of the Franks.

Wittikind ever faithfully observed the conditions to which he had pledged his honor. So exemplary was his life, so tractable his disposition under the teaching of the priests, that some of the old chroniclers added his name to the calendar of the saints. In the year 807 he was killed in a battle with Gerold, duke of Suabia, and the tomb of the old Saxon hero is still to be seen at Ratisbonne. Nor is the tradition wanting that the great House of Capet, destined, after two centuries, to supplant the Carlovingian dynasty on the throne of France, had Wittikind for its ancestor; for the legend runs that he was the father of Robert the Strong, great-grandfather of Hugh Capet.

But the pacification of Saxony was not completed by the action of Wittikind. The old spirit of paganism was not to be extinguished by a single act. Through a series of years insurrections broke out here and there, and were suppressed with not a little difficulty and bloodshed. In some instances the king found it necessary to remove whole tribes to other territories, and to fill their places with Christian, or at least Frankish, colonists. Nevertheless it was not doubtful after the surrender of Wittikind, that the conquest of Saxony was virtually accomplished, and Charlemagne might with propriety consider the country beyond the Elbe as an integral part of his growing empire.

The task of Charlemagne on the German side of Gaul was by no means completed. Many of the populations which had already been subdued continued in a state of turbulence, and the utmost vigilance of the king

¹History has her pictures and contrasts. It was on this same river Weser that Charlemagne, on a previous occasion, had gathered an entire tribe of the barbarians for wholesale baptism. The program was unique, the ceremony expeditious. The Church militant stood on the shore; a priest lifted up the cross, and the ministrants poured water on the penitent Saxons as they waded across the river. On this occasion Charlemagne tried a baptism of blood.

was necessary to keep them in tolerable subordination to authority. The Frisians had to be reduced by force of arms, and only then consented to a sullen peace. On the distant horizon of the north and east lay the still more savage peoples—the Avars, the Huns, the Slavonians, the Bulgarians, and the Danes—all bearing down from their several quarters of the compass upon the frontiers of the Frankish empire. Nothing less than the most strenuous activity and warlike genius of

successful warfare with the savage races who came upon him from the north and east, and to give to him a permanent check. Viewed with respect to the general destinies of his age, the king of the Franks may properly be called the Stayer of Barbarism.

In the year 781 Charlemagne found a conspicuous occasion on which again to recognize and honor the majesty of the Pope. Four years previously Queen Hildegarde had brought to her lord a royal son, who re-



BAPTISM OF BARBARIANS IN THE WESER.

Charlemagne was requisite to hurl back the barbarian races to their own dominions, and to keep a solid front on the side of barbarism.

The monarch proved equal to every emergency. In his contests with the more distant nations he had the advantage of a Germanic barrier between himself and the foe. Before a barbarian army could inflict a wound on any vital part of the dominion it must traverse Saxony or some other frontier state which the king had established as a break-water between himself and the wild ocean beyond. He thus was enabled to carry on

received the name of Pepin, and who was now presented to Pope Adrian for baptism. The rite was administered to the Carolingian scion, and he was anointed by the Holy Father as King of Italy—this title being conferred out of deference to the Pope's advice that Lombardy should not be incorporated with the kingdom of the Franks.

Meanwhile, on the south-west, events had taken place of but little less importance than those which were happening on the Elbe, the Rhine, and the Weser. The forty years following the battle of Poitiers had witnessed

but few disturbances along the Spanish frontier of Gaul. The Christians and Mohammedans coming to a better understanding, and having a tolerable regard for each other's rights, had maintained a fair degree of peace. With the accession of Charlemagne, however, the ambitions of the Franks and the jealousies of the Saracens had in a measure revived. The one, perhaps, cherished the dream of an early expulsion of the Mohammedans from Europe, and the other looked with ill-concealed enmity at the rapid progress and overwhelming influence of the barbarian Emperor on the other side of the Pyrenees. Nor might it well be forgotten or forgiven that he was the grandson of that other Charles, at whose hands the great Abdalrahman had met his fate.

Mixed with these general motives was a specific act of treason. Among those who in 777 had convened at the assembly of Paderborn was a certain Ibn al Arabi, the Saracen governor of Saragossa. Having a difficulty with the Caliph, he sought the aid of the Christian Franks, and would fain make common cause with them against the Mohammedans. For this reason came he to the assembly called by Charlemagne.

The king of the Franks was quick to seize the opportunity thus afforded of extending his dominions on the side of Spain. Though still embarrassed with his German wars, he gladly accepted the invitation of Ibn al Arabi to become his champion and avenger.

In the spring of 787 the Frankish sovereign, having divided his army into two parts, as in the Italian campaign, set out on the Spanish expedition. One division of his troops, under command of Duke Bernard, was directed to seek the eastern passes of the Pyrenees, and traverse the peninsula by way of Gerona and Barcelona to Saragossa. The other division, led by Charlemagne in person, was to pass to the west, enter Spain by the valley of Roncesvalles, and march by way of Pampeluna to the place of meeting before the walls of Saragossa. In carrying out his own part of the campaign, Charlemagne traversed the provinces of Aquitaine and Vasconia, at this time ruled by Duke Lupus II., son of that Duke Waifar who will be recalled as a formidable antagonist of Pepin the Short.

The reigning prince was descended from the Merovingians, and could neither by blood kinship or political inclination be expected to favor the cause of the Carlovingian conqueror. The latter, however, soothed Duke Lupus, and by generous treatment secured from him an oath of fealty. But the event soon showed that the pledge was given with the mental reservation to break it as soon as circumstances might seem to warrant the act of perfidy.

After this brief but necessary detention Charlemagne hurried forward to prosecute his work in Spain. Passing through the valley of Roncesvalles, he arrived before Pampeluna, and received the surrender of that city; for the Arab governor deemed himself ill able to make a successful defense against the Franks. The king then pressed forward to Saragossa, where he expected to receive a similar surrender at the hands of his friend Ibn al Arabi. But as has so many times occurred in the history of the world, the recreant governor had promised more than he could fulfill. It was one thing to agree and another to deliver. For, in the mean time, the old Arab spirit was thoroughly aroused from its dream of peace. The local quarrels of these ambitious towns of the Western Caliphate were suddenly hushed in the presence of the common danger. The Saracens rushed forward to the succor of Saragossa, and Charlemagne found that he must take by a serious siege—should he be able to take at all—the prize which the officious Arabi was to have delivered with such facility.

In a short time there was a greater scarcity of provisions outside than inside the walls. The besiegers were constantly beset by new bodies of troops arriving from various parts of the peninsula. Diseases broke out in the camp of the Franks, and they found themselves more endangered by the invisible plagues of the air than by the swords of the Saracens. At the same time intelligence came that the Saxons on the opposite side of the kingdom had again risen in arms, and were threatening to undo the entire work of conquest on the north-east. It was, therefore, fortunate for Charlemagne that at this juncture the Arabs sought to open negotiations. The king gladly accepted their offer of a large ransom

to be paid in gold and guaranteed by hostages in lieu of the besieged city. Such an offer gave him a good excuse for the abandonment of an enterprise which would soon have had to be given up without even a show of success.

As soon, therefore, as a settlement had been effected with the authorities of Saragossa, Charlemagne began a retreat out of Spain. On arriving at Pampeluna, he ordered the walls of the city to be leveled with the ground, in order that any future

lives in the engagement. Eginhard, master of the king's household; Anselm, count of the palace; and the chivalric Roland, prefect of Brittany, and greatest knight of his times, were among the slain. Nor was Charlemagne in any condition to turn upon the mountain guerrillas who had thus afflicted his army. He was obliged to continue his march and leave the Basques to the full enjoyment of their victory.¹

Though Charlemagne was not able to pun-



THE BATTLE IN THE VALLEY OF RONCESVALLES.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

revolt of the people might be attended with greater hazard. The king's army then reëntered the passes of Roncevalles, and had partly escaped through the defiles when the Basques, having taken possession of the heights, began to hurl down upon the soldiers in the pass huge masses of stone. The discomfiture of those who constituted the rearguard of the army was complete. Very few of the Franks escaped from their dangerous situation. The Basques fell upon the baggage-train and captured a great amount of booty. Several of Charlemagne's captains lost their

ish the mountaineers of Vasconia for their perfidy in the affair of Roncevalles, he failed not to take vengeance upon the people of Aquitaine. Duke Lupus, who was thought to have had a hand in the insurrection, was

¹The defeat of the Franks in the passes of Roncevalles gave rise to a cycle of heroic legends, some of which are still popular in the south of France. *The Song of Roland*, reciting the exploits and tragic death of that hero, became a favorite with his countrymen, and was chanted by the soldiers as an inspiration to victory. The men of William the Conqueror sang the hymn as they marched to the battle of Hastings.

seized and hauged. The lives of his two sons were spared only on condition of vassalage. But while Aquitaine was thus reduced to a dependency, the politic king took pains that the province should still be left sufficiently free to constitute a bulwark against the Arabs. The national vanity of the Aquitanians was flattered with the rule of a native duke, but the real purpose of such a concession was the making of a defense against the Andalusian Arabs.

During his absence on the Spanish campaign Queen Hildegarde added another son to the royal household. The child received the name of Louis, and was afterwards known as the Debonair. In 781 the child, then three years of age, was taken with his brother Pepin to Rome, and was anointed by the Pope as King of Aquitaine. Within less than a year he was taken by the courtiers to his own province. In order that the farce might be as imposing as possible the child was clad in armor, mounted on a horse, and conducted by his counselors to the royal seat of government. The administration of the affairs of Aquitania was henceforth conducted in Louis's name, though the real authority proceeded from the court of Charlemagne.

One of the leading principles in the policy of the king of France was the establishment of a secure frontier around his empire. In this work he was measurably successful. From

the eastern borders of the Frankish dominions the Huns and Slavonians were driven back against the borders of the Empire of the East. The Saracens were confined to Spain and the island of Corsica and Sardinia. On all sides a boundary was so well established as to secure comparative exemption from foreign invasion. In the mean time the king had found it desirable to transfer the seat of government to his new capital of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was favorably situated on the side of the kingdom next the German peoples. At this place the court of the monarch became the most important, if not the most splendid, in all Christendom. Hither came embassies bearing presents from the great potentates of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Neither the emperors of the East nor the Caliphs of Baghdad failed to respect in this way their fellow-sovereign of the West. So great had been his activity and so signal his success, both in war and in peace, that by the close of the eighth century Charlemagne had taken and held a rank among the greatest monarchs of the age.¹

In the year 799 intelligence was brought to Aix-la-chapelle of serious and most disgraceful riots at Rome. It was said that a band of conspirators had been organized, that Pope Leo III. had been attacked, that his eyes and his tongue had been cut out, and himself shut up in the castle of Saint Erasmus. The intention of the Holy Father, thus

¹As illustrative of the prodigious military activity of Charlemagne the following table of his *fifty-three* campaigns is here appended.

SYNOPSIS OF THE FIFTY-THREE CAMPAIGNS OF CHARLEMAGNE.

NO.	DATE.	AGAINST WHAT ENEMY.	HOW SUCCESSFUL.	NO.	DATE.	AGAINST WHAT ENEMY.	HOW SUCCESSFUL.
1	770	The Aquitanians	Conquered at Bourdeaux	28	78	The Arabs	Conquered by King Pepin
2	772	The Saxons	Advances beyond the Weser	29	79	The Saracens	On the Lower Elbe and Weser
3	773	The Lombards	Crosses Alps to Pavia and Verona	30	79	The Arabs of Spain	Conquered by his son Louis
4	774	The same	Lakes Pavia goes to Rome	31	79	The Saxons	Beyond the Elbe
5	774	The Saxons	Beyond the Weser	32	80	The Lombards	Conquered by his son Pepin
6	775	The same	"	33	80	The Arabs of Spain	Conquered by his son Louis
7	776	The Lombards	Beaches to Taxo	34	82	The Saxons	Conquered by his sons
8	776	The Saxons	At the sources of the Lippe	35	84	The Saxons	Beyond the Elbe and the Oder
9	778	The Arabs of Sicily	Re-possess of Syracuse	36	84	The Slavonians	Conquered by his son Charles
10	778	The Saxons	Beyond the Weser	37	86	The same	"
11	778	The Saxons	At the sources of the Oder	38	86	The Arabs of Corsica	Conquered by his son Pepin
12	780	The Saxons	On the Elbe	39	86	The Arabs of Spain	Conquered by his son Louis
13	780	The same	At the sources of the Elbe	40	87	The Arabs of Sicily	Conquered by his generals
14	780	The same	At the sources of the Elbe	41	87	The Arabs of Spain	"
15	781	The Saxons	On the Elbe	42	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
16	781	The same	On the Elbe	43	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
17	781	The same	Conquered by his generals	44	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
18	781	The same	"	45	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
19	781	The same	"	46	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
20	781	The same	"	47	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
21	781	The same	"	48	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
22	781	The same	"	49	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
23	781	The same	"	50	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
24	781	The same	"	51	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
25	781	The same	"	52	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
26	781	The same	"	53	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
27	781	The same	"	54	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
28	781	The same	"	55	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
29	781	The same	"	56	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
30	781	The same	"	57	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
31	781	The same	"	58	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
32	781	The same	"	59	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
33	781	The same	"	60	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
34	781	The same	"	61	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
35	781	The same	"	62	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
36	781	The same	"	63	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
37	781	The same	"	64	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
38	781	The same	"	65	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
39	781	The same	"	66	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
40	781	The same	"	67	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
41	781	The same	"	68	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
42	781	The same	"	69	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
43	781	The same	"	70	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
44	781	The same	"	71	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
45	781	The same	"	72	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
46	781	The same	"	73	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
47	781	The same	"	74	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
48	781	The same	"	75	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
49	781	The same	"	76	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
50	781	The same	"	77	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
51	781	The same	"	78	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
52	781	The same	"	79	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
53	781	The same	"	80	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
54	781	The same	"	81	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
55	781	The same	"	82	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
56	781	The same	"	83	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
57	781	The same	"	84	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
58	781	The same	"	85	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
59	781	The same	"	86	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
60	781	The same	"	87	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
61	781	The same	"	88	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
62	781	The same	"	89	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
63	781	The same	"	90	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
64	781	The same	"	91	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
65	781	The same	"	92	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
66	781	The same	"	93	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
67	781	The same	"	94	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
68	781	The same	"	95	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
69	781	The same	"	96	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
70	781	The same	"	97	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
71	781	The same	"	98	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
72	781	The same	"	99	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"
73	781	The same	"	100	87	The Arabs of Sicily	"

brutally treated, was announced to appeal to the king of the Franks as the defender of the insulted Church. In a short time his Holiness came in person to Paderborn, and poured out his grievances in the ready ear of Charlemagne. Nor was it doubtful that the latter would uphold the cause of the Pope with all the resources at his command. Having tarried for a brief season in the Frankish dominions, Leo returned to Rome.

the sanctuary of the apostle. Some time was spent in examining the charges made by and against the Pope. Two monks, sent by the patriarch of Jerusalem, brought to the great Carolingian the blessing of their master and the keys of the Holy Sepulcher. Finally, on Christmas day, when the king came into the basilica to attend the celebration of mass, even as he was bowing down to offer prayer, Pope Leo placed upon his head the golden



DEATH OF ROLAND.

The first months of the year 800 were spent by the king in the usual affairs of government; but in mid-summer he announced to the national assembly his purpose of making another visit to Italy. The journey was undertaken in the autumn, and late in November the king arrived before the walls of Rome. The Pope came forth and received him with every mark of obsequious favor. He was led into the city and given a reception on the steps of the basilica of Saint Peter, from which place, followed by the shouts of the multitude, he was taken into

the crown of the Empire, while the people shouted, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans!" Charles assumed to be astonished at the crowning and the proclamation. He even declared that, had he known of what was intended, he would not have entered the church, even to attend the Christmas festivities. But his faculties were not sufficiently confused or his humility sufficiently shocked to prevent him from paying adoration to the Pope, according to the old-time method at the coronation of the em-

perors. Nor did he fail thereafter to relinquish his title of Patrician of Rome, and to assume that of Emperor and Augustus. It can not reasonably be doubted that the whole tableau and ceremony had been arranged by Leo and Charlemagne on the occasion of the recent visit of the former to France.

It was now clear that a principal element in the mutual admiration of the Holy See and the King of the Franks was the project to restore the Empire of the West. The scheme met with a favorable reception, especially in Italy, where the Popes and Bishops became conspicuously obsequious to their great ally and supporter north of the Alps. It remained for the Emperors of the East to exhibit their jealousy over an event which they were impotent to hinder. But Charlemagne could well afford to veil under a kingly suavity and prudent ambiguity his contempt for the imbecile rulers of Constantinople. His communications with the eastern emperors were accordingly couched in polite and conciliatory language, such as might well turn aside their enmity or even provoke their admiration. By such means he avoided any open rupture with the effete political power which from the palace of Constantinople still claimed to be the Empire of the Cæsars.

In the internal affairs of his government, no less than in his foreign wars, Charlemagne exhibited a genius of the highest order. By the close of the eighth century, his conquests had made him master of the whole country from the Elbe to the Ebro, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. Germany, Belgium, France, Switzerland, and the northern parts of Italy and Spain were included in his dominions. At his accession to power the diverse hostile tribes inhabiting these wide domains were but half emerged from barbarism. The Emperor of the Franks imposed upon himself the herculean task of civilizing these perturbed nations, and of giving to them the advantages of a regular government.

It was impossible in the nature of things that even the masterful spirit of Charlemagne should succeed at once in giving order and rest to the barbaric society of Western Europe. The genius of confusion still struggled with the spirit of cosmos, and the evolution of regular forms was slow and painful. The

administration was one of adaptation and expedients. Whatever the Emperor found to be practically available in carrying out his mandates, that he retained as a part of his administrative system. Whatever failed was rejected. The king struggled like a Titan with the elements of disorder around him. Whenever the superhuman energies of his will were manifested, there peace and quiet reigned for a season. But no sooner would the imperial presence be turned to some other quarter of the kingdom than the old violence would reassert itself, and the reign of chaos would begin anew.

The efforts of the Emperor to form his subjects into a single nation and government were beset with special difficulties. The people of his empire spoke many languages. Their institutions were dissimilar; their progress and civilization variable. In some of the states the authority was in the hands of assemblies of freemen; in others, military chieftains held the chief authority. No fewer than four class distinctions were recognized in society. First, there were the *Freemen*; that is, those who, acknowledging no superior or patron, held their lands and life as if by their own inherent right. The second class was composed of those who were known as *Ludes*, *Fidels*, *Antrustions*, etc.; that is, those who were connected with a superior, to whom they owed fealty as to a chief or lord, and from whom they accepted and held their lands. Third, *Free-men*; that is, those who had, for some signal act of service or as an act of favor, been raised from serfdom to a condition of dependence upon some leader or chief to whom they attached themselves in war, and near whom they resided in peace. Fourth, *Slaves*; that is, those who, being the original occupants of the soil, had been reduced to bondage on the conquest of the country, or those who, taken captive in war, were converted by the captors into serfs.

But these classes were by no means fixed. Many of the people sank from a higher to a lower level; some rose from a lower to a higher. Weak Freemen would attach themselves to some distinguished leader and become his vassals. Ambitious Antrustions—even Slaves—would not only achieve their emancipation, but would themselves conquer

estates and become independent. It was with this vast, inorganic, and shifting mass that Charlemagne had to deal, and it was out of this heterogeneous material that he labored to create a great and stable state.

The Frankish Emperor was by no means a theorist. However anxious he may have been to see a regular system of authority established over the peoples whom he ruled, he was preëminently willing to be taught by circumstances. However eager he was to govern by reason and law, he none the less retained the sanction of force as the means of preserving order. In an epoch of transition, while the winds of barbarism blew from all quarters of the compass and met in his capital, he opposed to their fury the barrier of his will, saying, "Thus far, but no farther." He was thus enabled, by personal energy, sternness of decision, and inveterate activity, to build up in a boisterous age the fabric of a colossal monarchy, well worthy to rival the Empire of the Cæsars. In all his methods and work there were, of course, the inherent vices of absolute power; but the system established by Charlemagne was the best that the times would bear or the people were able to receive.

If we look more closely into the nature of the Imperial administration, we shall find first of all the central government established at Aix-la-Chapelle. Here the Emperor reigned; here held his court; here summoned his ministers to council. Beside those dignitaries who were immediately associated with him in the government, by whom he dispensed his authority, and upon whose judgment he relied somewhat in conducting the affairs of state, the general assemblies, composed of the chief men from all parts of the kingdom, constituted a notable feature of the political system. According to the judgment of modern historians, indeed, the national councils of Charlemagne were the distinguishing characteristic of his reign. No fewer than thirty-five of these great assemblies were convened by royal authority. Sometimes one city and sometimes another was named as the place of the council. Worms, Valenciennes, Geneva, Paderborn, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Thionville were in turn selected as the seat of the assemblies. Many of the dukes and counts answered the edict of the king with great reluctance; but

the Emperor's overwhelming influence was generally sufficient to secure a large attendance. The meetings, when convened, were in the nature of congresses, in which measures were proposed and debated after the manner of more recent times. It was the wish of Charlemagne to make his chiefs and nobles participants in the government, and to concede to them such freedom of expression as might at least enable him to apprehend the wishes of the people.

In regard, however, to the measures discussed by the assemblies, the right of proposing the same was reserved by the king. It does not appear that at any time the initiative of legislative action might be taken by the assembly itself. Every thing waited on the pleasure of the sovereign, who wrote out and laid before his congress the subject matter to be debated. The assembly which convened in the early spring was called the *March-parade*; and the principal convention of the year, which was appointed for the first of May, was known as the *May-parade*. In the interval between one meeting and the next Charlemagne was wont to note down such matters as he deemed it prudent to lay before the assembly, and it not infrequently happened in times of emergency that special sessions were convened to consider the needs of the state. Modern times are greatly indebted to Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, who flourished near the close of the ninth century, for a full and satisfactory sketch of the great Frankish assemblies and of the business therein transacted. Both the subject-matter and the style of this venerable chronicler may justify the quotation of a few paragraphs from his work. He says:

"It was the custom at this time to hold two assemblies every year. In both, that they might not seem to have been convoked without motive, there were submitted to the examination and deliberation of the grantees . . . and by virtue of orders from the king, the fragments of law called *capitula*, which the king himself had drawn up under the inspiration of God or the necessity for which had been made manifest to him in the intervals between the meetings."

The next paragraph from Hincmar shows conclusively that not only the initiative but also the definitive or final act in legislation

rested with the Emperor. The chronicler continues:

"After having received these communications, they [the counselors] deliberated on them two or three days or more, according to the importance of the business. Palace messengers, going and coming, took their questions and carried back the answers. No stranger came near the place of their meeting until the result of their deliberations had been able to be submitted to the scrutiny of the great prince, who then, with the wisdom he had received from God, adopted a resolution, which all obeyed."

The talkative archbishop thus further describes the workings of the Imperial government:

"Things went on thus for one or two capitularies, or a greater number, until, with God's help, all the necessities of the occasion were regulated.

"Whilst these matters were thus proceeding out of the king's presence, the prince himself, in the midst of the multitude, came to the general assembly, was occupied in receiving the presents, saluting the men of most note, conversing with those he saw seldom, showing towards the elders a tender interest, disputing himself with the youngsters, and doing the same thing, or something like it, with the ecclesiastics as well as the seculars. However, if those who were deliberating about the matter submitted to their examination showed a desire for it, the king repaired to them and remained with them as long as they wished; and then they reported to him with perfect familiarity what they thought about all matters, and what were the friendly discussions that had arisen amongst them. I must not forget to say that, if the weather were fine, every thing took place in the open air; otherwise, in several distinct buildings, where those who had to deliberate on the king's proposals were separated from the multitude of persons come to the assembly, and then the men of greater note were admitted. The places appointed for the meeting of the lords were divided into two parts, in such sort that the bishops, the abbots, and the clerics of high rank might meet without mixture with the laity. In the same way the counts and other chiefs of the state underwent separa-

tion, in the morning, until, whether the king was present or absent, all were gathered together; then the lords above specified, the clerics on their side and the laics on theirs, repaired to the hall which had been assigned to them, and where seats had been with due honor prepared for them. When the lords laical and ecclesiastical were thus separated from the multitude, it remained in their power to sit separately or together, according to the nature of the business they had to deal with, ecclesiastical, secular, or mixed. In the same way, if they wished to send for any one, either to demand refreshment, or to put any question, and to dismiss him after getting what they wanted, it was at their option. Thus took place the examination of affairs proposed to them by the king for deliberation.

"The second business of the king was to ask of each what there was to report to him or enlighten him touching the part of the kingdom each had come from. Not only was this permitted to all, but they were strictly enjoined to make inquiries, during the interval between the assemblies, about what happened within or without the kingdom; and they were bound to seek knowledge from foreigners as well as natives, enemies as well as friends, sometimes by employing emissaries, and without troubling themselves much about the manner in which they acquired their information. The king wished to know whether in any part, in any corner, of the kingdom, the people were restless, and what was the cause of their restlessness; or whether there had happened any disturbances to which it was necessary to draw the attention of the council-general, and other similar matters. He sought also to know whether any of the subjugated nations were inclined to revolt; whether any of those that had revolted seemed disposed towards submission; and whether those that were still independent were threatening the kingdom with any attack. On all these subjects, whenever there was any manifestation of disorder or danger, he demanded chiefly what were the motives or occasion of them."

In this description it is easy to discover the real preponderance of Charlemagne himself in all the affairs of the Frankish kingdom. The assemblies were convened by his edict. He

initiates the law and completes it. He is advised, but decides the matter according to his own preference. He consults with his dukes and counts, not to derive authority from them—for that he already has—but to obtain information of the real condition of the empire, to the end that he may adjust the clumsy machinery of state to the work to be accomplished. Nor is it proper to suppose that any true public liberty was couched in the national assemblies. They were not a vehicle for the maintenance of popular rights, but for the transmission of royal authority. They were the means which the greatest sovereign of the age adopted for the purpose of reforming society by the introduction of regularity and law in the place of caprice and violence. The government of Charlemagne was absolute, but salutary.

Turning from the general to the local administration of affairs, and passing from the capital into the provinces, we are able to discover the scheme of the Frankish Emperor in practical application. To secure obedience and unity, he recognized in the provincial governments two classes of agents, the one local, the other general; the one native and to the manner born, the other appointed by the king as his resident representatives. In the first class may be enumerated the dukes, counts, vicars, sheriffs, and magistrates—the natural lords and leaders of the political society of the provinces. These were employed by the Emperor as his agents in dispensing authority. Nor did he omit any reasonable means to secure their fidelity and cooperation in maintaining the order and unity of the kingdom. In the second class were included those beneficiaries and vassals of the Emperor who held their lands and properties directly from him, and were therefore more immediately dependent upon him than were the native provincial dukes and counts. Politically, the royal vassals were the agents of the government. Their interest, to say nothing of loyalty, inclined them to the support of the throne, and they thus constituted a powerful influence to counteract or suppress local rebellions.¹

A third class of officers, over and above the former two, were the royal messengers, called the *Missi Regii*, whom the Emperor appointed to travel into every part of his dominions, to find out and punish wrong-doing, to superintend the administration of justice, and especially to inform the sovereign of the actual condition of affairs throughout the empire. The office of these important agents was not only informatory, but administrative. They stood wherever they went for the king in person. They exercised authority in his name, and in general their acts required no confirmation from the royal court.

There was thus extemporized, so to speak, out of the crude materials of Frankish political society, and by the genius of an extraordinary man, a huge monarchy, rude but powerful—a government of adaptation and expedients, rather than a government of constitutional form. The motive of Charlemagne was single. He desired to introduce order into human society, to restore in some measure the symmetry of that social constitution which he saw dimly through the shadows of the past. He thus became a reformer of the heroic type, and laid about him with an energy and persistency that would have been creditable in any, even the greatest, characters of history.

The personal character of the Frankish sovereign may well be illustrated from the memoranda which he left behind him of *Capitularies*, or statutes either actually adopted by the national assemblies or intended to be discussed by those august bodies. In these notes and suggestions of laws we find a strange intermixture of ethics, religion, and politics. Sometimes the royal note-book contains a principle like this: "Covetousness doth consist in desiring that which others possess, and in giving away naught of that which one's self possesseth; according to the Apostle it is the root of all evil." Again the king says briefly: "Hospitality must be practiced." Soon afterwards, however, he adds: "If mendicants be met with, and they labor not with

and Federal officers in the government of the United States. The local counts and sheriffs represented the State system under our American constitution, while the royal vassals stood in the relation of Federal appointees.

¹The relations of the native dukes and the royal beneficiaries in the administrative system of Charlemagne were not dissimilar to those of State

their hands, let none take thought about giving unto them." Much of the Emperor's thought seems to have been given to economic questions, and it is instructive to see this great mind considering various projects for putting a fixed price on provisions. He was jealous of the justice of his administration and the reputation of his court. The royal headquarters were not to be made an asylum for criminals: "We do will and decree that none of those who serve in our palace shall take leave to receive therein any man who seeketh refuge there and cometh to hide there by reason of theft, homicide, adultery, or any other crime. That if any free man do break through our interdicts, and hide such malefactor in our palace, he shall be bound to carry him on his shoulders to the public quarter, and be there tied to the same stake as the malefactor."

It was in the latter rather than in the earlier part of his reign that Charlemagne became conspicuous as a legislator. Of the sixty-five statutes attributed to him, only thirteen are referable to that part of his reign before his coronation at Rome. The remaining fifty-two are all included between the years 801 and 814. We are thus afforded another example of a military leader who, having conquered a peace with the sword, was anxious to preserve by law what had been so hardly achieved.

Any sketch of the life and times of Charlemagne would be incomplete if notice were omitted therefrom of his attitude towards learning. Instead of that jealousy which so many of his predecessors and contemporaries manifested towards scholars and philosophers—instead of that contempt which the small rulers of the human race have ever shown for the big-brained, radical thinkers of the passing age—the great Carolingian took special pains to seek the acquaintance and cultivate the esteem of the learned. Upon scholars and teachers he looked with the greatest favor. He invited them to his court. He made them his counselors. He sought their advice in the gravest emergencies. He bestowed favors upon them, and made no concealment of his wish to be indebted to them for a knowledge of letters and the arts.

In the midst of such surroundings, he found

time and opportunity to lay in his own rough and powerful intellect the foundations of exact knowledge. He obtained the rudiments of science. He studied grammar, rhetoric, logic, geometry, astronomy, and even, to a certain extent, the recondite problems of theology. He even, in some measure, assumed the duty of teaching these branches to his children and members of his household, and it is amusing to find in his correspondence many interesting references to such small questions of scholarship. Thus, in a letter to the learned Alcuin, being troubled, forsooth, because he could no longer discover the planet Mars, he writes: "What thinkest thou of this *Moss*, which, last year, being concealed in the sign of Cancer, was intercepted from the sight of men by the light of the sun? Is it the regular course of his revolution? Is it the influence of the sun? Is it a miracle? Could he have been two years about performing the course of a single one?"

Nearly all of the distinguished men of the eighth and ninth centuries were grouped about the court of Charlemagne. These were employed by the Emperor, either as his political advisers or as the instructors of his household. Some were sent to Pepin in Italy to superintend that prince's education, and some to Aquitaine to teach young Louis the rudiments of learning. Those who remained at Aix-la-Chapelle were organized into a body known as the SCHOOL OF THE PALACE. Over this Charlemagne presided in person. Here questions of scholarship, theories of learning, and speculations of metaphysics were discussed with all the vigorous zeal for which the men and the times were noted. At the head of this group of scholars and philosophers stood the two most distinguished literary men of the age. These were ALCUIN, the principal director of the School of the Palace, and EBENHARD, who was distinguished as a historian and biographer of his sovereign. Among the other most eminent scholars may be mentioned the bishops Angilbert, Leidrade, Adalhard, Agobard, and Theodulph, who were at the head of the Sees of St. Requier, Lyons, and Orleans. Of all these, Alcuin stood highest in the confidence of the Emperor. To his sovereign he was wont to say: "If your zeal were imitated, perchance one might see arise

in France a new Athens far more glorious than the ancient—the Athens of Christ.” Eginhard was made master of the public

works, and was also intrusted with the education of Prince Louis.

The School of the Palace had its affecta-



CHARLEMAGNE PRESIDING IN THE SCHOOL OF THE PALACE.

Drawn by A. de Neuville

tions. Antiquity was worshiped and imitated. The names of the ancient philosophers were adopted by the scholars of the court. Alcuin was called Platon; Angilbert, Homer; Theodulph, Pindar. Charlemagne himself selected his model out of Israel, and chose to be known as David. But these small vanities and imitations may well be forgiven to men who made life a serious business and with whom public office was never a sinecure.

In his habits, manners, and preferences Charlemagne remained essentially German. The old Frankish stock was ever honored by his own and the example of his court. He spoke German, and looked with little favor upon that incipient French which, by the blending of the corrupt Latin of the Gauls with the Frankish dialects, was beginning to prevail as the folk-speech of France. It was at this time that the two great divisions of French, the *Langue d'Oïl* of the South, soon to be modified into Provençal, and the *Langue d'Oïl* of the North, which was the real foundation of modern French, took their rise as permanent varieties of human speech. As for Charlemagne and his court, they held stoutly to the rougher tongue of their Frankish fathers.

As the Emperor grew old his activities were somewhat abated. More and more he intrusted to others the management of the affairs of state, and more and more he gave himself to enjoyment, recreation, and religious devotions. He found delight in the warm baths of Aix-la-Chapelle. To these resorts he invited his family, his friends, and many of the nobility of the kingdom. His old fondness for riding and the chase never forsook him. Of milder joys he preferred the exhilaration of music, and to the end that he might be thus inspired and soothed, he brought to his capital the most distinguished musicians of Italy. In the midst of such exercises and amusements he forgot not the near approach of the inevitable hour. Several times he made and unmade or modified his will. He provided with the greatest care not only for the settlement of the affairs of the kingdom, but also for the distribution of his own estate. His property he divided into three major portions. The first two-thirds were given to the twenty-one principal churches of the empire.

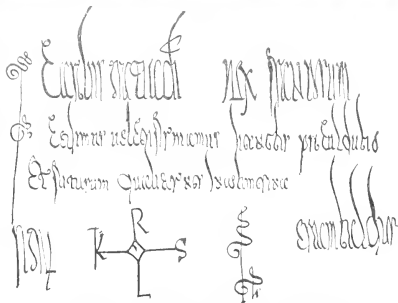
The remaining third was reserved for himself during life, and was then to be distributed to his family, or bestowed in alms on the poor.

Having attended to his personal affairs, the aged Emperor, in the year 813, set about the settlement of the succession. Three years before this time he had lost by death his second son Pepin, king of Italy, and in 811 his eldest son Charles, whom he had intended as his successor in France, had died. Prince Louis was now summoned by his father to Aix-la-Chapelle, to be publicly recognized as his successor. The principal bishops, abbots, counts, and lay noblemen of the kingdom were ordered to convene and ratify the Emperor's choice. Of what follows, the biographer Eginhard says: "He [the Emperor] invited them to make his son Louis king-emperor; whereto all assented, saying that it was very expedient, and pleasing, also, to the people. On Sunday in the next month, August, 813, Charlemagne repaired, crown on head, with his son Louis, to the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, laid upon the altar another crown, and, after praying, addressed to his son a solemn exhortation respecting all his duties as king towards God and the Church, towards his family and his people, asked him if he were fully resolved to fulfill them, and, at the answer that he was, bade him take the crown that lay upon the altar and place it with his own hands upon his head, which Louis did amidst the acclamation of all present, who cried, 'Long live the Emperor Louis!' Charlemagne then declared his son Emperor jointly with him, and ended the solemnity with these words: 'Blessed be Thou, O Lord God, who hast granted me grace to see with mine own eyes my son seated on my throne!'" The ceremony being completed, the prince returned into his own province, there to await the event which all foresaw as near at hand.

In the beginning of the year 814 the Emperor was taken ill of a fever. The resolute old monarch adopted the usual methods which he had previously used in sickness, but in this instance to no avail. On the seventh day after his attack, having received the communion at the hands of the bishop, he quietly expired, being then in the seventy-first year of his age and the forty-seventh of his remarkable reign.

In so far as the energies of Charlemagne were devoted to the great work of driving the barrier against barbarism, and of giving Europe a stable and permanent basis for the arts of peace, his career was one of the most successful in history. The barbarians, who in the fifth century, on the north and west, the wild tribes, scarcely improved since the days of Julius Cæsar, were compelled to give over their wandering life and to settle within fixed limits of territory. On the south-west the fiery cohorts of Islam were thrust back into the peninsula of Spain. Nor was it any longer to be supposed that a Mohammedan army would dare to make its appearance north of the Pyrenees. In these respects the services rendered to civilization by the Emperor of the Franks can hardly be overestimated. But if we scrutinize the other great purpose of Charlemagne, namely, the restoration of the Roman Empire of the West, we shall find nothing but the inevitable failure. In this respect the Emperor's political theory was utterly at fault. He apprehended not that

the flame of his own ambition and fanned by the perpetual encouragement of the Church, could but prove a delusive dream—an illusion of the impossible.



MANUSCRIPT OF CHARLEMAGNE CONTAINING HIS SIGNATURE.

CHAPTER LXXXII.—SUCCESSORS OF CHARLEMAGNE.



DURING the reign of Charlemagne the Carovingian race reached its highest glory. None of his successors proved to be his equal in king-craft and valor. From the death of Charlemagne to the overthrow of the Carovingian dynasty, a period of a hundred and seventy-three years elapsed, and this epoch may in general terms be defined as one of decline and retrogression. The only substantial fact which remained to testify of the grandeur of the times of Charles the Great was the permanent repression of the barbarian

migrations. So efficient had been the work accomplished in the last quarter of the eighth century that the territorial foundations of modern France and Germany were laid on an immovable basis. Though the barbarian invasions were renewed or attempted throughout the whole of the Carovingian ascendancy, yet the restless tribes of the North could never again do more than indent the territorial lines which had been drawn on the map of Western Europe by the sword of Charlemagne.

Another general fact to be noted respect-

The signature consists of the cross, with the four letters "K. L. R. S." at the ends of the bars.

ing, the period of which we are treating is that to which the results of the partial Northmen invasion are owing, with the effect of the new conquests of the South. During the ninth century adventures no longer than forty-seven hundred years ago. Scandinavia into France revealed. Thus, desperate bands of corsairs, seen along Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Ireland, and their numerous forays contributed not a little to check the civilizing forces which had received so great an impetus during the reign of Charlemagne. The formation of North-western Europe was such as specially to favor the movements of the pirates. They penetrated the country by way of the rivers. At first they ascended the Scheldt, and robbed the hamlets on his banks. The Seine furnished the next inlet for the guerrillas of the North Sea, and then the Loire. Before the middle of the ninth century they had ascended the Garonne and sacked his villages. In 845 the city of Saintes was burnt by the sea-robbers; and in the following year Limoges was taken and sacked. Following up their advantages, the piratical craft next appeared in the rivers of Aquitaine, and the city of Bordeaux, after making one successful defense against their assaults, was captured, plundered, and given to the flames. Tours, Rouen, Angers, Orleans, Meaux, Toulouse, Saint Lo, Bayeux, Eyreux, Nantes, and Beaulais were sooner or later pillaged by the insatiable Northmen. More, however, will be added in detail with respect to these incursions when we come to consider the times in which they occurred.

Resuming the narrative, we find LOUIS, the third son of Charlemagne, seated on the throne vacated by his father's death. He is known in history as the *Debonair*, though by his contemporaries he was called the Pious. Perhaps the name of the Weak would have suited him better than either. He was altogether wanting in that physical energy and immoral robustness which had constituted the salient features in the character of his father. It should not be overlooked, however, that in the single matter of moral rectitude, the new sovereign far excelled his predecessor; but his political incapacity rendered his domestic virtues of but small or even negative value.

In the beginning of his reign the new Emperor attempted to institute certain reforms in the finances and household of the court. The excesses of the preceding reign had been endured because of the magnificent strength with which they were accompanied. A code of austerity was now substituted in the palace, and throughout the empire some feeble attempts were made to throw off certain abuses which had flourished during the preceding administration. The subjugated, though still sullen Saxons, were restored to a portion of their liberties. Royal messengers were sent into various provinces with authority to mitigate the hardships of the preceding reign. But none of these measures were backed with that degree of administrative energy which was essential to any real reform.

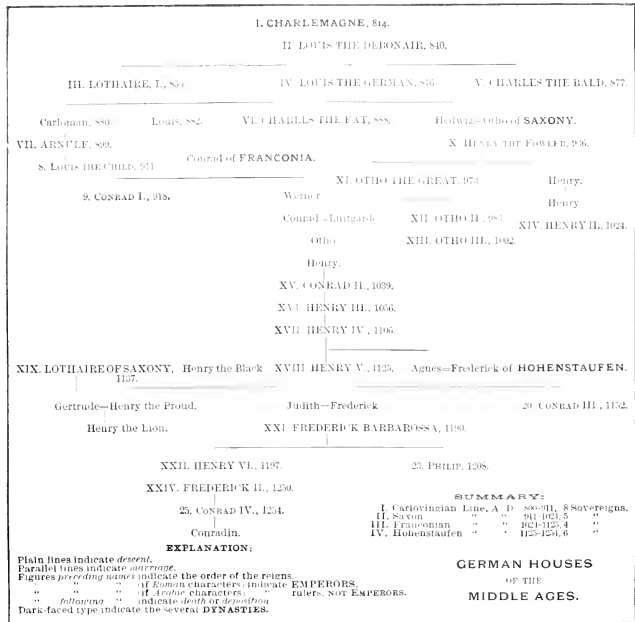
Before his accession to the Imperial throne Louis had already been presented by the queen Hermengarde with three sons, Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis. These princes, at the date of their grandfather's death, were already advancing towards manhood, the elder being nineteen years of age. Three years after coming to Imperial power Louis convened a national assembly at his capital, and announced to that body his purpose of sharing the throne with Lothaire. The measure was coupled with the assertion of the Emperor that he did not by any means purpose to break up the unity of the great kingdom which he had received from his father; but the merest novice in statecraft could not fail to see the inevitable effect of the joint sovereignty thus instituted in the empire.

Coincident with the elevation of Lothaire to Imperial dignity, the other two sons of the emperor—Pepin and Louis—were crowned as kings, the former receiving Aquitaine, Southern Gaul, and Burgundy; and the latter, the countries beyond the Rhine. The rest of Gaul and Germany, together with Italy, fell to Lothaire, and the subordinate rulers were directed to repair to him from time to time and receive their authority at his hands. During the remainder of his life Louis the Debonair was to retain the home kingdom, having Lothaire as his associate in the government. The two junior sons of the Emperor, youths as they were, repaired to their respective provinces and assumed the duties of

government, the one in Aquitaine, the other in Bavaria. Thus, within five years after the death of Charlemagne, were made the beginning of the great three-fold division of Western Europe into FRANCE, GERMANY, and ITALY.

At the very commencement of his reign, the weakness and subserviency of Emperor

lovingian had set on these occasions ample re-plete with dignity and kingly self-assertion. He had shown due deference, but no assent, in the presence of the Holy Father. But not so with the subservient and pious Louis. As Stephen drew near to Rheims, the Emperor went forth to meet him, and prostrated himself at full length before him.



Louis were manifested. Two years after his accession, Pope Stephen IV. was invited to come into France and perform the ceremony of consecration. The Roman pontiff had already on several occasions performed like service for the Most Christian Kings of France. Charlemagne had been crowned by Leo III., and his sons consecrated at Rome. The example, however, which the great Car-

There he lay until the Pope stretched forth his hand and lifted up the groveling ruler from the dust.

It was not long until the inherent weakness of the government gave occasion for insurrection. The mountaineers of Vasconia first rose in revolt. Meanwhile Bernard, who, before the death of Charlemagne, had succeeded his father Pepin in the kingdom of

Italy, and Italy was the only province which refused to submit to Louis. The emperor, however, was obliged to leave the defence of Italy to his vassals, and to return to the Empire in 817. The Emperor himself understood, as a general, his duty as a monarch; but the rebellion of the Bretons was even south of the Alps, and was not so quietly put aside. The Viscons were also easily reduced to submission. In Brittany, however, a revolt occurred of more serious proportions. The country was still covered with heavy forests, and many facilities of resistance were afforded to an insurgent population. In the year 818, the inhabitants chose for their king one of their chieftains named Morvan. They renounced their allegiance and refused to pay tribute to the Franks.

At the very time when the Emperor Louis was presiding in a national assembly at Aix-la-Chapelle, Count Lambert, governor of Brittany, made his way to the capital, and reported that his province was in a state of revolt and that France was invaded. Thereupon a Frankish monk, named Ditear, was sent to the Breton king to know his grievances and to command submission. A haughty answer was returned, and the Frankish monarch was obliged to go to war. A battle was fought in the dense woods of Brittany, and the rebels were utterly routed. Morvan was slain, and his bloody head was brought by the slayer to Ditear for recognition. The revolt was quickly extinguished in blood.

After the death of the Empress Hermengarde, Louis chose for his second wife the princess Judith of Bavaria, daughter of Count Gundl—a family destined to the highest distinction in the subsequent annals of European monarchy. In the year 823, the now Empress presented her lord with a son, who became known among the rulers of France as Charles the Bald. There was thus added to the king's household of heirs another expectant, who, backed by the absorbing passion and brilliant abilities of his mother, was from the first an object of dread to the three princes upon whom the Emperor had already settled the succession.

Nor was it long until good reason was shown for their jealousy. In the year 829 the king, now completely under the influence of Queen Judith, went before a national assembly at

Worms, and annulled the act of 817, by which the empire had been divided among three princes. He then assigned to the young Prince Charles, the province of Burgundy, and to the young Prince Pepin, the province of Aquitaine. This division led to no immediate revolt on the part of Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis, and to the bitterness of this rebellion were added the obnoxious quarrels which prevailed at the royal court. An ambitious Septimanie nobleman, named Bernard, was advanced to the position of chamberlain of the palace. He soon engaged in an intrigue with Queen Judith which scandalized the court and increased the opposition to Louis and his government. A conspiracy was organized, including many of the chief men of the kingdom. The Empress was seized and shut up in a convent. Louis was obliged to go forth from his capital and give himself up to the insurgents. By them he was deposed from office and the crown confirmed to Lothaire. The old act of 817, by which the distribution of the kingdom among the sons of Hermengarde had been determined, was restored; and the more recent act of Emperor Louis, relative to Prince Charles, was annulled. Thus, by a sudden outburst of popular indignation, the ambitious schemes of Queen Judith were brought to naught.

Soon, however, there was a great re-ulsion of public feeling in favor of the dishonored king. It was tardily perceived that he had been more sinned against than sinning. The princes Louis and Pepin, moreover, became bitterly jealous on account of the Imperial dignity conferred upon Lothaire. They accordingly went over to their father's side; nor were the ecclesiastics slow to repent of the course which they had recently pursued towards their sovereign. Another national assembly was convened at Nimeguen, and the acts which had been adopted by the former body were abrogated. Louis the Debonair was restored to his rights, and the two princes, Pepin and Louis, were reinstated in their former rank.

Now it was that the Emperor was obliged to maintain his authority by force. He accordingly mustered an army and marched against his refractory sons. Prince Pepin, of Aquitaine, had been already overthrown by

his brothers Lothaire and Louis, and his kingdom given to Charles the Bald. It was now the father's turn to try the issue of battle with his own offspring. The two armies met at a place called the Field of Red, situated between Colmar and Bâle. But when the battle was about to begin a large part of King Louis's forces abandoned him and went over to Lothaire. The monarch was thus left naked to the mercy of his sons. The name of the Field of Red was changed to the Field of Falsehood.

The victorious princes, however, received their father with the consideration due to his rank, but their filial respect did not extend to his restoration to power. On the contrary, Lothaire convened a national assembly and had himself proclaimed Emperor. In a short time another convention of grandees and bishops was held at Compiègne, and Louis the Debonair was again formally deposed. He was obliged to hear the decree of his own dethronement, in which the charges of incapacity and weakness were openly set forth, read aloud to the multitude. He meekly accepted the situation which had been imposed by his subjects, and retired to the convent of Rheims.

It now appeared that the affairs of the Empire were permanently settled; but though the Emperor Louis was dethroned the party of his supporters was by no means annihilated. In a short time rebellions in his favor occurred in various parts of his kingdom, and the usurping sons found it difficult to retain the power which they had seized by force. The beautiful and ambitious Judith was still at liberty, and her intrigues prevailed to win over many friends to the cause of her dishonored husband. Not a few of the clergy rallied to his support. In the year 834 two national assemblies were held, and the acts of the convention of Compiègne were formally revoked. The Imperial dignity was again conferred on Louis, and the kingdom continued in a ferment of revolt as before.

Four years after this second restoration of the Emperor to power Pepin of Aquitaine died. The problem of the Empire was thus somewhat simplified. In 839 an assembly was called at Worms. The general condition of the dynasty and the distribution of political

power again came up for discussion. It was resolved to make a new territorial division of the kingdom. Bavaria and the circumjacent regions were left as before to the Prince Louis, henceforth known as Louis the German. The western portion of the Empire was divided into two parts by the Rhone and the Meuse, the eastern division falling by his own choice to Lothaire. The western part was assigned to Charles the Bald. The German, however, was by no means satisfied with the distribution. He took up arms to undo the settlement, and his imbecile father in his old age was obliged once more to attempt the maintenance of peace by war. At the head of his army he set out towards the Rhenish frontier; but on arriving near the city of Mayence he fell sick of a fever and died at the castle of Ingelheim. Thus in the Summer of 840 the question of the settlement of the kingdom was still further simplified by the course of nature.

In his last hours the expiring monarch transmitted the Imperial crown and sword to his son Lothaire. To Louis of Bavaria he sent the assurance of pardon, and to both princes the earnest admonition that the rights of the Queen Judith and the young King Charles the Bald should be faithfully observed.

Of little avail, however, were these charitable injunctions of the dying Emperor. For in the mean time the prince Pepin II., son of the deceased Pepin of Aquitaine, had usurped the government of his father's province. With him Lothaire now entered into a conspiracy for despoiling Charles the Bald of his inheritance. The latter took the alarm, and made an alliance with Louis the German, who, like himself, was imperiled by the ambition of Lothaire. The Empress Judith went on a mission to the Bavarian prince, and the latter, as soon as practicable, sent an army to the aid of Charles. In the next summer after the death of the Debonair the forces of the rival brothers, Charles and Louis on one side, and Lothaire and his nephew Pepin II. on the other, met near the village of Fontenailles, where the destinies of the Carovingian empire were again to be decided. The two armies are said to have numbered three hundred thousand men. For four days the antagonists maneuvered, dreading to come to battle. In the beginning of the conflict

victory seemed to incline to the interests of Lothaire. About the forces of Charles the First, rallied to the Emperor's support, and inflicted on Lothaire an overwhelming defeat. Hardly ever in the previous history of France had such fearful slaughter been witnessed. The overthrow of the old Imperial party, was ruinous to the last degree, and well might the aged poet of the seat of Charlemagne bewail the irreparable disaster.¹

Notwithstanding his discomfiture Lothaire made strenuous efforts to restore his fortunes. He appealed to the Saxons and promised the restoration of paganism if they would espouse his cause. Several of the tribes revolted in his favor; but Louis and Charles were little disposed to lose by negligence the fruits of their great victory. The two princes met in a public assembly on the right bank of the Rhine, between Bâle and Straßbourg. Each came at the head of his army, and there, in the most solemn manner, they renewed their covenant against Lothaire. The alliance thus made was publicly celebrated by the officers and soldiers of the two armies in a series of games, military sports, and joustings, the same being, perhaps, the beginning of those knightly tournaments which became one of the leading features in the social history of the Middle Ages. The two kings themselves, clad in armor, entered the lists, attacked each other, as if in battle, pursued, retreated, and performed feats of fictitious daring.

But neither the league between Louis and Charles nor the royal sports which they instituted for the delight of their soldiers could overawe the courageous Lothaire. In spite of the efforts of the allied princes he made such headway on the side of Saxony that they were obliged to recognize his rights and to consent to a new territorial adjustment. The three brothers met in a conference in the summer

¹ Angilbert thus utters his anguish over the battle of Fontenailles: "Accursed be this day! Be it unnumbered in the return of the year, but wiped out of all remembrance! Be it unlit by the light of the sun! Be it without either dawn or twilight! Accursed, also, be this night, this awful night, in which fell the brave, the most expert in battle! Eye no'er hath seen more fearful slaughter: in streams of blood fell Christian men; the linen vestments of the dead did whiten the champaign even as it is whitened by the birds of autumn."

of 843, and it was agreed that Italy, Aquitaine, and Bavaria should remain in the hands of their present possessors, and that to Louis should also be given the three cities of Mayence, Worms, and Spire, on the left bank of the Rhine. The eastern part of Gaul, bounded by the Rhine and the Alps and the rivers Meuse, Saone, and Rhone, was assigned to Lothaire. The remainder of the Gaulish territory was given to Charles the Bald, and to him also fell the provinces of Vasconia, Septimania, and the French possessions beyond the Pyrenees.

This settlement of affairs made at Verdun, in the year 843, gave the finishing stroke to the project of restoring the Empire of the West. The name of *Emperor* was still retained and has continued for many centuries as a sort of traditional factor in the politics of Europe. But it was the shadow without the substance. The Empire itself became a myth, into which not even the greatest minds could do more than breathe the breath of a fitful and evanescent vitality.

In the midst of the great civil disturbances to which the Frankish kingdoms were thus subjected the **NORTHERN PIRATES** came in to reap their abundant harvests of spoil. They made their way at times to the very gates of Paris. The abbeys of St. Germain and St. Denis were captured and sacked. The outer quarters of the city were several times in the hands of the sea-robbers, to whom all treasures, both sacred and profane, were alike. In the year 850 Pepin of Aquitaine made a league with the Northmen and consented to their capture of Toulouse. The marauders went from place to place through the province of Aquitaine, seizing what they liked and destroying what they would. Nor did it appear that either Pepin or Charles the Bald had the courage requisite to scourge the Northmen out of their territories.

One of the most audacious of the piratical leaders was the sea-king **HASTINGS**. Several times he appeared with his fleet in the rivers and harbors of France. Not satisfied with the spoils of the western coasts, he made his way into the Mediterranean. On the shore of Tuscany he despoiled a city which he mistook for Rome, but being unable to take the place by assault, he resorted to stratagem.

Pretending to repent of his past life, he sent a report to be circulated that he was dead, and for the Christian bishop, and was baptized as a convert. Soon afterwards he caused the rights of his followers claimed for him the rights of burial. The body was borne to the cathedral,



MARAUDING EXPEDITION OF THE NORTHMEN.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

but while the priests, with a blasphemous accent, were shouting his opinion, upon seeing the prostrate Hastings draw his sword and slay the ecclesiastic, they abandoned him. His men, at the signal, joined in the bloody work. The cathedral was plundered, and the robbers made away with their spoils before the stupefied population could realize what was done.

At a later date Hastings and his band ravaged the provinces of Anjou and Brittany. He then sailed up the Seine and appeared before Paris. Chartres was taken, and Charles the Bald was obliged to entrench himself at St. Denis. So great was the terror which the Northmen had spread abroad that the king—though against the advice of many of his barons—entered into negotiations with Hastings, and consented to purchase a peace. It was agreed to cede to the triumphant robber and his followers the county of Chartres, on condition that he would cease from his piracies and become a Christian. It seems that the rapacity of Hastings was at last satisfied, and he accepted the overtures of the Frankish king. But his fellow-chieftain Biorn, not yet satiated with plunder, could not be reconciled. He sailed away with a cargo of booty, was wrecked on the coast of Friesland, and soon afterwards died. There was then a lull in the tempest of northern invasion, and the kingdom of the Franks for a while flowed in the more quiet currents of history.

Three kingdoms issued from the treaty of Verdun—Italy, Germany, and France. Political causes—the accidental circumstance of many sons in the family of Louis the Debonair—had combined with the general facts of geography, language, and race-kinship to divide the descendants of the subjects of Charlemagne into Italians, Germans, and French. The imbecility of the Emperor Louis had co-operated with the tongue of Clovis in the formation of nations; and the jealousy of the queens, Hermengarde and Judith, had made a league with the Alps.

Among the various immediate successors of Charlemagne the most distinguished were Charles the Bald and Lothaire. The former inherited the brilliant faculties of his mother, and added a judgment and will of his own. He maintained about his capital and court

something of the culture which had been planted by his great ancestor. Men of learning were again encouraged. Philosophers were patronized. The School of the Palace was re-instituted; but since the administration of Charles was so clearly the fruit of the planting of Charlemagne, some of the people, not without a flash of semi-barbaric wit, called his learned institution the Palace of the School. As to Lothaire, his energies and ambitions have been sufficiently illustrated in the preceding narrative. If Louis the Debonair had had no other son but him, the Empire founded by the greatest of the Carlovingians might have preserved its unity for a season.

It will now be desirable to note briefly the principal events in the history of the three kingdoms of Italy, Germany, and France, from the middle of the ninth century to the accession of Hugh Capet. Taken altogether, the period is one of the least interesting and instructive in the whole course of Modern History. During its continuance men appear with little heroism, and events are projected on a stage so little dramatic as scarcely to excite a passing interest.

Charles the Bald continued his reign from 850 to 875 with scarcely a notable incident. After the settlement of Hastings at Chartres, the kingdom, though frequently menaced, suffered for the time not much actual injury from the incursions of the Danes. In the year 875 Louis II. of Germany died. For some years that sovereign had borne the Imperial title; for Lothaire had ceased to be Emperor in the year 855. On the death of Louis, Charles the Bald seized the title; but so small had already become the influence of this traditional dignity that the French king was rather weakened than made strong by its assumption. Shortly afterwards a much more important event occurred in the establishment of the hereditary principle among the noble families of France. Hitherto the dukes, counts, and grandes had held and exercised their authority by the royal prerogative. In 876 Charles was obliged to sign a decree by which the tenure of the noble titles of the kingdom, with the landed estates thereto belonging, was remanded to the law of descent. Thus as early as the last quar-

ter of the ninth century were laid in France: the foundations of the feudal system, which was destined in the course of time to obtain the mastery of almost the whole of Western Europe. In the following year, 877, Charles the Bald died in a village at the foot of Mont Cenis; nor was the suspicion wanting that his life was taken by poison administered by his Jewish physician, Seleceias. A fitting epitaph for himself and his reign is furnished in the pungent comment of one of the old French chroniclers: "Fortune in conformity to his humor made him happy in appearance and miserable in reality."

The late king had been exceedingly unfortunate in his family. Of his four sons, namely, Louis, Charles, Lothaire, and Carloman, the eldest two proved to be rebellious and turbulent princes. It was the purpose of the father that Lothaire and Carloman should be devoted to the service of the Church. The thought was uppermost in his mind that his own sins might thus be vicariously expiated. The Prince Lothaire, being weak and lame, submitted to his fate and entered a monastery, but Carloman refused obedience. He broke off from the enforced obligations of the monastic life and fled into Belgium. Here he raised a revolt, put himself at the head of the insurgents, and laid waste the country. The forces of the king were called out against him, and the prince was defeated and taken prisoner. Convicted of violating his religious vows, he was condemned to have his eyes put out; but escaping from confinement, he made his way into Bavaria, and found refuge with his uncle, Louis the German. Charles and Lothaire soon died, and Louis was thus left as the heir expectant of the kingdom and the empire. On the death of his father he quietly ascended the throne, taking the title of Louis II., and receiving the sobriquet of the Stammerer.

The new reign was brief and inauspicious. No event of importance occurred during the two short years in which he held the royal power. He died in 879, leaving two sons, named Louis and Carloman, and a posthumous heir who received the name of Charles. Louis took as his inheritance the kingdom of Neustria, and Carloman obtained the province of Aquitaine. All the rest of the territories

recently governed by Charles the Bald (800), the exception of Provence and Burgundy, were given up to the sons of Louis the German. The excepted districts were seized by Bozon, Count of Provence, who had married a daughter of the Stammerer. This usurpation was recognized by Pope John VIII., and Bozon was crowned as king. Thus, by a bold and successful, though bloodless, usurpation, were laid the foundations of the little kingdom of Provence, which was destined to flourish for several centuries, and to become the most polite and refined center of culture north of the Pyrenees.

King Louis, like his predecessor, was destined to a brief and inglorious reign. He came to a premature death in the year 882, and was succeeded by the exiled Carloman, who held feebly to the crown for the space of two years. The posthumous Prince Charles, being now but five years of age, was considered by the not over-loyal barons as too young to assume the burdens of the state. They therefore sent a deputation to Bavaria, and tendered the French crown to Charles, the youngest son of Louis the German. This prince had already received the Imperial diadem at the hands of the Pope, and thus, by a concurrence of fortuitous events, all the dominions of Charlemagne, with the exception of the kingdoms of Provence and Aragon, were again united in a single government.

To their new sovereign the French gave the surname of LE GROS, or THE FAT; for he was corpulent to the last degree. Nor was he more energetic in mind than in body. More even, perhaps, than his predecessors, did he become the tool of the intriguing courtiers by whom he was surrounded. Neither did the humiliating position into which he was forced arouse his pride, nor the distresses of his people awaken his sympathies.

Now it was that France was destined, more than ever, to feel the scourge of the hands of the Northmen, and to experience the full humiliation arising from the imbecility of a ruler who was incompetent to defend her. The piratical Danes had in the meantime found a leader greater and more warlike than Hastings. The new chieftain bore the name of ROLF, or ROLLO, who by native courage and brawn had obtained an easy ascendancy over

the wantonness and passions of his turbulent countrymen. It now became his ambition, as well as that of his warriors, to capture the city of Paris and bring the French monarchy in the person of his king to a supple compliance with their wishes. Two armies of Normans were organized, one led by Rollo in per-

converted and the unconverted Northman ended with the expostulations of the one and the defiance of the other. Hastings returned to the Frankish army, and preparations were renewed for the impending conflict.

At this juncture an episode occurred worthy of note. A certain Count Thibault,



THE NORMANS IN THE SEINE.

son and the other by his associate chieftain, Siegfried. The latter was to ascend the Seine, and the former, having captured the city of Rouen, was to join him before the towers of Paris. In the emergency that was upon him, Charles the Fat sent for Hastings and employed him as an ambassador to the chief of the Danes. But the interview between the

who had greatly coveted the estates which were held by Hastings, availed himself of the situation to play upon the fears and credulity of that reformed pirate. The count told his victim that King Charles had purposed his death, and that his only safety lay in flight. Hastings thereupon sold to his informer at a trifling price his town of Chartres, fled to his

countrymen, and lapsed into the more congenial pursuits of piracy.

Meanwhile, the Northmen gathered before the walls of Paris.¹ Their fleet consisted of seven hundred huge barks and obstructed the Seine for the distance of two leagues. The forces of Rolf and Siegfried numbered fully thirty thousand men, and every one was a weather-beaten warrior, hardened by every species of exposure, and expert in all the dangers of land and sea. But even this wild and daring host was astonished at the walls and towers of Paris. Everywhere new fortifications had been reared, and a defiant soldiery looked down from the ramparts. Great towers of stone stood here and there, and the solid walls of St. Denis and St. Germain were seen in the distance. Even the dauntless Siegfried forbore for a season to make an assault upon the impregnable bulwarks of the city, but rather sought to gain his end by parley and negotiation.

The city of Paris was at this time held and defended by Count Eudes, eldest son of Robert the Strong, of Anjou. Of him the Danes made the demand of a free passage through the city, and promised, if this were granted, to refrain from all injury and violence. But neither Eudes himself nor the bishop Gozlin, by whom the negotiations were conducted, was silly enough to be entrapped by the wiles of a pirate. So the baffled Danes were obliged to give over their stratagem and resort to open force.

A siege ensued of thirteen months' duration. Eight unsuccessful assaults were made by the Danes. The old Abbe, a monk of St. Germain des Prés, has left on record a poem, recounting the progress and daring exploits of the struggle. The leaders within the city were Eudes and Gozlin. The latter died during the siege, and Count Eudes, quitting the city, made his way to the Emperor Charles, calling for reinforcements. On his return with three battalions of troops, he was obliged to cut his

¹It will be remembered that the outskirts of Paris had been already several times taken and pillaged by the Danish pirates. But the heart of the metropolis, that is, so much of Paris as is situated in the *Île de la cité*, had not thus far been penetrated by the marauders. It was this center of the city that was now assailed by Rolf and his robbers.

way from the heights of Montmartre through the Danes to the gates of the city. The investment continued until the autumn of 886, when Charles the Fat came with a large army to the succor of the besieged. But it was a fatal succor which he brought to Paris. On his arrival he agreed to purchase with a heavy ransom the retreat of the Northmen, who were induced for the winter to retire into Burgundy.

So pusillanimous was this conduct of the king that a diet, convened in the following year on the banks of the Rhine, passed a decree of deposition, and the Imperial dignity was conferred upon Arnulf, a natural son of Carloman, brother of Louis III. At the same time the title of king was conferred on Count Eudes, who had so bravely defended Paris, and the monarch-elect was presently crowned by the archbishop of Sens. Another claim to the crown of France was at the same time advanced by Guy, duke of Spoleto, whose alleged rights were founded on the fact that he was descended from Charlemagne in the female line. The duke hastened over from Italy, and was proclaimed by the bishop of Langres. But the accession of Eudes was already a fact accomplished, and Guy returned to his own place as hastily as he had come.

Meanwhile, Bozon, king of Provence, died and was succeeded by Boso, duke of Arles. At the same time, Count Rodolph was given the title of king in Trans-juran Burgundy, and was crowned at St. Maurice. All the while the young Prince Charles, son of Louis the Stammerer, and legitimate heir of the Carolingian House, was overlooked and well-nigh forgotten. He was, as yet, only a child, and the ambitious dukes and counts, themselves eager to seize some petty crown, were little disposed on the score of loyalty to hunt up and honor the feeble scion of the stock of Charlemagne.

Having retired from his unsuccessful siege of Paris, the chieftain Rollo renewed in Western France his career of cruising and pillaging. It appears, however, that his contact with civilization began to react upon his faculties; for he was a man of genius. Before entering upon his French conquests he had already made an expedition into England,

where he received great admiration for the valor and wisdom of King Alfred the Great. It had been noticed that such a capture of

Rome by Charlemagne to destroy the city, but chose rather to restrain his followers, and to repair as far as practicable the injury which



ROLLO BESIEGING PARIS.
Drawn by A. de Neville.

had been done in the capital. Only when met with obdurate resistance did the violence of his nature break forth against his foes.

This change in the character and sentiments of the Danish chief led to a corresponding change in the manner of warfare. After the deposition of Charles the Fat, the struggle between King Endes and Rollo continued with varying fortune. The former gained a great victory over the Danes at Montfaucon, but was in his turn defeated at Vermandois. In the latter conflict the veteran Hastings again appeared as the leader of the Northmen. Rollo, now master of many towns, began to treat the subject populations with kindness and justice. At times he showed himself disposed to forbear from further excursions and maintain the existing status. On one occasion he went over to England, and there renewed his old-time friendship with King Athelstane, who had succeeded Alfred on the throne. So great became the reputation of Rollo for increasing wisdom and humanity that Endes was obliged to recognize and deal with him as king with king.

In the year 898 the French monarch died, and CHARLES THE SIMPLE, the legitimate Carolingian prince, now nineteen years of age, was raised to the throne. Rollo and the Danes still held their own in the western parts of France, and it became more and more apparent that their expulsion from the country was a remote, if not impossible, event. In the first years of the tenth century the question of some satisfactory settlement with the Northmen was many times debated in the councils of the king, and Rollo himself was by no means an unwilling hearer of the premonitory rumors of peace. Nevertheless, the great Danish chieftain was not at all disposed to relinquish aught of his advantages.

In the year 911 Charles was advised by his counselors to open negotiations with Rollo with a view to securing the permanent settlement of the question between the two peoples, even by the cession of territory. Franco, archbishop of Rouen, acting on behalf of the king, was authorized to offer the Dane a considerable part of Neustria and the hand of Gisèle, daughter of Charles the Simple, on condition that Rollo would become the king's

vassal and embrace Christianity. The emperor regarded this proposition with some misgivings, in a light that he consented in 911 to 1000 1000 in order that the agreement should continue. A day was appointed for a meeting between Rollo and the French monarch. A meeting was held at St. Germain, Charles taking his station on one side of the river and the Dane on the other. The king offered to cede Flanders, but this was refused. Nor would the Northman accept only the maritime parts of Neustria. He demanded also, that those districts of Brittany which had been seized by the French should be added to the cession, and that the dukes of the ceded provinces should become his vassals. To these demands the king at last consented, and a treaty was formed accordingly.¹ The question of a century was settled by the admission of a nation of invaders within the borders of France.

Thus it was that the pacified Northmen ceased to threaten. Having now a country of their own to defend, they troubled their neighbors no longer. The piratical habit was abandoned, and the agricultural life was substituted for predatory warfare.

On the southern border of France, for the last half century, the Saracens had not ceased to trouble. Time and again were the provinces of Aquitaine, Septimania, and Provence invaded by bands of brigands and robbers. The Mohammedan banditti appeared now on the Rhone at Arles, in Camargne, in Dauphiné, Rouergue, and Limousin. Against these incursions the imbecile successors of Charlemagne seemed impotent to defend the people. Each province had to protect itself as best it might. To this end towers and fort-

¹ An amusing tradition has been preserved of the ratification of the terms of this settlement. The Franks insisted that Rollo in token of his vassalage should kiss the foot of Charles, but the Dane indignantly refused. After much perleying it was agreed that the kissing should be done by proxy, and a certain Northman was appointed by Rollo to perform the ceremony; but the warrior so selected was as haughty as his master. Bend the knee he would not. The king stood upright and so did the Dane. At length the warrior stooped down and taking hold of the royal foot lifted it so high and suddenly that Charles fell backwards on the ground. It was fortunate that the ridiculous scene ended in laughter.

royalty were killed in many places, and into towns, while the cry of the "Saxon" was raised in the country, the people raised the royal banner.

On the whole, however, the disturbance on the southern border was predominant rather than dangerous. The incursions were made by hordes of robbers, who expected to plunder and fly rather than plunder and fight. Nor were the Mohammedans of Spain pressed from behind by other hosts out of Africa, as were the Northmen, driven from their homes by innumerable swarms of Asiatic barbarians. Thus it happened that, while the northern and western frontier of France was broken in and a large part of her territory taken by the audacious Danes, the southern border was preserved from serious infraction.

As to the new province thus ceded by Charles the Simple to Rollo and his countrymen, the same soon became one of the most prosperous districts in France. The great Danish chieftain was recognized as Duke of NORMANDY. Nor should the pen of history here fail to note that William the Conqueror, whose valorous blood has flowed into the veins of all the English kings and queens who have reigned since the Norman conquest of 1066, was himself—though illegitimate—the eighth in regular descent from Rolf, the Danish pirate turned reformer and civilizer.

After the settlement between Charles the Simple and Duke Rollo, the kingdom enjoyed peace for the space of ten years; but in 922 the ever-growing ambition of the French barons led to a revolt against the feeble-minded Charles and in favor of Count Robert, brother of Eudes. Civil war broke out between the rival parties, and Charles, in attempting to maintain his rights, half redeemed his forfeited fame. He took the field in person, met Count Robert in battle and slew him with his own hand. But the cause of the rebellion was taken up by Hugh the Great, son of the slain count, and the king was soon disastrously defeated. Hugh, already Count of Paris, was ambitious to be the maker of kings rather than be king himself. He would fain restore that ancient régime in which the Mayor of the Palace stood behind the throne and directed the affairs of the kingdom. Accordingly, after

the defeat and flight of Charles the Simple—for the latter with all speed sought refuge with Herbert, count of Vermandois—Hugh brought it about that the French crown should be conferred on Rodolph, duke of Burgundy, to whom his own sister had been given in marriage. So predominant was the influence of the great count that Rodolph's nomination was ratified by the barons, while the deposed Charles was shut up as a prisoner in the Château Thierry. Elgiva, the wife of the dethroned monarch, who was a sister to Athelstane, King of England, escaped with her son Louis and sought protection with her brother.

The status thus fixed by revolution was maintained until 929. In that year Charles the Simple died, his taking-off being ascribed to poison. Rodolph continued to reign until 926; but the real power of the kingdom was wielded by Hugh the Great. Rodolph died childless, and the crown of France was again at the disposal of the great leader, who again refused to claim it for himself. Nor can it be doubted that in his policy Count Hugh was guided by a desire to secure the peace and prosperity of the kingdom. In looking about for a new sovereign he failed not to take note of the absent Prince Louis, who with his mother was still sojourning with his uncle Athelstane, of England. A message was sent to the English court, requesting the exiled queen to return with her son, in order that he might receive the crown of France. As was natural, the sincerity of the count was distrusted, and the queen at first refused to put herself at his mercy. King Athelstane also shared his sister's apprehensions; but the fears of the exiles were at length quieted, and Louis returned with his mother to France. They were received by Hugh with profound respect, and were conducted by him to the cathedral at Rheims where the prince was solemnly crowned with the title of Louis IV. Nor did the imaginative French fail to find for their new sovereign an appropriate sobriquet. He was called *D'Outremer*, or the Stranger; for his youth had been passed *beyond the sea*.

It was not long until King Louis showed in the management of public affairs an ability and prudence greater than had been exhibited

by any previous king since the days of Charlemagne. Had his character been as sincere as his sagacity was profound, the greatest good might have been expected to the kingdom; but he was dishonest, and in some respects vicious, to the extent that his great abilities bore little fruit. The foreign affairs of the kingdom, moreover, were now of such a sort as to require the full resources of the state.

In the year 937 France was invaded by the Hungarians, who were with difficulty repelled beyond the border. Two years afterwards the people of Lorraine, who had rebelled against the authority of Otho I. of Germany, made a voluntary transfer of their allegiance to King Louis. That monarch had married Otho's sister Gerberge; but this affinity did not prevent the rival brothers-in-law from going to war. In the struggle that ensued, it was Louis's misfortune to have alienated many of his great counts and barons. In the very beginning of his reign he had attempted to shake off Count Hugh of Paris; but that powerful nobleman was not to be easily disposed of, and the sympathies of the other nobles were naturally attracted to his cause. It thus happened that while King Louis gained the inhabitants of Lorraine and went to war to defend his acquisition, the great vassals of France went over to Otho and proclaimed him king. The war became one between Louis and his own subjects. A battle was fought before Laon, in 941, and the king's army was defeated. Hugh of Paris was on the eve of again becoming master of the situation when Otho, satisfied with the humiliation of his rival, interfered in his behalf and saved him from ruin. The war was brought to an end. The German Emperor received back the province of Lorraine, and then with the aid of the Pope mediated a peace between Louis and his barons.

The next complication in the affairs of France was in respect to the duchy of Normandy. In the recent civil war William Longsword, duke of that province, had taken sides with Count Hugh against the king. But Arnulf, count of Flanders, supported the royal cause. The two nobles were thus brought into antagonism, and after the cessation of hostilities William was assassinated by

his enemy. The young Duke Richard fell into the hands of King Louis, who, under the pretense of educating him at the capital, would have taken away his liberty, and perhaps his life. But the boy's governor, Osmond, perceiving what was intended, persuaded his ward to feign illness, and while the king and his officers were off their guard, carried the young duke away from the castle in a truss of hay. He then escaped with his charge, and took the lad for protection to his uncle, the count of Senlis. Soon afterwards this nobleman succeeded in making King Louis himself a prisoner, and obliged him to surrender those places of Normandy which he had unjustly seized. Richard was restored to his dukedom, and by his marriage with Anne, daughter of Hugh the Great, soon became a powerful ruler. Nor was his goodness of character less than his courage was notable. He received the surname of the Fearless, and such were the beauty of his person, the affability of manners and the generosity of his conduct, as to make him at once the favorite of his own people and the praise of foreign tongues. It was one of the caprices of this amiable prince to prepare his own coffin, which was hewn of stone. Until what time it might be used for its ultimate purpose, the sarcophagus was on every Friday filled with wheat and coins, which were distributed to the poor. When about to die, he gave orders that the open coffin should be set under the eaves of the church of Fécamp until the rains should wash his bones clean and white.

The reign of Louis D'Outremer continued until the year 954. While still in the full strength of manhood, he journeyed one day from Laon to Rheims. A vagrant wolf crossed the pathway before him, and the king, spurring after the beast with all his might, was thrown from his horse and killed. He left as his heirs two sons, Lothaire and Charles, the latter being in his infancy. The elder son, now at the age of fourteen, received the crown by the right of succession, and with the consent of the counts and barons. The unfortunate policy of dividing the kingdom among the sons of the deceased monarch—a political method which had prevailed from the times of Louis the Debonair—was now abandoned, never to be revived.

The successful revolutionary of the year could not appear. Lothaire, the son of a young emperor, reigned in the name of his father.

The admission of the Emperor's daughter had been arranged by the Emperor's sister and her husband, Count Hugh the Great. His character, and that of his wife, the standard of the Frankish empire, ought to be ambitious men, serious, ambitious, and his reign was, on the whole, less successful than that of his father.

Two years after the succession of Lothaire, Hugh the Great died. He had maintained his ascendancy in the affairs of France for nearly half a century, and the hour of his death found him in full favor with the people. He had persisted in the policy of refusing the crown for himself, being content with the duchy of Paris. But this peculiarity of his ambition rather increased than diminished his power. His contemporaries were justified in speaking of his *vigil*; for though not bearing the title of king, his authority was regal.

In the year 973 the Emperor Otho the Great died, and bequeathed his rights, kingly and Imperial, to his son Otho II. This transfer of power to a young and inexperienced prince gave opportunity to King Lothaire to reassert his claims to the province of Lorraine. He accordingly raised an army, and without any notification of his intentions to the Germans, marched upon Aix-la-Chapelle, the then capital of the Emperor. The Prince Otho was taken completely by surprise. He was obliged to spring from the dinner-table and speed away, in order to escape from the city. Lothaire captured and pillaged the palace, and then returned to France. Otho, however, soon showed himself worthy of his place. Having raised an army, he proceeded against his cousin to repay the insult which he had received. He marched on Paris, wasting the country as he went; but the Count Hugh Capet, who had succeeded to the authority of his father, Hugh the Great, had put the city in such a state of defense that Otho durst not assault the ramparts. Being unable to effect a conquest and to "repay the visit" of Lothaire, as he had threatened, he contented himself with non-sensical menaces. Having taken possession of the heights of

Montmartre, he drew up his army and made them sing a festive antiphon. The performance was like the blowing of a herd of buffaloes, and the *musica* was repeated through Paris! It was the first German opera, performed before an audience of French!

Having imbibed this terrible insult upon his face, Otho marched away towards Germany. Lothaire sallied forth in pursuit, and overtook his cousin's forces on the banks of the Aisne. One division of the army had already crossed to the other side. The river rose in the night, and the French were thus enabled to fall upon and destroy the remaining division with little danger to themselves. In this emergency Otho sent a challenge to Lothaire to meet him in single combat; but the French barons, distrusting the puissance of their king, sacrificed their chivalry to prudence, and induced him to decline the battle.

Having at length fatigued their own capricious ambitions with marching, countermarching, and indecisive conflicts, the two monarchs agreed to a treaty of peace. The province of Lorraine was divided, one part being returned to Otho and the other assigned to Prince Charles, brother of the French king. The latter, in the year 986, died, leaving his crown to his only son, LOUIS V., surnamed the Sluggard. This prince was twenty years of age at the time of his father's death, but so feeble were his faculties that the ministers were obliged to put him under the guardianship of Hugh Capet. It appeared that the drama of a puppet king with the real monarch behind the throne was about to be re-enacted. But the French barons were now tired of the ridiculous farce which had been performed at intervals since the days of the *Rois Fainéants*, and they determined to have a real king or none. Loyalty to the Carlovingian dynasty was now almost extinguished, and the people—if the word people may be properly applied to the inhabitants of a European state in the tenth century—were ready for a revolution.

The logic of events at this crisis was assisted by the early death of Louis V., who reigned but little more than a year. His brother Charles, duke of Lorraine, was now the sole male survivor in the line of Charlemagne. Such, however, was the insipid character of this prince that he ceased, by his own worth-

lessness, to be a quantity in the problem. The event was ripe for consummation. The nobles looked to Hugh Capet as a king nominated by nature and approved by destiny. A race which had held the throne of France for two hundred and forty-six years, and which had really contributed to history but one great ruler, was now to give place to another, from which were to spring some of the greatest sovereigns of Europe.

Turning, then, to another branch of the Carolingian House, we find in Germany a list of princes not unlike those of France. It will be remembered that with the death of Louis the Debonair the empire of Charlemagne was divided among his three sons—Lothaire, Louis, and Charles. To the second of these princes was assigned Germany. He made his capital in Bavaria, and reigned until 876. German history may properly be said to begin with the treaty of Verdun in 843. The nature of the struggle among the three sons of the Debonair has already been sufficiently narrated in the history of the French Carolingians. It will be remembered that, in 869, Charles the Bald and Louis the German divided between them the territory which had fallen to Lothaire II., the line of division running between Verdun and Metz, thence along the Vosges, and terminating at the Rhine, near the city of Bâle. It may also be recalled that the settlement of a succession in the House of the German was attended with as much difficulty as the Debonair had experienced with *his* sons. For Carloman and Louis, the heirs of the Emperor, were already before their father's death engaged in intrigues against each other or their father. It was partly to free himself from the presence of a dangerous aspirant that the Prince Carloman was sent by Louis to make war on the Wends and Slavonians, who were threatening the frontier of the Elbe. The year 875 was marked by another attempt on the part of the rulers of France and Germany to obtain possession of the kingdom of Italy. In this ambition Charles the Bald was more successful than his rival, and Louis, inflamed with jealous anger, prepared to make war on the French king. But in the year 876 he died, being then at the age of seventy-one.

With this event the German kingdom was partitioned among the three sons of the late sovereign, Carloman, Louis the Younger, and Charles the Fat. Hoping to avail himself of the distracted condition of the country, Charles the Bald marched against the German princes, but he was met at Andernach, on the Rhine, and terribly defeated by an army under command of Louis the Younger. The three brothers then peaceably adjusted their own differences. Bavaria, Carinthia, the Danubian provinces, and the half-sovereignty of Bohemia and Moravia were assigned to Carloman. Louis the Younger received all of Central and Northern Germany, while Charles the Fat became king of Suabia.

As soon as this settlement had been effected, Carloman proceeded to seize the kingdom of Italy; but before he could establish his authority he was struck with apoplexy and died, A. D. 880. As soon as he learned of the decease of his brother, Charles the Fat, who had already crossed the Alps with an army, compelled the Lombards to acknowledge his sovereignty, and was crowned by the Pope with the title of Charles III. In Germany Louis the Younger was recognized as the successor of Carloman, and Arnulf, legitimate son of the latter, was made Duke of Carinthia.

This condition of affairs continued until 882, when, by the death of the childless Louis the Younger, all Germany and Italy became united under Charles the Fat. It will be remembered that shortly after this consolidation of power in the East and South, the *French* Louis and Carloman, sons of Charles the Bald, died, leaving the crown of France to the imbecile stripling, Charles the Simple. Nor will it be forgotten that, when the latter intensified the folly of childhood by the absence of intellect, the French nobles offered the sovereignty to Charles the Fat, who by its acceptance became monarch of the reunited empire of Charlemagne.

The story of the invasion of the Northmen, and of the utter incapacity of the Emperor Charles to repel them from his dominions, need not be repeated. Such were his feebleness and timidity that he soon lost all hold upon the confidence of his nobles, in so much that a conspiracy was organized against him,

and in 887 he was driven from the throne, to spend the remaining year of his life on an estate in Suabia.

At this crisis nature again asserted her superiority over legitimacy. Duke ARNULF, the bastard grandson of Louis the German, was recognized as the successor of Charles the Fat in Germany. The Frankish dominions, as already narrated, began to be dismembered. The kingdom of Burgundy was founded, with Arles for its capital. In Italy, Berengar, duke of Friuli, seized upon the inheritance of the Carolingians; while Eastern France and Western Switzerland were given to Duke Conrad, grandson of Louis the Debonair. As for King Arnulf, he adopted the policy of attending strictly to his own dominions. He successfully and finally drove back the Danes from his northern and the Bohemians from his eastern frontiers. Against the latter people he pursued his advantage by making an invasion of their country. Half-barbaric Bohemia was thus ground between the upper and the nether mill-stone. For at this juncture the fierce, blood-drinking Magyars, most savage of the Finnish race, had burst out of Hungary on the east, and were rivaling the hordes of Attila in their devastating course.

Having completed his conquest in Bohemia, Arnulf returned into his own kingdom, and in 894 was called to Italy to assist Berengar against a dangerous rival. But the most important of Arnulf's acts related to the Church. Ambitious to be made Emperor, and therefore eager to secure the support of the popes, the king favored the ecclesiastical body to the last degree. He issued an edict that the civil officers should execute the decrees of the clergy; and to this was added another that those who were excommunicated should forfeit all civil rights. The hitherto but half-favored purposes of the popes to claim a temporal dominion over the nations, began to be more openly advanced under the stimulus thus afforded by the secular ruler of Germany. In the mean time a series of documents, called the *Falsibilia Decretals*, were brought to light and gave still further encouragement to the ambitions of the Roman pontiffs. These celebrated parchments received their name from Bishop Ildorus, of Seville, by whom they were said to have been written.

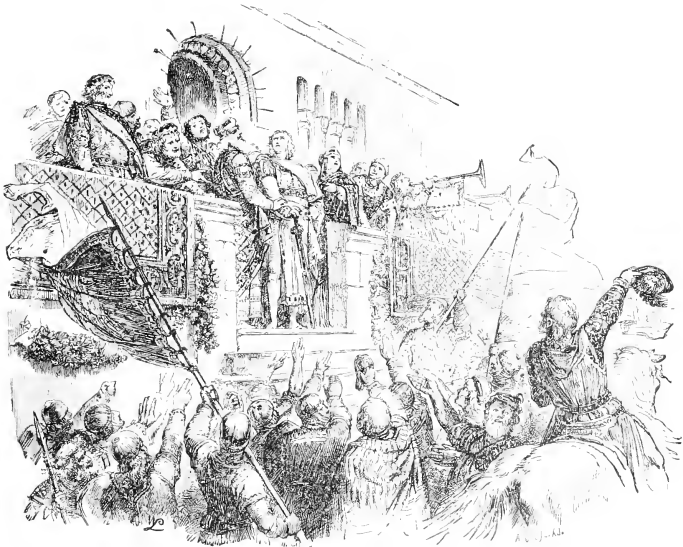
They purported to be a reproduction of the decrees of the ancient councils of the Church, and in them the claims of the popes to be regarded as the vicars of Christ, the viceregents of God on earth, and the rightful arbiters of all human affairs, whether ecclesiastical or civil, were unequivocally asserted. Upon these claims the Church now planted herself, and looked here and there for the means with which to maintain her position.

King Arnulf soon found his reward. The Pope Formosus was at this time in the power of a Lombard prince, on whose head he had been compelled to place the crown of empire. Under the pretext of liberating His Holiness from bondage, the German king led an army into Italy, set free Formosus, captured Rome, and was himself crowned as Emperor. Here, however, his good fortune came to a sudden end. Shortly after his coronation he was poisoned, and though he lingered for three years before death put a period to his sufferings, he had little further control of public affairs. He died in 899, and was succeeded by his son, known as LOUIS THE CHILD, the last prince of the Carolingian line in Germany. He occupied the throne from his father's death until the year 910, when he and the German army were defeated in a great battle with the Hungarians. The young king fled from the field of his overthrow, consented to pay tribute as a condition of peace, and died in the following year.

On the extinction of the Carolingian House in Germany, the crown of that kingdom would, according to the terms of the treaty of Verden, have descended to Charles the Simple, then on the throne of France. But the German nobles had become too independent to submit themselves again to a Frankish sovereign. They accordingly met in a diet at Forcheim and chose for their king Duke Conrad of Franconia. He belonged by family to the Salian Franks, and thus was established what is known as the SALIAN DYNASTY, instead of the Carolingian. Pope Stephen III. had threatened to anathematize all who acknowledged allegiance to any Emperor not a descendant of Charlemagne. But King Conrad, bearing him not, accepted the honor conferred by the diet, and was crowned by Hatto, archbishop of Mayence.

The new king of Germany soon showed himself to be a brave and generous ruler. Great was the favor with which he was received by his subjects, and great his abilities in court and field. But the success of his government was by no means equal to his deserving. The Hungarians again invaded the country, and were defeated in a great battle by the Bavarians and Suabians; but the

monarch despaired of upholding the kingdom. He accordingly, when near his death, ordered his brother Eberhard to bear the crown and scepter to HENRY OF SAXONY, whom he declared to be the only prince capable of ruling Germany. The ambassadors found their prince expectant netting finches in a valley near the Hartz, from which circumstance they gave him the sobriquet of *the Fowler*. In the



CONRAD ELECTED KING OF GERMANY.

counts, Arnulf, Berthold, and Erchanger, who commanded the king's forces, now set their sovereign at defiance and would fain rule as independent princes. Conrad succeeded in deposing them; but Arnulf fled to the Hungarians and incited them to march again into Germany. The king, thus badgered and distressed, appealed to the Pope for succor; but the latter replied that Conrad should pay tithes. Being wounded in a battle with the Hungarians, the unfortunate

year 919 he was, after the old German fashion, lifted upon the shields of the nobles and proclaimed as king. When it came, however, to the ceremony of anointing he refused to accept the rite, the king declaring that he was only a ruler of the people. Thus was a lineal descendant of Wittikind, the old foe of Charlemagne, seated on the throne of Germany.

The new king justified the expectations of his subjects. Though war broke out almost immediately in Suabia, Bavaria, and Lor-

raime, Henry easily succeeded, rather by pacific conduct than by open force, in bringing his rivals to submission. In like manner was settled a difficulty with Charles the Simple, of France, with whom, in the year 924, a treaty was made defining the territorial boundaries of the two kingdoms. Three years afterwards the Hungarians again invaded Conrad's kingdom, and over them he likewise obtained the advantage by a superiority of wit. Having had the good fortune to capture one of the Hungarian chiefs, the king would accept as the condition of his liberation nothing less than a nine years' truce. A breathing-time was thus obtained in which to prepare for the next outbreak of war.

King Henry labored incessantly to bring his army to a better discipline and his people to a better government. In both of these duties he was preeminently successful. The Saxon warriors, hitherto accustomed to fight only on foot, were exercised as horse-men until their skill became equal to that of the best. The frontier of the kingdom on the side of danger was carefully surveyed, and the fortified towns of Quedlinburg, Mersburg, and Meissen were founded within supporting distance of each other. The people were ordered to store within the fortified inclosures one-third of the products of their fields, and regular markets were instituted in order to facilitate the transfer of supplies.

Having now a well-disciplined army, Henry tried the mettle of his soldiers in a campaign against the Slavonians beyond the Elbe. In 928 he conquered the province of Brandenburg, which was destined in after times to expand into the kingdom of Prussia. His conquests in Bohemia were extended to the river Oder; and in 932 Lusatia, or East Saxony, was added to his dominions, thus advancing his frontier line from Stettin, on the Baltic, to Vienna, on the Danube.

Finally, when the nine years' truce with the Hungarians had expired, King Henry, who, in order to secure the truce, had agreed to pay tribute in the interim, sent as his annual contribution to the Hungarian treasury a *maggy dog!* The insult was easily understood, and the Magyars rushed to the conflict with such fury that the king's forces were at first stunned by the shock; but they soon

rallied and inflicted one defeat after another on the enemy until, in 933, the contest was decided by a great victory, in which the Hungarian army was well-nigh annihilated.

A short time afterwards Henry made a successful war on Gorm, the King of Denmark. The latter was driven back across the Eider, and Schleswig was annexed to Germany. Having thus conquered a peace throughout his dominions, the king seemed destined to a long and glorious reign; but in the year 935 he fell under a stroke of apoplexy and came to his death. While he lingered, however, he called a diet at Erfurt, and his second son Otho, afterwards known as Otho the Great, was chosen for the succession. Though the king had two other sons, no attempt was made again to divide the kingdom, the unity of which had been achieved only after a century of turmoil.

Henry the Fowler died in the summer of 936. Otho was accepted without opposition, and was crowned with a splendid ceremony in the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle. The dukes of Lorraine, Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria served as chamberlain, steward, cup-bearer, and marshal at the coronation. Nor was there wanting any circumstance of pomp to this royal spectacle, which so critical a thinker as Bayard Taylor has declared to be "the first national event of a spontaneous character which took place in Germany."

Without the prudence and patience of his father, King Otho equaled that monarch in energy and surpassed him in genius. Great, however, as were his abilities, and distinguished as was his reign, he failed—could but fail—to give unity and nationality to the German people. The various parts of the Teutonic race were still discordant, belligerent. Nor could it be hoped that a German king of the tenth century could do more than hold together by the force of his will and the magic of his sword the as yet heterogeneous parts of his people.

The first duty of Emperor Otho was to repel the Bohemians and Wends, who had made their way into Brandenburg. The wars that ensued were of considerable duration, but victory remained with the Germans. The Hungarians were also defeated in Thuringia and Saxony. But while these successes crowned

the king's arms abroad, a civil feud of serious proportions disturbed the peace of the kingdom. Eberhard and Thankmar, the son of a divorced wife of Henry the Fowler, and therefore half-brother to Otho, conspired with Giselbert, duke of Lorraine, to achieve independence in their respective provinces. The Saxon nobles, also, were offended because of the preeminence of the king's favorite general, Count Hermann, and joined the insubordinate dukes. The situation portended great peril to the king; but the conspirators failed to act in concert, and Otho was victorious. Thankmar was killed and Eberhard obliged to put himself at the mercy of his sovereign. Meanwhile, however, the king's younger brother, Henry, had been tempted into sedition, and the revolt suddenly broke out anew. This time the insurgents were headed by Giselbert, Eberhard, and Prince Henry. Otho again took the field and marched to the Rhine; but while part of his forces were on one side of the river and part on the other, he was attacked by the rebel dukes. For the time it seemed that every thing was lost. But Otho exhibited the greatest heroism; his men rallied to the charge, and the insurgent army was annihilated.

Now it was that the defeated princes sought aid of Louis d'Outremer of France. Nour was the petition refused. A French army penetrated Alsatia. All of the territory west of the Rhine was overrun. The fate of the Emperor again hung in the balance, but his courage was equal to the occasion. Marching to the frontier, he gained the day in several minor engagements, and finally won a great victory in the battle of Andernach. Eberhard was slain and Giselbert drowned in the river. The French fled towards Paris, whither they were pursued by Otho; but the fortifications of the city bade defiance to the Germans. Negotiations were presently opened between the two monarchs, and a definitive treaty was made, by which Lorraine was assigned to the Emperor and the other boundaries reestablished as before.

Otho again showed his magnanimity by pardoning his brother Henry. The prince was sent to be governor of Lorraine; but unable to defend himself in the position to which he had been assigned, he entered into a plot with

the archbishop of Mayence to assassinate the Emperor. But their treason was discovered, and the conspirators, with the exception of Henry, were put to death. The prince himself was thrown into prison; but having at length made his escape, he was a third time pardoned by Otho.

Meanwhile the German dominion was firmly established beyond the Elbe. The Slavonian and Wendic tribes were beaten back into remoter territories. The Emperor himself made an expedition against Harold the Blue-tooth, king of Denmark; and marching to the end's-land of Jutland, threw his spear into the sea as a token of his dominion even to the brine of the North.

In the year 946 Emperor Otho was called upon by Louis, king of France, to assist him in that war which he was then waging with Hugh the Great and the barons. The two monarchs were brothers-in-law, and this affinity, together with the natural interest of the German ruler in seeing the ambitions of the nobles curtailed, led him to accept the invitation. He marched an army of thirty-two thousand men into Normandy; but no great success attended the movements of the allied monarchs, and Count Hugh held out several years before he was brought to submission.

In the mean time, a complication had arisen in Italy which drew the Emperor's attention. After the times of Charlemagne, that unfortunate country had been left to the mercy of the winds. The Saracens, Greeks, Normans, and Hungarians had assailed the Italian coasts at will. Neither the impotent Pope nor the shadowy Roman Emperor beyond the mountains was able to afford relief. In this condition of affairs, Berengar, duke of Friuli, one of those strong and turbulent spirits that arise from the great deep in times of anarchy, had himself proclaimed king of Italy. He demanded in marriage the Princess Adelheid, sister of Conrad of Burgundy. But she refused to accept so rough a lord, and was thrown into prison. She managed from thence to send a message to Otho, who at once conceived the double project of liberating the princess and claiming her for himself. For his English queen, Edith, was now dead.

The Emperor accordingly crossed the Alps

with a large army, defeated Berengar, captured the cities of Verona, Pavia, and Milan, married Adelheid, and assumed the title of king of Italy. Berengar was permitted to retain the crown of Lombardy on condition of surrendering the country from Venice to Istria.

Soon after this event another revolt, headed by the princes Rudolf of Swabia and Conrad of Lorraine, broke out in Italy. For nearly four years the country was plunged into civil war. At length the rebellious princes permitted the Hungarians to pass unopposed through their provinces to the end that the invaders might fall upon the Emperor. This action aroused the Teutonic spirit against the rebels, and the revolt was brought to an end in the year 954.

The Hungarians, however, were not yet conquered. In 955 they returned to the attack, but were defeated by Otho in a great battle near Aug-burg. So signal was the overthrow of the barbarians that but few of them escaped to their own country. Nor did they ever afterwards dare to renew the conflict. In a short time Prince Henry of Bavaria died, as did also Rudolf, son of Otho. Civil war came to an end in Germany. In the lull that ensued Otho found opportunity to gratify his ambition by a coronation at Rome. Pope John XII., then a youth but seven years of age, officiated at the ceremony, and the title of *Roman* Emperor was again borne by a prince of Germany.

It was not long, however, until the boy Pope repented of his action and would fain destroy the traditional rights which he had conferred on Otho at the coronation. He sought to stir up the whole world against him. He wrote to the Emperor of the East to aid him in deposing Otho from power. He incited all Italy to revolt, and tried to induce the Hungarians and the Saracens of Corsica to make war on the Germans. The Emperor, however, met the emergency with great boldness. He marched into Italy, captured Rome, deposed the Pope, drove Berengar into exile, reduced the country to quiet, and in 965 returned in triumph to Aix-la-Chapelle.

The ambition of Otho was greatly inflamed by these successes. He began to neg-

lect the real interests of the German people for the fictitious splendors of a court. He demanded as wife for his son Otho the Princess Theophania, daughter of the Emperor of the East; and when the latter was reluctant to comply, the German sovereign attempted to overthrow the Byzantine rule in Italy. Theophania was at length given to the Prince Otho, and was sent to the German capital in the year 972. In the following year the successes of the Emperor were duly celebrated at a great Easter festival in the city of Quedlinburg. No pageant so splendid had been witnessed since the days of Charlemagne. The dukes and counts of the Empire, the kings of Bohemia and Poland, ambassadors from the Emperor of the East, from the Caliph of Cordova, and from the kings of Bulgaria, Russia, Denmark, and Hungaria were present at the fête. Soon afterwards the Emperor, foreseeing his end, retired to Mendelen, in Thuringia, and there was presently stricken with apoplexy. He lingered for a brief season, died sitting in his chair, and was buried in Magdeburg.

Having thus traced the history of Germany from the accession of the Carolingian line to the death of Otho the Great, it will be appropriate to turn to another field of observation. The consolidation of the English Heptarchy and the growth of a regular monarchy on the ruins of the Saxon states of Britain may now well claim our attention. It is only necessary, before concluding the present chapter, to remark that, as will have already been observed by the careful reader, the history of Italy, the third of the Carolingian kingdoms, during the ninth and tenth centuries, is so intimately involved with that of Germany and France that a separate sketch from the Italian point of view is altogether superfluous. As a matter of fact, Italy had already become—as she was destined to remain—an appanage of the greater states north of the Alps, and her local annals during this, the epoch of her ruin and decay, are devoid alike of interest and instruction. In the following Book the history of France will be resumed with the triumph of the House of Capet, and that of Germany with the accession of Otho II.

CHAPTER LXXXIII—ALFRED AND HIS SUCCESSORS.



OF the career of Egbert, the powerful king of Wessex, a sketch has already been given in the First Book of the present volume.¹ It will be remembered that in the first quarter of the ninth century this distinguished ruler succeeded in bringing under one sovereignty all the states of the Heptarchy. He disclaimed for himself, however, the title of king of *England*, being content with that of *Wessex*. The peace of his long reign was by no means undisturbed; for now it was that the Northmen began to prey upon the coasts of England. In the year 832 a band of these audacious pirates captured and ravaged the island of Sheppey. In the next year Dorsetshire suffered a similar fate. The method of the Danes was to fall upon a given coast, rob, devastate, and fly. Attempting to protect his shores, King Egbert was himself at one time in imminent danger of capture. In 834 the Northmen invaded Devonshire, being joined on the expedition by the rebellious people of Land's End. Others of the old Britons espoused the cause of the Danes; but Egbert, equal to the emergency, met the enemy at Hengsdown Hill, and defeated them with great slaughter. So decisive was the victory that for two years the pirates kept aloof; but the career of Egbert was already at an end. He died in the year 836, and was succeeded by Ethelwulf, his oldest surviving son.

At this time might be noticed in the rising monarchy of England the same disposition which has so many times been remarked in the history of Germany and France, to divide among several sons the political power which had been held by the father. Such was the policy of Ethelwulf, who, on coming to the throne, gave up Kent, Sussex, and Essex to be held as a separate kingdom by his son Athelstane. For himself he retained Wessex and Mercia, but the latter soon revolted and

became independent. Nor were the Danes slow to perceive the broken-up condition of England. They returned like birds of prey. They took and pillaged London, Rochester, and Canterbury. In 851 a congress of the Saxon Thanes was held at Kings-bury, and measures of defense were planned against the Danes. In the course of the ensuing struggle Barhulf, king of Mercia, was killed. But the West Saxons, led by Ethelwulf, won a great victory over the enemy in Surrey. Athelstane, king of Kent, was hardly less successful in a battle at Sandwich, where he took nine ships from the pirates. The men of Devonshire also gained a victory at Wenbury, and the sea-robbers, thus baffled at every point, turned from the island, which seemed to bristle with Saxon spears, and fell upon the more inviting fields and hamlets of France.

The devout Ethelwulf now found opportunity to make a pilgrimage to Rome. In 853 he crossed the Alps, and was received with honor in the Eternal City. On his return he fell in love—for such is the phrase of man—with Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, and her he took in marriage. In the mean time Athelstane, king of Kent, died, and the king's next oldest son, Ethelbald, engaged in a conspiracy to dethrone his father. The ostensible reason for the treasonable plot was found in the fact that Ethelwulf had had his new French wife crowned as queen in the cathedral of Rheims. He had actually eaten with her at the table! Such insults were not to be borne by Anglo-Saxon patriotism. Thus came it to pass that when Ethelwulf returned with his bride to England, he found his hostile subjects in arms to oppose him. The aged monarch would not go to war to maintain his rights, but agreed to a compromise, by which the western and better portion of Wessex was given up to his rebellious son. In 857 the old king died, and Ethelbald succeeded to his whole dominions.

On his succession to the full crown of Wessex, King Ethelbald claimed his father's

¹See Book Eleventh, *note* p. 448.

vided Northumbria among his followers, who mingling with the Anglo-Saxons, were, in the course of some generations, united into a single people. Another army of Northmen captured Cambridge, which they fortified and converted into a camp. Having thus overrun the kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia, the Danes again looked to the West Saxons and their king, between whom and themselves a contest was now to be waged for the mastery of England.

The prudent Alfred, having now had the advantages of a three years' truce, had employed the interval in preparations. Especially had his wisdom been revealed in the construction of a fleet, which, though small and rude, may be regarded as the beginning of England's greatness on the sea. Originally the Anglo-Saxons had been as skillful and courageous seamen as the Danes themselves. But in the course of four centuries from the coming of Hengist and Horsa their followers had given over the maritime life, forgotten the management of ships, and degenerated into swineherds and peasants. Not, indeed, that the warlike valor of the race was in any wise abated, but the settled life had superseded the piratical habit, and the mastery of the sea had passed to their kinsmen of the North.

Meanwhile the Danes, breaking from their winter camp at Cambridge, swore by their golden bracelets that they would drive the West Saxons from the land. In Dorsetshire they surprised the castle of Wareham and devastated the surrounding country. Soon afterwards, however, the Danish squadron was attacked and destroyed by Alfred's rude flotilla. The effect was electrical upon both parties, being inspiration to the Saxons and paralysis to the Danes. The latter speedily agreed to make peace and evacuate the kingdom. King Alfred made his enemy swear upon the relics of the saints that they would abstain from further injury. But on the very next night, as the king was journeying with a small band of followers towards Winchester, the oath-breaking pagans fell upon him, and he narrowly escaped with his life. The Danes then retired to Exeter, where they were joined by others of their nation, and the war was renewed with more violence than ever.

It now became the policy of the Northmen to incite the people of Cornwall to revolt. In order to strengthen the insurrection in the West a Danish fleet put to sea from the mouth of the Thames. But Alfred's courageous navy attacked and destroyed the hostile squadron. The army of the king had in the mean time marched against Exeter. Here Guthrum, king of the Danes, was besieged; but learning that his flotilla had been destroyed, he gladly capitulated, and, giving hostages to Alfred, retired with his army into Mercia.

In these fierce conflicts between Alfred and his antagonist it soon became apparent that the faith of the Danes even when supported by the most solemn oaths, was utterly valueless as a basis of trust or action. No sooner had King Guthrum returned into Mercia than he prepared to renew the war. His maneuvers exhibited such skill as in a civilized ruler would have indicated a chief of diplomacy. He advanced his head-quarters to Gloucester, a position as near as practicable to that of Alfred. At this place his followers rallied in great numbers, and their presence was a source of constant alarm to the kingdom of Wessex.

The time had now come for a new departure by King Guthrum. Hitherto the devastating excursions of the Danes had always been conducted in summer. In winter they shut themselves up in some fortified town and spent the frozen season in drinking and carousing, after the manner of the men of the North. On the first day of January, 878, the king of the Danes issued to his followers a secret order to meet him on horseback at a certain rendezvous. King Alfred was at that time in his capital at Chippenham, little anticipating the impending attack. While he and his Saxons were observing the feast of the Epiphany the Danes suddenly burst through the gates with an overwhelming force, and the king barely saved himself by flight. Accompanied by a small band of faithful followers, he fled into the woods and concealed himself in the somber moorlands of the West. Chippenham was pillaged by the victorious marauders, who then rode in triumph from one end of Wessex to the other. Some of the inhabitants made their way to the Isle of Wight. Some escaped to the continent. Most of the peas-

antry remained, and were reduced to an ignominious servitude by their Danish masters.

In the county of Somerset a heroic band still upheld the banners of the king; but when Alfred came among them he was obliged, for fear of treachery, to hide himself in the fenlands. He found a lurking-place in the forests of Prince's Island, which was then the haunt of wild beasts and the home of outlaws. Here the king was obliged to maintain himself as best he could by fishing and the chase. Sometimes he and his companions would sally forth by night, and, falling secretly upon the

In this extremity of his fortunes the king was discovered by others of his faithful friends. Many rallied around him as the hope of Saxon England. The islet where they gathered, was fortified, and Alfred began to look forward to an escape from his shameful subjection. His spirit was also strengthened by a vision of St. Cuthbert, who came to him in the guise of a pilgrim, begging alms. With him the king divided his only loaf, and the pilgrim went away; but he returned by night and comforted the king with assurances of success.—Such is a pious tradition of the times.



KING ALFRED IN THE PEASANT'S HUT.

Danes, plunder some exposed camp and then return to covert. To this epoch of extreme hardship belongs the story of Alfred's visit to the hut of the swineherd, where he lodged for some time unknown to the peasant and his wife. One day, while the king sat moodily by the hearthstone, and the woman of the hovel was baking bread, he noticed not that the loaves were burning. The housewife, at length discovering the ruin of her bread, rushed upon him with angry gesture and exclaimed: "You man! you will not turn the bread you see burning, but you will be glad enough to eat it!"

Meanwhile, the men of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Hampshire took heart against the Danes and flocked to the camp of Alfred, now no longer concealed. The courage of the gathering army was still further kindled by an event in Devon. Hubba, one of the Danish chiefs, had landed with a large force in that province; but the men of Devon rose upon them in great might, slew the king with nine hundred of his followers, and captured their banner, embroidered with the terrible raven of Denmark.

Already the king ventured forth and skirmished with the enemy. Determining to as-

certain the number and resources of the Danes, he adopted the hazardous expedient of going into their camp in disguise. He accordingly clad himself as a minstrel (called *gleeman* by the Anglo-Saxons), and gained an entrance in this garb to the camp of King Guthrum. There he entertained the warriors with ballads and songs; but he carefully noted the condition of the camp, and was delighted to observe the security in which the Danes were resting. He obtained full information of their plans and purposes and then returned to his own retreat in safety.

Believing that the time had come to strike a decisive blow, Alfred now sent word to the warriors of Wessex to rendezvous in Selwood forest. His faithful subjects flocked to the designated spot, knowing not, however, that their king had sent the summons. Great was the joy of the army on the sudden appearance of the beloved Alfred among them. The enthusiasm of the Saxons rose to the highest pitch, and the king, perceiving that the auspicious hour had come, marched rapidly upon the Danes at Ethandune. Here a great battle was fought, in which the enemy, taken completely by surprise, was utterly routed. Guthrum, with the remnant of his forces, fled to his fortifications, whither he was immediately pursued and besieged by the Saxons. After a fortnight the supplies of the Danes were exhausted, and Guthrum was obliged to capitulate. Not hoping to drive the enemy out of England, Alfred demanded that the Danes should evacuate all Wessex, and that their king should receive Christian baptism. The enlightened policy of the Saxon king was clearly shown in the conditions which he imposed. Guthrum accepted the terms which were offered, and Alfred, with the consent of his Thanes, made to him a cession of all the eastern part of the island from the Thames to the Humber.¹ The kingdom of North Umbria, lying beyond the Humber, was already under the dominion of the Danes; so that after the treaty their territories, which now

took the name of *Danelagh*, extended from the Thames to the Tweed. The policy of Alfred, as it respected the foreigners in England, evidently contemplated their fusion with the Saxons and the consequent production of a single people in the island. At the baptism of the Danish king, his generous conqueror answered for him at the font. He received the name of Athelstan, and in 878 was dismissed to his own territory, loaded with presents.

After this treaty between the Danes and Saxons, the two peoples lived in comparative peace; but this was true only of the Northmen already in the island. Other pagan hordes kept pouring in from Denmark and infesting the shores of Saxon England. It was the epoch when Holland, Belgium, France, and Britain were alternately assailed by the northern pirates, and the success of any of these countries in beating back the marauders was generally an index of the inability of some other to beat them off. Thus when Alfred repelled them from his shores, they redoubled the fury of their assaults in the Low Countries and in France.

In his relations with the English Danes, Alfred exhibited his liberality and prudence. The laws of the two peoples were gradually assimilated. It was agreed that Danish subjects should be regarded as under the protection of Saxon statutes. If an Englishman slew a Dane, he was punished in the same manner and degree as though his victim had been of the homicide's own race. All fines were assessed in the money of both people and were payable in that of either. The intercourse between the Saxon and Danish soldiery was carefully regulated to the end that incursions, reprisals, and retaliations might be avoided.

Now it was that King Alfred began to display his qualities as a civilizer. In his boyhood he had been taken by his father to Rome, and had there imbibed a taste for the culture of the South. He longed to see his own people humanized and refined by the influence of letters. With a view to planting the seeds of learning, he invited Asser, a monk of St. David's, who was then esteemed the greatest philosopher in England, to come to his court, that he might profit by the con-

¹The language of King Alfred's cession to the Danes is as follows: "Let the bounds of our dominion stretch to the river Thames, and from thence to the water of Lea, even unto the head of the same water; and thence straight unto Bedford, and finally going along by the river Ouse let them end at Watlingstreet."

versations and instructions of one so learned. For a long time Asser remained with the king, reading with him out of the best books and teaching him from the abundance of his lore. The ties between the distinguished monk and his sovereign became as enduring as they were affectionate. The royal mind and the mind of the scholar cooperated to kindle in the fogs of our ancestral island, even

soon, though on the immediate frontier of Danelagh, became one of the most important cities of the kingdom.

In the mean time the fleet of England had been steadily extending the Saxon dominion on the sea. At the first the king had found it necessary, on account of the inexperience of his own sailors, to employ foreign captains for his flotilla. Many Frieslanders, skillful in the management of vessels, were procured as officers, and the king's squadron, thus manned and commanded, became equal, if not superior, to the fleets of the Danes. In the year 882, and again in 885, decisive victories were gained by the English armament.

By his wisdom in administration and his successes in war, Alfred so strengthened his kingdom that his enemies were kept at bay. For a period of seven years, during which time the attention of the pagans of the North was almost wholly occupied in Flanders and in France, the realms ruled by the king of the West Saxons had peace and plenty. Already in the green pastures of England were seen those flocks and herds which for more than a thousand years have constituted a leading feature of the



ALFRED THE GREAT.

in the darkness of a gloomy and violent age, that torch of gentle radiance which shineth in the darkness.

In the year 886, while the piratical Danes were engaged in the siege of Paris, King Alfred availed himself of the opportunity to rebuild and fortify the city of London. This ancient municipality, the founding of which is said to antedate the Roman conquest, had been burned by the Danes, and the place was reduced almost to a waste. Under the patronage of the king, the city arose from her ashes and soon became more populous than ever. Ethelred, earl of Mercia and son-in-law of the king, was made protector of London, which

wealth of the island. But while this prosperity prevailed in the insular kingdom, certain parts of the continent, particularly those which were infested by the Danes, were distressed with a grievous famine. This condition of affairs soon led the Northmen to abandon the regions of starvation for the realms of plenty. The very prosperity of England became a bait to allure once more to her shores the wolfish pirates of the Baltic.

In the year 893, the most formidable fleet of Danes ever thus far seen in English waters appeared off the coast of Romney Marsh. The armament consisted of two hundred and

fifty ships, every vessel being filled with warriors and horses gathered out of Flanders and France. The fleet anchored at the eastern termination of the Wood of Anderida, near the mouth of the river Liminae, into which they towed their vessels. The invaders then marched inland and constructed a fortified camp at Appledore. In the same year, the celebrated Hastings, commander-in-chief of the Danish fleet, sailed up the Thames with a squadron of eighty ships and debarked at Milton. Here, also, a strong fortification was constructed. For the Danes had now grown wary of the English king, and acted on the defensive. The aged Guthrum was dead, and his conservative influence was no longer felt in the movements of his countrymen. Every thing conspired to stake once more the fate of England on the issue of battle. In the struggle that ensued, the military skill and valor of King Alfred were fairly weighed against the prowess of the brave and audacious Hastings.

The genius of the king now appeared conspicuous. According to Saxon law, the militia of the kingdom could only be called into the field for the space of forty days. This short period of service seemed an insuperable difficulty in the organization of an army. To remove this embarrassment, the king adopted the plan of organizing his forces into two divisions, whose duties alternated between the home service and the service of the field. He thus succeeded in producing a more permanent and thoroughly disciplined army than had been seen in Britain since the days of the Romans.

Having in this manner prepared himself for the conflict, the king advanced into Kent and secured a position between the two divisions of the Danes. His station was chosen with so much skill and held with so much courage that the two armies of the Northmen could in no way form a junction. From his camp he sent forth small detachments of troops to scour the country in all directions, and cut off supplies from the Danes. The latter were thus brought to the extremity of breaking up their camp and leaving the kingdom. But this movement of Hastings was only a feint.

The Danish army, encamped on the Limine, instead of sailing away, marched rapidly

to Alfred's rear. When the king started about and followed this division of the enemy, Hastings, who had apparently put to sea, returned to Benfleet in Essex. Alfred, however, continued his pursuit of the other army, and overtook them at Farnham, in Surrey. Here a great battle was fought, in which the Saxons were victorious. Those of the Danes who escaped were pursued through Middlesex and Essex across the river Coln into the Isle of Mersey. Here they were besieged by Alfred and compelled to sue for peace. They surrendered on condition of an immediate departure from England.

But before Alfred could enforce the terms of capitulation the men of Danelagh rose in revolt, and created such a diversion that the attention of Alfred was immediately drawn to other parts of his kingdom. A large Danish fleet bore down upon the coast of Devon, and the city of Exeter was besieged. Another armament, equipped by the enemy in Northumbria, sailed around Scotland, and, descending the western coast as far as Bristol Channel, entered that water, and laid siege to a fortified town on the Severn. The king was thus obliged to make all speed from Essex to the West. On reaching Exeter he attacked and overthrew the Danes, driving them pell-mell to their ships. In like manner the Saxons fell upon the enemy at Severn, and obliged the raising of the siege. While these movements were in progress the king's son-in-law, Ethelred, rallied the soldiery of London, attacked the fortified post of the enemy at Benfleet, captured the Danish encampment, and made captives of the wife of Hastings and his two sons. With a generosity unusual, perhaps unequalled in those half-barbaric times, the king ordered the prisoners to be returned to the Danish chieftain. It was an act which would have been expected in vain at the hands of Charlemagne, or even of Otho the Great.

It appears that Hastings had but a feeble appreciation of the chivalrous conduct of his adversary. In a short time he reappeared with his fleet in the Thames, and then marched to the West. He traversed the country as far as the Severn, and established himself at Buttington. But the Welsh as well as the Saxons were now thoroughly aroused, and with them made a common cause against the

invader. Hastings was surrounded and besieged. Supplies were cut off, and Alfred soon had the pleasure of hearing that the pent-up Danes were reduced to the extremity of filling their insatiable maws with the flesh of their own half-starved horses. The Danish leader, however, knew no such word as despair. Summoning all his resources for the effort, he dashed himself upon the line of the besiegers and succeeded in breaking through. But the desperate exploit cost him the larger part of his forces. With the remainder he retraced his course and reached his fleet on the coast of Essex.

In the following winter Hastings was reinforced by men out of Danelagh. With the opening of spring he made an expedition into the central counties of the kingdom. He gained possession of the town of Chester, fortified of old by the Romans, and here established himself in a position impregnable to assault. So skillful, however, were the maneuvers of Alfred that Hastings in a short time found his supplies cut off, and, dreading a repetition of his experience at Buttington, left Chester and marched into the north of Wales. In that country they were confronted and turned back by an army of Welsh and Saxons. On the retreat the Danes traversed Northumbria, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, and finally reached their winter quarters in Essex.

In the following year Hastings ascended the river Lea and erected a fortress at Ware. Here he was attacked by the men of London, but the latter were defeated with great losses. Alfred was obliged to protect the people of the city by encamping between it and the position of the Danish army. At this juncture the genius of the king stood him well in hand. Taking possession of the Lea at a point below the town of Ware, he threw up fortifications and then dug three deep and broad canals from the river to the Thames. The waters of the Lea were thus drained into the parent stream, and the Danish fleet, left high and dry, was rendered useless. Perceiving his critical condition, Hastings abandoned every thing, broke from his camp by night, and made for the Severn. Here he took up a strong position at Quatbridge, and having fortified his camp, remained therein during the

winter. Meanwhile the men of London made their way to the Lea, seized the stranded fleet, destroyed what ships they could not drag away, and floated the rest down to the city.

It was now evident that the career of Hastings on English soil was well-nigh at an end. His expeditions had been gradually restricted to the poorer districts of the country, and his ill success during the last three years had destroyed his prestige with his own people. While in their winter quarters at Quatbridge, the Danish leaders quarreled, and with the opening of the spring of 897, these restless followers of the raven of Denmark left their fortifications, broke up into small detachments and scattered in all directions. A few who still adhered to the fortunes of Hastings made their way to the eastern coast, where they equipped a small fleet and sailed away to France.

So rapid had been the progress of the Anglo-Saxons in the building and management of ships, that King Alfred's navy was now greatly superior to any which the Danes could bring against him. The form of the English ships had been improved and their size enlarged to almost double the dimensions of the craft of the pirates. The shores of England were now protected by more than a hundred ships, and it was only occasionally that a Danish fleet durst anywhere come to land. The king, moreover, adopted a more severe policy with respect to his enemies, who, the hope of conquest being now abandoned, could be regarded only as robbers. In one instance a severe sea-fight occurred off the Isle of Wight. Two of the enemy's ships with their crews were taken and brought to shore, whereupon the king ordered the last man of them to be hanged. In the following three years, the same severity was shown in the case of twenty other ships captured from the enemy; and this conduct, so at variance with the humane disposition of the king, was justified on the ground that the Danish crews so taken were traitors out of Danelagh and not honorable pagans from abroad.

During the period of the Danish invasions of England, the country suffered besides the calamities of war the ravages of pestilence. The contemporaneous famine on the continent seems not greatly to have distressed the

British Islands. But the horrors of the plague counterbalanced the immunity from famine. Many of the best and noblest Saxons, including not a few of the most powerful Thanes in Wessex, were carried off. At the same time the murrain broke out among the English cattle, so that death in the city was answered by death in the field. It was in the midst of these dangers, distresses, and sorrows that the virtues of the greatest and wisest of the early English kings were tried in the fire and found pure gold.

The career of Alfred was already drawing to a close. His labors in the camp, the field, and the court were as unceasing as those of

goodness of character was acknowledged by his contemporaries and has been confirmed by the judgment of modern times. His genius was equaled by his beneficence, and his wisdom by his success. In his childhood he was carefully trained by his mother. He accompanied his father through France and Italy to Rome. Nor is it doubtful that, though but eight years of age, his mind was deeply impressed with the superiority of the art and refinement of the South. One year of his boyhood was spent in the Eternal City and one in Paris. The active mind of the prince could but have been much occupied with the painful contrast between the colossal struc-



ALFRED'S MOTHER TEACHES HIM THE SAXON SONGS.

Drawn by A. de Noville.

Charlemagne; but the equable tempered English monarch was a man of far finer fiber and mould than his great Frankish contemporary. In his boyhood Alfred was enfeebled by disease, and about the time of reaching his majority he was attacked by another and painful malady, which afflicted him through life. Even in times of his greatest activity he was seldom free from pain. Soon after the retirement of the Danes from the kingdom, his health began rapidly to decline. In the month of October, 901, the good king, being then in the fifty-third year of his age, died and was buried in the monastery which he had founded at Winchester.

The estimate of the life and work of Alfred the Great can hardly be overdrawn. His

tures of stone in the old and the new capital and the poor wooden houses and low, mud huts of his own country.

These episodes in the boy-life of the great king, no doubt, did much to inspire within him the love of letters. He conceived the great project of raising his people from barbarism and bringing them to the light. He began this work with the cultivation of his own mind. He listened with delight to the gleemen as they recited in his father's court the wild and warlike ballads of the Anglo-Saxons. He learned his country's songs by heart, and his own poetic genius, even in boyhood, was thus kindled into a flame.

Having mastered his vernacular, the prince then undertook the learning of Latin, the

classic language of his times. He became a skillful translator, and sought diligently to improve the general of his people by rendering the works of the Latin authors into the Anglo-Saxon vernacular. He urged the same work upon the scholars who frequented his court, and on one occasion addressed to the bishops of the kingdom an earnest appeal, in which he recommended that "all good and



ALFRED THE GREAT IN HIS STUDY.
Drawn by A. Maillart.

useful books be translated into the language which we all understand; so that all the youths of England, but more especially those who are of gentle kind and easy circumstances, may be grounded in letters—for they can not profit in any pursuit until they are well able to read English."

The king was not by any means content with the culture of his court. He availed himself of every opportunity to sow the seeds of enlightenment in all parts of the kingdom. He conceived the grand project of popular education, and his work in this respect far surpassed that of Charlemagne in France. On his accession to the throne the outlook for English culture was by no means encouraging. The seats of learning had been ravaged by the

Danes. The once flourishing schools of Northumberland were either destroyed or had fallen into decay. The ignorance of the English people was amazing for its grossness. At the time of the death of Ethelred there was scarcely a professional teacher in all Wessex, and the Anglo-Saxon language could not boast of a single text-book. In his efforts to organize public schools the king was obliged to send to Mercia for teachers, and even in that kingdom none were found competent for the work except the priests. A few instructors were brought over from France. Bishop Asser, upon whom Alfred most relied in the prosecution of his educational enterprises, was a Welshman. In order to supply the text-books necessary for his people, the king recommended the translation of works already existing in Latin or French; and thus by precept and example he sought to implant in the nascent mind of England the fundamentals of culture and learning.

The reputation of King Alfred as a diligent scholar, no less than a warlike sovereign, is as wide as the fame of the English race. It is a matter of surprise how, amid the arduous duties of government and the dangers and disasters of war, this benign sovereign found time and opportunity for those laudable pursuits in which he so greatly delighted. Nothing

but the most methodical division of his time could have enabled him, with the meager facilities at his command, to make so great progress in scholarship and literature.¹

The greatest of King Alfred's works as an author are his translations of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* and of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English*. Measured by modern standards, neither of these works would be considered preëminent as a translation. The king sought to reproduce the spirit rather than the letter of the original. The work of Boethius was rendered by the king at Wood-

¹ The king's daily program of duty and rest was as follows: eight hours for meals, exercise, and sleep; eight hours for the affairs of government; and eight for study and devotion.

stock, in Oxfordshire, and was called by him—from its adaptation to the common affairs of life—the *Handbook* or *Manual*. The rendering of the Ecclesiastical History of the Venerable Bede was a work of the highest importance to the young nationality of England, for the story was of such sort as to affect the still half-barbarous Anglo-Saxons much as Homer's song of ancient Troy may be supposed to have swayed the passions of the old Hellenes.

Time would fail to narrate the swift transformation of England effected by the genius of Alfred the Great. He found his country without a navy and his countrymen ignorant of the management of ships. When he died, the English fleet was the best on the western coast of Europe. By the most unwearyed efforts he obtained a fair geographical knowledge, not only of his own country, but also of most of the nearer states and kingdoms of the continent. Whatever could be gathered in the way of information was carefully reduced to writing. Travelers and voyagers were sent abroad for the express purpose of deciding disputed points in geography. On such a mission even so distinguished a person as Swithelma, bishop of Sherburn, was dispatched overland to India! Not less astonishing is the fact that the journey was safely performed, and that the adventurous bishop came happily home, bringing with him gems and spices from the East.

Among the other enterprises of Alfred may be mentioned the better style of building which he introduced; the general prevalence of human comfort which he encouraged; the rebuilding of desolated towns and the founding of others; the construction of fortifications and harbors; the survey of the coasts and rivers of England; the erection of strong towers and castles in different parts of the kingdom; the revision of the Anglo-Saxon laws; the development of the *Witenagemot* into a regular parliament, upon which, jointly with himself, was devolved the care of the state; the institution of a system of police so effective that it was said bracelets of gold might be hung out of doors without the least danger of theft; the establishment of an efficient judiciary; and the general stimulus which he afforded to all kinds of industry in

the kingdom. It is not wonderful, in view of the prodigious activities, kindly genius, and generous character of Alfred, that even after the times of William the Conqueror the Norman kings and nobles were accustomed to refer to this illustrious ruler as the chief glory of early England.

On the death of Alfred the Great, in the year 901, the succession was disputed by his son Edward and his nephew Ethelwald, son of that Ethelbald who had preceded Alfred on the throne. Each of the claimants gathered an army; but the forces of Ethelwald were found so much inferior to those of Edward that the former, forbearing to fight, fled into Danelagh, where he was recognized as king. Prince EDWARD then ascended the throne of England, and received the surname of the Elder.

The turbulent Danes had long fretted under the strict law of Alfred, and many restless spirits among the Saxons had chosen the North as the more congenial scene of their lawlessness. All of these malcontent elements of the rising English society combined around the standard of Ethelwald. Between him and Edward, in the year 905, a terrible battle was fought, in which Ethelwald was slain; but the general result was so indecisive that the Danes were enabled to treat on equal terms with the Saxon prince. The project of the complete independence of Danelagh was entertained by the rebels; nor were they without a hope of regaining their ascendancy over the whole island. For six years the war continued with varying successes; but in 911 Edward met the Danes on the river Severn, and inflicted on them an overwhelming defeat.

In the mean time a peculiar complication had arisen in the earldom of Mercia. In that country the Princess Ethelfleda, daughter of Alfred the Great and wife of Ethelred, had succeeded her deceased husband in authority. Nor did she hesitate to assert and maintain the independence of her country of her brother Edward's rule. She raised an army and commanded like a warrior. It was evident that her father's spirit was upon her. She made a successful defense against the claims of her brother, and then drove the Danes out of Derby and Leicester. In battle she commanded in person, and even led successful

storming parties (at least seemingly impregnable fortifications. She conducted an expedition into Wales and made prisoner the wife of the king. After a brilliant career of eight years she died in 929, whereupon the kingdom of Mercia was given up to Edward. This gave the king a great advantage in the North, in so much that all the country between the Thames and the Humber was presently overawed by the Saxon arms. From this vantage ground King Edward made campaigns against the people of Northern Danelagh. He subdued the Welsh and the Scotch. He made successful warfare upon the inhabitants of Strathclyde, Cumbria, and Galloway, thus extending further than ever before the dominions of England in the North.

After a successful reign of twenty-four years Edward died, and in 925 was succeeded by his son **ATHELSTANE**. The court of this king is represented as having been more brilliant than that of any preceding sovereign. His policy was to carry forward the civilization of England—a work so well begun by his father and grandfather. The great event of the earlier part of his reign was the conquest of Wales, which country at this time became more subjected than hitherto to the authority of the English kings. So marked were the successes of Athelstane in the West that the Welsh were compelled to make payment of heavy tribute, and droves of bees from the pastures of Wales were now first driven into London and Oxford. A like subjugation of the people was effected in Cornwall, and the warlike tribes beyond the river Tamar were reduced to obedience.

Meanwhile the people of Danelagh, always restive under English rule, had again gathered head for an insurrection. A leader was found in the Prince Olaf, or Aulaf, of Northumbria, who had of late carried on a successful war in Ireland, where he took the city of Dublin, and compelled the Celtic nations of the island to pay tribute. After these exploits the Danish chieftain returned to Northumbria, and sailed up the Humber with a fleet of six hundred and twenty sail. He effected an alliance with Constantine, king of the Scots, and was joined by the men of Strathclyde and Cumbria. The whole North rose in arms and bore down upon King Ath-

elstane, who came forth and met his enemies on the field of Brunanburg. Here the English gained a glorious victory. Five Danish princes of royal rank and seven earls were slain in this battle. A handful led by Olaf fled into Ireland. Constantine made his way north of the Frith of Forth, wailing out his grief for the death of his son. So decisive was the victory of Athelstane that none durst any longer resist his authority. The consolidation of the kingdoms and peoples of the island was now so complete that Athelstane felt warranted in assuming the title of "King of the English," a dignity which had not been claimed by either Edward or Alfred the Great.

The application of the term England to the growing monarchy is no longer inappropriate. The court of Athelstane was hardly less splendid than that of the later Carolingians. Several foreign princes, either for observation or safety, made their home for a season with the English monarch. As already narrated, Louis d'Outremer found with his mother a safe retreat in London. Haeco, son of King Harold of Norway, also abode with the courtiers of Athelstane. The counts of Brittany and Armorica, driven from their native possessions by the fury of the Danes, waited in England for the subsidence of the storm. Rulers of distant nations sent to the English king many and costly gifts, and the givers sought diligently to ally themselves with the Saxon blood by seeking the sisters of Athelstane in marriage.

In his patronage of letters and art Athelstane emulated the example of his grandfather. The translation of the Bible into Anglo-Saxon—a work which had been well begun in the reign of Alfred—was now diligently promoted, and the rising literature of England had no cause to complain of the want of royal patronage. After a brilliant reign of fifteen years, Athelstane died, and was succeeded in 940 by his brother **EDMUND**, surnamed the Atheling.

The new king proved to be a prince worthy of his stock. His character, however, showed itself in a fondness for the pursuits of peace rather than the carnage of war. Edmund was compelled, none the less, to lead his people in the long-continued struggle with

the Danes; for the great leader, Olaf, now returned from his retreat in Ireland, and again incited his countrymen to rise against the English. In the struggle that ensued the fortune of war turned in favor of the Danes, who gained several victories over Edmund's forces. The king was obliged at last to consent to a peace on the basis of resigning to the Danes the whole country north of Watlingstreet.

Scarcely, however, had this brief settlement been effected when the Danish leader died, and King Edmund succeeded in regaining the countries of the North. The kingdom of the Scots by this time began to show signs of vitality and progress. With Malcolm, king of that realm, Edmund deemed it expedient to cultivate friendly relations, and the two sovereigns made an alliance against the Danes. The English ruler soon showed his faith by his works. He made an invasion of Cumbria, whose people were in rebellion, and having reduced them to submission, made a present of the province to Malcolm. In the course of his war with the Cumbrians, Edmund made prisoners of the two sons of the king, Dummil, and them, in a manner wholly at variance with the usual clemency of the Anglo-Saxons in victory, he barbarously deprived of their eyes. Nemesis, however, soon brought her retribution for the deed. At the festival of St. Augustine in that year, while the king caroused with his nobles and Thanes, he recognized in the company a noted outlaw named Leof, who had been banished. Edmund ordered his expulsion from the festival, but the bandit stood his ground. The king, already heated with wine, sprang from his seat, seized Leof by his long hair, and attempted to lay him low, but the robber could not be handled. He drew a dagger and stabbed Edmund to the vitals. Thus, in the year 946, the crown of the kingdom was transferred by the sudden death of the king to ELDRED, another son of Edward the Elder.

This prince was already by the ravages of disease a physical wreck, and on account of his debility was nicknamed *Debilis Pedibus*, or Weak Feet. Fortunate it was for the new administration that the resolute Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, was one of the king's counsellors, as was also the able Torkatul, chancellor of the kingdom.

On the accession of Eldred, the people of Danelagh, in common with the other inhabitants of the North, took the oath of allegiance to the new king. But it was not long until, incited by Eric, prince of Denmark, they took up arms against the Saxons. By this time the English army had become a veteran soldiery, and the discipline of Eldred's forces triumphed over the audacity of the Danes. Several bloody battles were fought, in which the English were victorious. Northumbria was more completely subjugated than ever before. The title of king was abolished, and the province was incorporated with the other realms of Eldred. It was not long, however, after these marked successes until the king died, without offspring, and left the crown (A. D. 955) to his brother EDWY, a youth but fifteen years of age.

The incapacity of the new sovereign was manifested in one of the first acts of his reign. He appointed his brother Edgar sub-regulus, or under king, of the old realm of Mercia, thus laying again the foundation for a possible dismemberment of the kingdom. The recent chastisement of the Danes and the generally quiet condition of affairs in the North gave promise of a peaceful reign. It happened, however, that a domestic embroglie arose, almost as ominous as a foreign war. The youthful king became enamored of his cousin Elgiva, whom he might not marry without violation to one of the most deeply seated prejudices of the Church. The prince, however, took the law into his own hands and married the maiden of his choice. Dunstan, already referred to as wielding a powerful influence in the state, set his face against the union. At the nuptial festival, when the monks and bishops, in common with the Thanes, had imbibed wine until they were uproariously drunken, the young king, less intemperate than his courtiers, slipped from the banquet hall and sought the chamber of his queen. His absence was at once remarked by the banqueters, who were deeply offended at their monarch's withdrawal. Dunstan was at once dispatched to bring him back. The monk accordingly broke into the bridal chamber, seized upon Edwy, dragged him from the side of Elgiva, and hurried him back to the banquet. The queen, also, and

her mother were obliged to lend their presence; and when they reached the hall where the revellers were carousing, they were insulted with filthy and disgusting language. This conduct struck fire from the indignant spirit of Edwy, and he determined to be revenged on the indecent churchmen who had disgraced his nuptials.

At this time the English Church was rent with feuds and quarrels over the question of the celibacy of the clergy. Some maintained—and to this class the secular clergymen mostly belonged—that the priests might marry without offense to the divine law; but the monks on the contrary, held that the marriage of a priest was a thing most horrible in the sight of heaven. The leaders of the latter party were Olo, archbishop of Canterbury, and the monk Dunstan. It appears that the king had espoused the opposite doctrine, and this fact added fuel to the quarrel which had broken out at the marriage feast. Dunstan, who had been treasurer of the kingdom during the reign of Eadred, was charged with persecution and driven into exile. He fled into Flanders, and it is said that the king made an unsuccessful attempt to have the monk's eyes put out by the people of Ghent. Archbishop Olo remained in Northumbria. Himself a Dane, he appealed to the people of his race to rise in revolt against the impious Edwy. In order to encourage a civil war, the insurgent party proclaimed Edgar king of the whole country north of the Thames. Dunstan, hearing of the insurrection which had been so successfully begun, returned from his exile.

While these events were taking place, the enemies of the king accomplished his domestic ruin. A company of knights, or more properly bandits, employed by the archbishop of Canterbury, broke into the royal residence, seized the beautiful Elgiva, branded her in the face with a hot iron, and dragging her away, cast her, a disfigured exile, into Ireland. The people of that island had compassion upon her in her misfortunes. They carefully nursed her back to health and beauty—for her wounds healed without scars—and sent her back to England. But the relentless Olo was on the alert. His brigands again seized the unfortunate queen. By them she was

barbarously mutilated. The tendons of her limbs were cut; and in a few days the suffering princess expired in agony. This shock was more than the high-spirited Edwy could bear. In a short time, being in despair, he died. Nor is the suspicion wanting that the expiring agonies of the royal heart were hastened to a close by an assassin.

Thus in the year 959 Prince EDGAR came to the throne of England. The event, viewed politically, was the triumph of the monkish party, headed by Olo and Dunstan. A relentless warfare was now waged against the married clergymen of the kingdom. They were everywhere expelled from the abbeys, monasteries, cathedrals, and churches. The doctrine of celibacy was enforced with merciless rigor. The monkish party ruled both king and kingdom. The youthful Edgar became a pliant tool in the hands of the old foxes, who were loose in the pastures and gardens of England. In the midst of this progressive retrogression several circumstances conspired to improve the condition of the kingdom. The king had been reared among the Danes, and was by them looked upon as their own prince. His accession to the throne was regarded as a kind of Danish ascendancy in the island. This fact contributed greatly to the general peace of the realm. Nor can it be denied that Olo and Dunstan administered the affairs of state with great vigor and ability. The kingdom was more thoroughly consolidated than ever before. The English army was better disciplined, and the fleet was increased to three hundred and sixty sail. The ministers of the king induced him to adopt a policy of journeying in person into all parts of England, making the acquaintance of the people, holding courts, and encouraging enterprise. So great was his reputation that eight kings are said to have rowed his barge in the river Dee.

This actual augmentation of power was reflected in the high-sounding titles which Edgar assumed. He was called Emperor of Albion, King of the English and of all the islands and nations around. It was the good fortune of his reign not to be disturbed by a single war, and from this auspicious circumstance the King received the surname of the Peaceable. His policy was conciliatory. The

Welsh tribute was commuted into three hundred wolf-scalps annually. He called in the worn and mutilated coin of the kingdom, and reissued a new money in place of the old. Many other beneficent measures attested the progressive character of the times. In his private life, however, the king was any other than a temperate or virtuous ruler. His court was the resort of profligate men and abandoned women. Notwithstanding the fact that the king, as the willing instrument of Odo and Dunstan, enforced the celibacy of the clergy with a rigor never before known among the Anglo-Saxons, he himself failed ingloriously as an exemplar of the domestic canons of the church. He bore the character of a profligate, surrounding himself with concubines and converting the court into a harem. Not satisfied with ordinary flagitiousness, he abducted from the monastery of Wilton a beautiful nun, named Elfrida, and made her his paramour. Notwithstanding this outrageous conduct the monkish chroniclers of the age bestow great praise on Edgar as a virtuous and godly prince! Forsooth it was sufficient that he countenanced them in their doctrines and practices, and supported the profligate race of shaven scribes who lauded his fictitious and sham morality.

The story of Edgar's second marriage is illustrative of the character of the times. Orgrar, earl of Devonshire, had a beautiful daughter named Elfrida. The fame of her charms was borne to the ears of the royal voluptuary. Imagining himself already in love with the lily of Devon, he sent thither one of his courtiers named Athelwold to spy out the hidden beauty of the West, and to recite to him her varied attractions. The *courtier d'amour* found the princess even as she had been represented, and then, after the manner of men, fell in love with her himself. Concealing the true object of his mission, he sought and obtained the hand of Orgrar's daughter in marriage. He then hurried back to his master and reported that the princess of Devon was indeed wealthy, but that her beauty was a myth. The king, however, suspected his spy of lying, and determined to resolve with his own eyes the question of Elfrida's charms. Athelwold was ordered to return to Devon and to make straight a path

for the king. The courtier, thus brought into a narrow place, and knowing not what to do, ordered his wife to put on coarse attire and demean herself like a peasant; but she, perceiving that she had taken a courtier when she might have married a king, was not unwilling that her beauty might dazzle the royal vision. It thus happened that the double-dealing Athelwold was hoisted on his own petard. Presently afterwards he was found murdered in the woods, and the ambitious Elfrida was taken by the king. It was not long until Edgar's son by his former wife was also disposed of, and the way thus cleared for the succession of Elfrida's offspring to the throne.

A few years after the perpetration of these crimes King Edgar died, and was succeeded in 975 by his son, called EDWARD THE MARTYR, at that time but fifteen years of age. He it was whose claims were resisted by Elfrida. She advanced the charge that Edward was of illegitimate birth. The right of her own son Ethelred was boldly advanced by the unscrupulous queen, and the two half-brothers were soon arrayed against each other in war. Now it was that the anti-celibate party in the priesthood rallied from obscurity and banishment, and espousing the cause of Ethelred, sought the restoration of their fortunes. On the other hand, Dunstan, who had now succeeded Odo as archbishop of Canterbury, upheld the claims of Edward. In the struggle that ensued the latter was at first successful but Elfrida was by no means content to see her son displaced. She made a league with Alfrede, the ealdorman of Mercia, and organized a conspiracy among the Thanes of the North. For three years the hostile parties faced each other, but did not proceed to the extremity of war. Elfrida and her son, meanwhile, resided at Corfe Castle, in Dorsetshire. On a certain occasion, the king, hunting in this neighborhood, resolved to pay a visit to his half-brother. Elfrida received Edward with smiles at the castle gate, and gave him a cup of wine to drink; but as he was raising the cup to his lips, one of Elfrida's attendants stabbed him in the back. The wounded king put spurs to his horse and fled, but presently fainting and falling from the saddle, he was dragged by one foot through the woods until life was extinct.

THE SIBYLLINE PROPHECY, which foretold the fall of the Danish empire, was interpreted in its application to the Danes, as if the Danish brethren had been the cause of the fall. Edgar even caused the Sibylline prophecies to be read to Edward, the first of the line, and thereby to come within reach of the ears of the Danish king himself. The personal character of the prince, however, followed Edgar from the popular odium, and was the cause of his enemies' crimes. Taking advantage of this fact, the ambitious and crafty Danes again appeared on the scene, and rallied the monkish party against the throne. He found a claimant to the crown in the Princess Edgitha, daughter of Edgar and that lady whom he had abducted from the nunnery of Wilton. Edgitha, however, had taken the veil and refused to exchange her quiet life for the dangers and passions of the court. The celibate party was therefore obliged to consent that the crown should be worn by the imbecile son of Elfrida, upon whom they vented their spleen by giving him the nickname of the Ureedy.

The personal character of several of the recent kings, and the crimes and murders which had been committed by rival claimants of the crown and their partisans, no less than the disgraceful church broils of the celibate and anti-celibate parties, had by this time almost extinguished the hearty Saxon loyalty with which the people had regarded the House of Alfred. Why should sturdy Englishmen any longer uphold the degenerate representative of that illustrious family? Meanwhile, in the course of the last half century, the ancient and terrible animosity between the Saxons and the Danes had subsided. Each had come, in a certain measure, to regard the other as countrymen. Affinity of race and language had been supplemented by hundreds and thousands of inter-marriages. It thus happened that the Saxon Thanes and yeomanry of Wessex and the South began to look with favor upon the project of substituting an able Dane for a degenerate Saxon on the throne of England. And while this feeling grew apace in the country south of the Thames, certain general causes, having their roots in the political condition of Norway, Denmark, France, and England, also conduced to a change of dynasty.

For in the course of the Prince SWEYN, son of the King of Denmark, being quarrelled with his father, was banished from the kingdom. Swyn, however, was his talents, ambition, and personal influence, that a large company of veterans and adventurers gathered around his banner and followed his fortunes on the sea. After a few preliminary adventures, the ambitious Dane made a descent on England, and though at first the expedition was intended rather to discover the condition of affairs and try the spirit of the people than to undertake a serious conquest, yet it was not long until Sweyn conceived a larger and more alarming enterprise. In the year 981 he fell upon and captured the city of Southampton. From hence he proceeded to Chester and London. These important places were also taken and pillaged. The ominous raven of Denmark was seen now here, now there, as far as the borders of Cornwall. The incompetency of Ethelred to defend his kingdom against these aggressions was painfully manifested. His attention in the great crisis which was upon the country was absorbed with local difficulties and the quarrels of the monks. Alfre of Mercia was now dead, and the earldom had descended to his son, Alfric. Him the king had first banished and then recalled; but the earl nursed his revenge until the day of judgment. That day was now at hand, and Sweyn the Dane was the precursor.

In the year 991 the English were defeated in a great battle fought in East Anglia. Alarmed at the situation of affairs, Ethelred had recourse to the fatal expedient of purchasing a peace. The payment of ten thousand pounds of silver procured the temporary retirement of the enemy from the country. In a short time, however, the Saxon Witenagemot adopted measures for the enlargement and better equipment of the fleet, and the English soon found themselves again masters of the sea. But the command of the squadron was given to Alfric, who now found ample opportunity to be revenged. As soon as an engagement with the Danes could be brought about he went over with a large part of the fleet to the enemy. Ethelred was reduced to the miserable expedient of seizing Alfric's son and putting out his eyes.

In the year 993 all of ancient Dan land was overrun by the native insurgents combined with foreign marauders. Meanwhile, the king of Denmark was slain, and Sweyn ascended the throne. He formed an alliance with Olaf of Norway, and in the following year the two monarchs made a formidable descent upon the southern coasts of England. Ethelred was again obliged to buy off his assailants, who now exacted sixteen thousand pounds as the price of peace. The miserable and now priest-ridden spirit of the Saxons found some solace in a clause of the treaty which required the victors to be baptized. To this the Danes readily assented. To them it was no more than a plunge in the water. Sweyn himself had already several times received the rite at the hands of the zealous priests, anxious for the welfare of his barbaric soul. One of the other leaders made a boast that he *had been washed twenty times!* In the case of Olaf, however, it appears that a genuine conversion from paganism was effected. At any rate he honestly observed his oath not to trouble the English further.

The same could not be said of his countrymen, who took only to break the oath. From 998 to 1001 the country was constantly vexed with Danish incursions. Meanwhile, the military resources of the kingdom, under the puerile management of Ethelred and his council, rapidly declined until the only available means of preventing the ascendancy of the Danes was the gold of the treasury. On one occasion as much as twenty-four thousand pounds was paid to secure the departure of the enemy. This tremendous burden was lifted by a tax, known as the *Dane-geld*, which was levied upon the Saxon yeomanry.

While this deplorable state of affairs existed at home, Ethelred managed to embroil the kingdom in foreign complications. He quarreled with Richard II., duke of Normandy, and the two princes were proceeding to war when the Pope commanded the peace. Ethelred then sought the hand of the Princess Emma, sister of the Norman duke, and by this marriage of the English king with her who was known as the Flower of Normandy was laid the foundation of that claim which, in 1066, led to the conquest of the British Isles by William the Conqueror.

The general condition of the English Saxons in England and their relations with each other, living in many parts according to us a common people, have been abundantly described. In the North the Danish conquest was generally predominant; in the South the Saxon. In the central district the two peoples were mixed together. The situation was such as in case of treachery to expose the victims of a plot to the greatest hardships.

It appears that King Ethelred was as perfidious as he was weak. The situation of the Danes seems to have suggested to him the horrible project of exterminating them by a wholesale massacre! It can not be denied that the foreigners and their descendants in the island had behaved with great harshness towards the native population. The severity and outrage peculiar to the early years of the Danish domination had, however, at length given place to a milder, more tolerable condition of affairs. Quiet and orderly habits had at length become prevalent among the grandsons of those old pirates who had made England red with the light of their burnings. This state of his people, however, seems to have had no effect upon the bloody mind of Ethelred and the scarcely less perfidious spirit of his Saxon subjects.

In the latter part of the year 1002 the king sent out secret orders into all the cities and towns, appointing a day and hour in which the Saxons should everywhere fall upon and destroy the Danes. The time set for the great atrocity was the feast of St. Brice, namely, the 13th of November. With a horrid precision the murderous scheme was carried out. At the appointed hour the unsuspecting Danes in every town and hamlet were attacked and cut down by their neighbors. No mercy was shown to any. All ages and conditions were hewed down together. Even Gunhilda, sister of King Sweyn, herself a Christian and married to an English earl of Danish descent, was obliged to look on while her husband and child were put to death, and was herself then murdered. No wonder, when the news of this bloody work was carried to Denmark, the heart of Sweyn grew hot within him, and he resolved to visit on the treacherous English such a vengeance as should never be forgotten.

A Danish armament was now fitted out by far greater than any that had ever been seen off the coasts of England. An army of chosen warriors, all in the prime of life, was embarked, and the squadron set sail for its destination. The first landing was effected near the city of Exeter. That place was soon taken and plundered. The work of vengeance was now begun in earnest. In every town through which the invading army passed the Danes compelled the Saxons to furnish them a feast. As soon as the warriors had eaten their fill they slew their hosts and set fire to the houses. When at last a Saxon army of nearly equal strength was brought out to stay this desolating inroad, it was commanded by that same Altric of Mercia who had already betrayed an English fleet into the hands of the enemy. How or why he had again been restored to the king's favor does not appear. At any rate, when a battle was imminent, the traitor got in his work by feigning sickness until what time King Sweyn succeeded in securing his booty and made his way unmolested to the coast. In the year 1004 England was reduced to famine, and the Danes, not liking the prospect of starvation in a foreign island, sailed away to the Baltic.

In the mean time that train of events was carried forward which portended the establishment of the Norman ascendancy in England. Ethelred had hoped, by his marriage with the Princess Emma, to obtain an alliance with the Normans against the Danes. In his emergency he appealed to Duke Richard for help. The latter heeded his call, but only in such a way as to promote the interests of his country. Those Normans who came over to the island for the ostensible purpose of taking up Ethelred's cause against the northern invaders were more concerned about the establishment of their master's influence in England than about the chastisement of the Danes. In the mean time the king's conduct towards his wife had been such as to give mortal offense to her womanly pride. She laid her cause before her brother, the duke, and found in him a ready listener to the story of her wrongs. A violent quarrel broke out between him and Ethelred. The latter was on the eve of invading Normandy, and was only hindered in his purpose by the distracted condition of the

kingdom. The duke, upon his part, seized upon all the English in his realm, killed some, and cast the rest into prison. Thus was engendered between England and Normandy a state of hostility which was not likely to be appeased, except by the conquest of one of the countries by the other.

While these events were in progress King Sweyn again returned into England, farther to appease his vengeance on the murderers of his countrymen. The Witenagemot, knowing the warrior with whom they had to deal, and thoroughly distrusting their own sovereign, adopted the usual expedient of purchasing a peace. But the triumphant Sweyn now demanded thirty thousand pounds as the price of his forbearance. This enormous sum was raised and paid; but the people began at last to see that the spoliation of the country was as dreadful under the policy adopted by the king as if the land were left a prey to the Danes.

In 1008, only two years after the former levy, another assessment was made upon the lands of the kingdom. The object in this instance was to rebuild the English fleet; but after this work was accomplished the squadron was soon broken up by the dissensions and treachery of the commanders. A certain courtier named Edric had obtained such an ascendancy over Ethelred's mind that he virtually ruled the kingdom. Bithric, a brother of this magnate, was also in high favor. The latter made a conspiracy against Earl Wulfnoth, who was obliged to save himself by flight. He took with him, however, twenty ships of the English navy, and when pursued by Bithric, with eighty vessels, had the good fortune to see his enemy's squadron wrecked in a storm. The remainder of the English armament was dispersed by mismanagement or accident, and the kingdom was thus left naked to her enemies.

As soon as it was known in Denmark that the preparations for defending the island had come to naught, a large fleet was equipped and an army put on board, under command of a leader named Thurkill. For three years this host ravaged England at will. The kingdom had no peace or security except such as was afforded by brief truces purchased from the Danes. During this period the adherents

of Ethelred's government fell away until he was left without supporters. As for himself, he still pursued the policy of quieting the enemy with bribes. It is said that he paid to Thurkill the sum of forty-eight thousand pounds. By this means the Danish leader was induced to consent to a peace, and even to ally himself with Ethelred. It appears, however, that his motives were treacherous, and that he was really acting in concert with Sweyn, who now contemplated the complete subjugation of England. Presently Thurkill quarrelled with Ethelred, and undertook a new expedition; but the Danish king now appeared on the scene, and avowed his purpose of reducing both Thurkill and the Saxon monarch to submission. With the appearance of Sweyn on the Humber the people of Danelagh rose and joined his banners. Most of the army of Thurkill did the same. The central counties of England quietly submitted. Oxford and Winchester opened their gates to receive him. Ethelred meanwhile took refuge in London, and here the valor of the citizens kept the Danes at bay for a season. All the West soon submitted to the Danish king.

Seeing that the rest of the kingdom had fallen away, the Londoners at length gave up the contest, and Ethelred fled with his family and sought protection at the court of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Normandy. In the beginning of the year 1013 Sweyn was acknowledged as the king of England; but a few weeks afterwards he died at the town of Gainsborough. Thereupon the Saxon Thanes reasserted themselves, and invited Ethelred, after his six weeks' banishment, to return to the throne. The Danish party meanwhile proclaimed the Prince CANUTE, son of King Sweyn, as monarch of the country. Civil war again broke out, and for a season there was a reign of bloodshed and burning.

At length, completely despairing of relief at the hands of their unready sovereign, the Saxon nobles set aside the claims of Ethelred and his legitimate children, and selected for their king his natural son, the warlike EDMUND, surnamed Ironside. It was the misfortune of this valorous prince to receive at the hands of his supporters an already exhausted country. Nevertheless he did as much as courage might to retrieve the for-

tures of Saxon England. Twice he attempted to relieve the beleaguered city of London. He fought with the enemy five pitched battles, but the Danes were generally victorious. As a last desperate measure of defense he challenged Canute to mortal combat. The latter, however, durst not meet his stalwart antagonist in personal battle, but proposed instead the division of the kingdom between them. The proposition was accepted; Edmund Ironside ruled over the South, and Canute received the rest of the island.

This settlement, however, was of only two months' duration. Within that time after the treaty the Saxon monarch died, and in 1017 the whole kingdom passed under the dominion of Canute. This distinguished ruler began his reign with measures of conciliation, but his course in this respect was more politic than sincere. The House of Ethelred was bitterly persecuted, and many of that family and its Saxon adherents were hunted down and slain. Edward and Edmund, the infant sons of Edmund Ironside, were seized and sent to Sweden. The king of that country, having compassion upon their misfortunes, sent them to distant Hungary, where Edmund died. The Prince Edward, however, married the daughter of the Emperor of Germany, of which union were born Edgar Atheling, Christina, and Margaret. The last named was married to Malcolm, king of Scotland, and thus through a Scottish House the blood of King Alfred was transmitted to aftertimes.

Meanwhile the warrior King Canute was menaced by a specter out of Normandy. In that country the two princes, Edward and Alfred, sons of Ethelred and Emma, were supported by Duke Richard, their uncle. The latter demanded of the Danish king that the rights of his nephews should be respected; and when this demand was treated with contempt, the Norman duke offered his sister, the widowed Emma, to the Dane in marriage. It appears that Duke Richard, the widow herself, and Canute were equally anxious to consummate this unnatural union. Nor was it with a view to securing the rights of her sons so much as again becoming queen of England that the Flower of Normandy went up gladly to the bed of the royal Danish ruffian by whom her former husband had been destroyed.

As for the Saxon princes, to them no further throne was given. They grew up in Normandy, and of the language of their father, and ceased to be regarded in the realm over which they might have reigned.

Thus it happened that the crowns of England, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway were

the North was brought to a successful conclusion, the kingdom enjoyed an interval of peace more benignant in its results than any epoch since the times of Alfred the Great.

The despotic CANUTE relaxed the rigor of his reign. His revengeful nature found no further cause of offense, and in his old age, forgetting to be cruel, he sought comfort for his soul in a pilgrimage to Rome. In the year 1030 he assumed the pilgrim's garb and journeyed to the Eternal City. Returning from his holy visit, he went into Denmark, where he tarried for some time. From that country he sent his commands to England by the abbot of Tavistock, and thus maintained his authority over his English realms.

Of King Canute tradition has fondly repeated a famous incident. At the height of his power, struck one day with remorseful reflections on the brevity and follies of human greatness, and disgusted with the excessive flatteries of the sycophants about the court, he ordered them to bear him down to the seashore in his chair of state. Having seated himself in the very edge of the surf as the tide came roaring in he demanded to know of his courtiers whether the sea would obey him and stand back. After the manner of liars, they answered that the great deep would shrink at his gesture of command. The



CANUTE REBUKING HIS COURTIERS.

king then sat silently awaiting the issue, while the tide rolled in around him. "Ocean," said he, "the land and the sea are mine. Presume not to wet the edge of my robe." The surf rose higher and the king was obliged to wade dripping from the waters. Thereupon he turned and rebuked the fawning flatterers, whose ill-timed adulation had magnified the greatness of the weak.

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In the year 1035 Canute died, and was buried at Winchester. He left to the realm another disputed succession; for the claims of **HARDICANUTE**, his son by the widow of Ethelred, were disputed by his two illegitimate sons, named Sweyn and Harold. As to these two princes, the scandal of the time declared that they were not of the royal blood at all. It was said that Alfriga, the mistress of Canute, had imposed on him two bastlings not his own; the gossip of the times was perhaps a true interpretation of the facts. Nevertheless, the credulous Canute recognized Sweyn and Harold as joint heirs with Hardicanute, and purposed to divide his kingdom among them. He accordingly provided that England should fall to **HAROLD**, Denmark to Hardicanute, and Norway to Sweyn. When the king died, two of his sons, Hardicanute and Sweyn, were in the north of Europe, only Harold being in England. The claims of Hardicanute to the English crown were ardently supported by the old Saxon party in the island, for he was the son of the widow of Ethelred, and therefore allied to the royal family. In the Danelagh, however, the people recognized Harold. Civil war was again imminent, and was only obviated by the interference of the Witenagemot, which body convened at Oxford and divided the realm between the rival claimants. Harold should have the country north of the Thames, with London for his capital, and Hardicanute should rule the South.

The latter prince, being still in Denmark, sent his mother, Emma, as regent of England. With her the powerful Earl Godwin was to share the authority during the absence of the king. Harold, however, perceiving the weakness of the situation, resolved to usurp his brother's throne, and the condition of affairs in the southern kingdom favored such an enterprise.

Meanwhile Prince Edward, son of Ethelred and Emma, still residing in Normandy, advanced his claims to the crown once worn by his father. Hearing of the death of Canute, he set sail for England and landed at Southampton. From his mother's friends he had expected a cordial reception and support; but that unscrupulous lady was now engaged in an intrigue to secure the succession for her son

Hardicanute. Edward was obliged to take a hasty retreat from the *Islands*. Soon afterwards both of the sons of Ethelred were invited by a treacherous letter, purporting to have been written by their mother, to return to England and claim their inheritance. Edward was wary of the invitation, but the young Alfred, attended by six hundred followers, accepted his mother's call, and landed opposite to Canterbury. Here he was met by the powerful Earl Godwin, who swore allegiance to the prince and began to conduct him inland. When the party had advanced as far as Guildford, while Alfred and his friends were sleeping unarmed at night, they were suddenly assailed and massacred by the barbarous soldiers of King Harold. The eyes of the prince were torn out, and he died in agony. The ruler of England had thus put out of the way another of his possible rivals. Nor was it long until he secured for himself the full title of the King of England. He received the surname of *Harefoot*. Of his reign there is little to be recorded other than the quarrels of the clergy and the intrigues of the Saxon and Danish parties to obtain an ascendancy in the affairs of state.

After a reign of four years, **Harold** died and in 1040 was succeeded by his half-brother, Hardicanute. It was the happy fortune of this prince to be acceptable to both the English factions—to the Saxons, because he was the son of Emma; to the Danes, because he was the son of Canute. As for the prince, he favored his father's people. He chose his courtiers from among his countrymen of the North, and his army and navy were Danish. During the early years of his reign there were several insurrections, chiefly traceable to the king's partiality for men of his own race. For his predecessor, however, he manifested such contempt that the Saxons were delighted. The body of Harold was dug from the grave, insulted, decapitated, and thrown into the river. In his tastes the king manifested all the gluttonous excesses of his people. Four times a day he feasted, and then held a carousal at night. Meanwhile, the affairs of government were managed by Earl Godwin and the queen-mother Emma. At length, after a reign of nearly two years, in the midst of a revel by night, Hardicanute, al-

readily drunken, fell down dead on the floor of his banquet-hall.

After his foolish attempt to secure the throne of England, the Prince Edward had retired to Normandy, and there devoted himself to more congenial pursuits. Fain would he have become a holy man and retired from the world. With the death of Hardicanute, however, a plain way was opened before his feet, and in 1042 he ascended the throne of England. The Danes had now no descendant of Canute to advance against Edward's claims, and many of their nobles retired from the island. Even Earl Godwin forebore to oppose the accession of EDWARD, who received the surname of the Confessor, and began a prosperous but not untroubled reign.

One of the first acts of the new sovereign was to accept in marriage the daughter of Godwin. It is believed that the stern father-in-law himself dictated this union with a view to increasing his own power in the kingdom. This circumstance may in part account for the fact that in no long time the report went abroad that King Edward treated his wife with great harshness. As to his mother, the royal severity was mingled with scorn. Perhaps the treatment was not unmerited; for the belief was prevalent that the death of the Prince Alfred might be traced to a plot having its seat in the bosom of Emma.

In the year 1043 an attempt was made by Magnus, king of Denmark, to restore the fortunes of his House in England. A Danish fleet once more appeared off the coast; but the Saxons were now prepared to receive their enemy, and the latter deemed it prudent to retire to the Baltic. The Saxon monarchy had now come to rest on so firm a basis that an overthrow was no longer to be feared at the hands of buccaneers and marauders.

Notwithstanding the general quiet of Edward's reign, his authority over his subjects had in it an element of feebleness. The great Earl Godwin and the other Thanes and nobles of the kingdom had so augmented their power as to make their ruler a king by sufferance. By them most of the lands of the kingdom had been appropriated. By their courts were held, judges appointed, and levies made of troops and money. The combined power of this nascent, feudal nobility was greater than

that of the monarch, and but for their jealousies and quarrels, they might have at any time compassed his dethronement.

Another element of weakness specially to be noted in the government of Edward was his preference for the Normans. He could but see that those polite gentlemen of Rouen, in whose society he had passed the greater part of his life, were greatly superior in manners and culture to even the most refined of his rough, untutored countrymen. He preferred the language and dress of his adopted country to those of his native land. The royal predilection in these regards furnished a sufficient motive for constant communication with the gay court of Rouen. Many scholarly and courtly Normans came over to Edward's capital, and brought with them the sunlight of Normandy. For these ample provision was made by the king, and it was not long before this dawning Norman ascendancy was felt in all parts of the kingdom.

However agreeable this state of affairs may have been to the king himself, it was gall and wormwood to the Saxons. The already overgrown power of Earl Godwin was thus greatly increased; for he was regarded as the leader of the native nobility against the Norman innovations. In 1044, however, a circumstance occurred which for a while greatly injured the earl's popularity and power. His oldest son, bearing the famous name of Sweyn, proved to be a brigand and adventurer. Contemptuous of all law and sanctity, he violated an abbess and was banished from the kingdom. He improved his exile by becoming a terrible pirate, which vocation he plied until what time his father procured for him a pardon from the king. In the delay incident to such a business Sweyn became impatient and laid the blame upon his cousin Beorn, then residing at the court. Him, on returning to England, he first conciliated and then murdered. But his father's influence was able to secure a second pardon, and Sweyn was restored to his estates.

In the year 1051 Count Eustace, of Boulogne, who, by his marriage with the Lady Goda, daughter of Ethelred, became brother-in-law to the king, paid a visit to Edward and his court. Here he found every thing conformed to the style and manner of Nor-

mandy. It was not wonderful that he conceived for the Saxons a sentiment of profound contempt. On departing after his sojourn the count, with his retainers, entered the town of Dover, and there became embroiled in a bloody riot with the inhabitants. Eustace thereupon returned to the capital and laid his grievances before the king. The latter ordered Earl Godwin to proceed forthwith to the punishment of those who had insulted his Norman brother-in-law.

Instead of doing as he was bid the earl espoused the cause of the men of Dover, and told the king plainly that the Normans were they who deserved the punishment. Edward thereupon summoned Godwin himself before his foreign court at Gloucester, there to answer for his contumacious conduct. Incensed at this summons, the earl took up arms. At this time the whole country south of the Thames was under his sway. His eldest son, Harold, appeared on the scene. This young prince and his brother Sweyn, as well as their father, led large bands of armed men to Gloucester, and demanded that Count Eustace should be given up. The king, in this crisis, sought to gain time by negotiation. Meanwhile Siward, earl of Northumbria, and Leofric, earl of Mercia, who were rivals of Godwin, came to the rescue of Edward. The two armies came face to face; but it was now discovered that the fierce animosity so long existing between the Saxons of the South and the Anglo-Danes of the North had so far died away that the angry leaders could not precipitate a battle. Godwin and the king were obliged, by a popular sentiment, to make peace and to refer their difficulties to the Witenagemot for settlement. But before the time of the meeting of that body the tide had so turned against Godwin that he was unable to sustain his cause, and he was banished. Together with his wife and three of his sons, he set sail for Flanders, where he was cordially received by Baldwin, count of that province. The princes Harold and Leofwin escaped from the western coast and made their way to Ireland.

Having thus freed himself from the presence of the male members of the House of Godwin, the king next turned his anger upon his wife Editha, who, as will be re-

membered, was a daughter of the banished earl. From her Edward took away her estates and jewels, and then, when she was completely broken in spirit, confined her in the monastery of Wherwell.

Thus, for the time, was the Saxon party overthrown and scattered. Relieved of the presence of his most formidable opponents, Edward gave free rein to his preference for the people and institutions of Normandy. The Norman nobles came over in great numbers, and settled at his court. Even Prince William, the illegitimate son of Duke Robert, availed himself of the opportunity to tarry for a season with Edward and his friends. Nor is it doubtful that this ambitious aspirant, who was destined to play so important a part in the history of mediæval England, was already, on the occasion of his visit, looking to the possibilities of the future. King Edward was childless, and it was said that he was under a sort of monastic vow to remain so. The Norman rage, already prevalent in the upper circles of English politics, pointed even now to a not remote contingency of a Norman dynasty in the island. The Prince William was cousin to the reigning king, and the circumstance of his being the son of a tanner's daughter had little weight, so long as he was also the son of the Duke of Normandy. He was received by Edward with every mark of esteem and preference. He was taken into the private counsels of the king, and it is hardly to be doubted that then and there it was understood that after Edward's death the crown of England should descend to William.

Meanwhile, however, the great Earl Godwin, now exiled in Flanders, was neither idle nor despairing. In 1052 he got together a powerful fleet and boldly returned to England. Landing on the southern coast, he was cordially welcomed by the Saxons, who everywhere rose in his favor. Harold and Leofwin returned from Ireland and joined his standard. Presently the earl's fleet sailed up the Thames, and on approaching London was reinforced by many of the men and ships of Edward. Godwin behaved with much moderation, merely demanding a revocation of the edict of exile against himself and family and a redress of grievances. This the king obstinately refused. But the crisis in the royal household soon be-

came so threatening that the monarch was obliged to consent to negotiations. Then it was that the Norman favorites of the court of Edward suddenly took to flight. No longer were the towers of London or its spectral Tower congenial to the elegant Messieurs of Rouen. Some took refuge in castles along the coast, but the greater part fled to Normandy.

To complete what revolution had already accomplished, the Witenagemot assembled and passed a sentence of outlawry against the Normans. Godwin and his sons were legally

with the king. In the midst of the banquet, while the carousal was at its height, the earl was struck with apoplexy, and fell dying from his seat. In a few days he expired, and his estates and title descended to Prince Harold, best and bravest of his sons.

Many circumstances now conspired to turn the attention and expectancy of the kingdom to the son of Godwin. Sward, the earl of Northumbria, died; his eldest son, Osberne, was slain in battle with the Scots, and the younger was too immature to succeed to his



THE TOWER OF LONDON.

restored to their estates. Queen Editha was taken from the monastery and brought back in triumph to London. Only Sweyn, the brigand, was excluded from the pardon. Finding that the blood-stains of his crimes could not be washed away, the bandit son of Godwin made the most of the situation by putting on a pilgrim's garb and walking barefoot to Jerusalem!

By this counter-revolution the Saxon party again became dominant in the kingdom. Godwin, however, did not long survive his triumph. Having regained a kind of enforced favor at the court, he feasted one day

father's titles. Meanwhile the thoughts of the king were turned more and more from this world to the next, and he resolved as a measure preparatory to his exit to make a pilgrimage to Rome. The Witenagemot, seeing their childless king about to depart, recalled his pious thoughts to the fact that no succession had been provided in case of his death. This emergency in the state brought out from long obscurity the Prince Edward Atheling, son of Edmund Ironside, and set him forth as heir expectant of the crown. Edward was sent for, and brought with many acclamations to London. Shortly after his arrival, however,

he suddenly sickened and died, and the suspicion was blown abroad that the means of his taking-off was poison, and the cause the jealousy of Harold. Be this as it may, the problem of the succession was reduced to this: whether Harold, as the representative of the Saxon party but of no blood kinship to the former kings of England, should succeed Edward on the throne, or whether the crown, after the demise of Edward, should descend to William of Normandy.

Now are we come to the complications which immediately preceded the establishment of a Norman dynasty in the British Islands. King Edward is *said* to have made a will in which he bequeathed his crown to Duke William, his cousin. It is *said* that this will was executed before the recall of Edward the Atheling. It is *said* that the nature of this instrument was kept a profound secret for years, and that Harold remained in ignorance of the scheme which had been concocted to thwart his ambition. It is *said*, on the other hand, that the king's will was not made until 1065, the year before his death; and that Harold, instead of being kept in ignorance of its contents, was himself dispatched by the king to reveal the provisions of the instrument to Duke William. Certain it is that Prince Harold found his way—whether by accident or design does not appear—to the Norman court; that he was wrecked at the mouth of the river Somme; that he was seized by the Count of Ponthieu; that he was imprisoned in the castle of Beaurain; and that he appealed in his distress to Duke William for help. The latter quickly saw his advantage. He demanded that Harold should be released and sent to Rouen. In order to secure this result he gave to the Count of Ponthieu a large sum of money and a fine estate. It was not long until he had Harold in his power, but the crafty Norman preferred to gain his end by policy rather than violence. He made known to Harold, who now perceived the extreme peril of his situation, his purpose of claiming the crown of England in accordance with a long-standing pledge made to himself by Edward the Confessor.

Harold was dumfounded and—helpless. He was in the power of his great rival. William proceeded to extort from his guest a

promise that the latter would pass on the scheme for the assumption of the English crown. He induced the prince to promise that in the event of Edward's death he would aid him in obtaining the kingdom. Albeit the promise was given with mental reservation; but what could Harold do, being in the clutches of his rival? To make assurance doubly sure, William contrived that Harold should swear to fulfill his pledges. Nor was either the moral character of the Norman duke or the spirit of the age above resorting to a ridiculous subterfuge in order to give additional sanctity to the oath. A meeting was appointed for the ceremony. William sat in his chair of state and the Norman nobles were ranged around according to their rank. When Harold appeared the Duke arose and said, "Earl Harold, I require you, before this noble assembly, to confirm, by oath, the promises you have made me—to wit; to assist me in obtaining the kingdom of England, after King Edward's death, to marry my daughter Adele, and to send me your sister, that I may give her in marriage to one of mine." The prince had no alternative but to swear. He laid his hand upon the Bible and took the oath, being in evident trepidation. Then, at a signal from the duke, the cloth which covered a table was jerked aside, and there was revealed a box filled with the bones of saints and martyrs. Over this terrible heap of osteology, the son of Godwin had sworn away his own right to the throne of England!

Prince Harold, thus duped and overreached, was permitted to depart. He returned to England loaded with presents and accompanied by Haco, one of the Saxon nobles whom Godwin had given as a hostage to Edward the Confessor, and by him had been sent for safe keeping to his cousin, William of Normandy. The other hostage was detained at Rouen as a guaranty for the fulfillment of Harold's oath.

On his return to his own country, the English prince, though humiliated, was received with honor. He became again the recognized head of the Saxon party, by whom he was openly upheld for the succession. The event was now at hand which was to determine the value of his claims. The childless Edward came to his death-bed. It is said

that, in his last hours, he renewed in the presence of his nobles and attendants the provision of his will by which the crown was to descend to William of Normandy. "Ye know right well, my lords," said he, "that I have bequeathed my kingdom to the Duke of Normandy; and are there not those here who have plighted oaths to secure William's succession?" Again it is said that in the last scene the dying king named Prince Harold as his successor. Be that as it may, Edward

died in January of 1066, and the question of the succession remained to be decided by the rival claimants to the crown.

We are now in the day-break of the Norman conquest of England. That great event will be fully narrated in the succeeding Book. Here for the present we pause. The narrative will be resumed at the proper place, beginning with the death of Edward the Confessor and the consequent struggle of Harold and William for the English crown.

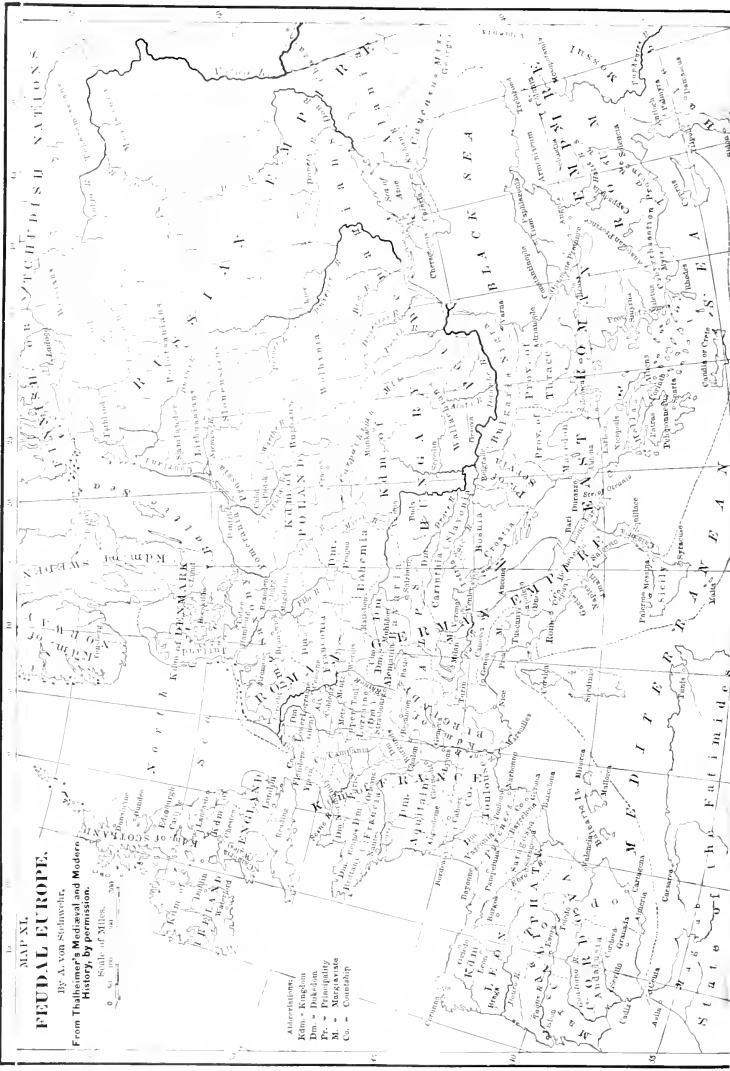


MAP XI. FEUDAL EUROPE.

By A. von Steinwehr,
From Thalheimer's Medieval and Modern
History, by permission.

Scale of Miles.
0 50 100 150

- Alterations,
- Kdm. - Kingdom
- Dm. - Dukedom
- Pr. - Principality
- M. - Margraviate
- Co. - County





Book Fourteenth.

THE FEUDAL ASCENDENCY.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.—FEUDALISM PROPER.



ABOUT the close of the ninth century the still half-barbaric society of Western Europe began to be transformed into a new condition. The movement was apparently retrograde. The unity which had been attained in several states and kingdoms began to be broken up, and the people seemed to prefer a return to tribal independence. General government, in a measure, disappeared, and was replaced by local institutions. Gradually this process went on, now in France and Germany, and finally in England, until the whole face of society was changed. By the close of the eleventh century the great governments which had been established by such rulers as Charlemagne and Alfred the Great were seen no longer. But in their stead had risen a multitude of dukedoms, counties, and petty dependencies, dotting the whole face of the country, and bound together—if bound at all—by ties which had been voluntarily assumed and might generally be renounced at will. The state of society which thus super-

vened, and which prevailed throughout the greater part of Europe, from the epoch of the Carolingians to the times of the Crusades, is known as the FEUDAL SYSTEM, and will now claim our attention.

The social condition which thus presents itself for analysis and review is, perhaps, the most difficult to grasp and understand of all the aspects in human history. Why it was that the political power, seemingly so well established by Charlemagne and others, should suddenly be loosened in all its bonds and fall back as if into the very chaos from which it had emerged, is a problem which has occupied the attention of the greatest thinkers and perplexed the pen of history. Certain it is that the fact existed, and that in the times of which we speak, when all human expectancy would have looked in the other direction and predicted the growth and development of great states out of the energetic materials of barbarism, a sudden collapse and decline appeared in the affairs of the Western nations, and a subtle social chemistry, seizing upon the elements of society, resolved them into the primitive condition. It is the first duty of the

historian to explain, if he may, the causes which led to the establishment of Feudalism on the ruins of the barbarian monarchy.

First among these causes may be mentioned the *spirit of national independence* which prevailed among the tribes of the North. It was in the very nature of barbarism that it despised restraint. While the Græco-Italic peoples rejoiced in citizenship and took pride in political and social organization, the Teutones looked with disfavor upon both. To the imagination of the northern warrior strength and honor resided in himself. Distinction was not derived, but inherent. Courage and all the manly virtues were not drawn from the state, but were personal and peculiar to him who possessed them. Under these feelings and beliefs a type of character was produced hitherto unknown in Europe. During the epoch of barbarism the natural impulses of the northern peoples were nurtured into full strength. The migratory habit encouraged freedom and discouraged association. Fixed territorial limits are necessary to the idea of a state. The barbarians had no established territories. They were driven from their homes by other tribes more savage than themselves. For a while they raged around the borders of the Roman Empire, and then burst through. Now it was that the necessity of combination was forced upon them. In order to battle successfully with the Romans they must have union, leadership. Great was the importance which the German kings attained by means of war. The tribes came to understand that safety and success lay in the direction of union and subordination. Very hard was this lesson to be learned. How restless, how sullen, how terrible with suppressed anger was the German warrior under the restraints of military command and civil authority! His logic of the situation was that he would suffer the ills of obedience until the enemies of his nation were overthrown, and then he would teach a lesson to those who were despoiling him of his rights. The recovery of his freedom was merely postponed. He looked forward to the time when he should break the bonds of that galling restraint under which necessity had placed him, and regain the glorious license which his fathers had enjoyed in the forests of Germany.

It was with sentiments such as these that the Frankish tribes bowed to the scepter of Charlemagne. The greatness of his personal will had much to do with their temporary subordination. While this constrained order existed, a new element was introduced into the problem, which tended at once to stimulate and to discourage the idea of personal and local independence. The barbarians obtained a fixed residence on the soil. Territorial boundaries were marked out by the sword of Charlemagne. The tribes ceased to jostle upon each other and to migrate from place to place. As it related to foreign enemies, this fact made the personal virtues of barbarian dukes and counts of less value and importance than hitherto; but as it related to the king, the attainment of local fixedness was unfavorable to his prerogatives. To the German chiefs a monarch was desirable in the emergencies of war, but distasteful in the safety and security of peace.

The first cause, then, of the institution of Feudalism was the revival of the sense of personal right and importance among the Frankish nobles, leading them to claim and achieve local independence of their sovereign. This was the beginning of the universal break-up of political society. The great duke declared his independence of the king; the count, of the duke; the lord, of the count; the petty vassal, of the lord; and so on, until the social fabric was dissolved into its elements.

The next general cause of the social disintegration of Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries may be discovered in the *religious and philosophical beliefs* which had superseded those of paganism. Christianity everywhere supplanted the mythology of the North. The monks and priests, perceiving that the barbarians were creatures of sense, converted them by means of shows and spectacles. The mystic concepts of the Christian system were interpreted literally to the barbarian imagination. The figurative sense of the Scriptures was entirely lost upon the pagans who now accepted the new faith for the old. With them the history, prophecy, and ethics of the Biblical record were received as the literal account of the things done and to be done in the scheme of the salvation of man. All the

ferocious honesty of the barbarian nature became pledged to the absolute fulfillment of the law and the prophecies.

Among the prophetic utterances relating to the future, and indeed above them all, was that ominous prediction which foretold the end of the world. The earth and all that therein dwells were to pass away in a catastrophe of fire. The universe was to be rolled up as a scroll. As soon as the thousand years from the birth of Christ should be fulfilled, a consuming flame should wrap the world, and a throne of judgment should be set in heaven. The *Dies Ivi*, that terrible crisis in the destinies of mankind, should suddenly flash up through the ashes of nature; and the cowering ghosts of men, flocking in spectral shoals from the four quarters of the burnt-up ball, should bow before the inexorable Judge and receive the everlasting sentence of their doom.

The effect of this prophecy, accepted by the barbarians in all its literal horror, was destructive of all hope and fatal to all progress. As the end drew nigh, all general interests ceased. Human life became an individual concern. Each must save himself in the hour of catastrophe. The king with his council, the peasant with his flocks, must both alike ere long suffer the pangs of the transforming fire.

In the shadow of this awful foreboding the race of man sat dumb. The brilliant activities of former times gave place to dolor and gloom. A belief in the impotence and decadence of man became universal. The vision of the old world, glorious afar off, full of great cities, splendid works of art, and marching armies, was dimly seen in recollection—a beautiful dream of the delusive past. As for the world which now lay doomed under the curse, it was ready by its sins and crimes for its imminent perdition. These gloomy thoughts sank deeper and deeper into the hearts of the deluded millions, and they sat in dumb despair awaiting the day of fate.

It was impossible under such a system of belief that any great human interests should flourish. That which the mind of man conceives of as real becomes in some sense reality. Mankind have bowed to specters more than they have bowed to facts. In the tenth cen-

tury, all classes of people from the king to the serf were haunted with the belief that the world was soon to be destroyed, and this belief acted as a paralysis upon all the energies and aspirations of the people. What was the Empire of Charlemagne—so reasoned the monks and fanatics—since the *Dies Ivi* was at hand? Why should any fabric of human greatness and folly be longer maintained in the shadow of the impending catastrophe? With such a cataclysm just before, the mass-book was better than a constitution, and an ascension robe more important than the robe of a king.

Added to these general influences were many special circumstances which contributed to the political disintegration of Western Europe. Among the principal of these may be mentioned the PERSONAL CHARACTER OF THE LATER CARLOVINGIANS. Nearly all of these sovereigns were, as individuals, contemptible. With the exception of D'Outremer and two or three others, not a single one of the descendants of Charlemagne had the courage and talents requisite in a king. Most of them were imbeciles and blockheads—a second race of *Faineants* of the same grade with the Do-nothings of the old Merovingians. One of the Carolingian neuters was the Simple, and another was the Fat. One was the Stammerer, another the Child. It was impossible that the old Frankish warriors and their descendants should look with favor upon this degenerate line of royalty. Here a duke and there a count came to understand the simple lesson that nature makes the great men and society the manikins. That artificial loyalty and absurd devotion to factitious greatness, which had done so much of old to support the gilded thrones of the East, found no place in the breasts of the nobles of the Middle Ages. For a while they looked on with disdain while the ridiculous farce was enacted, and then turned their backs upon the pageant of the court and struck for independence. As soon as the swords of a few of the bolder lords had cleft a passage through the royal harness and freed themselves from the domination of some kingly simpleton, the less courageous were inspired to do the same. Provinces fell away. Counties became independent. Personal ties, voluntarily assumed,

took the place of imposed authority, and government gave way to—Feudalism. The Empire of Charlemagne was made into three, then into four, and then into seven kingdoms. Each of these in its turn was divided into great fiefs, of which there were in the aggregate, at the end of the ninth century, twenty-nine in France alone, and at the close of the tenth, no fewer than *fifty-five*! Over each of these some duke, count, or viscount established himself in almost independent sovereignty. He held his own courts, issued his own edicts, and in many instances coined his own money. He subtlet his tie to his vassals, and exacted of them taxes, fealty, and homage. From the times of Charles the Bald, 877, the greater nobles of France claimed and exercised the right of transmitting their estates to their sons, according to their pleasure. Landed property became the basis of all the dignities of the state. The crown and prerogatives of the king fluctuated between real facts and myths. Though the constitution of the kingdom still gave to the nominal monarch the right to distribute benefices to his nobles, the hereditary principle in the noble houses themselves had really gained the upper hand, to the extent of substituting the law of descent for the royal prerogative. Thus it was that the Feudal system was substituted for the greater fact of nationality in France, Germany, and finally in England.

The word feudal, thus used to define the state of society which prevailed in Europe from the tenth to the twelfth century of our era, is derived from the Low Latin *feodum*, and more remotely from the German word *vieh*, meaning cattle, or, more generally, goods, money, or property. In other words, the thing defined was the *property* system, as contradistinguished from the political system which it supplanted. In its broader sense, feudalism was a type of social organization based on the ownership of land. In the nature of the case the system implied several things:

First, that the lands of the state should be concentrated in the hands of a few;

Secondly, that political rights should be made dependent on landed rights; and

Thirdly, that all public relations should be deduced from the private relations of those who held them.

It will readily be seen from this general outline of the system that in its essential nature feudalism reversed the old theory of society by putting the Man before the State. Nor will the close connection of the system, historically considered, with the primitive institutions of Germany fail to be noted by any one accustomed to trace out the sequence of events. The real transformation of the society of ancient Germany into that of Mediæval Europe reached no further than this—that the political organization from being *personal* in the former became *territorial* in the latter. In the language of another, *land* became the sacramental tie of all public relations. The poor man depended on the rich, not as his chosen patron, but as the owner of the land which he must cultivate, the lord of the court to which he must bring his suit and service, and in war the leader whom he was bound to follow.

It is only by a stretch of language that the word *system* can be applied to the feudal state of Europe. Theoretical writers have been pleased to see in the European king of the eleventh century the suzerain or head of graduated orders ranged around this central figure, and sloping down in all directions until they rested on serfs and peasants. Nor is this view of the situation wholly devoid of truth. But, like so many other theories of human affairs, it is constructed out of imagination rather than out of the facts. True it is that during the prevalence of feudalism the king was, in general terms, the suzerain or sovereign of all the nobles of the kingdom. In this sense he was the head of the system. But the feudal scheme was much more irregular and broken than what is here implied. Many of the dukes and marquises held their lands in entire independence of the king. Even lords of lower rank sometimes possessed estates for which they paid no tax and did no homage to any superior. In hundreds of instances one duke or count held his lands of another, and it not infrequently happened that while the nobleman A held certain lands of the nobleman B, the latter also held certain other lands of the nobleman A. At one season of the year A did homage to B as a pledge of the renewal of his fealty and service, and then in like manner would B do homage to A. The king himself held estates in many parts of the king-

dom, and these he let to his vassals without much respect to their rank. Lords of low as well as lords of high degree were thus bound directly to the king, so that the supposition of a graduated order ranged around the sovereign would be no adequate representation of the fact. In truth, during the prevalence of the feudal system the whole structure of society was bound and rebound with ties and cross-ties, without either the appearance or intention of regularity or systematic gradation.

The conditions on which feudal lands were held in the Middle Ages are well understood. They were, in general, three in number—homage, taxation, and military service. The act of homage was intended to indicate the submission of a vassal to his lord. It could be received by the lord only, in person. When the relation of dependence was sought or enforced, the person about to become a vassal presented himself to his liege with uncovered head, and prayed that he might be allowed to enter into the feudal relation with him. The request being granted, the vassal took off his sword and spurs, ungirt his belt, knelt before his lord, placed his own two hands in his, and said: "I become your man from this day forth, of life and limb, and will hold faith to you for the lands I claim to hold of you." The oath of fealty was then administered, and the ceremony of investiture followed. If the homage had been done on the lands received by the vassal, the lord gave to him a handful of earth or a stone in token of the transfer of right; and if the ceremony was performed off the estate referred to, the superior generally gave to the vassal a bit of turf taken from the estate.

As already said, feudal rights were generally hereditary. On the death of a vassal the estate fell to his eldest son. But the latter must immediately repair to the manor and repeat the act of homage done by his father. It was possible for an infant to do homage by proxy. But in this instance the act must be repeated as soon as the vassal had reached his majority.

As to the taxes imposed by a suzerain upon his vassal, the same might be discharged either in money or in the products of the estate. In the case of the king and the greater nobles, money was generally exacted; for the

royal chamberlains preferred to purchase provisions for the king's household from the medieval market. But in the case of the lords of low degree, who dwelt perhaps upon the estates cultivated by their vassals and serfs, their suzerains might well choose to accept the annual stipend in products of the land. Ever and anon, the peasants and villagers were seen gathering from the fields and hamlets the tithes belonging to the master and conveying the same in rude carts to the store-house of the baronial castle.

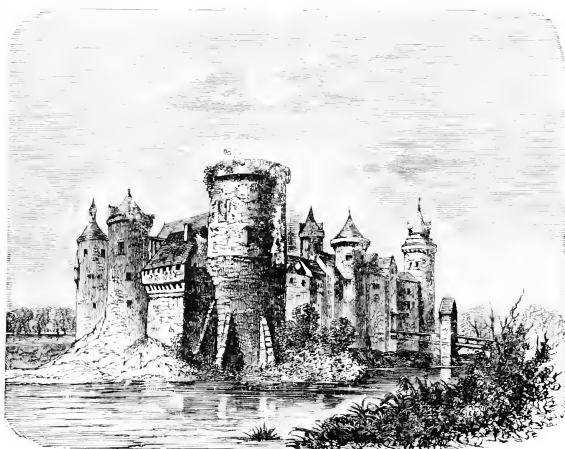
Most of all, however, did vassalage depend upon the condition of military service. The vassal was solemnly bound to rally at the call of his lord, to accompany him in all his enterprises of war, and to fight his battles to the death. The Middle Age was in some sense a camp as wide as Western Europe. As a rule the peasant must bring from his hamlet the armor and supplies necessary for the campaign. Woe to the wight who failed to arm himself for the fray. Sometimes the expedition was long and full of hardships. Generally it was undertaken at the caprice or whim of the suzerain, who, tired of the glutony of peace, sought instinctively the noble sport of slaughter. What cared the well-fatted king, the duke, the marquis for the butchery of the low-born serfs and cattle whom they drove into the fight? It was enough that some petty spite, engendered of kingly malice, or some bitter jealousy born in the kingly bed, should be propitiated with the base blood of serfs.

It can not be doubted that Feudalism was a necessity of the social condition of Europe in the tenth century. The universality of its adoption would of itself be a sufficient proof that the system sprang naturally and inevitably out of the existing condition of political society. With the cessation of barbarism, the feudal principle began to assert itself. It sprang up, as if from the soil. Wherever a given situation was present, there the feudal tenure prevailed more and more until the whole social machinery of Western Europe was conformed to a common type of action. Every existing institution adopted the feudal form. Monks hated it. Kings dreaded it. Both embraced it. Even the Church put off her imperial habit and donned the garments

of Feudalism. Cathedrals and monasteries took on the relation of sovereigns and vassals. One city became the suzerain of another. The king himself was only a feudal lord of larger growth. Not only landed estates, but rights, prerogatives, privileges—the surplice fees of the Church, the revenues derived from the baptismal rite, the privilege of fishing in a given river or of cutting wood in a given forest—all were conceded by the superior to the inferior after the feudal manner. The system took complete possession of society, and

organization of the family, the household, the estate of a feudal baron of the Middle Ages.

He was himself a warrior. He was ignorant, brave, and gloriously brutal. He came as the leader of a band out of the North. At the time of his appearing the inhabitants of the country were those half-Romanized Celts, who in the cities and towns had wholly, and in the country districts partly, substituted the Latin language and institutions for the primitive usages of their fathers. These once warlike peoples, long subject to the iron scepter



FEUDAL CASTLE AT ROUEN.

constrained every other institution to accept its form, if not its spirit.

Looking more closely into the social condition of Feudal Europe, we find much of interest and instruction. Modern times have been and are still largely influenced by conditions which were native to the soil of Feudalism. The family of to-day is essentially feudal in its character and sentiments, and the nature of land-ownership in most of the states of the West is derived from the same origin. From these considerations it may be interesting to sketch in outline the peculiar

of Rome, had become tame and timid. They were trodden under foot by the mighty warriors of the German woods. The work of subjugation was quickly and easily accomplished. A powerful barbarism sat down with crushing weight upon the abject Celtic peasantry of Western Europe.

The leader of this conquering band was now destined to become a feudal lord. He settled in the country which he had conquered. He chose for himself an estate with a limit proportionate to his power and ambition. The inhabitants of these lands—vil-

lagers, farmers, shepherds, peasant—~~to~~ in terror at the sight of his naked sword. Resist him, they durst not. He entered and took possession, and it was astonishing to see the Celtic serfs gathering around him for protection! They huddled around his dreadful plume, preferring his savage domination to a probable conquest by another still more terrible and cruel.

The first work of the incipient baron was to create for himself a permanent residence. To this end he selected some solitary spot, a high hill, an almost inaccessible crag, or defensible position by the water side, and there laid the foundations of his castle. With the aid of his companions and the subject peasants, he reared the huge walls of stone. The battlements and towers appeared. A deep moat was drawn around, and draw-bridge and portcullis completed what part of the defenses had been omitted by nature. Within were capacious and high chambers, finished in imperishable oak. Within the stone-girt inclosure were stables, kennels, and store-houses. Nothing was wanting to complete the isolation, solitude, and defensibility of the massive pile in which the warrior chief now took up his abode.

With him into his castle came his family. This consisted, first of all, of his German wife and children. Them he held in all the love and honor of barbaric tenderness. Besides these, there were generally in the baron's household a number of dependent kinsmen—some feeble uncle or indifferent cousin, who had been unable to conquer an estate for himself, and who preferred the safety of hanging on, rather than the dangerous glory of independence. The same disposition was shown by many other freemen who chose to associate themselves with the master and to obey his commands in return for a safe abode in his castle. Thus was created about the new baronial lord a body of retainers, who constituted a principal element in the feudal society.—Such was the small, isolated family or community which constituted the nucleus of power in the new system which had taken possession of Europe.

At the foot of the hill on which stood the castle of the lord were clustered the village and hamlets of the serfs and peasants. They

lay near to their master as ~~to~~ of serfs. They dreaded him, feared him, respected him, hated him—for who ~~ever~~ hated a master? They huddled together and looked up at the height; it was inaccessible. They accepted their lot; and then began that weary career of toil, servility, and despair through which the peasantry of Europe has held its suffering way even to the present hour.

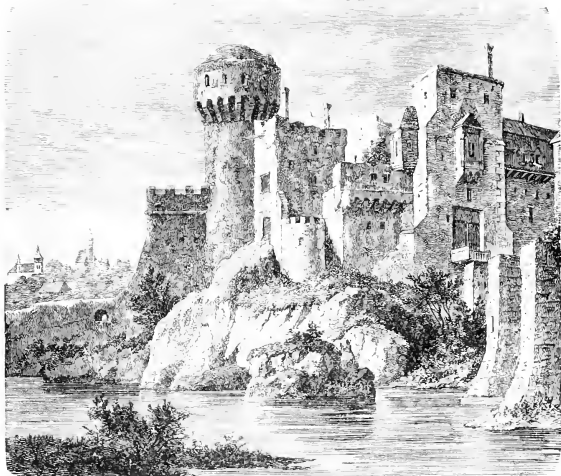
At the first there were few ties existing between the master and his servants. Perhaps the first real bond which came to unite them in interest and feeling was the tie of a common religion. The Christian priest insinuated himself into the new situation. For a while the castle wall kept him at bay, and he was obliged to content himself with a residence among the peasants of the village. To them he ministered in holy things. He baptized their children, solemnized their marriages, soothed them in affliction, and ministered consolation at the grave. It was from these benevolent ministrations that the Christian priest of the Middle Ages gained and held so powerful an ascendancy over the peasant mind of Europe. But with the baron in the castle the expositor of religion was far less successful. The manners and sentiments of the early feudal family were pagan rather than Christian. It was not to be expected that the baronial chief, who had thrown off all restraint, who held his estates in his own rights and contemned even the prerogatives of the king, would patiently give up his soul to the management of a priest. To be sure, the baron became nominally a Christian; but his instincts, opinions, and manners were not much curbed by the restraints of the faith which he professed. He held the priest aloof or tolerated his interference as a necessary evil.

If we look into the sentiments and feelings of the feudal family, we shall observe several traits of marked importance. In the first place, the situation was such as to encourage in the possessor of a fief the idea of his own personal greatness and his vast superiority to those around him. No other condition of man ever so powerfully conduced to engender pride and a sense of personal consequence as did the institution of Feudalism. The baron saw himself lifted vastly above the common herd. He saw himself deferred to, feared,

obeyed, approached with awe and obsequiousness. He appeared to himself as the source and fountain of authority and honor. His importance was not derived, but inherent. He had conquered his estate with the sword. He had built his castle without permission even of the king. His greatness belonged to himself alone, or, at most, to his family. To his son he looked as his successor, and instilled in him the same lessons of haughty self-assertion which he himself had learned

was a system in which the chieftain was the father of a family proper, set in an inaccessible position above a subject people, between whom and himself (for they were not of the same race) there existed no ties of kinship or friendly feeling and few bonds of common interest.

The situation of the feudal family was such as to bring into play and develop the domestic and chivalrous sentiment in a measure unequalled in any other social institution of



FEUDAL CASTLE OF HUNYADI JANOS IN TRANSYLVANIA.

first in war and afterwards on his baronial estate.

As to the feudal family, it was unlike any other presented in history. It was not a tribe after the patriarchic fashion—a gray and venerable sage, father, grandfather, and great-grandfather of the shepherds who gathered around his tents; nor was it a clan after the manner of the primitive society of Scotland—a chief living apart from his followers and pursuing a different life, leading his men in war and commanding them in peace; but it

the world. The members of the family, placed as they were in complete isolation, *must* hold each other in love and honor. With each nightfall the draw-bridge was thrown up, and all the household gathered in the banqueting-hall and around the baronial hearth. Wine and laughter and song ruled the hours of the gloomy night. There hung the arms of the master and the trophies which he had gathered in war. There the baron's beautiful daughter took part in her brother's games and listened with them to the

warrior father's epic recital of the deeds done in the fire of his youth. The mother, too, was in the midst of the scene, still strong-limbed and glorious after the battles of many an expedition and the victorious struggles of maternity. It was not strange that WOMAN here and now became the idol of a nascent civilization, honored, adored, worshiped as she had never been before. The sentiment of *Ideal Love* gained here an ascendancy over the mind of man, and about his life began to be woven those magic cords of chivalrous devotion which he has gladly and nobly worn for nearly a thousand years. May many another thousand be added to the past before those strong and tender cords shall be broken and the soul of man, so hardly emerged from the old fenlands and sloughs of lust, be remanded again to the level of brutality and the horrid styges of animalism!

Another circumstance to be noted in connection with the feudal institution was the growth therein of the principle of inheritance. The baronial lord naturally looked around to discover some means or expedient whereby to preserve in its integrity the estate which he had won by the sword. The suggestion of substituting the law of descent for the law of conquest arose naturally in his mind; and since the division of an estate among several sons would have destroyed the very system which it was intended to conserve, the principle of primogeniture came in as the inevitable concomitant of the law of inheritance. The complication arose with respect to the younger sons of the feudal family. What should be done in the case of him who had the misfortune not to be the first-born of the household? The only solution of the difficulty seemed to rest in the fact that the younger son, if born to the inheritance of valor and ambition, might go forth and conquer an estate of his own. The world was wide. Many provinces still lay in the waste of half-savagery. He who would and could, might take and keep a domain of his own. Missing this opportunity of conquest, the only alternative remaining to the younger scion of feudalism was either to win the only daughter of some sonless baron or to become the hanger-on of an elder brother.

As it respected the small community of

serfs, the government of the feudal lord was arbitrary and tyrannical. The peasants were regarded as destitute of rights. All the powers and prerogatives which modern society has delegated to the magistrate were exercised and abused at will by the baronial master. He made the law and executed it. He levied and collected taxes. He inflicted punishment and treated his tenants as slaves.

There was thus established over the peasantry of Medieval Europe a tyranny the most galling, as it has been the most persistent, known in the annals of mankind. The most bitter hardship of the system lay in the fact that the despotism of the feudal baron was *personal*. He did not pretend to derive his authority from the consent of the governed. Neither the concession of the king nor the permission of heaven was recognized as a necessary antecedent of his authority. He ruled in his own right. It was man over man—the most odious of all the species of tyranny. Hence has arisen and continued throughout Western Europe the deep-seated aversion or positive hatred of the peasant classes for the system of feudal domination. Nor can it well be doubted that the day will come when this aversion of the subject for the ruling classes in European society will result in substituting everywhere the government of reason and consent for the government of personal will.

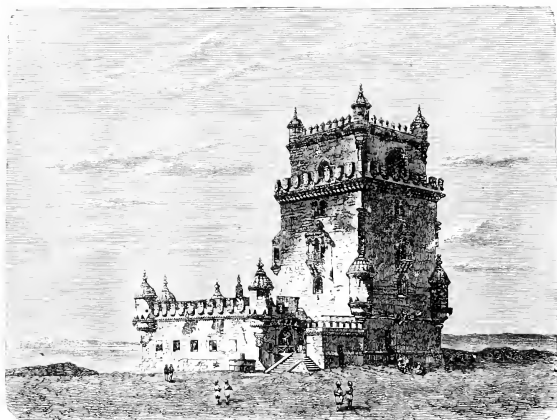
The feudal family, as described in the preceding paragraphs, constituted a part of a general society. The face of Europe was dotted with castles. Though the isolation of each was complete, the common origin and character of all produced a like situation on the face of Europe. The people in all parts became divided into lords and vassals. Ties, first of kinship and afterwards of political interest, were gradually established between the possessors of fiefs. Obligations of service and counter-service stretched from castle to castle, from province to province, from state to state. The new social condition which had gradually oozed out of barbarism became organic, was converted into a system. True it is that these ties and obligations, mutually and voluntarily imposed upon each other and their serfs by the feudal lords, never became constitutional, never were de-

veloped into statutory forms. But they existed. Man was bound to man. The one conceded nothing to the other rendered service. Ideas and sentiments hitherto unknown sprang up and prevailed. Honor and loyalty came in as the sanctions of human conduct which hitherto had had no guaranty but violence. The principles of fidelity were substituted for the argument of force, and personal devotion took the place of written statutes and maxims of the crown.

As it respected the feudal baron and his family, it can hardly be denied that this pe-

was the twitter of the adventurous bird in the gray light of the early morning. Albeit the untutored baron and his sons and daughters wist not that in the general destinies of the world they were entertaining the wicld precursor of the mighty bards of the future.

Not so, however, respecting the intellectual development of the serfs. To them the system was wormwood and despair. They must toil and give to another. They must patiently endure the brutal treatment and exactions of the lords. They must live without ambition and die without euconium. They must trans-



FEUDAL CASTLE OF BELEM, PORTUGAL.

culiar system which took possession of Europe was beneficial—salutary. The character of the lord and his household grew and expanded under the stimulus of the institution which he had created. The baronial castle became the seat of sentiment and affection. Here the wandering minstrel, that forlorn, idealistic spirit, drifting up and down the ways and byways of half-barbaric Europe, found a resting-place at night. Here he was entertained by the amused lord and his household. Here that long-haired harper of the dawn sang the first songs and ballads of the new era by and by to break upon the world. It

mit their hard estate to a household of squalid wretches like themselves. They must consent without a murmur to half-starvation of the body and total starvation of the mind. They must accept a life with no tradition except the memory of hardship, with no fruition except the sour bread of poverty, and with no prospect except a gloomy mass of shadow and cloud out of which shot two tongues of fire, the one in the shape of a sword and the other in the shape of a lash.

The great system which has thus been sketched in outline gained possession of almost the entire social fabric of Western Europe.

France became feudal. As early as the treaty of Verdun in 843 two princes divided the Frankish lands with Charles the Bald. The king of Aquitaine took his portion of the territories, and the Duke of Brittany did likewise. The action of Charles in 876, in recognizing the hereditary rights of his lords, has already been narrated in the preceding Book.¹ By the end of the ninth century, twenty-nine great fiefs had been established in Carolingian France, and in the century following the number was increased to fifty-five. During the tenth century the disruptive tendency in society everywhere displayed itself in full force. The ties between the great dukes and lords on the one side and the king on the other were either greatly weakened or wholly abrogated. But little was wanting to the complete independence of the petty states into which the kingdom was resolved. In process of time the only obligation recognized by the lords and nobles was the insignificant act of fealty performed by them in the presence of a shadowy king.

In Germany, also, the break-up under the successors of Charlemagne lacked little of completeness. Here Feudalism as a system became a definite political form, which in some parts has remained with few changes unto the present day. In the first place, Saxony and Bavaria asserted their independence. The Suabian and Saxon dukes became suzerains and united the interests of their subjects with their own. Feudal government—that graduated system of jurisdiction in which every lord judged, taxed, and commanded the class of persons next below him—was substituted for that legal system which had been established by Charlemagne.

In England there were symptoms of an indigenous Feudalism as early as the time of Alfred the Great. Under Canute the Great

all Britain was divided into counties and fiefs. East Anglia was given to Thorkell; Mercia, to Eadric; Northumbria to Eowil; while West Saxony was reserved by Canute. Whether the system thus fairly inaugurated in Danish England would have come to full flower and fruition under the auspices of the Saxons and the Northmen, can only be determined by conjecture. At the time of the Norman Conquest, the institutions of the island were in a semi-feudalized condition. With the coming of William the Conqueror, the native tendencies were suddenly arrested. He introduced into England a great central administration, to which the country had hitherto been a stranger. He took the lands of the kingdom in his own right, and became the lord-paramount of all England. The administrative functions of the old Saxon and Danish earls were transferred to the sheriffs of the king. Vainly did the native barons resist the encroachments upon their rights. They were overpowered and put down by the arm of one more powerful than themselves. Norman nobles were insinuated into the places of the expelled Danish and Saxon proprietors, and the new order was established, which has remained the basis of land tenure, and, in some sense, of the general constitution of England, to the present day.

Having thus drawn an outline of the feudal system itself—having considered that peculiar institution in its origin, growth, and tendencies, and noted the sentiments and ideas which sprang naturally from the bosom of that society, forecasting, here and there, the influences which the system might be expected to exert on the destinies of modern times—we will now proceed to sketch the social and political progress of the various states of Europe over which Feudalism asserted its sway.

¹ See Book Thirteenth, pp. 544, 545.

CHAPTER LXXXV. — FEUDAL FRANCE.



LOUIS V. of France died childless. With him the French Carolingians became extinct. Even before his death that once illustrious line of kings had sunk to a level with the earth. The blood of Charlemagne no more asserted itself as a living force in the state. For many years the powerful HUGU CAPET, son of Hugh the Great, had wielded the power of the kingdom. Louis the Stupid was no more than putty in his hands. Now that the puppet king was dead, now that only a distant collateral and discredited representative might claim the crown, the issue was squarely made whether Hugh would himself accept an election to the throne or allow the choice to fall upon another.

As soon as King Louis was dead the French nobles assembled at Senlis. The tide of public opinion ran strongly in the direction of the choice of Hugh Capet. A feeble effort was made by the remaining descendant of the Carolingians, Duke Charles of Lower Lorraine, to obtain the royal power for himself; but his claims were treated with contempt. In June of 987 the grandees reassembled at Senlis and proceeded to an election. Count Hugh was present among them and addressed the assembly. The nobles were of one opinion as to him who should be raised to the seat of Charlemagne. Hugh Capet was unanimously elected, and on the following day was crowned king of the Gauls, the Bretons, the Normans, the Aquitanians, the Goths, the Spaniards, and the Basques. Thus, in the year 987, the Capetian line was substituted for the Carolingian on the throne of France.

One of the first cares of the new king was to establish the succession. He proposed to the nobles that to secure the stability of the kingdom his son Robert should be associated with himself in the royal power. At first the proposal was met with opposition. In the recent interval between the death of the Stug-

uard and the election of Hugh it had been urged by the champions of the latter that the hereditary principle ought not to prevail over fitness in the choice of a king of France. Now there was a manifest disposition on the part of the supporters of the king to reverse the late rule of action and restore the law of descent. After some debates Duke Robert was solemnly crowned in the basilica of Sainte-Croix, and associated with his father in the government.

The election of Hugh Capet to the throne of France was the substitution of a feudal kingdom in the place of the constitutional monarchy established by Charlemagne. King Hugh was the greatest feudal chieftain of his times. He was duke of the country called France, and count of the city of Paris. His coronation as king of the French was a public recognition of the fact that the Imperialistic claims of the Carolingians had given place to Feudalism as the essential principle of the state. The very nobles who had elected Hugh to the throne forbore not presently to assert their independence of it. A certain Adelbert, who had participated in the recent royal election, fell into an altercation with his sovereign, and hot words passed between them. "Who made thee Count?" demanded the king of his vassal. And the vassal replied with the equally pertinent question, "*Who made thee King?*" The incident is illustrative of the fact that feudal insubordination had already triumphed over monarchical prerogative.

Duke Charles of Lorraine made a spasmodic and inglorious attempt to regain the throne of his fathers. The struggle was vain, being in the face of fate. A new order had taken possession not only of France, but of all Western Europe. In the year 992 the Duke Charles died, and his family fell into still greater obscurity than ever. King Hugh, meanwhile, entered upon his reign with wisdom and moderation, and the throne was soon securely established in his House. From the very first, however, it was evident that the

incipient struggle was on between the independent claims of the feudal baron and the assertion of kingly authority. It was the beginning of a conflict which was to continue for centuries, and which was finally to be decided in favor of the crown by the triumph of Louis XI. over Charles the Bold.

The reign of Hugh Capet was of nine years' duration. He administered the affairs of state wisely and well. He had the advantage of continuing the policy which he himself had instituted during his uncrowned career before the death of the Sluggard. Under his auspices the civilization of France, destined to remain under the direction of his

matters. It happened that Robert and his queen were cousins in the fourth degree, and this relationship was, according to the canons of the church, an insuperable obstacle to marriage. Pope Gregory V. issued an edict ordering an immediate divorce under pain of excommunication. But the twain clung together even under the dire anathema of Rome.

They remained in the palace, abandoned by their friends, destitute, suffering, starving; for none durst bring them food or minister to their necessities. The whole kingdom was placed under an interdict. Still the law of love prevailed in the royal bosom. At length the queen became a mother, but her child



ELECTION OF HUGH CAPET.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

House for eight hundred years, began to move forward with rapid strides, and the kingdom soon surpassed in refinement and culture any other state north of the Alps. In 996 Hugh Capet died, and was quietly succeeded by his son ROBERT, already king-elect of France.

The new sovereign of the now feudal kingdom entered upon a long, obscure, and inglorious reign. No regular annals of the period are in existence, and the partial records which have been preserved are confused and contradictory. In the year before his accession to the throne the king had taken in marriage Bertha, the widow of Eudes, count of Chartres, for whom he had long cherished a romantic affection. The Church of Rome, however, was little given to romancing in such

was born dead. Thereupon the monks proclaimed that it was the curse of God upon the kingly pair for their unholy marriage. They circulated the report that the dead child was a monstrous deformity, having no semblance to the offspring of man. Terror now seized upon the mind of King Robert, and he consented to divorce the queen. Bertha was sent in her sorrow to a convent, and there passed the remainder of her life as a nun.

In abilities and energy Robert, who now received the surname of the Pious, was greatly inferior to his father. He paved his way with good intentions, but the superstructure of his reign was reared of weakness and folly. The king mixed an amiable disposition and kindly designs with foolish misconcep-

tions and chimerical projects. It is said that his charities were so administered as to encourage idleness rather than to relieve the needy. His mildness in the exercise of authority was understood as a license by the vicious, and his religious sentiments were so shallow as to be satisfied with forms and ceremonies.

After the divorce of Bertha, King Robert married the Princess Constance of Provence. Very unlike his former queen was the vain and insolent woman whom he now took to the throne. She would have her own way in the palace. She brought with her to Paris a retinue of her gay and delightful friends from the South. Their bright dresses flashed in the eyes of the sedate courtiers with whom the king had surrounded himself. Their free and joyous manners were horrifying to the pious Robert; but to the queen all this was life. She filled the palace with minstrels and troubadours. She contrived exciting sports and amusements, and made the monk-shadowed hall ring with the high glee of jocularity. The despairing king sought refuge with his priests. He assisted them in the church services. He went on lonesome pilgrimages to the shrines of the saints. He sought the companionship of filthy beggars, and was in the habit of *washing their feet* as a token of his humility.

The reign of Robert the Pious is noteworthy in French history as the time when the first flush of the crusading fever was felt in Western Europe. At the very time when Queen Constance was holding high revel with her troubadours in the palace at Paris, and the disconsolate king was wandering here and there in search of some balm for his dyspeptic spirit, vague rumors floated westward and the east wind began to whisper the story of outrage done by the sacrilegious Saracens at the tomb of Christ. It was said that the holy places of Jerusalem were defiled by infidel dogs, who spurned with the foot of contempt the lowly Christians of Palestine. It was the peculiarity of this premonitory excitement, which, after smouldering for nearly a century, was destined to wrap all Europe in its flames, that the wrath of the Western Christians was at first directed against the Jews. It was said that these people, still hating

Christ and his followers, had instigated the outrages which had been committed by the Mohammedans in Palestine. They had carried on a secret correspondence with the Infidels of the East, and had suggested the extermination of the Asiatic Christians. Pope Sylvester II., though now in his old age, vehemently proclaimed the duty of Europe to destroy the perfidious Jews and proceed against the defilers of holy Jerusalem. The time, however, had not yet come when such an appeal could fire the multitudes and fling them headlong into Asia.

In the year 1002 Robert became embroiled with the princes of Burgundy. Duke Henry of that province, uncle of the French king, died and left no children; but after his death his stepson Otho came in and claimed the dukedom. King Robert also laid claim to Burgundy as the nephew of Duke Henry. But the king was not fitted, either by disposition or experience, for a conflict which must be decided by force of arms. He accordingly called in his great vassal, the Duke of Normandy, to aid him against the Burgundian usurper. The latter in the mean time raised an army, advanced to meet his foe, and took possession of the abbey of St. Germain, near the city of Auxerre. The army of French and Normans came on from the west, and were about to attack the Burgundians at the abbey when a priest came forth and warned the king not to incur the anger of God by assaulting his earthly sanctuary. At that moment a thick mist arose up from the river. It was the spirit of St. Germain himself come from the deeps to reinforce the appeal of his priest!

The pious King Robert could not stand before such an apparition from the unseen world. He and his army turned and fled. The rebel Otho was left master of the situation. In 1003 the king made a second abortive attempt to reduce the Burgundian to submission. The campaign ended with as little success as before, and Otho continued to rule the province for a period of eleven years. At the end of that time he made a voluntary submission to the king, whose vassal he became, with the title of Count of Burgundy.

King Robert held the throne of France until the year 1031. His eldest son Hugh

was recognized as his successor, and was crowned as the expectant heir while still a child. But this prince died six years before the death of his father. Eudes, the second son of Robert, was an idiot; so Henry, the third son, was chosen for the succession, though this act was done against the violent opposition of Queen Constance, who desired that the crown should be bestowed upon her favorite, the Prince Robert, youngest of the four brothers. In the year 1031, King Robert, being then in his sixtieth year and the thirty-fourth of his reign, was attacked with a fever while on his return from a pilgrimage. He died at the town of Melun, and was succeeded by Prince HENRY.

No sooner was the new king seated on the throne than the partial and implacable queen-mother stirred up a revolt against him. So great was her influence in the court and capital, and so critical became the aspect, that Henry fled from Paris and sought the protection of Robert the Magnificent, the reigning Duke of Normandy. That country had recently been the scene of tumult, intrigue, and crime. The Duke Richard II. had died in 1027, and was succeeded by his son, Richard III. With him his brother Robert, ambitious to gain the duchy for himself, raised a quarrel, and the two princes took up arms to decide the controversy. Richard at first gained the advantage, and Robert was besieged in the castle of Falaise. The latter, finding himself pent up, resorted to treachery. Pretending to desire reconciliation, he opened the gates to his brother and invited him and his nobles to a banquet. Thereupon Richard sickened and died, the probable cause being poison.

An accusation was brought against Robert, and he was excommunicated by his brother, Archbishop Mauger, of Rouen. Presently afterwards, however, the sentence was removed, and he gained the title not only of Duke of Normandy, but also of the Magnificent. To him King Henry now appealed as to a protector against the malice of his delightful mother. Robert at once espoused the cause of the royal appellant, marched on Paris, brought the queen-mother to obedience, and shut her up in a convent. There she had leisure to recall the pleasures of youth, and to hear again in dreams the thrumming

of mediæval guitars in the hands of her troubadours.

As a reward for service rendered, King Henry gave to his friend, Duke Robert, the provinces of Pontoise and Gisors. These were annexed to Normandy. At the same time he appeased the ambition of his own brother Robert by bestowing on him the crown of Burgundy. Shortly afterwards the Duke Magnificent discovered an alarming balance against his soul in the ledger of conscience. He dreamed of the treacherous banquet at Falaise, and saw his brother's face in the shadows. Fain would he abandon the splendor which he had so folly won, and regain the favor of heaven by a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. But what of the succession to the dukedom? He had no children save one and he was—illegitimate. Robert had been enamored of the daughter of a tanner! Feudalism would hardly recognize the offspring of so base a union. But Nature had set on the brow of the youth the seal of genius. The father was anxious to have him acknowledged as his successor. At last the reluctant barons consented. They came into the presence of the bastard boy and swore allegiance to him who was presently to become WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR! Then the penitent Robert, in pilgrim's garb, wended his way to the holy places of the East, and died in Palestine.

No sooner was Duke William acknowledged as the rightful ruler of Normandy than he began to display the great qualities of ambition and daring for which he was so greatly distinguished. The Norman nobles became proud of their young suzerain, and the bishops blinked the story of his birth. Meanwhile, King Henry of France, surprised at seeing thus to bud from the bosom of a tanner's daughter a plant which seemed likely to overshadow the realm, bitterly repented the part which he had taken in favor of Robert and his base-born son. He accordingly conspired with Archbishop Mauger, uncle of the aspiring duke, to reverse the order of events and transfer the Norman duchy to another. But William was so firmly established in the respect and affections of his subjects that the plot against him came to naught. Nature went forth to victory, and legitimacy sat mouthing.

King Henry occupied the throne of France from 1033 to 1060. His reign, on the whole, was weak, if not contemptible. Three times was he married. The first two unions were with queens who brought him no children; but in the third marriage he took to the palace the Russian princess Anne, daughter of the czar, and by her he had three sons. This third marriage of the king with the daughter of a royal House then scarcely known in Western Europe was an event the motives of which it would be difficult to discover. But such was the wifely and the queenly character of the foreign princess thus oddly introduced into the palace of the Capets that all evil against the king's caprice was quieted. The three sons born to King Henry were PHILIP, who succeeded him; Robert, who died in childhood; and Hugh, who became count of Vermandois.

Now it was that the disk of Feudalism grew large and bright. At the same time the sun of royalty waned, as if to its setting. The splendor of the king's court was actually eclipsed by the superior brightness of the courts of many of his vassals. The great counts of Toulouse, Flanders, and Anjou outshone their king in magnificence, and were fully his equals in the field. The Count of Champagne and Blois, half-brother to King Henry, maintained a court in rivalry to that of Paris. He even set up a pretension of royalty, and in 1037 fought a bloody battle with the Emperor Conrad of Germany. He claimed from that monarch the territories which had belonged to Conrad the Pacific; but the count was slain in battle, and his claims were thus blown away. The elder of his two sons was permitted to inherit the earldom of Champagne, and the younger became Count of Blois.

The reign of King Henry, however undistinguished in itself, was a noted epoch for two considerations. The first was the formal effort which was now put forth by the Romish See to reform the abuses of the Church, and the second was the growth and development of CHIVALRY. For a long time ecclesiastical affairs, especially in France, had been sinking deeper and deeper into confusion and disgrace. The conduct of the Gallic clergy had been such as to cover the cause of religion with reproach and shame.

It will be remembered that the celibate party had, in the great struggle of the ninth century, won the day over the supporters of a married clergy. For a generation or two the celibate monks rejoiced in their victory; but by and by they began themselves to be restless under the system which they had succeeded in enforcing. Many of them broke their vows and left the monasteries. The Church was greatly scandalized. Other abuses added to the disgraces of the organization. Benefices were frequently sold to the highest bidder. Even the Papal crown itself had been so disposed of. The folly of the earthly kingdoms in permitting children and boys to occupy thrones was witnessed also at Rome, where Benedict IX., a stripling but ten years of age was raised to the seat of St. Peter. The more serious and sincere ecclesiastics felt keenly the shame consequent upon these corruptions. The cry of reform was raised. The conscience of Germany was deeply stirred at the existing condition of affairs. In the year 1049 the celebrated Bruno was chosen Pope, under the auspices of Henry III. The new dignitary was a man of sanctity and learning. Under the name of Leo IX. he undertook a renovation of the Church. He passed over into France, and convened a great council at Rheims. Here the prelates of the kingdom were summoned, and a more rigorous enforcement of the canonical and moral law was made against those who had been guilty of crime.

As a further measure of reform in the Church, St. Bruno instituted the order of Carthusian monks, the same being a branch of the Benedictines, already established. A wild and solitary spot near the city of Grenoble, in the department of La Chartreuse, was chosen as the site of the first monastery. The observances of the new order were austere and penitential in the last degree. Nor was it long until the Carthusians gained a reputation for benevolence and sanctity above that of any contemporary establishment. Their monasteries soon appeared in various parts of France, Germany, and England. One branch of the brotherhood was established in the Thermae of Diocletian at Rome. Great was the industry displayed by the shorn brothers of Chartreuse in the works peculiar to the monastic life.

Another feature of the religious history of these times was the spread of various heresies. The doctrines of the Church were denied or assailed by many of the clergy. Persecutions for opinion's sake were already frequent. Sects of fanatics, anxious by some extraordinary method and discipline of life to merit the special favor of heaven, arose in different parts of the country. Of these, the characteristics were some almost intolerable form of penance, or unusual rigor of restraint upon the natural appetites. It was the peculiar tenet of one of the heretical sects to fast to the last extreme, with total abstinence from all animal food. Under this severe self-denial the devotees of the community were presently wasted until they were more like wan specters than men of flesh and blood. To be so reduced in body was regarded as the highest evidence of sanctity, and the haggard visage was thought to be the only countenance worthy the name of Christian.

Turning from these peculiar aspects of the religious history of the eleventh century, we note the rise of CHIVALRY. This institution, like Feudalism, of which it was a concomitant development, grew naturally out of the social condition of Western Europe. As early as the days of Tacitus the sentiment of honor was noticeable as a characteristic of German life. Under a system where the man was every thing and the state was little it was necessary to the very existence of tribal society that truth and devotion should prevail over the intriguing and treacherous spirit. In such a state trust was an antecedent of action.

When the Frankish tribes gained possession of Gaul, and, giving over the wandering life, fixed their residence on the soil, they began almost from the very first to cultivate those sentiments which they had come to regard as the best traits of German character. When the Frankish youths were first presented with the weapons which they were to wear in manhood, they were made to take an oath that they would be brave, valiant, and honorable soldiers. Even in those early times the worst stigma which could be affixed to the tribal name was a dishonorable act on the part of its chief. Such were the fundamental facts upon which the chivalrous institutions of the Middle Ages were founded.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, Frankish society having then taken on a definite form and Feudalism having become the basis of the state, the Church discovered in the chivalrous sentiments of the Franks the means of giving a new impulse to religion. Many of the pious nobles who had been actual warriors by profession were induced to become ideal soldiers of the Cross. They consecrated their swords to the cause of virtue, truth, and religion. They took upon them vows to defend the innocent and uphold the weak. They became the sworn foes of oppression, the enemies of wrong-doing wherever and whenever found. The old warlike impulses thus found a vent, and the restless energies of the barbarian character, still present in the descendants of the Teutones, flowed in a newer and broader channel. Just at the time when the consciousness of Western Europe was reviving from its long, barbaric sleep, just at the time when the human imagination began to paint an aureole about the gross head of the feudal chieftain, Chivalry came with its refinement of thought and generosity of action to add new radiance to the morning of civilization.

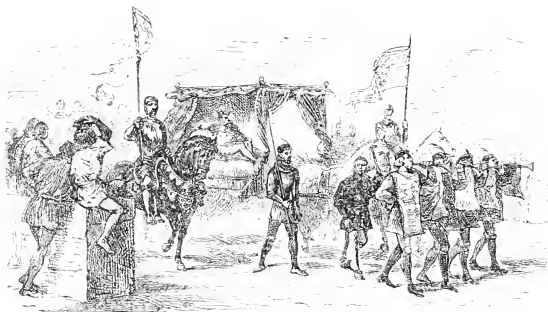
The noble principles and high ideals which thus began to gain an ascendancy in medieval society soon became organic in an institution. An Order of Knighthood was established as the conservator of the new heroism of nascent Europe. Laws and regulations were adopted and a discipline established for the better development of chivalrous sentiments and the proper direction of knightly ardor. The order opened its portals to none but men of noble birth. The vulgar peasantry was absolutely excluded. What dreams of heroism and generosity, of honor, virtue, and truth, of the rescue of the helpless and the defense of the weak, could agitate the unimaginative brains of ignoble serfs? So reasoned and queried the suzerain, the royal warrior, the baronial lord and his aspiring sons, riding forth to tournament or going abroad in search of heroic and adventurous excitement.

The ceremonial of knighthood was interesting and elaborate. The aspirant to knightly honors, after a period of probation, came at length to the day when he was to be admitted among the noble order. The candi-

date was first carefully bathed, in order that he might be presented pure before the ministrants. After the washing he was clothed in a white tunic, over which in a later part of the ceremony was placed a crimson vest. Finally he was encased in a coat-of-mail. His waist was bound with a belt. Spurs were affixed to his boots and a sword girt at his side. The various parts of his dress and armor had a speculative significance as well as an actual use. The white tunic was symbolical of the new life which the knight had vowed to lead. The red vest, symbol of blood, indicated that his business was war. His armor, which was of a sable hue, was to

noble Houses were put for preparatory discipline into the halls of the most eminent knights. There they did service and took lessons of the master, imbibing his courtly manners and emulating his chivalrous deeds. The sentiment of heroic adventure became the one absorbing passion of Feudal Europe, and the armor of the returning knight, coming home victorious over the enemies of truth and chastity, was regarded as the most honorable emblem of the age.

Nor should failure here be made to mention the part which woman naturally assumed under the chivalric *regime* which now prevailed instead of the barbaric rule of the past.



A KING GOING TO TOURNAMENT.

remind him of the blackness of death. His belt signified that he was girt with chastity, and his spurs that he should fly to the rescue of the innocent. When the ceremony of clothing the initiate was completed, he knelt before the officiating knight, who thereupon struck him a blow on the shoulder with the side of his sword, and exclaimed: "In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George, I dub thee knight. Be brave, bold, and loyal. Rise, Sir!" For Sir was the knightly title.

Great was the popularity immediately attained by the chivalrous orders. The one overmastering ambition of the noble youth of Europe was to be admitted to knighthood. To this end the sons of the feudal lords were carefully bred and trained. The scions of the

She was the radiant and adored goddess of the chivalrous age. To her, in some sort, the whole system was directed. Weaker than man, her protection, from being an instinctive sentiment, became the open and avowed duty of the knight. Religion said that the knight should be true to God; humanity, that he should be true to woman. The times were still full of violence. Lawless passions still sought to be gratified at the expense of virtue, unable to defend itself against the strong. The feudal situation was such as to encourage the sentiment of ennobling love. Woman was secluded from base familiarity. She grew up in the castle halls. The baron's daughter was rarely seen abroad. From her father's castle to the castle of her possible

lover was the space of fifty, perhaps a hundred, miles. It was hill country, dark woods, and deep rivers—hills without a roadway, woods infested with brigands and robbers, and rivers without a bridge. Her lover must come to her at peril of his life. She had never seen him; he had never seen her. They had only dreamed and imagined each other's loyalty and devotion. Their fathers, perhaps, were friends—old-time companions in the perils and hardships of war. Perhaps

his caparisoned steed, fling the reins to a groom, and walk, in full and shining armor, into the echoing hall of her father's castle. It was the beginning of that great romance which for a thousand years has been the dream of the human heart, gilding the gloom of action and adorning the coarseness of life with the beauty and tenderness of ideal love.

The institution of chivalry, thus established in the beginning of the eleventh century, spread rapidly throughout the western



KNIGHTS-ERRANT.

they were enemies! May be between them yawned a chasm which had been rent open by the deadly feuds of a hundred years. The young baron saw the divinity of his life afar. He must blow his bugle outside of the moat. The warder must announce a stranger and let down the drawbridge if he was welcome. Up must be flung the portcullis, and in must ride the aspiring lover, who would fain behold and worship the goddess of his dreams. Meanwhile she, after the manner of her sex, looked down into the court from her high and narrow window and saw *him* dismount from

part of Europe. Knighthood in France became the dominant aspect of society. In a short time a class of champions known as knights-errant became prevalent, and the representatives of this Order might be seen in almost every part of the country. In Spain the business of the knight was more serious and less ideal. There the Moors were to be confronted. There the banner of the Cross was to be lifted against that of the Crescent. There in a thousand private encounters and deadly personal battles the metal of the Christian sword was to be tested against that

of the Mohammedan. It thus happened that the sentiment of hatred and contempt of Infidels prevailed over nobler motives in the chivalry of Spain. Of all the countries of Europe, insular and practical England was least favorable to the reception of knighthood. The knightly branch of the military service was less important to the English kings than were those sturdy yeoman archers, whose long bows of yew were so terrible to the enemy. In the succeeding Book, the influence of the chivalrous orders will again demand our attention as one of the leading impulses of the Crusades. It was in those marvelous movements of Europe to the East that the knightly spirit of the West found its broadest and most congenial field of activity.

After his death in the year 1060, King Henry was succeeded on the throne of France by his son Philip I. This prince was a mere child, being but seven years of age at the time of his accession. The late king had taken the precaution to appoint as regent Earl Bahlwin of Flanders during the minority of Philip. In 1067 the protector died, and the young king was left to his own resources and responsibilities.

The domestic relations of the new prince were no more fortunate than those of his father. Two years after the death of the regent, Philip took in marriage the Princess Bertha, daughter of the Count of Holland. Six years afterwards she brought to her lord a son, who was destined to succeed him with the title of Louis the Fat. After twenty years of married life, the king made the convenient discovery that he and the queen were within the prohibited degrees of kinship. He therefore put her away by divorce, and she went into banishment at Montreuil-sur-Mer. Nor was it long until the nature of the king's conscientious scruples were amply revealed. He had conceived a violent passion for the beautiful Bertrade, fourth wife of his vassal, the Count of Anjou.

But no sooner was Queen Bertha disposed of than the king set out for Tours, made known his so-called love for Bertrade, who presently left her consort and joined her alleged lover at Orleans. The bishops and priests were properly shocked at these proceedings on the part of their sovereign. Scarcely

could the king discover one of the clergy sufficiently bold and unscrupulous to perform the marriage ceremony. The whole Church of France was up in arms against it. The Pope promptly joined his authority with that of the Gallican bishops who refused to recognize the validity of the union. Then followed a desperate struggle between papal and kingly prerogative. One excommunication after another was launched at the heads of the king and his few adherents, but all to no avail. He kept his queen and mocked at the Holy Father's authority. Philip's spirit rose with the persecution against him. The priests refused to perform religious services in any town where he was sojourning, and when he departed from a town the bells rang a peal of joy for his departure. Thereupon he was accustomed to say with a laugh to her who was the cause of the insult, "Dost hear, my love, how they are ringing us out?"

This social disturbance in the king's house soon distracted the affairs of the whole realm. The kingdom was put under an interdict by the Pope. For twelve years France lay smitten with the awful displeasure of the Holy See. Not until the First Crusade had drawn the attention of both Church and king to the more serious question of expelling the Infidels from Palestine did Philip finally yield to the dictation of the Church. In the year 1104, in a great convocation of the bishops at Paris, the king went humbly before the body, confessed his sin, renounced his wife, and promised to expiate his crime with meek and penitential works. In like manner, Bertrade yielded to the inevitable and took the oath of renunciation and future obedience. Nevertheless, it is more than probable that both king and queen, in aljuring their past lives, swore falsely even on the Gospel. A short time afterwards the audacious twain were living as before, and publicly journeying together from place to place in the kingdom.

It appears, however, that King Philip was not wholly engrossed with his vices. In the early part of his reign he drew his sword in a war with Robert, duke of Friesland, who had seized upon the duchy of Holland. But the event soon showed that the king of the French was by no means a match for Count Robert and his northern warriors. A peace was ac-

cordingly made, on terms altogether favorable to the Duke of Friesland. Robert stipulated that the young king should accept in marriage his daughter Bertha. For she was that Bertha who has already been mentioned as the first wife of Philip.

It was already the daybreak of the Crusades. The reader will readily recall that part of the narrative in the Second Book of the present Volume wherein an account is given of the more friendly relations which were gradually established between the Christians and Mohammedans in the East. Nor is it likely that the old flames of animosity would have burst out anew if the mild-mannered Saracens of the East had remained in possession of the Holy Sepulcher. It was needed that the prejudice of race should be added to the prejudice of religion before the ancient fires could be rekindled. But this missing condition necessary to wrap all Europe in a conflagration was presently supplied in the conquest of Palestine by the Seljukian Turks. In the latter part of the eleventh century these fierce barbarians, themselves the followers of the Prophet, but a very different people from the refined and philosophical Arabs who controlled the destinies of Islam in the South and the West, gained possession of the city of Jerusalem, and began a career of violence and persecution which was almost as repugnant to the Saracens as to the Christians themselves. What should be said of the despicable wretches who, without compunction or fear, converted the churches of the city of David and Christ into cow-houses and stables?

The news of what was done in Palestine created the greatest indignation and rage. The Christian pilgrims, who escaped from the atrocities of the Infidels in Asia, returning, spread the story of the sacrilegious crimes done by Turks on the followers of Christ. It will be remembered that at this juncture of affairs the Empire of Constantinople trembled to its base. The menacing Turks were even then at the threshold. The Emperor Michael VII., distrusting his own ability to save the Greek Empire from destruction, sent a hurried embassy to Pope Gregory VII., imploring his aid against the common enemy. The Holy Father thereupon dispatched letters to the va-

rious Christian states of Europe, calling loudly upon them to rally to the standard of the imperiled Cross. Meanwhile a certain Peter, a devout monk of Picardy, had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. There he had been maltreated and abused according to the manner of the conscienceless Turks. The monk saw with indignation and shame his countrymen and brethren insulted and spit upon in the same manner as himself. Going to the Christian patriarch of Jerusalem, he laid before him the story of his wrongs. But the patriarch was unable to redress his grievances. He told Peter, moreover, that the Greek Emperor was as impotent as himself to protect the pilgrims from the fury of the malignant Turks. The monk thereupon returned to Italy and flung himself before the successor of St. Peter, beseeching him to rally all Christendom against the defilers of the tomb of Christ.

Meanwhile the Church of the West was rent with a violent schism. In 1088 Gregory VII. was succeeded on the papal throne by a Benedictine monk named Otto de Lagny, who took the title of Urban II. But Henry IV., Emperor of Germany, refused to recognize him, and put up Clement III. as anti-pope. The latter was presently expelled by the Romans, and he and Henry were excommunicated by Urban. In 1091 the Emperor marched an army to Rome, restored the anti-pope, and obliged the Pope to fly into Apulia. Two years later, however, Urban regained the papal crown, and in 1095 called a great council at Piacenza. There were present at the assembly two hundred bishops, three thousand of the inferior clergy, and thirty thousand laymen. While this great convocation was busy with the affairs of the Church ambassadors arrived from Alexius Comnenus, Emperor of the East, who joined his voice with that of Peter of Picardy in imploring the aid of Western Europe against the Turks. Urban lent a willing ear to the appeal, and called upon the Christian princes to draw their swords against the Infidels. The agitation spread everywhere. The council of Piacenza adjourned, and the bishops returned to their several countries, fired with the rising spirit of crusaders. Before the end of the same year—namely, in November of 1095—Pope Urban II. called

another great council at Clermont, in Auvergne, and there the first formal step was taken for the rescue of the Holy Land from the Turks.—Here, then, we pause in the

feudal history of France to sketch the course of events in the surrounding states before entering upon the history of that tumultuous movement called the Crusades.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.—FEUDAL GERMANY.



HE course of German history has already been traced from the division of the Carolingian empire to the death of Otho the Great, in the year 973. That distinguished sovereign was succeeded on the throne by his son Otho II., surnamed the Red. The prince who thus came into the kingly and Imperial dignity was at the time of his accession but seventeen years of age. It was the first fate of his reign to fall under the regency of his mother, Adelheid, who exhibited great abilities during the minority of her son. But Theophania, the wife of Otho, became inflamed with jealousy on account of the ascendancy of her mother-in-law, and the latter was presently obliged to descend from her preëminence and retire into Burgundy.

In the first years of the reign of Otho the Emperor's cousin, Henry of Bavaria, headed a revolutionary movement against the crown, with a view of securing the independence of his own state. The revolt made considerable progress, and Henry was crowned at Ratisbon; but the tide presently turned against him, and in 976 he was overthrown in battle. The ambitious purpose of the barbarians was brought to naught, and they had the chagrin to see their country united with the province of Suabia. By this union of the two German states, effected in the last quarter of the tenth century, were laid the foundations of the modern kingdom and empire of AUSTRIA.

The next complication demanding the attention of Otho arose on the frontier of Bohemia and Denmark. With both of these states he went to war and was so successful as to maintain the boundaries established by his father. But while the Emperor's energies

were thus absorbed in the North-east, Lothaire, king of France, seized the favoring opportunity to possess himself of the lower province of Lorraine. In the summer of 978, he succeeded in capturing Aix-la-Chapelle and thus established himself in the ancient capital of Charlemagne. Great was the wrath which these events excited throughout Germany. An army of sixty thousand men was raised; and Otho, turning upon the Franks, drove them back more rapidly than they had come. The Emperor pursued the retreating Lothaire to Paris and besieged him in his own capital. Then it was that the German army, encamped on Montmartre, performed an exquisite piece of bravado by bellowing the Latin litany in the ears of the Parisians.¹ After a war of two years' duration, a personal interview was had between Otho and Lothaire, and their difficulties were settled by the restoration of Lorraine to Germany.

The next trouble in which the Empire was involved was on the side of Italy. The Eternal City had for some time been the scene of turmoil and confusion. In the year 891 Otho found it necessary to go to Rome in order to quiet the disturbances in the government. While engaged in this duty he had personal interviews with Conrad, duke of Burgundy, and the great count, Hugh Capet of France. His mother, the ex-empress Adelheid, also met him at Pavia, and the two were reconciled. At this time the coasts of Italy were assailed by both the Greeks and the Saracens. It was necessary for Otho, in virtue of his Imperial title, to defend the South against the ravages of her enemies. Notwithstanding the fierce animosities existing between the Greeks and the Saracens, an alliance was made between them for the purpose of resisting the

¹ See Book Thirteenth, p. 552.

German Emperor. For one year a desultory war was carried on between the belligerents of Italy; but in the summer of 982, a great and decisive battle was fought on the coast of Calabria. The army of Otho was utterly routed by the Saracens, and he himself only escaped destruction by flinging himself into the sea and swimming to a ship. The vessel was found to be a galley of the Greeks, but Otho induced the captain to put him ashore at Rossano, where he was joined by the Empress. Thence the Imperial pair made their escape into Northern Italy, and in the following year Otho summoned the Diet of the Empire to meet him at Verona.

The call was obeyed with alacrity. The princes assembled from most of the states of Western Europe, and the Diet was the most imposing deliberative body which had been convened for centuries. The kings of Hungary and Bohemia sat side by side with the dukes of Saxony, France, and Bavaria. One of the first duties devolving on the assembly was the establishment of the succession. The choice fell naturally on the Emperor's son, then a child but three years of age, afterwards to be known as Otho III. Great preparations were then made for prosecuting the war with the Saracens. The national spirit of the Germans was thoroughly aroused, and the energies of the Empire were bent to the destruction of the Mohammedan buccaners in the Mediterranean. But before the preparations for the conflict could be completed the Emperor Otho fell sick and died, being then in the twenty-eighth year of his age and the tenth of his reign.

The ministers at Aix-la-Chapelle were engaged in the coronation of Otho III.—following in that matter the decree of the Diet at Verona—at the time when the news came of his father's death. The establishment of a regency became an immediate necessity, and a violent dispute arose between the queen-mother, Theophania, and the queen-grandmother, Adelheid, as to which should have the guardianship of the Imperial scion. Duke Henry of Bavaria also came forward, and claimed the regency, being actuated thereto by the ill-disguised motive of obtaining the crown for himself. The German princes, however, were not at all disposed to favor

this ambitious project, and the vision of the aspiring Henry was soon reduced to his own dukedom of Bavaria. The regency went to Adelheid and Theophania, the latter exercising authority in the name of her son in Germany, and the former doing likewise in Italy. In both countries these royal women wielded their authority with prudence and success. After eight years Theophania died, and the now aged Adelheid became sole regent of the Empire. Choosing the dukes of Saxony, Swabia, Bavaria, and Tuscany as members of her council, she continued for three years longer to sway the Imperial scepter, and was then succeeded by her grandson, who, on reaching the age of sixteen, took into his own hands the reins of government.

In this period of thirteen years since the death of Otho II. the Empire was almost constantly menaced with war. The Wends in Brandenburg again revolted and fell upon the German settlements beyond the Elbe. Nor, for the time, was any effective aid rendered by the Imperial army to the people of this exposed frontier. The Saxons themselves, however, proved equal to the emergency, and the Wendish revolt was suppressed after a severe and bloody struggle. Nor were the relations of the Empire on the side of France more peaceable than in the Northeast. Though open hostilities were not resorted to, the sentiment of war prevailed during the whole minority of Otho III. This was the epoch in French history when the House of Charlemagne was in the slow agonies of extinction. Duke Charles, last of that degenerate line, was setting up his feeble and ridiculous claim to the crown of the kingdom, while the great Hugh Capet was quietly taking to himself the royal dignity, with the ample consent of the nobles and people of France.

Little was the German Empire benefited by the transfer of the scepter from the withered but virtuous hand of Adelheid to that of her facile and capricious grandson. Though the education of Otho III. had by no means been neglected, his instruction had been Greek rather than German. Like many another upstart stripling, he preferred his foreign to his native culture. He affected to be—and perhaps was—ashamed of his Saxon

lineage, and was fool enough to style himself a Greek by birth and a Roman by right of rule. Albeit but little good might be expected to flow from the Imperial scepter while wielded by a prince so fantastic in disposition and absurd in his royal mannerisms.

In accordance with his theory of regarding himself as a Roman rather than a German Emperor, young Otho made all speed to the Eternal City to receive his crown at the hands of the Holy Father. The papal chair was at that time occupied by Pope John XVI., whom Otho had recently aided in a struggle with a certain Roman noble named Crescentius, who had endeavored to usurp the government of the city. The Pope, however, died while the Emperor was *en route* into Italy; and the latter found it necessary to create his own creator by appointing to the papacy his cousin Bruno, who took the seat of St. Peter with the title of Gregory V. By him Otho was crowned a few days after his arrival in the city. How, indeed, could the Pope do otherwise, when he himself had been raised up for that especial duty?

It soon appeared that the Pope had the worst of the bargain. When the ceremony of coronation was done, and Otho had retired from Italy, Crescentius rose against the Pope, expelled him from power, and set up a new creature of his own. On arriving in Germany Otho found that the Wends of Prussia were again in insurrection, and that his northern frontier had been broken in by the Danes. Notwithstanding this alarming condition of affairs, the Emperor left his own country to defend herself against her enemies, and hastily re-crossing the Alps, fell upon the enemies of Gregory. The rival Pope was seized and barbarously mutilated. Crescentius was taken and beheaded, and Gregory reinstated in the papacy. The triumph of the latter, however, was of short duration. He died in 999, and his place was taken by Gerbert of Rheims, whom Otho now raised to the papal chair, with the title of Sylvester II.

The new pontiff had been the teacher of the Emperor in boyhood, and was greatly esteemed for his learning, though not at all for his piety. Indeed, the Pope's scholarship, especially in matters of science, was such as to gain for him the bad fame of being a magi-

cian. It was held by the people that he practiced the Black Art and was the servant of his master, the Devil. Already were discoverable the symptoms of an outbreak between the calm-spirited, benevolent founders of science and the ignorant zeal of bigoted credulity.

For three years Otho III. remained in Germany, occupying his time with the religious pageants of the city and cultivating the acquaintance of the celebrities of the Church. In A. D. 1000 he returned to Germany, where his aunt, the Princess Matilda, had held rule during his absence in the South. Here his attention was at once absorbed with the religious affairs of the Empire. One of the most serious questions of the times was the setting up of an independent Church by the Poles. These people, under the lead of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, demanded and obtained from the Emperor the separation of their diocese from that of the Empire. The concessions made by Otho in this respect were so many and important that the authority of the German Empire over the rising kingdom of Poland was presently denied.

During the negotiations of Otho with the Poles, he turned aside from the principal business in hand to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Adalbert at Prague. Afterwards he made a journey to Aix-la-Chapelle, and there gratified his morbid fancy by entering the sepulcher of Charlemagne. It was one of the dreams of Otho that he should become the restorer of the Roman Empire of the West. That, too, had been the delusive vision which flitted before the fancy of the greatest Carovingian. Now the German prince entered the gloomy vault where the body of Charlemagne had lain for nearly two hundred years, believing that the spectral lips would speak to him and teach him how his object might be accomplished.

It was not long until the condition of affairs in Italy again demanded the presence of the Emperor. Sylvester was not much more kindly received by the Romans than had been his predecessor. A strong party of the Italian clergy openly denounced the scandalous proceeding of Otho in the appointment of the last two Popes. In the year 1001 the Emperor returned to Rome and established his

court on the Aventine. But his presence was ill brooked by the insurgent people. Moved partly by his unpleasant surroundings and partly by curiosity, Otho slipped out of the city by night and made a visit to Venice. On his return to Rome, however, he found the gates closed against him. Enraged at this inhospitable reception, he gathered a force and began a siege of the city. But before he could make any impression upon the defenses he sickened and died, being at that time in the sixth year of his reign and the twenty-third of his age. His body was taken in charge by his followers, who cut their way through the Roman insurgents, bore their lifeless burden across the Alps, and buried it in the royal tomb at Aix-la-Chapelle.

In the following year, A. D. 1003, Sylvester II, died, and the papal seat was seized upon by the counts of Tusculum. By them an effort was now made to apply the hereditary principle to the Holy See, and to establish a papal succession in their own family. One of the counts, then a youth but seventeen years of age, was raised to the pontifical dignity with the title of John XVII., and in the course of the following nine years he was succeeded by three others as immature as himself. Thus, while the Imperial crown of Germany, so ably and honorably worn by Otho the Great, descended to a fantastic strippling incapable of any great and serious enterprise, the papal tiara in like manner declined from the broad brow of Leo VII. to rest on the ridiculous heads of the boyish incompetents, John XVIII. and Sergius IV. Such was the waning and eclipse of the magnificent dream of Charlemagne to re-establish the ancient empire in state and Church.

At the death of Otho III. the Imperial crown was claimed by three of the German princes. The choice fell at length upon the late Emperor's cousin, Duke Henry of Bavaria, great grandson of Henry the Fowler. The election of this prince was seriously opposed by the dukes of Saxony, Suabia, and Lorraine; and for a season the Empire was threatened with disruption. But in due time the refractory electors submitted, and the authority of Henry was recognized throughout Germany. Not so, however, in the South. The disposition to regard Italy as a separate

kingdom was more and more manifest, and the Italians were quick to perceive the difference between a powerful sovereign like Otho the Great and the present wearer of the Imperial crown.

During the greater part of his reign HENRY II. was vexed with the complication of his affairs south of the Alps. But a more pressing demand was made upon the military resources of Germany in repelling the aggressions of the Poles. For Boleslau, the reigning Duke of Poland, a brave and warlike prince, undertook to unite Bohemia and all the Slavonic countries eastward of the Elbe into an independent kingdom. The German territories in this region were thus about to be wrested away from the parent state and absorbed in a foreign dominion. The first sixteen years of Henry II.'s reign were almost wholly consumed in warfare with the Poles. One bloody campaign after another was waged, until at last, in 1018, peace was concluded by the acceptance of a dependent relation on the part of Poland. But to compensate for this humble position as a tributary of the German Empire, the Saxon province of Meissen was forced into a like relation of dependence upon the Polish duchy.

While these events had been in progress beyond the Elbe the Wends had again revolted and obtained the mastery of Northern Prussia. In that region the authority of the Empire was overthrown and paganism established on the ruins of the Church. In the mean time Arduin, duke of Ivrea, had once more induced the Lombards to throw off their allegiance. Independence was declared and the duke was chosen king. As early as 1006 Henry II. was obliged to lead an army across the mountains in order to restore quiet to Italy. Proceeding against Pavia he laid siege to that city, which was presently taken and burned. Believing the insurrection at an end the king returned into Germany. But no sooner were the Alps between him and Arduin than the latter again came to the front as the leader of the revolution. Pope Benedict VIII., the third of the boy pontiffs of the Tusculan dynasty, was so hard pressed by the insurgents that he fled to Germany, and besought Henry to aid him in recovering the chair of St. Peter. In 1013 the king con-

ducted the Holy *Relic* back to Italy, retook Pavia, and marching on Rome reinstated Benedict in the papacy. Then it was that Henry himself received at the hands of the grateful pontiff the honours of the Imperial crown.

While the Polish war still continued in the Northeast the western frontier on the side of Flanders, Luxembourg, and Lorraine were troubled with rebellions. Indeed, in all parts of the Empire the same tendency towards disintegration and the achievement of local independence, which we have observed in the contemporaneous history of Feudal France, was manifest. At this time a violent quarrel broke out between Rudolph III., king of Burgundy, and his nobles, on account of the disposition which he was about to make of the crown. In looking forward to his exit he bequeathed the kingdom to his nephew, who was none other than the reigning Emperor. Burgundy was thus about to pass under the German scepter, and to prevent this catastrophe the Burgundians went to war. The armies of Henry II. marched rapidly to the rescue and the country was conquered after two arduous campaigns.

The year 1020 was signalized by the dedication of the great cathedral of Bamberg. Upon this structure the Emperor had for many years lavished his treasure. The Pope made a journey from Rome in order to be present and direct the ceremonies of consecration. His Holiness availed himself of the opportunities of the German court again to implore the interference of Henry in the affairs of Italy. The southern part of that country was now overrun and held by the Greeks. The city of Capua had been taken by them, and could not be recovered by the Italians. The Emperor hesitated not to respond to the call. In the following year he led a large army across the Alps, and expelled the Greeks from the whole peninsula, except a few places on the coast of Bruttium. The campaign, however, was almost as disastrous to the Germans as to the enemy whom they defeated. A pestilence broke out, and the army of Henry was well-nigh destroyed before it could escape from the country.

The remaining three years of the reign of the Emperor Henry were spent in settling the affairs of Germany. On every side the

kingly prerogative was assailed by the dukes and counts struggling after the manner of feudal lords to become independent of their suzerain. The development of a feeling of nationality was thus counterchecked by the sentiment of local independence. In spite of the strenuous efforts of Henry II. he was obliged to witness the constant disintegration of the Empire. The spirit of the times had so changed since the death of Otho the Great that not even the greatest genius and industry could suffice to check the forces of localism and hold the state in one. In the year 1024 the Emperor died and was buried in his cathedral at Bamberg. With him expired the Saxon line of sovereigns which had begun with Conrad I. in 918.

It thus became necessary for the German nobles to elect a new sovereign in the place of Henry II. For this purpose a great assembly was held on the Rhine, near the city of Mayence. This had now become the border line between the Germans and the Franks. About sixty thousand persons came to the assembly. Two great camps were formed, the one on the eastern, the other on the western bank of the river. The candidates for the Imperial crown were two cousins, both named Conrad, and both supported by a powerful following. At length, after five days of discussion not unmixt with intrigue, the choice fell on CONRAD OF SWABIA, the elder and more popular of the candidates, and he at once received the crown in the cathedral of Mayence. The election had turned largely upon the facts that Conrad was a man of great abilities, and that he had married the Princess Gisela of Swabia. By her—for she was already experienced in the matter of government—the new Emperor was greatly aided in conducting the affairs of state. Nor was any serious opposition manifested to the assumption of royal power by one so worthy to wield the scepter.

It was the peculiarity of mediæval times that a change of dynasty generally furnished the occasion for the revolt of discontented peoples. The accession of Conrad II. proved to be no exception to the rule. First of all, the Lombards threw off the German yoke. They fell upon the city of Pavia and destroyed the Imperial palace. At the same time Rudolph of

Burgundy, who, as will be remembered, had designed to give his kingdom to Henry II., now changed his mind and resisted the claims of Conrad. In Poland, also, King Boleslan annulled the existing treaty and refused any longer to recognize the tributary relation of the kingdom. Just at the time, however, when the Empire seemed to totter, the Polish king died, and while his sons were engaged in a violent quarrel about the succession Conrad found opportunity to re-establish his sovereignty over the country. In Burgundy also the childless Rudolph III. was presently obliged to yield to the logic of events and acknowledge Conrad as his successor. With Canute the Great of England the Emperor made a treaty by which the Eider was established as his boundary on the side of Denmark.

Having thus effected a settlement of the affairs north of the Alps, Conrad next turned his attention to the insurgent Lombards. He led an army across the mountains, and early in 1026 entered the valley of the Po. Finding Pavia in the hands of the rebels, the king proceeded to Milan, where he received, at the hands of the nobles, the iron crown of Lombardy. In the course of a single year all Northern Italy yielded to his sway. In the following spring he continued his course to Rome, where he was welcomed by Pope John XIX., one of the Tusculan pontiffs, being now but twelve years of age. At the hands of this sage father of the Holy See, Conrad received the golden crown of Empire. Canute of England and Rudolph of Burgundy were present on the occasion, which was signalized by the betrothal of Gunhilde, daughter of Canute, to Prince Henry, son of the Emperor.

In the mean time the adventurous Normans had made their way into Southern Italy, and had there succeeded in expelling from the country the Greeks and the Saracens. After their manner they took possession for themselves, and a new Normandy was about to be established in the South. Conrad found it necessary to stretch out the Imperial scepter towards the Mediterranean. But the Normans, though they readily assumed the relation of vassals to the crown, refused to leave the provinces which they had conquered. Thus did the blood of the northern races assert itself as far as the strait of Messina.

During the absence of the Emperor in Italy, an alarming condition of affairs had supervened in Germany. Duke Ernest II., of Saxe, step-son of Conrad, raised the standard of revolt and laid claim to the crown of Burgundy. On reaching the paternal kingdom the Emperor marched against the insurgents, defeated Ernest and threw him into prison. The prayers of Gisela, the rebel prince's mother, at length prevailed to secure him his liberation. But he failed to keep faith with the crown, united himself with Count Werner of Kyburg, became an outlaw in the Black Forest, and was soon afterwards killed in a battle with the Imperial troops. Such, however, had been the daring career which the rebellious prince had run that he became a popular hero, and his exploits were sung in the ballads and recited in the traditions of a story-loving people. Duke Ernest was the Robin Hood of Germany.

The affairs of Poland, after an epoch of turbulence subsequent to the death of Boleslan, at length fell to a calm. The Poles again asserted their independence of the German crown, and Conrad invaded the country to re-establish his authority. But the expedition ended in disaster. The Imperial army was utterly defeated and forced back to the river Elbe. By this time a war had broken out between Count Albert of Austria and King Stephen of Hungary. The latter had succeeded in inducing his people to abandon paganism, and had himself, in the year 1000, been baptized by Pope Sylvester II.; but his piety, which afterwards gained for him the appellation of *Saint*, did not save him from the lust of war. Count Albert appealed to the Emperor for aid, and the Hungarians were obliged to consent to a treaty of peace dictated by the conquerors. A settlement having been reached on the Danubian frontier, Conrad found opportunity to renew the war with the Poles. In this, also, he was successful, and Poland again became tributary to the Empire. In 1032 Rudolph of Burgundy fulfilled the promise which he had made by sending his crown and scepter to the Emperor. Hereupon, Count Odo of Champagne, who as the next relative to Rudolph, claimed the duchy of Burgundy, and raised a revolt in the southern part of that province.



BAPTISM OF SAINT STEPHEN BY POPE SYLVESTER II.

From the painting by Benzer Gyula, in the National Museum, Pesti.

The insurrection was of sufficient importance to demand the presence of an Imperial army. But Count Odo was overthrown, and Conrad was crowned king of Burgundy. Thus, in the early part of the eleventh century was the valley of the Rhone, including about the half of Switzerland, incorporated with the Empire. The union, however, extended no further than the establishment of a political bond, and not to the institutions, language, and social customs of the Burgundians, who continued as they had been, essentially French.

In Italy a movement was now begun which in its result was one of the most important in the Middle Ages. The Imperial sway over the Italian peoples was nominal rather than real. It afforded but little protection to society and had in itself no element of stability. In order to continue, it had to be constantly reestablished by force. To be sure, the papal power never failed to uphold the authority of the Emperors; for by this means the Popes were in turn enabled in every time of need to call forth the secular sword in defense of their interests.

Many of the Italian nobles and patriots, however, perceived the hollowness of this factitious system of government. A few of the bolder spirits grew restless under a foreign domination which claimed every thing and gave nothing. Chief among these brave spirits was Heribert, archbishop of Milan. In the year 1037 he induced the people of his city to throw off the Imperial yoke and assert their independence. The insurrection was organized under the leadership of Heribert, who staked all on the cast of the die. He was deposed by the Emperor and excommunicated by the Pope. But he defied them both, and prepared the defense of Milan. The fortifications of the city were so strengthened that Conrad's army was obliged to desist from the siege, and the virtual independence of Milan was achieved. Such was the beginning of that movement which, in the following century, led to the emancipation of the cities and the establishment of the petty but vigorous Republics of the Middle Ages.

The career of Conrad II. was already drawing to a close. Two years after the revolt of Milan he died at the city of Utrecht, and was succeeded by his son HENRY III.

The latter, now twenty-three years of age, was a prince of the highest promise. In talents and accomplishments he was equally pre-eminent, and the condition of the Empire at the time of his accession was such as to furnish a fair opportunity for the display of his abilities. In Germany Proper there was a general peace. The Bohemians and Hungarians, however, again rose against the crown and attempted to gain their independence. In two arduous campaigns Henry overthrew the armies of the insurgent states and restored his authority. Duke Casimir, of Poland, and Peter, king of Hungary, were both compelled to acknowledge their dependence upon the Imperial crown. The Russian Czar attempted to ally his fortunes with those of the Empire. He offered his daughter to Henry after the death of Queen Gunhilde, but the princess was declined by the Emperor in favor of Agnes of Poitiers, who became his second queen.

A cursory view of the social condition of Germany in the middle of the eleventh century would reveal a gloomy and forbidding prospect. The resources of the state were wasted in almost continual warfare. Following hard after this fact stalked ever the specters of pestilence and famine. The ministers of the state and the dignitaries of the Church were, for the most part, ignorant, mercenary, corrupt. The general administration of the Church, under the auspices of the boy Popes of Tusculum, had sunk to the lowest level. The prostitution of the Italian clergy to the basest of motives and practices had led to a similar defilement throughout all Christendom. The year A. D. 1000 had passed without the fiery catastrophe, and the End of the World seemed to be indefinitely postponed. Reacting from the abject despair of the preceding century, the leaders of the age entered upon a career of defiance and criminal bravado; and though the End of the World was no longer to be dreaded, the End of Humanity seemed nigh at hand. Disappointed superstition substituted the gulf of depravity for the abyss of fear.

It will not have escaped the attention of any careful student of history that the human race has in itself in the last hour of its despair the power of sudden recovery. Just

at the time when the last embers of hope are expiring in the ashes of bitterness and gloom, a sudden breeze, as if blown up from the pavilion of the unseen world, touches the dying coals, kindles them into a feeble jet, the jet into a flame, the flame into a conflagration. The epoch of revival succeeds the epoch of hopelessness, and man, inflamed with new ambition, begins again the confident battles of existence.

In the midst of this violent and pestilential century, the first throeb of one of these revivals of humanity was felt in Southern Europe. The occasion for the reaction against the crime and despair of the age was found in the scandalous corruption of the Church, and the first movement of reform had the same origin with the abuse which demanded it. The Burgundian monks of Cluny, led by their abbot, Odilo, began to inveigh against the vices of the time, especially against the remorseless methods of mediæval warfare. They proclaimed a dogma which became known as the *Tercium* or *God*, by which all combats, whether public or private, were forbidden from the evening of each Wednesday until the morning of the following Monday. The larger part of the week was thus absolutely reserved for the duties of peace. Private feuds and public battles were so impeded by the perpetual recurrence of the truce that the baffled spirit of retaliation and revenge could hardly any longer be gratified. The new doctrine was received with great favor. The monks who had originated the measure became known as the Congregation of Cluny, and many pious ecclesiastics in different and distant parts sought to join themselves with the peaceful brotherhood. Not a few of the secular princes favored the beneficent measure, and the Emperor Henry III. called a diet of the German nobles for the express purpose of enforcing the observance of the truce.

One reform led to another. At this epoch the crime of simony, or the practice of selling the offices and dignity of the Church, was scandalously prevalent. Unscrupulous aspirants, all the way from the common priesthood to the papacy, were wont to buy the coveted preferment. The largest bribe won the contest over the greatest merit. The Congregation of Cluny attacked this abuse with great vigor,

but with less success than had attended their efforts in combating the merciless methods of war. Henry III. again lent his aid in the effort at reform. He took pains to favor the appointment of such priests only as were moral and intelligent. He interfered in the affairs of the Holy See. Three rival Popes were at this time contending for the seat of St. Peter. Each of these had excommunicated the other two, together with their followers. There was good reason why the Emperor should cross the Alps and attempt the restitution of order and decency in the papal state. Accordingly, in 1046, Henry made his way into Lombardy, and thence to the old Etruscan city of Sutri, where a great synod was held to consider and reconcile the difficulties of the Church. It was voted that all three of the alleged Popes should be deposed, and that the tiara should be placed on the head of the Bishop of Bamberg. This choice, however, so evidently made out of deference to the Emperor, was very distasteful to the real reformers, and the dislike for Clement II.—for such was the title of the new pontiff—was greatly increased when the Holy Father, on the same day of his own coronation, conferred the Imperial crown on Henry. The growing republican spirit of Italy was vexed and offended by this ill-concealed bargain struck by the Pope and the Emperor in the very center of the reformatory movement. The temporary backset given to the work acted as a stimulus to the democratic spirit already rife in Venice and Milan.

It was at this time that the Italian clergy and people, who had hitherto been an actual factor in the election of the Popes, were remanded to the background. The right of choice fell into the hands of the bishops, and they, receiving their appointment from the Emperor, were certain to follow his lead and preference in the selection of a pontiff. Between the years 1047 and 1055 no fewer than four Popes were successively raised to the papal dignity at the dictation of Henry III.

Near the close of his reign the Emperor again visited Italy, and readjusted the affairs of the Norman principalities in the southern parts of the peninsula. While absent on this mission the home Kingdom was seriously disturbed with outbreaks and dissensions. The three counts—Godfrey of Lorraine, Baldwin

of Flanders, and Dietrich of Holland—all threw off the Imperial sway and asserted their independence. The occasion of this alarming outbreak was the persistent folly of Henry in filling the offices of the Empire with his personal friends and kinsmen, to the exclusion of more able and meritorious claimants. So great was the abuse complained of that by the year 1051 all the states of Germany, with the sin-

gled with Baldwin of Flanders, had sent a powerful army against Godfrey of Lorraine. But no decided successes were achieved by the Imperial arms, and the insurrectionary states could not be quieted.



HENRY III. PRESIDING AT THE SYNOD OF SUTRI.

gle exception of Saxony, were governed by the personal friends and relatives of the Emperor. But the stubborn monarch was not to be put from his purpose by opposition. He plunged into a four years' bloody war with the rebellious dukes. He called to his aid his creature, Pope Leo IX., who excommunicated the insurgents. He procured the assistance of the English and Danish fleets in his con-

During the progress of the war Duke Bernhard of Saxony, who was *not* a favorite of the Emperor, held himself and his countrymen in a sort of unfriendly neutrality. With a view to counteract this antagonism Henry III. appointed one of his friends, named Adelbert, as archbishop of Bremen. At the same time he built for himself the royal castle of Goslar, at the foot of the Hartz, to the end that

he might have a residence on the Saxon border.

While these events were taking place north of the Alps, Italy was again rent with a civil commotion. In 1054 Pope Leo IX. undertook the conduct of a campaign against the Normans. The result was the defeat of his forces and the capture of himself by the enemy. His Holiness, however, was treated

towards the problem was simplified by the death of Leo IX. and by the Imperial appointment of Victor II. as his successor. Now it was that the powerful hand, first shadowy and then real, of the celebrated Hildebrand of Savona, an austere monk of Cluny, began to be visible behind the throne and miter of St. Peter. It was soon discovered that both Leo and Victor had been but clay in the hands of the great monkish potter, who moulded them to his will.

As to Henry III., the end was now at hand. In the fall of 1056, while residing at the castle of Goslar, he was visited by the Pope; but the latter was unable to raise the broken spirits of the aged and troubled monarch. Already in his last illness, his exit was hastened by the news of a disaster which his army had received at the hands of the Slavonians. The curtain fell, and the scepter was left to the Emperor's son, already crowned as king of Germany, and afterwards to receive the Imperial title of HENRY IV.

Being yet in his minority the young prince was placed under the regency of his mother, the Empress Agnes, of Poitiers. The latter devoted herself assiduously to the care of the state, and for a while affairs went better than during



FORCES OF LEO IX. DEPARTING FROM ROME.

with the greatest respect by his warlike captors. Themselves under the dominion of the Feudal spirit, they hesitated not to acknowledge themselves the vassals of their prisoner: this, too, with no regard to the fact that they were already the vassals of the Emperor. The latter must now regain or lose his dominion in the South. He accordingly set out for Italy to reassert his claims. Arriving in Lombardy, he summoned a diet and held a review of the Italian army at Piacenza. Just after-

ing the reign of her husband. The hostile provinces of Flanders and Lorraine were again brought to a peaceful acknowledgment of the Imperial sway. It was not long, however, until the old favorites of the deceased king regained their ascendancy, and the reform was brought to an end. The feudal lords scarcely any longer heeded the Imperial mandate, but each pursued his own way towards local independence. In Italy especially they asserted themselves in affairs of Church and

state, and demanded the old-time right of nominating the Pope. This claim was resisted by the Empress, who in 1058 raised Nicholas II. to the throne. In a short time the new pontiff surprised the queen-regent by abandoning the interests of the Empire and casting in his lot with the Norman barons and new-born republican cities of Italy. In the home kingdom, also, the feudal broils were perpetually renewed. A conspiracy was made to destroy Prince Henry and change the dynasty. When the first plot was foiled, a second was formed under the lead of Hanno, archbishop of Cologne. The purpose now was to wrest Henry IV. from his mother, drive her into retirement, and transfer the regency to some prince who was able to exercise Imperial authority. Hanno succeeded in enticing young Henry on board his vessel at Kaiserswerth. Here the royal lad, then but twelve years of age, was seized by the conspirators and forcibly carried away. Shortly afterwards a meeting of the princes was held, and the young king was placed under the guardianship of Hanno.

The severity of his protector soon alienated both Henry and the nobles of the Empire. A counter revolution deprived Hanno of the guardianship, and the same was transferred to Adalbert of Bremen. The latter held the troublesome distinction until 1065, when the prince, then reaching the age of fifteen, was invested with the sword of manhood. Taking the government upon himself, Henry reluctantly accepted Hanno as his chief counselor, the latter being forced upon him by the princes of Cologne and others affiliated with them.

At the age of seventeen the young king took for his wife the Italian princess, Bertha. But in the course of three years he wearied of his choice and sought to be divorced. The Archbishop of Mayence gave his sanction; but Hildebrand, now the chancellor of Pope Alexander II., induced the pontiff to deny the king's wishes, and Henry was obliged to yield. His humiliation over the failure of the project was compensated by the death of the old enemy of his House, Godfrey of Lorraine. About the same time another foe, Duke Otho of Bavaria, was seized by the king's party and deprived of his duchy. Both these events

tended powerfully to establish Henry in the Empire, but the tendency was somewhat neutralized by the hostile attitude of Magnus of Saxony. The Saxons had never been patient under the rule of the Franconian Emperors, and circumstances now favored a general revolt of the nation. The people, under the leadership of the deposed Duke of Bavaria, rose to the number of sixty thousand, marched upon the castle of Harzburg, and demanded of Henry the dismissal of his counselors and a reform of the government. This the king refused, and was thereupon besieged in his castle.

When the situation became critical, he escaped from Harzburg and fled almost without a following. Not until he reached the Rhine was there any general uprising in his favor. The cities in this region, however, had grown restive under the domination of the bishops, and were eager to begin a revolution by receiving the fugitive Emperor. His fortunes were thus stayed by a powerful support, but he was presently obliged to make peace with the Saxons, who dictated their own terms of settlement. They even proceeded to the extreme of demolishing the Emperor's castle and church at Harzburg, where the bones of his father were buried. This flagrant abuse of victory soon turned the tide in favor of Henry, who rallied a large army, entered the country of the Saxons, and inflicted on them an overwhelming defeat. Thus at length were all parts of the Empire reduced to submission, and the throne of Henry IV. seemed more firmly established than that of any former Emperor of the German race.

Now it was, however, that the great monk Hildebrand, after having moulded the policy of the papacy during four successive pontificates, himself assumed the tiara, and, with the title of Gregory VII., took the seat of St. Peter. He was without doubt the greatest genius of his age, and the work of his far-reaching intellect in establishing a new order throughout christendom has continued to be felt for more than eight hundred years. Coming to the papal throne in 1073, he at once set about re-creating the whole policy and form of the papal Church. At the first the Bishop of Rome had neither claimed nor exercised any special prominence over the other

prelates of the Christian world. From the sixth to the eleventh century the Pope had claimed to be, and was, the nominal head of christendom; but the office was still regarded as subordinate in all secular matters to the kings and emperors of Europe. It remained for Gregory VII. to conceive the stupendous scheme of raising the papal scepter above all powers and dominions of the earth. The project was no less in its design than the estab-

lishment of the monastic orders, all of which were celibate, had greatly strengthened the cause of an unmarried priesthood. In 1074 the law of celibacy was proclaimed as a fundamental principle of the Romish hierarchy, and from that day forth the power and influence of the opposing party in the Church began to wane until it was finally extinguished in the fourteenth century.



GREGORY VII.—(HILDEBRAND.)

In the next place, Gregory turned his attention to the crime of simony. The proclamation of the celibacy of the priesthood was quickly followed by another denouncing the sale of the offices of the Church. It was declared that henceforth the bishops, instead of being invested with the insignia of office by the secular princes, whom they paid for the preferment, should receive the ring and crozier only from the hands of the Pope. Without a moment's hesitation Gregory sent orders to Henry IV. to enforce the reform throughout the Empire. Henry was at this time wearing the Imperial crown. He was Emperor of the West—successor of Caesar and Charlemagne. To be thus addressed by a *Pope*—a creature until now made and unmade by an Imperial edict—seemed not only a reversal of the whole order of human authority, but also a flagrant insult done to the greatest potentate in the world.

lishment of a colossal religious empire, to which all kingdoms, peoples, and tribes should do a willing obedience. In carrying out this prodigious design Gregory conceived that the first steps necessary were certain reforms in the Church itself. He began by espousing the doctrine of a celibate clergy. He resolved that every priest of christendom should belong wholly to the Church, and should know no tie of earthly kinship or affection. The struggle which had been begun in the times of Charlemagne for the obliteration of a married priesthood was renewed in all Western Eu-

In the height of his indignation the Emperor called a synod at Worms, and, with the aid of the bishops, at once proceeded to depose the Pope from office. Word was sent to the malcontent elements in Rome, advising that the arrogant monk of Savona be driven from the city; but before the message was received Gregory, though environed with foes and threatened with an insurrection of the Normans in the South, had suppressed the rising tumult, enforced order throughout the states of the Church, and now stood ready to measure swords with the Emperor. Against

that potentate he hurled the bolt of excommunication.

It was now Henry's time to act on the defensive. He issued a summons for a national Diet, but the lukewarm princes hesitated to come to his aid. After a year of endeavor, the assembly at last was held at Mayence in 1076. But the nobles would not permit the Emperor to be present. He was obliged to send a messenger and to signify his willingness to yield the whole question at issue between himself and the Pope to the body for decision. In the following year the assembly reconvened at Augsburg, and Gregory rather than Henry was invited to be present. The latter, now greatly alarmed at the situation, at once set out for Italy, in the hope of settling the controversy by a personal interview with the Pope. On arriving in Lombardy he found the people in insurrection and might easily have led them in triumph against his great enemy. The latter, indeed, seeing the peril to which he was then exposed, took counsel of his prudence, and though already on his way to meet the German Diet, he turned aside to find safety in a castle of Canossa in the Apennines.

Henry, however, was far from availing himself of the possible advantage. Instead of warlike menace and flourish of the sword, he humbly clad himself in sackcloth, went barefoot to the gate of the castle of Canossa, and sought admittance as a penitent. There for three days in the snow and sleet, the successor of Cæsar was allowed to stand waiting before the gate. At last being admitted he flung himself before the triumphant Gregory, promised present submission and future obedience, and was lifted up with the kiss of reconciliation.¹

The pardon bestowed by the Pope on the penitent king turned many of the princes against the powerful pontiff; for they had hoped to see the Emperor deposed and de-

¹This humiliation of Henry was in a measure atoned for by the papacy a few years afterwards when Gregory's successor, Calixtus II., was compelled at the Diet of Worms to surrender to Henry V. the right of investiture. In 1122 Calixtus openly laid down before the imperial throne the symbols of his temporal authority, reserving for himself only the ring and crosier as the signs of his spiritual dominion.

stroyed. Many now went over to the Imperial interest, and the Empire was rent with strife. The anti-imperial party in Germany proclaimed King Rudolph of Swabia as Henry's successor, and the Emperor was supported by the Lombards. For two years a fierce civil war left its ravages on battle-field and in city, until 1080, Rudolph fell in the conflict, and the power of Henry was completely re-established.

The victor now remembered the Pope as the cause of all his griefs. With a large army he crossed the mountains and received the iron crown at the hands of the nobles of Lombardy. The Countess Matilda of Tuscany, to whom belonged the castle of Canossa, exerted herself to the utmost, but in vain, to prevent the progress of the invaders. Rome was besieged by the German army, and Gregory was obliged to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo. In his extremity he issued an edict, releasing from a previous ban Robert Guiscard, the Norman suzerain of Southern Italy, who was now besought by the Pope to come to the rescue and aid in the expulsion of the Germans from Italy. Guiscard hereupon led an army of thirty thousand men, mostly Saracens out of Sarlinia and Corsica, to the Eternal City, and the Emperor was obliged to retire before them. The Pope gained his release by the aid of the Normans, but his allies proved to be almost as much to be dreaded as the enemy from beyond the Alps. The city of Rome, the greater part of which had already been destroyed by the Germans during the siege, was now assailed by the friendly Saracens, who burned what remained, sluicing the streets with blood and carrying away thousands of the inhabitants into slavery. So complete was the devastation of the City of the Ages that the Pope durst not remain with the desperate brigands who now prowled around her ashes, but chose to retire with the Saracens as far as Salerno. There in 1085 the greatest of the Popes of Rome expired in exile.

The death of Gregory VII. was the signal of a papal schism. The Emperor made haste to reassert his old prerogative by the appointment of a new Pope, who came to the papal seat with the title of Clement III. The Norman nobles of Italy, however, acting in con-

junction with the bi-bops of France, set up an anti-Pope in the person of Urban II. Between the rival pontiffs, who hurled at each other the most direful anathemas, a fierce warfare broke out, and continued with all the insane madness which religious bigotry and ambition could inspire. From the date of Gregory's death until the outbreak of the Crusades, the relentless struggle was unabated

Conrad would be able to maintain himself against his father. Gradually, however, his supporters fell away, and he himself was seized and thrown into prison.

The king now looked anxiously to his younger son Henry as his successor in the Imperial dignity. But the enemies of the Emperor, instigated and encouraged by the emissaries of Urban II., succeeded in alienat-



ABELARD AND HELOISE.

and Western Christendom was convulsed with the shock.

As for the Emperor, he seized the opportunity afforded by the warfare of the rival Popes to resume his duties as the secular ruler of the German Empire. Trouble and disaster, however, attended the latter years of his reign. The Prince Conrad, eldest son of the king and heir expectant to the crown, became rebellious and usurped the throne of Lombardy. His usurpation was acknowledged by Urban II., and it appeared for a while that

ing the younger prince from his father, as they had already done in the case of Conrad. Thus in distraction and gloom the reign of Henry IV. dragged on apace, while the first clarion of the Crusades waked the slumbering echoes in the valleys of Western Europe.

Peter the Hermit came back from Palestine telling the story of his wrongs. The people of the European states, wearied of the broils of the secular princes, disgusted with papal intrigues, and despairing of national unity under the shadow of Feudalism, rose as one

man at the bugle-call and drew their swords for the rescue of the holy places of the East. Peter called aloud to the anti-Pope Urban, and Urban called to christendom. In March of 1095 a great assembly was held at Piacenza, and the cause of outraged Palestine was eloquently pleaded by the Pope and the envoys from Constantinople. Thence was issued the summons for the great Council of Clermont, which assembled in November of the same year, and before which august body of French, Italian, and German potentates, the wild cry of *Dieu le Veut!* was raised by the fanatic multitudes. In the presence of the new and burning enthusiasm, the old feuds of kings, Popes, and princes were forgotten, and all christendom eagerly lifted the banner of the Cross.

The present chapter may be appropriately concluded with a reference to the interesting mediæval episode of the philosopher ABÉLARD. This distinguished and unfortunate scholar was born at Nantes, in 1079. His childhood was precocious. At the age of sixteen he be-

came the pupil of William de Champeaux. Before reaching his majority, he was already considered one of the most eminent disputators of his times. De Champeaux became bitterly jealous of his pupil, and at the age of twenty-two Abélard opened a school of philosophy of his own at Melun, near Paris. This establishment was soon in great repute. In scholastic debates with De Champeaux, Abélard came off victorious. Now it was that Héloïse, the beautiful daughter of the canon Fulbert, was put under charge of the young philosopher as a pupil. Soon they loved. The story is known to all the world—the most pathetic of the Middle Ages. The bigotry of the times drove the master into the monastery of Saint Denis and threw the veil over the despairing Héloïse in the nunnery of Argenteuil. The catastrophe, however, was the virtual beginning of the ascendancy of Abélard over the philosophical opinions of his times; nor can it well be doubted that his mind was the most versatile and brilliant of the benighted epoch in which he lived.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.—FEUDAL ENGLAND.



On the fifth day of January, 1066, died Edward the Confessor. For four and twenty years he had swayed the scepter of England, but now there was an end. The race of Cerdic and Alfred the Great expired with the childless king, and over his silent clay was written *defunctus est* in the abbey of Westminster. To his honor be it said that, living in a warlike age and beset with many enemies, King Edward preferred the pursuits of peace, and would fain have brought her blessing to all the hamlets of England.

As soon as the body of the late monarch was properly interred, the Prince Harold, son of the great Earl Godwin, was proclaimed king in a grand assembly at London. The

crowning immediately followed, the ceremony being performed by Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury. No doubt, as the coronation oath was administered, the memory of that *other* oath which the prince had taken over the bones of the saints in the presence of William the Norman came unbidden to his mind; but he cast all upon the die of the present, and the bones of the martyrs were remanded to the past.

In all the southern counties of England the accession of Harold was hailed with joyful acclamations. In him the people saw a Saxon king and the possible founder of a new Saxon dynasty. He thus became the representative of the old national spirit and the hope of those who longed to see the country freed from foreign domination. Not without prudence and sound policy did the new sovereign begin his reign. He sought to win and to deserve the affections of the people. Oner-

¹ "God wills it"—the cry of the first Crusaders on assuming the Cross.

ous taxes were abolished, and the wages of all those who were in the royal service were raised to a higher figure. Meanwhile Harold sought to strengthen himself in the esteem of the Church by a careful observance of the duties of religion.

In secular affairs the king, first of all, expelled from the court the whole swarm of Norman favorites. But while this policy was rigorously pursued with respect to the foreigners, they were not driven from the country or robbed of their estates. Many of the Normans, however, fled from England and returned with all speed to their own country. They it was who brought to Duke William the news of the death of Edward the Confessor and the usurpation of the throne by Harold, the son of Godwin.

Tradition has recorded that William, when he first received the intelligence, was hunting in the wood of Rouen, and that his countenance and manner were at once changed to an expression of great concern and indignation. He affected to regard the act of Harold as the grossest and most outrageous perjury. Notwithstanding his wrath William deemed it prudent to conciliate his enemies, actual and possible, with a show of moderation. He at once dispatched ambassadors to Harold with the following message: "William, duke of the Normans, warns thee of the oath thou hast sworn him with thy mouth and with thy hand on good and holy relics." To this message, which had all the superficial semblance of soundness, King Harold responded with sterling speech: "It is true that I made an oath to William, but I made it under the influence of force. I promised what did not belong to me, and engaged to do what I never could do; for my royalty does not belong to me, nor can I dispose of it without the consent of my country. In the like manner I can not, without the consent of my country, espouse a foreign wife. As for my sister, whom the duke claims in order that he may marry her to one of his chiefs, she has been dead some time. Will he that I send him her corpse?"

There was no mistaking the nature of these negotiations. England was to be invaded by the Normans. Duke William, however, took pains to send over another embassy, again

pressing his claims and reminding Harold of his oath. Threats and recriminations followed, and then preparations for war. According to the constitution of Normandy it was necessary for William to have the consent of his barons, and this was not obtained without much difficulty. The Norman vassals held that their Feudal oath did not bind them to follow and serve their lord beyond the sea, but only in the defense of his own realms. A national assembly was called at Lillebonne, and a stormy debate had well-nigh ended in riot and insurrection; but William, by patience and self-restraint, finally succeeded in bringing the refractory nobles to his support. A great force of knights, chiefs, and foot-soldiers flocked to his standard. At this fortunate crisis in the duke's affairs a legate arrived from the Pope, bringing a bull expressing the approval of the Holy Father. Hereupon a new impetus was given to the enterprise. Under the sanction of religion the oath-breaking Harold was to be punished and his kingdom given to another. A consecrated banner and a ring containing one of the hairs of St. Peter were sent from Rome to the ambitious prince, who, thus encouraged, made no concealment of his intentions soon to be king of England.

During the early spring and summer of 1066 all the seaports of Normandy rang with the clamor of preparation. Ships were built and equipped, sailors enlisted, armor forged, supplies brought into the store-houses. Meanwhile a similar but less energetic scene was displayed across the channel. Harold, hearing the notes of preparation from the other side, braced his sinews for the struggle. He sent over spies to ascertain the nature and extent of William's armament; but when one of these was brought into the duke's presence he showed him every thing, and bade him say to King Harold not to trouble himself about the Norman's strength, as he should see and feel it before the end of the year.

It was now the misfortune of the English king to be attacked by a domestic foe. His own brother Tostig, formerly earl of Northumbria, but now an exile in Flanders, succeeded in raising abroad a squadron with which he made a descent on the Isle of Wight. Driven back by the king's fleet, Tostig next

ravaged the coast of Lincolnshire and then sailed up the Humber. Expelled from thence, he made his way first to the coast of Scotland and then to Denmark, where he besought the king to join him in an invasion of England. Failing in this enterprise Tostig renewed his



LANDING OF THE CONQUEROR.

Drawn by A. de Noailles.

offer to Haraldra, king of Norway, who accepted the invitation and swooped down on the English coast with two hundred ships of war. Under the conduct of the rebel Saxon the Norwegians effected a landing at Riccall and marched directly on York. This city fell into the hands of the enemy, and here the king of Norway established his head-quarters.

Thus while the threatening note was borne across the channel from Normandy the clamor of present war sounded in the ears of the distracted Harold. Nevertheless he girt himself bravely for the contest. He marched boldly forth and confronted the Norwegians at Stamford Bridge. Here a bloody battle was fought, in which King Haraldra and nearly every one of his chiefs were slain. The victory of the Saxons was complete and overwhelming.

No sooner, however, was one of the great foes of Harold destroyed than the other appeared in sight. Only three days after the overthrow of the Norwegians the squadron of Duke William anchored on the coast. A landing was effected on the shore of Sussex, at a place called Bulverhithe. Archers, horsemen, and spearmen came on shore without opposition. William was the last man to leave his ship. Tradition has recorded that when his foot touched the sand he slipped and fell; but with unflinching presence of mind he sprang up as though the accident had been by design and showed his two hands filled with the soil of England. "Here," cried he aloud to his men, "I have taken seisin of this land with my hands and by the splendor of God, as far as it extends, it is mine—it is yours!"

In the mean time King Harold was advancing to his station on the field of HASTINGS, near the Fair Light Downs. On his way thither he stopped at London and sent out a fleet of seven hundred vessels to blockade the fleet of William and prevent his escape from the island. The Norman duke had now reached Hastings, and the time was at hand when the question between him and the Saxon king must be decided.

The prudent William before hazarding a battle sent another message to Harold. "Go and tell Harold," said he, "that if he will keep his old bargain with me I will leave him

all the country beyond the river Humber, and will give his brother Gurth all the lands of his father, Earl Godwin; but if he obstinately refuse what I offer him thou wilt tell him before all his people that he is perjured and a liar; that he and all those who shall support him are excommunicated by the Pope, and that I carry a bull to that effect."

Notwithstanding this terrible threat the English chiefs stood firmly to the cause of their king. William had in the mean time fortified his camp and stood ready for the shock. Harold came on with great intrepidity; nor could he be prevented by the expostulations of his friends from taking the personal responsibility and peril of battle. On the night of the 13th of October the two armies lay face to face in their respective camps at Hastings. The English were uproarious and confident of victory. They had recently overwhelmed the Norwegians and now in like manner they would beat down the adventurers of Normandy. They danced and sang and drained their horn-cups brimming with ale until late at night, and then in the heavy English fashion flung themselves to rest. On the other side the Normans were looking carefully to their armor, examining the harness of their horses, and joining in the litanies which were chanted by the priests.

With the coming of morning, both armies were marshaled forth for battle. Duke William, having arranged his forces in three columns, made a brief and spirited address, in which he recited the cruelties and treachery of the foe and promised the rewards of victory. A Norman giant, named Taillefer, rode in front of the ranks, brandishing his sword and singing the old heroic ballads of Normandy. The army took up the chorus, and the enthusiasm of battle spread like a flame among the knightly ranks.¹ The opposing English had fortified with trenches and palisades the high ground on which they were encamped. The two kings, equally courageous, commanded their respective armies in person, and each sought to be foremost in the fight. At the first, the assaults of the Norman bowmen and cross-bowmen produced little effect on the English lines; and even the

¹It was on this occasion that the Normans sang the *St. Cecilia*, the hero of *Roncesvalles*.

charge of William's cavalry was bravely met and repelled. The English battle-axes cut the lances of the knights and cleft both horse and rider. At one time the report was spread that William was slain, and his followers fell into dismay and confusion. But the prince reappeared unhurt, threw up his visor that he might be seen, and rallied his men to the charge. From nine o'clock in the forenoon until three in the afternoon the battle raged with fury. At the last, after many maneuvers, Duke William resorted to a stratagem.

English were made to believe themselves victorious, but were again turned upon and routed. The lines of Harold's encampment were broken through. Then the fight raged briefly around the standard of England, which was finally cut down and supplanted by the banner of Normandy. Harold's two brothers were slain in the struggle. The English were turned into a rout, but ever and anon they made a stand in that disastrous twilight of Saxon England. Victory declared for William. King Harold himself was killed by a



BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

He ordered his knights to charge and then to turn and fly. The English, deceived by the pretended retreat of the foe, broke from their lines to pursue the flying Normans. The latter, being strongly reinforced, turned suddenly about at a signal and fell upon their scattered pursuers. The disordered English were encompassed and cut down by thousands. The chieftains wielded their battle-axes with terrible effect, but were ridden down and slain.

In another part of the field the Normans adopted the same stratagem and were again successful. Even a third time the imprudent

random arrow, which, piercing his left eye, entered his brain. Nearly one-half of his soldiers were either killed or wounded. Of William's army, more than a fourth perished in the battle, and the jubilation of Norman triumph sounded like a spasmodic cry over the dead bodies of three thousand Norman knights. Sorrowful was the sight of Queen Edith searching among the slain for the body of her lord. At such a price was the oath made good which Prince Harold had unwittingly taken over the bones of the saints.

The immediate result of the battle of

Hastings was to transfer one-fourth of the kingdom to William the Norman. As soon as it was clear that the victory was his, the Conqueror set up the consecrated banner which had been sent him by the Pope, and his soldiers proceeded in sight of that sacred emblem to despoil the Saxon dead. William vowed to erect an abbey on the very spot where the banner of Saxon England had been struck down, and in a short time the monastery of St. Martin was filled with monks to celebrate masses for the repose of the souls of the slain knights of Normandy.

It was still necessary that William should make haste slowly in the further reduction of the kingdom. More than two months elapsed before he reached the city of London. In the interval he beat along the coast, hoping that the people would make a voluntary submission; but in this he was disappointed. Finding that moderation was of little avail with the stubborn Saxons, he continued the conquest by the capture of Romney and Dover. While at the latter place he was strongly reinforced with recruits from Normandy. Thus strengthened, the Conqueror left the coast and marched direct to London. The defeat of Hastings had broken the spirit of resistance, and little opposition was manifested to his progress. Nevertheless, the Witenagemot assembled in the capital, and the uppermost question related to the succession rather than submission to the Normans.

After much discussion, it was decided to confer the crown on Edgar the Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside, who had previously been set aside on account of the spurious descent of his ancestor. This measure, however, was carried by the old Saxon or National party, in the face of the strenuous opposition of the Norman faction, supported as it was by most of the clergy, who trembled at the thought of excommunication. The fact that Prince Edgar himself was devoid of all kingly qualities added strength to the Norman cause and discouraged the national movement.

Such was the condition of affairs when William appeared before the city. Finding himself debarred, he burned Southwark and ravaged the surrounding country. The people of Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, and Berkshire were made to realize all the terrors of

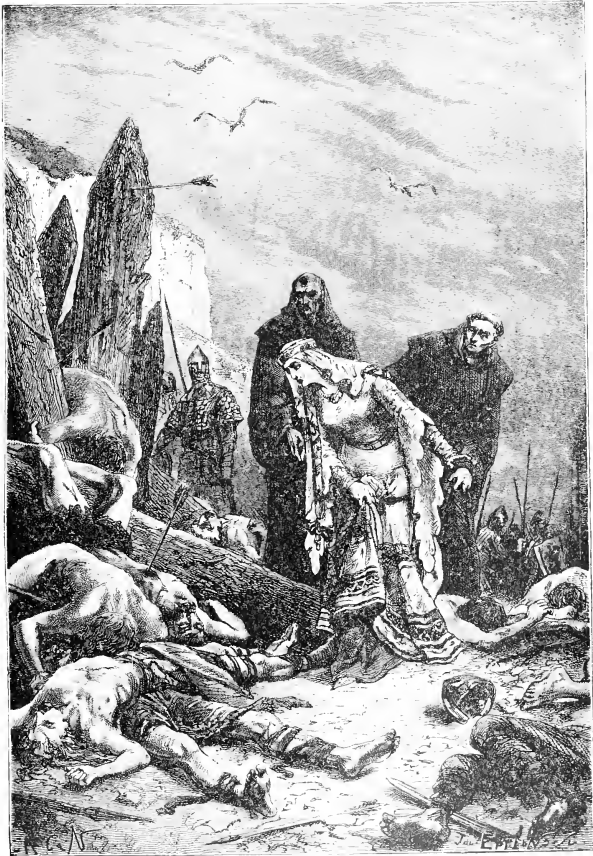
war. In a short time communication was cut off between the city and the country and the shadow of famine began to hang over Westminster Abbey. The earls, Edwin and Morcar, to whom the defense had been intrusted, withdrew towards the Humber, taking with them the forces of Northumbria and Mercia. Their retirement from London was the signal of submission. An embassy, headed by "King" Edgar himself and Archbishop Stigand of Canterbury, went forth to Berkhamstead, and there presented themselves to the Conqueror. The submission was formal and complete. Edgar for himself renounced the throne, and Stigand for the Church took the oath of loyalty. The politic William made a pretense of reluctance in accepting the crown of England; but his feeble remonstrance was drowned in the acclaim of his nobles and courtiers. As soon as the embassy had completed its work, the Normans set out for the capital, conducted by the distinguished envoys. In a short time the Conqueror established himself in the city and preparations were completed for the coronation.

The Abbey of Westminster was chosen as the place for the ceremony. Attended by two hundred and sixty of his nobles, the duke rode between files of soldiers that lined the approaches, and presented himself before the altar. When in reply to the question addressed to those present by Aldred, archbishop of York, whether they would accept William of Normandy as their lawful king, they all set up a shout. Those Normans outside the Abbey, hearing the noise and conjecturing that some act of treachery had been committed against their prince, began to set fire to the houses of the English and to kill all who fell in their way. Others rushed into the Abbey as if to rescue William, and the ceremony was interrupted in the midst of universal turmoil. For a while it appeared that both parties, each misunderstanding the other, would, in the wildness of their frenzy, raze the city to the ground. But Archbishop Aldred continued and completed the duty of coronation, and the first of the Norman kings of England arose from before the altar, crowned with the crown of Alfred.

Thus, in the latter part of the year 1066, was the Norman dynasty established in Eng-

land. The policy adopted by Edward the Confessor, combining with the general laws of causation, had triumphed over the old na-

tional spirit and made predominantly the language and institutions of a foreign race. The new sovereign fixed his court at Barlow, and



EDITH DISCOVERS THE BODY OF HAROLD.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

in accordance with his coronation oath that he would treat the English people as well as the best of their native kings had done, began the administration of the government with as much mildness as the age was fitted to receive. It can not be doubted that the English thanes and great earls, who made their submission to the king, gained from his hands a generous consideration. To them were confirmed their estates and honors, and the work of confiscation began only with those who were rebellious or disloyal. The domains of Harold and his brother, as well as those of less distinguished leaders and chiefs, were seized by William and conferred on his Norman nobles. Though these acts might well be defended as strictly in accordance with the usages of war and conquest, they failed not to sow the seeds of bitterness and revenge, which for centuries together grew rank and poisonous in the soil of England.

Prominent among those Saxons who received the favor of William was the royal cipher, Edgar Atheling. Without the ability to accomplish serious harm in the state, this nominal prince of the old *régné* was still regarded with affection by the adherents of the lost cause. For this reason rather than on account of personal esteem, he was reconfirmed by the king in the earldom of Oxford, which had been conferred on him at the accession of Harold.

In furtherance of his policy William presently set forth from Barking to visit the various districts of the kingdom. His progress was half-civil, half-military, and wholly royal. For he would fain impress the English with a new idea of kingly pomp and greatness. At every place he failed not, as far as practicable, to display a generous condescension. In all of his intercourse he took care, by a prudent restraint of temper and courteous demeanor towards the Saxon Thanes, to conciliate their esteem and favor. In his edicts he carefully regarded the old Anglo-Saxon laws, and in the administration of justice did not unduly incline to the interests of his own countrymen. In some instances he even went beyond the letter of his promise, and showed a positive favor to the native interests and institutions of the Island. He enlarged the privileges of the corporation of London, and made

himself the patron of English commerce and agriculture.

While in this conciliatory way the Conqueror diligently sought to gain the trust and even the affection of his Saxon subjects, he at the same time took every care to fortify his power with bulwarks and defenses. Now it was that those wonderful feudal towers and castles, which still survive in moss-grown majesty, rose, as if by magic, as the impregnable fortresses of Norman domination. On every side the Saxon thanes and peasants beheld arising these huge structures of stone, and sighed with vain regrets or mutterings of revenge at this everlasting menace to the old liberties and institutions of the Teutonic race.

The Normans also understood the situation. They appreciated the necessity of laying deep and strong the immovable buttresses of their dominion. Well they knew the vigor, the fecundity, and warlike valor of the Anglo-Saxon people. Well did they forecast the impending struggle of the races, and wisely did they prepare for the maintenance of the power which they had gained and established by conquest.

One of the greatest difficulties which King William had to meet and overcome was found in the rapacity of his followers. The great host of Norman lords and bishops who had followed him from the continent constantly clamored for the spoils of the kingdom. The foreign ecclesiastics were even more greedy than the secular lords, and could hardly be restrained from the instantaneous seizure of the cathedrals and abbeys of England. Many of the hardships under which the Saxons were presently made to groan must be traced to the insatiable demands of William's followers, rather than to the personal wishes of the king to inflict injuries on his Saxon subjects. Even from the first year of the Conquest the suppressed rebellion in the heart of native England was sprinkled with vitriol by another circumstance in the conduct of their oppressors. The Norman lords began to woo and win the women of the Saxon thanes. The rich clothing, burnished armor, and gaudy equipage of the courtly foreign lords flashed in the eyes of the English maidens with a dazzling brightness. What should be the brawn and sinews of the native bear, with his broad

shoulders, florid face, and uncut flaxen hair, compared with the elegant limbs, graceful dignity, and condescending smile of the gay and polished knight of Rouen? Even the widows of valiant Saxon thanes, who had fallen on the field of Hastings, proved to be not over-difficult to win by the splendid foreigners. Love fanned by admiration prevailed over patriotism fanned by memory.

The Conquest of England was, as yet, by no means completed. All the West lay unsubdued. In the south-eastern part of the island the conquerors had firmly established themselves in the country. In the spring of 1067 King William went over to Normandy, leaving his half-brother Odo as regent during his absence. It has been conjectured by Hume that the motive of the Conqueror in going abroad at this juncture was found in the belief that as soon as his absence was known the Saxons would break into revolt, and thus furnish him a valid excuse for completing the subjugation of the Island and confiscating the estates of the Thanes. For he was greatly harassed by the Norman nobles to supply them with lands and titles, as he had promised at the beginning of the Conquest. The character of Odo, who was arbitrary, impolitic, and reckless, moreover conducted to the result which William anticipated.

At Rouen the victorious king was received with great *éclat*. To his friends at home he distributed many rich presents, and gave a glowing account of the country which he had subdued. Nor did he hesitate to exhibit to the people and the foreign ambassadors at his

court living specimens of the race that had yielded to his arms; for as a precautionary measure he had taken with him on his return a number of the Saxon thanes.

Meanwhile affairs in England were rapidly approaching a crisis. The tyranny of Odo and his counselors began to press heavily upon



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

the subject race. Their rapacity sought gratification in pillage and robbery. Not only the peasants, but people of the highest rank, were made the victims of outrage and spoliation. In vain did they cry out for justice and revenge upon the noble brigands who had ruined their homes. The complaints of the sufferers were met with insult and mockery.

Not long could the Saxon blood be expected

to brook the contumacy of a haughty master. Insurrections broke out in various parts, and woe to the luckless Norman knight who was caught outside the walls of his castle. Soon there was concert of action among the insurgents, and the foreign dominion was menaced with destruction in the first year of its existence. The Saxon plotters sent word to Count Eustace of Boulogne to come over and be their leader; for he was known to be a bitter foe to King William. The count accepted the call and landed with a chosen band near the castle of Dover. Here he was joined by the rebel Saxons of Kent, and an imprudent and disastrous attack was made on the castle. The assailants were beaten back by the garrison, who sallied forth from the gates and drove the rash men of Kent headlong over the cliffs. Count Eustace fled to the coast and thence across the sea.

Among those who soon after his landing in the previous year did obeisance to the Conqueror was Thane Eðric the Forester, of the river Severn. He had been sincere in his protestations, but was soon provoked into hostility by the cruelty and injustice of the rapacious Normans. With two of the princes of Wales he made an alliance, and the Norman garrison that held the city of Hereford was quickly pent up within the fortifications. All the country round about was overrun by the insurgents, and for the time it appeared that there only wanted a national leader to rally the Saxons as one man and expel their oppressors from the island.

At this juncture the two sons of Harold came over from Ireland with a fleet of sixty ships, and made a spasmodic attempt to regain the crown of their father. But they were received with little favor, even by their own countrymen. Attacking the city of Bristol, they were repulsed and driven to their ships, pursued by the Saxons. The two princes then made their way back to the safe obscurity of Ireland.

Meanwhile the spirit of discontent and rebellion grew rife throughout the country. One message after another was sent to King William, urging his immediate return to England. But, either not sharing the alarm of his own countrymen in the island or desirous that the Saxons should still further pro-

voke him to war, he tarried at Rouen for the space of eight months, and then, in December of 1067, returned to London. On arriving at his capital, he at once resorted to his old policy of favor and blandishment to the Saxon chiefs. At the Christmas festival he received them with all the kingly courtesy which he was able to command. He promised the people of London a restitution and observance of the old laws of the Anglo-Saxons; and then, as soon as confidence was somewhat restored, proceeded to levy a burdensome tax upon his subjects.

The spring of 1068 witnessed the outbreak of a rebellion in Devonshire. The people of Exeter fortified their city and made ready to defend it to the last. So great was the popular exasperation that the crews of some Norman ships, which were wrecked on the coast, were butchered after the worst manner of savagery. Against the insurgents of Devonshire, King William led out his army in person. Approaching the city of Exeter he demanded submission, but was met with refusal and defiance. A siege ensued of eighteen days' duration, and then Exeter fell into the hands of the Conqueror. A strong castle was built in the captured town and garrisoned with Norman soldiers.

During the summer of this year the sons of Godwin made a second absurd attempt to create a rising in the West. Several landings were effected on the shores of Devon and Cornwall, but the leaders were met with the same aversion as in the previous year. Finding neither support nor sympathy, they again abandoned their native land and took refuge in Denmark.

After the conquest of Devon, King William quickly added that of Somerset and Gloucester. The city of Oxford was taken and fortified. In every district subdued by his arms, the lands were confiscated and apportioned to his followers. New castles were built and occupied by Norman lords. Meanwhile every ship from Rouen brought another company of hungry nobles to demand a share in the spoils of England. The enforced consideration which William had hitherto compelled his followers to show to the Saxons was soon no longer observed. After the garrulous manner of his tribe, the old chronicler Holin-

shed thus describes the afflictions of his people in the early years of William the Conqueror:

"He [the king] took away from divers of the nobility, and others of the better sort, all their livings, and gave the same to his Normans. Moreover, he raised great taxes and subsidies through the realms; nor in any thing regarded the English nobility, so that they who before thought themselves to be made forever by bringing a stranger into the realm, did now see themselves trodden under foot, to be despised, and to be mocked on all sides, in so much that many of them were constrained (as it were, for a further testimony of servitude and bondage) to shave their beards, to round their hair, and to frame themselves, as well in apparel as in service and diet at their tables, after the Norman manner, very strange and far differing from the ancient customs and old usages of their country. Others, utterly refusing to sustain such an intolerable yoke of thralldom as was daily laid upon them by the Normans, chose rather to leave all, both goods and lands, and, after the manner of outlaws, got them to the woods with their wives, children, and servants, meaning from thenceforth to live upon the spoils of the country adjoining, and to take whatsoever come next to hand. Whereupon it came to pass within a while that no man might travel in safety from his own house or town to his next neighbor's, and every quiet and honest man's house became, as it were, a hold and fortress, furnished for defense with bows and arrows, bills, pole-axes, swords, clubs, and staves and other weapons, the doors being kept locked and strongly bolted in the night season, as it had been in time of open war and amongst public enemies. Prayers were said also by the master of the house, as though they had been in the midst of the seas in some stormy tempest; and when the windows and doors should be shut in or closed they used to say *Benedicite*, and others to answer *Dominus*, in like sort as the priest and his penitent were wont to do at confession in the church."

It was in the midst of such conditions as these that the deep-seated and long-enduring hatred of the Normans was laid in the heart of Saxon England. Ever and evermore the chasm seemed to widen between the hostile races. Now came the great earl, Edwin of

Mercia, who, under promise of receiving the king's daughter in marriage, had supported his cause, claiming the hand of the Norman maiden. He was refused and insulted. Thereupon he left London with a burning heart, called his brother Morecar to his aid, and raised the standard of war in the north of England. The rebel princes took their stand beyond the Humber. Around their banners rallied the Saxo-Danish patriots of Yorkshire and Northumbria. In their wrath they took an oath that nevermore would they sleep beneath the roof until they had taken an ample revenge upon the perfidious and cruel Normans. But the warlike and energetic William was little alarmed by the menace of such a rebellion. Putting himself at the head of his army he marched rapidly from Oxford to Warwick, from Warwick to Leicester, from Leicester to Derby and Nottingham, from Nottingham to Lincoln, from Lincoln to the Humber. Near the confluence of the Ouse he met and completely routed the forces of the rebel earls. Hosts of the English fell in the battle and the remnant fled for refuge within the fortifications of York. Thither they were pursued by William and his soldiers, who broke through the gates, captured the city, and put the people to the sword. A citadel of great strength was built within the conquered town and garrisoned with five hundred warriors and knights. The city of York became henceforth the stronghold of the Normans in the North.

In the second and third years after the Conquest, the country was agitated through its whole extent by outbreaks and uprising of the Saxons. By degrees the English nobles, who had thus far upheld the Conqueror's cause, became alienated and took sides with their own countrymen. As to the Saxon peasants, they groaned and writhed under the oppression of their masters and seized every opportunity, fair or foul, to wreak their vengeance on the hated foreigners. While the Norman throne was thus threatened with muttering earthquakes in the seabed of Saxon humanity, the nobles and knights, not a few, who as soldiers of fortune had followed his banner into England, began to desert the Conqueror's service for some more promising field of spoil. In spite of all his smiles and

allurements, the king's own brother-in-law, Earl Tilleuil of Hastings Castle, and the powerful Hugh de Grantmesnil, earl of Norfolk, quitted England and retired into Normandy. So serious was the situation that the king deemed it expedient to send his queen, Matilda, back to Rome. For himself, however, he was as undaunted as ever. To fill the places made vacant by defection and desertion, he sent invitations into all the countries of Western Europe, offering the brilliant rewards of conquest to those who would join his standard. Nor was the call without an answer. Bands of rovers, wandering knights, soldiers in ill-repute, and refugee noblemen came flocking to the prey.

The year 1069 was mostly occupied with military operations in the North. The city of York was besieged by the insurgent population, and was only relieved by the approach of William with an army. A second fortress and garrison were established in the city, which was thus rendered impregnable. As soon as the outposts were secure, a campaign was undertaken against the rebels of Durham. The expedition was led by Robert de Comine, who marched into the enemy's country and entered Durham with little opposition. During the night, however, the English lighted signal-fires on the neighboring heights and gathered from all directions. At day-break on the following morning they burst into the town, fired the houses, fell upon the Normans, and slaughtered them without mercy. Of Robert's forces only two men escaped to tell the tale of destruction.

Encouraged by their great success, the Northumbrians immediately dispatched ambassadors to the king of Denmark, urging him to make an invasion of England. At the same time they sent overtures to Malcolm, king of the Scots, representing to him the advantages of an alliance against the Normans. At the court of the Scottish monarch Edgar Atheling had found a refuge, and his claims to the crown of England were not forgotten in the general movement. The sons of King Harold, also, were abroad and were regarded by some as a possibility of the future. But the very multiplicity of interests in the attempted combination against the Normans prevented unity of action and forbade success.

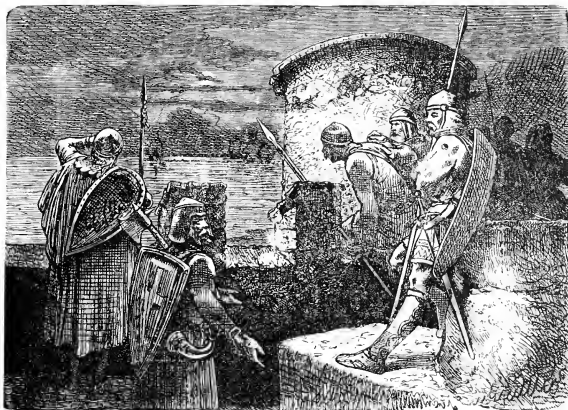
By and by a Danish fleet of two hundred and forty ships, commanded by the sons of the Danish king, was sent to aid the Northumbrians and Scots against the Conqueror. The squadron first appeared off Dover and then sailing northward entered the Humber. A landing was effected at the mouth of the Ouse, and the army of Danes, reinforced by their English allies, marched directly on York. The Normans were driven into the fortifications, and were cut off from all communication with the country. For eight days the assailants beat around the ramparts. Finally a fire broke out, and the city was wrapped in flames. In order to escape a more horrid death, the Normans rushed forth, sword in hand, and met their fate on the spears of the infuriated Northumbrians and Danes. The slaughter degenerated into a massacre, and of the three thousand men composing the garrison only a few escaped with their lives. The smouldering ashes of York steamed with the blood of Normandy.

King William was hunting in the forest of Dean when the terrible news came to him of the butchery of his Yorkshire army. Flaming with rage, he burst out with his usual oath, "by the splendor of God," that he would leave not a Northumbrian alive. As a preparatory measure, he at once relaxed his severity towards the Saxons of South England, and resumed his old rôle of cajoling them with bountiful promises. At the same time he managed by shrewd diplomacy to induce the king of Denmark to withdraw his army from England. As to the Saxons, however, they were not any longer to be lulled with soothing words. When with the opening of the following spring, the Conqueror, at the head of a powerful army began his march against the Northumbrians, the sullen and vengeful English rose behind him with torch and pike and pole-axe to satiate their desperate anger in the wake of his campaign. But the persistent William was not to be distracted from his purpose. The son of a tanner's daughter had in his mind's eye the vision of burnt-up York and the bleaching bones of his Norman knights.

Now was it the turn of the men of the North to quake with well-grounded apprehension. In the hour of need the Danish fleet

sailed down the Humber and disappeared. The Northumbrians were left naked to the sword of the Conqueror. He fell upon them a short distance from York, and only a few escaped his vengeance. Edgar Atheling fled from the apparition and returned to the court of Malcolm. Perhaps no district was ever before smitten with such a besom as that which now swept across the fields and hamlets of Northumbria. The Norman army broke up into bands and slew and burnt and ravaged until the well-nigh insatiable thirst for

he next proceeded to seize the movable property of his English subjects. The wealthy Saxons had generally adopted the plan of depositing their treasures in the monasteries, believing that these sacred precincts would remain inviolate. The commissioners of the king, however, soon broke into the holy places of England, and robbed with as much freedom as if they had been ravaging a vulgar village. A regular system of apportionment was adopted, by which the lands of England were divided out to the Norman lords.—Thus



DANISH WARRIORS ON THE HUMBER.

Drawn by F. W. Heine.

bloody vengeance was appeased. The old chronicler, William of Malmesbury, declares that, "from York to Durham not an inhabited village remained. Fire, slaughter, and desolation made a vast wilderness there, which continues to this day." Oederic Vitalis estimates the number of victims of this murderous expedition at a hundred thousand souls.

From this time forth the policy of conciliation was flung aside by the Conqueror of England. It now became his avowed purpose to seize all the landed estates of the kingdom. Nor satisfied with this enormous spoliation,

were the first seven years after the invasion consumed in perpetual insurrections, brutal punishments, confiscation, robbery, and ruin throughout the realm of England.

In the year 1074 William was obliged by the condition of his continental affairs to return for a season to Normandy. The county of Maine, on the borders of his paternal kingdom, had been bequeathed to the Conqueror before his departure for England. About two years after the devastation of Northumbria, Count Foulque of Anjou instigated the people of Maine to rise against William and expel his magistrates from the country.

¹ About the year A. D. 1150.

With a shrewd understanding of the situation, William, in departing for the continent, took with him only an English army, leaving all his Norman forces behind him. With these troops he made his way into Maine, and soon drove the insurgents into a bitter repentance for their folly.

While engaged in suppressing this rebellion, William received intelligence of a still more alarming outbreak in England. This time it was the Norman barons themselves, who had conspired to overthrow their master. The office of prime counselor of the kingdom was now held by Roger Fitz-Osborn, who was also Earl of Hereford. This distinguished young lord had, during the Conqueror's absence, paid his court to the daughter of Ralph de Gael, earl of Norfolk; and her he was about to take in marriage. The rumor of the intended union was borne to the Conqueror, who for some reason sent back a message forbidding the marriage. This interference was bitterly resented by Fitz-Osborn and his prospective father-in-law. Without regard to the interdiction, the marriage was celebrated, and the leading Norman barons were present at the feast. While heated with wine, a sudden disloyalty broke out among them, Normans as they were, and a conspiracy was made to destroy William and relidive the realm into the three old kingdoms of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria. The earls of Walthoef and Norwich entered into the plot with Fitz-Osborn and De Gael, and the drunken revel ended in an insane insurrection. Walthoef, however, as soon as he was sober, washed his hands of the disloyal business. Fitz-Osborn was confronted on the Severn by a loyal army sent out by Archbishop Lanfranc, primate of the kingdom; and the insurgents under the Earl of Norfolk were beaten down by a force commanded by Odo, bishop of Bayeux. Nor was it long until the whole rebellion was brought to naught. William returned from the continent, and the conspirators were punished, some with mutilation, some with imprisonment, and some with death.

It was now the fate of the Conqueror to be touched in a still more vital part by the treason of his son Robert, duke of Maine. This (1088) had been honored by his father before

the departure of the latter for his conquest of England. William had induced his Norman barons to do the act of fealty to Robert as their future sovereign. On coming to man's estate, the duke, without regard to his father's wishes, would fain assume the government in his own right. Hearing of the rebellious conduct of his son, the Conqueror addressed to him a brief but comprehensive letter. "My son," said he, "I wot not to throw off my clothes till I go to bed." This figurative expression was easily understood by the youth, who openly demanded the fulfillment of the king's promise to make him duke of Normandy. "Sire," said Robert, in an interview with his father, "I came here to claim my right, and not to listen to sermons. I heard plenty of them, and tedious ones, too, when I was learning my grammar." Hereupon the estrangement broke into hostility. Robert fled into foreign parts, but was presently received and supported by Philip of France, who was glad to find so sharp a weapon wherewith to hew away some of the greatness of his rival William. The rebel prince was established in the castle of Gerberay, on the borders of Normandy, and supplied with French soldiers, with whom he made predatory forays into his father's duchy. King William in great wrath crossed the channel with an English army and laid siege to the castle where Robert had made his stand. Here it was that the famous incident occurred in which the king was brought within a single stroke of losing both his crown and his life.

On a certain day, when the usual desultory fighting was going on in the vicinity of the castle, Duke Robert, who had sallied forth, met and engaged in deadly conflict with a stalwart Norman knight, whom he had the good fortune to unhorse and hurl to the ground. Springing from his horse and drawing his sword, the duke was about to dispatch his fallen foe when the latter cried out for help. It was the voice of William the Conqueror, about to perish under the sword of his son. The latter, however, was suddenly touched with chivalrous and filial devotion. He threw himself on his knees before the prostrate form of his father, craved a hurried pardon, assisted the wounded William

into the saddle, and permitted him to ride away to his own camp.

After this heroic episode, so illustrative of

the temper of the Middle Ages, strenuous efforts were made by William's friends and counsellors to effect a reconciliation between



DUKE ROBERT RECOGNIZES HIS FATHER

Drawn by L. P. Leybold

him and his son. At first the mortified and angry king, still weak from the wound which Robert had inflicted, would hear to nothing but submission and punishment. At length, however, his wrath subsided and he accepted of the prodigal's repentance. But it soon appeared that the Conqueror had little sympathy with his eldest born, and no confidence in the sincerity of his purposes. A second quarrel soon ensued, and the prince was again driven forth, never to see his father more. As two brothers, William and Henry, by a more dutiful conduct retained their father's affection and were destined, each in his turn, to occupy the throne of England.

The year 1080 was marked by another insurrection at Durham. The duty of governing the warlike population of Northumbria had been intrusted to Walcher, of Lorraine, a valorous bishop of the Church. His rule was arbitrary and oppressive. The English who appealed to him for redress of grievances were treated with injustice and disdain. Liulf, one of the noblest natives of Northumbria, having been robbed by some of the bishop's retainers, and appealing to that dignity for redress, was repelled and presently assassinated. Enraged at this crime against their race the English in the neighborhood of Durham made a conspiracy by night and came in great numbers, petitioning Walcher to render up the murderers of Liulf. Each of the yeomen had a short sword hidden under his garment. The bishop perceiving that a tumult was threatened retired into the church, which was soon surrounded by an angry multitude. The building was fired, and Walcher and his satellites were obliged to come forth and be killed in preference to being burned to death. The murderers of Liulf were slain with the rest.

Fearful was the vengeance taken on the Northumbrians for their savage deed. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, half-brother to King William, was sent with a large army against the people of Durham. This savage prelate proceeded, without the slightest attempt to discriminate between the guilty and the innocent, to smite the whole district with fire and sword. Beheadings, mutilations, and burnings were witnessed on every hand, until the bishop's thirst for blood was fully glutted. Soon after-

wards Odo entered into an intrigue to make himself the successor of Pope Gregory VII., and for this was brought under the displeasure of the king. The bishop was taken before a council and his plot was fully exposed by William, who had his half-brother arrested, carried into Normandy, and imprisoned in the dungeon of a castle.

The years 1083-84 were filled with alarm on account of the threatening movement of the Danes. In that country King Sueno and his son Harold had both died, leaving the crown to the illegitimate Canute, who did not hesitate to lay claim to England as the successor of Canute the Great. An issue was thus made up between one royal bastard who coveted and another who held the English throne. Canute began his work by making a league with Olaf the Peaceful, king of Norway. With them, also, was united Robert, earl of Flanders, Canute's father-in-law, who promised to furnish six hundred ships to aid in the expulsion of the Normans from England. It was proposed to bear down on the Island with an armament of a thousand sail. When the squadron was about to depart one distracting circumstance after another arose, and treachery followed treachery until the enterprise was completely frustrated. The movements of his northern enemies, however, had sufficed for the space of two years to keep the Conqueror in a state of anxiety and alarm, and to lay upon the English people such grievous burdens as they had rarely borne before. For William, by taxes, levies, and contributions seized upon a large part of the resources of the kingdom in his preparations to meet and repel the Danes.

About the year 1080 was undertaken one of the most memorable of the works of William the Conqueror. This was the great survey of the kingdom of England, the results of which were recorded in the famous work known as *DOMESDAY BOOK*, which has ever since remained the basis of land tenure in those parts of the Island to which it applied. The king's justiciaries, or agents, traversed the entire kingdom and gathered the required information from the sheriffs, lords, priests, reeves, bailiffs, and villains of each district. Thus was made out in detail a complete record of the bishops, churches, monasteries, manors,

tenants in chief, and under tenants of the realm; and to this were added the name of each place, the name of the holder, the extent of the holding, the wood, the meadow, the pasture, the mills, the ponds, the live-stock, the total appraisement, the number of villeins and freemen, and the property of each. Upon the whole estate three estimates were made by the jurors; first, as the same had existed in the time of Edward the Confessor; secondly, as the property was when granted by William to his vassals; and thirdly, as it now stood after the lapse of thirteen years.

The vast mass of details thus gathered by the king's officers was digested at Winchester and carefully recorded, the first part in a great vellum folio of three hundred and eighty-two double column pages, and the second part in a quarto of four hundred and fifty pages. The first volume contains the description of the estates in the counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Southampton, Berks, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, Middlesex, Hereford, Bucks, Oxford, Gloucester, Worcester, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, Northampton, Leicester, Warwick, Stafford, Salop, Cheshire, Derby, Notts, York, and Lincoln. The second exhibits the record for the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, together with additional surveys for Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. The two volumes were named respectively the Great and Little Domesday, and were at first carried about with the king and the great seal of England. Afterwards they were deposited in the vault of the chapel of the cathedral of *Dominus Dei*.¹

So carefully was the great survey executed and so accurately were its results recorded that the authority of Domesday Book as an ultimate appeal in matters affecting the land titles of England has never been called in question. For a while the invaluable record was kept at Westminster, where it was deposited under three locks and keys in charge of the auditor and chamberlain of the exchequer. In 1696 it was transferred to the Chapter

¹It has been disputed whether the name of *Domesday Book* is a corruption of the name of the cathedral *Dominus Dei*, or whether it is properly *Domesday Book*, that is, the Book of the Day of *Doom*. The latter seems to be the better spelling and etymology.

House. At the present day it lies securely in a strong glass case in the Office of Public Records, and may there be consulted by any without payment of a fee.

Like many another monarch the conqueror of England was unfortunate in his children. The story of Duke Robert's rebellion and downfall has already been told. Duke Richard, the second born, after wearing through the years of his youth the scandal, perhaps the slander, of illegitimacy went hunting in New Forest and was gored to death by a stag. The third son William, and Henry the fourth, as they grew to manhood, became estranged, jealous, and quarrelsome. Fortunately, however, both the youths were possessed of kingly abilities, though neither gave promise of the preeminent genius displayed by their father.

One of the worst acts of King William in his old age was the seizure and conversion of Hampshire into a hunting park. In season, when the man-hunt abated, the royal appetite, famished with abstinence from blood, was best appeased with the slaughter of beasts. The favorite residence of the king was the city of Winchester. Desirous that his hunting park should be at no great distance from his capital William, without scruples, took possession of all the southwestern part of Hampshire from Salisbury to the sea, a distance of thirty miles. The district thus chosen contained no fewer than one hundred and eight manors, villages, and hamlets, all of which were demolished and swept away that the native woods might grow again for the sport of royal hunters. Thus before the close of the reign of the Conqueror was established New Forest Park, in which three princes of his own blood were destined to die by violence. From this time dated the beginning of those game-laws and forest-laws which have been the bane of the people of England unto the present day. "For," saith ever the English noble lord, "are not my harts and foxes worth more than the base churls who would destroy them?"

In the year 1086, the king called together a great assemblage of his nobles and fief-holders to receive again their homage before departing to the continent. The great and lesser men of the realm, to the number of sixty thousand, assembled at Winchester and

renewed their oath of allegiance. Shortly afterwards William crossed the channel into Normandy and opened negotiations with Philip of France for the possession of the territory between the rivers Epte and Oise. The situation portended war, and a coarse joke perpetrated by the French king at William's expense was a spark in the magazine. At this juncture, however, the Conqueror fell sick, and his vengeance was delayed till the following year. But as soon as the summer of 1087 had ripened the harvests and made heavy the purple vineyards of France, the now aged William took horse at the head of his army and began an invasion of the disputed territory.

The objective point of the warlike expedition was the city of Mantes, capital of the coveted district, and thither the Conqueror made his way, destroying every thing in his path. Mantes was besieged, taken, and burned. Just as the city, wrapped in the consuming flame, was sinking into ashes, the Conqueror, eager to be in at the death, spurred forward his horse till the charger, plunging his fore feet into the hot embers of the rampart, reared backwards and threw the now corpulent king with great violence upon the pommel of the saddle. His body was ruptured, and it was evident that a fatal injury had been received. The wounded king was taken first to Rouen and thence to the monastery of St. Gervas, just outside the walls of the city. There for six weeks the king of England lingered on the border of that realm where the smoke of burning towns is never seen. As death drew nigh, the invincible spirit of the man relaxed. The better memories and purposes of his life revived, and he would fain in some measure make amends for his sins and crimes. His last days were marked by several acts of benevolence and magnanimity. He issued an edict releasing from confinement all the surviving state prisoners whom he had shut up in dungeons. He attempted to quiet the voices within him by contributing large sums for the endowment of churches and monasteries. He even remembered the rebellious Robert, and in his last hours conferred on him the duchy of Maine. As to the crown of England, he made no attempt to establish the succession,

expressing, however, the ardent wish that his son Prince William might obtain and hold that great inheritance. To Henry he gave five thousand pounds of silver, with the admonition that, as it respected political power, he should patiently abide his time. On the morning of the 9th of September, 1087, the great king was for a moment aroused from his stupor by the sound of bells, and then, after a stormy and victorious career, and almost in sight of the spot of his birth, the son of the tanner's daughter of Rouen lay still and pulseless.

Unto his dying day William the Conqueror was followed by the curses of Englishmen. So hostile to him and his House were the native populations of the Island that Prince William Rufus, knowing the temper of the nation, deemed it expedient to secure by silent haste and subtlety the throne vacated by his father's death. He quickly left Normandy and reached Winchester in advance of the news of the decease of the king. There he confided the momentous intelligence to the primate Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. Him he induced to become the champion of his cause. A council of barons and prelates was hastily summoned, and the form of an election was had, in which, though not without opposition, the choice fell on Rufus. Such was the expedition with which every thing was done, that, on the seventeenth day after the Conqueror's death, the king-elect was duly crowned by Archbishop Lanfranc.

The first act of the new sovereign exhibited at once his own quality and the temper of the age. He issued orders that all the *English nobles* recently liberated from prison by his father should again be seized and incarcerated. The Norman prisoners of state, however, were, with singular partiality, confirmed in the honors and possessions to which they had been recently restored.

Meanwhile Duke Robert, surnamed *Coote-Hose*, or *Short-Hose*, eldest son of the Conqueror, now for many years an exile in France and Germany, hearing of his father's death, made all speed into Normandy and claimed the dukedom. He was received with great joy by the prelates of Rouen, who, fortified by the dying decision of King William, gladly

bestowed the coronet on his son. As for Prince Henry, he took the five thousand pounds bequeathed him by the late king, and going into a reluctant retirement, set the jealous eye of discontent on both his brothers.

The disposition of WILLIAM RUFUS and his brothers was little conducive to friendly relations among them. Both Robert and the king were turbulent spirits, and it was hardly probable under the circumstances that they would not soon come to blows. The situation was such as greatly to embarrass the vassals of the two princes. Many of the nobles had estates both in England and in Normandy. All such held a divided allegiance to William and Robert, and it became their interest either to preserve the peace or else to dethrone either the duke or the king. In a short time an alarming conspiracy was made in England with a view to unseating William and the placing of Robert on the throne. The chief manipulator of the plot was Bishop Odo, half-uncle of Robert, who found in him a ready and able servant. The Duke of Normandy, for his part, promised to send over an army to the support of his confederates.

The conspiracy gathered head in Kent and Durham, and in the West. In these parts the revolt broke out with violence. But there was little concert of action, and the insurrection made slow headway against the established order. The army of Duke Robert was delayed until a fleet of English privateers—first, perhaps, of their kind in modern times—put to sea and cut off the Norman squadron in detail. Since the movement against the king proceeded exclusively from his Norman subjects, the English rallied to his banner. In order to encourage this movement of the natives against his insurgent countrymen, he called together the few Anglo-Saxon chiefs who had survived through twenty years of warfare, and to them made pledges favorable to their countrymen. It thus happened, by a strange turn in the political affairs of the kingdom, that the old English stock revived

somewhat in the favor of the royal House. So, when the old Saxon proclamation was issued—"Let every man who is not a man of nothing, whether he live in burgh or out of burgh, leave his home and come,"—fully thirty thousand sturdy yeoman mustered at the call.

The king at the head of his forces marched against Bishop Odo, who had fortified himself in Rochester Castle. From thence the rebels were presently driven into Pevensey, where



DIET OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

after seven weeks they were overthrown and scattered. Odo was taken prisoner, and in order to save his life agreed to give up Rochester Castle to the king and to leave England forever. At this time, however, the castle was held by Eustace, earl of Boulogne, who making a pretense of wrath and acting in collusion with Odo, seized that prelate and drew him within the walls. The defense was begun anew, and was finally brought to a close by disease and famine rather than by assault. When the castle was at last obliged

to yield, the enraged English franklins would have destroyed the whole company of insurgents. But the Normans in the army of Rufus had many friends among the rebels, and the king was induced to grant terms of capitulation on condition that the prisoners would all leave the kingdom. After a season of desultory warfare, the movement in favor of Duke Robert lost its force and came to nothing.

The temper of the king and the spirit of the age now demanded retaliation. The supporters of William in England determined to make war on Robert Short-Hose in his own duchy. The condition of affairs in Normandy favored such an enterprise. The duke, always more courageous than prudent, had, after his father's death, managed things so badly that his nobles became disloyal and the duchy fell into anarchy. In his distress Robert made overtures to the king of France, who, promising his aid, marched an army to the frontier of Normandy, but lent no practical assistance to his ally. A counter-insurrection favorable to King William now broke out in the duchy and was with difficulty suppressed. Meanwhile William Rufus occupied his time with preparations, and in the beginning of 1091 crossed over with an English army into Normandy. When the issue between the two brothers was about to come to the arbitrament of battle, the king of France came forward as a mediator, and a treaty of peace was concluded at Caen. The terms were very favorable to the English king, who obtained large possessions of his brother's realm, together with the reversion of the whole duchy in case Duke Robert should die first.

This settlement was, of course, exceedingly distasteful to Prince Henry, who still lay in his covert awaiting the death or downfall of his brothers. So much was he angered on account of the treaty that he broke into open revolt. He defended himself briefly in his castle, and then retired to the almost impregnable rock and fortress of St. Michael, off the coast. Here he was besieged by the forces of William and Robert, and was at last obliged to capitulate. All his possessions were taken, and he was then permitted to retire into Brittany, accompanied by one knight, three squires, and one chaplain.

After the settlement of his affairs on the continent, William Rufus was for a while engaged in a war with Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland. The latter had been the aggressor during the absence of Rufus from his kingdom. When William returned, he fell upon the Scottish army, then in Northumberland, and inflicted on the enemy a signal defeat, in which both Malcolm and his son were slain.

In the year 1093, the non-compliance of Rufus with the terms of the treaty of Caen led to a renewal of hostilities between him and Duke Robert. The French king came to the rescue of the latter, but William succeeded in bribing him to retire into his own country. Robert was thus left alone to struggle with his more powerful brother. Nor is it doubtful that the English king would soon have wrested from Robert the whole duchy of Normandy had not the affairs of his own realm demanded his immediate return from the continent.

For the people of Wales had now risen against the Norman dominion, and the revolt soon became one of the most alarming that had occurred for many years. The insurgents first fell upon and captured the castle of Montgomery and then overran Cheshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, and the isle of Anglesea. On reaching his kingdom, Rufus at once marched into the rebellious district, but could not bring the Welsh mountaineers to a general battle. The enemy kept to the hills and forests, whence they sallied forth in sudden destructive attacks upon the royal forces. For two years the king with his heavy Norman cavalry continued an unsuccessful warfare on his rebellious subjects; but he was unable to reduce them to submission, and was at last obliged to content himself with the erection of a chain of castles along the frontier. In these he established garrisons and then turned aside to put down an insurrection in the North, which was headed by Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland.

In 1096 the English king found himself free once more to resume operations against Normandy. In the preceding autumn, however, an event had occurred which, in a most unexpected manner, decided the whole question at issue. The Council of Clermont was

called by Urban II., and all Western Europe had taken fire at the recital of the outrages done to the Christians in the East. Duke Robert was among the first to catch the enthusiasm and draw his sword. What was the maintenance and development of his province of Normandy compared with the glory of smiting the infidel Turk who sat cross-legged on the tomb of Christ? But the coffers of the fiery Robert were empty. In order to raise the means necessary to equip a band of Norman Crusaders, he proposed to his brother Rufus to sell to him for a period of five years the duchy of Normandy for the sum of ten thousand pounds. The offer was quickly accepted, and William in order to raise the money was constrained to resort to such cruel exactions as were, by the old chroniclers, compared to flaying the people alive. But the ten thousand pounds were raised and paid into the treasury of Robert, who gladly accepted the opportunity thus afforded of exchanging an actual earthly kingdom for the prospect of a heavenly.

In entering upon the possession of Normandy thus acquired, William Rufus was well received by his subjects. The people of Maine, however, were not at all disposed to accept the change of masters. Under the leadership of their chief nobleman, the Baron of La Fleche, they rose in hot rebellion, and it was only after a serious conflict that the king succeeded in reducing them to submission. Once and again the presence of William was demanded in Maine to overawe the disaffected inhabitants. In the last of his expeditions in that province the king received a wound, which induced him to return to England. On reaching home he found that the crusading fever had already begun to spread in the Island. Several of his noblemen, imitating the example of Duke Robert, preferred to mortgage or sell their estates in order to gain the means to join in the universal campaign against the Infidels. Means were thus afforded the king of greatly extending his territorial possessions. But while engaged in this work his career was brought to a sudden and tragic end.

In the summer of the year 1100, William, according to his wont, sought the excitement of the chase in the great hunting park of New

Forest. He was accompanied by several of his nobles. Among the rest was Sir Walter de Poix, better known by his English name of Sir Walter Tyrrel. The cavalcade was gay and boisterous, and feasted and drank under the great trees of Malwood-keep. When the company in high spirits were about to begin the hunt, a messenger came running to the king, saying that one of the monks of St. Peter's at Gloucester had dreamt a dream of horrid portent respecting the sudden death of the king. "Give him a hundred pence," said Rufus, "and bid him dream of better fortune to our person. Do they think I am one of those fools that give up their pleasure or their business because an old woman happens to dream or to sneeze. To horse, Walter de Poix!"

Hereupon the reckless king with his boon companions dashed into the woods and began the chase. Towards evening a hart sprang up between Rufus and the thicket where Sir Walter was for the moment standing. The king drew his bow to shoot; but the string snapped, and his arrow went wide of the mark. He raised his hand as if to shade his eyes while watching the hart and called aloud to his companion, "In the name of the devil, shoot, Walter, shoot!" Sir Walter at once let fly his arrow, but the fatal shaft, glancing against the side of an oak, struck William in the left breast and pierced him to the heart. He fell from his horse and expired without a word. Nor has authentic history ever been able to decide whether the bolt that sped him to his death was, according to common tradition, winged by accident or whether it was purposely sent on its deadly mission either by Sir Walter himself or by some secret foe of the king ambushed in the thicket. At any rate, the childless William Rufus died with an arrow-head in his breast in the depth of New Forest hunting-ground, and the popular superstition was confirmed that that great Park created afortime by the destruction of so many Anglo-Saxon hamlets and churches, was destined many times to be wet with the blood of the royal tyrants whose wanton passions were therein excited and gratified.

The history of Feudal England has thus been traced from the beginning of the Nor-

man Ascendency in the times of Edward the Confessor, through the great crisis of the Conquest, down to the death of William Rufus and the accession, in the summer of 1100, of Henry I., the remaining son of the Conqueror. On the continent, as will readily



DEATH OF WILLIAM RUFUS
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

be recalled, the people of the various states were already in universal commotion from the preaching of the First Crusade. In insular England the excitement was by no means so great; nor was English society thoroughly aroused until in the succeeding reigns of Stephen, Henry Plantagenet, and Richard I. This fact would indicate the continuance of the present narrative down to the time when

the Lion Heart lifted his battle-axe against the Infidels; but the date of the Council of Clermont (A. D. 1095) has already been fixed upon as the limit of the present Book and the beginning of the next. Here, then, we pause in the narrative of English affairs, with the purpose of resuming the same hereafter with the accession of Henry, surnamed Beauclerc, to the throne of England.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.—MOHAMMEDAN STATES AND NORTHERN KINGDOMS.



ET us again, for a brief season, follow the yellow Crescent of Islam, waning in the West, fulling in the East. The history of the Mohammedan power has been given in the preceding Book from the time of the Prophet to the age of decline in the Caliphate of Damascus during the reign of Merwan II. The latter, who was the fourteenth and last of the Ommiyad Dynasty, held the throne till the year 750, when a contest broke out between him and ABUL ABBAS, which ended in the overthrow of Merwan and the setting up of the Abbasside Caliph. Abul Abbas claimed to be a lineal descendant of Mohammed's uncle Abbas, and for this reason the name *Abbasside* was given to the House.

Not only was Merwan overthrown by his enemy, but the Ommiyades were presently afterwards assembled with treacherous intent, and all but two of them were murdered. The two survivors escaped, the one into Arabia and the other into Spain. The Arab Ommiyad became the head of a line of local rulers who continued in power until the sixteenth

century, and he who came to Spain laid the foundation of the Caliphate of Cordova.

Having secured the throne of Damascus, Abul Abbas began a reign of great severity. The fugitive Merwan was pursued into Egypt and barbarously put to death. The victorious Caliph earned for himself the name of Al-Saffah, or the Blood-shedder. So complete was the destruction of his enemies that in all the East none durst raise the hand against him. The new dynasty was firmly established from Mauritania to the borders of Persia.



DESTRUCTION OF THE OMMIYADES.

Drawn by F. LIX.

Spain secured her independence, but the remainder of the Mohammedan states fell to the Abbassides.

After a reign of four years' duration Abul Abbas died, and was succeeded on the throne by his brother AL-MANSOUR. The sovereignty

was also claimed by his uncle Abdallah, by whom the destruction of the Omniyades had been accomplished. Abdallah took up arms to maintain his cause, but Abu Moslem, the lieutenant of Al-Mansour, went forth against the insurgents, and they were completely defeated. Abu Moslem, however, soon afterwards incurred the anger of his master, and was deprived of his eyes for refusing to accept the governorship of Egypt. Like his predecessor, Al-Mansour marked his reign with merciless cruelty. In the year 758, a heretical sect, called the Ravendites, whose principal tenet was the old Egyptian doctrine of metempsychosis, became powerful at the city of Cufa, the then capital of the Eastern Caliphate. They fell into violent quarrels and riots with the orthodox Mohammedans, and thus came under the extreme displeasure of the Caliph. After much violence and bloodshed, Al-Mansour determined to punish the city and people by removing the capital to another place. He accordingly selected a site on the Tigris, once occupied by the Assyrian kings, and there founded the new city of Baghdad, which was destined to remain for more than four centuries the capital of the Mohammedan kingdoms in the East.

In the year 762-63 the seat of government was transferred, and Al-Mansour began his reign of twenty-one years with beautifying his palace and drawing to his court the art and learning of his countrymen. It was not long, however, until he was obliged to go to war. The descendants of Ali, son of Abu Taleb, raised the standard of revolt and attempted to recover the Caliphate. The armies of Al-Mansour, however, gained the victory over the enemies of their master, and Asia Minor and Armenia, in which the insurrection had made most headway, were reduced to submission. But in the West the revolt held on its way and could not be suppressed. Distance and the intervening Mediterranean favored the rebellion in Spain to the extent of securing the independence of that province, which could never be regained by the Eastern Caliph.

But more important than the wars of Al-Mansour were his efforts to set up a higher standard of literary culture than had hitherto been known among the Mohammedans. The

old anti-literary dispositions of Islam were made to yield to a more reasonable view of human culture and refinement. The arts and humanities embodied in the works of the Greeks were revealed by translation to the wondering philosophers of the Tigris, who were stimulated and encouraged in their work by the liberal patronage of the Caliph.

After a successful and distinguished reign of twenty-one years Al-Mansour died, and was succeeded by his son MAUDI, who held the throne for a period of ten years. Perhaps the most distinguished part of his reign related to the slave Khaizeran, by whom he became the father of the celebrated Haroun Al-Rashid, most distinguished of all the Caliphs of the East. The young prince became his father's chief military leader. He commanded an army of ninety-five thousand men in an expedition against the Byzantine Empire, then ruled by the Empress Irene. With his well-nigh invincible soldiers, he marched through Asia Minor, overthrew the Greek general, Nicetas, in battle, reached the Bosphorus, and in the year 781 gained possession of the heights of Scutari, opposite Constantinople. Such was the alarm of the Empress and her council that she was glad to purchase the retirement of the Mohammedans by the payment of an annual tribute of seventy thousand pieces of gold.

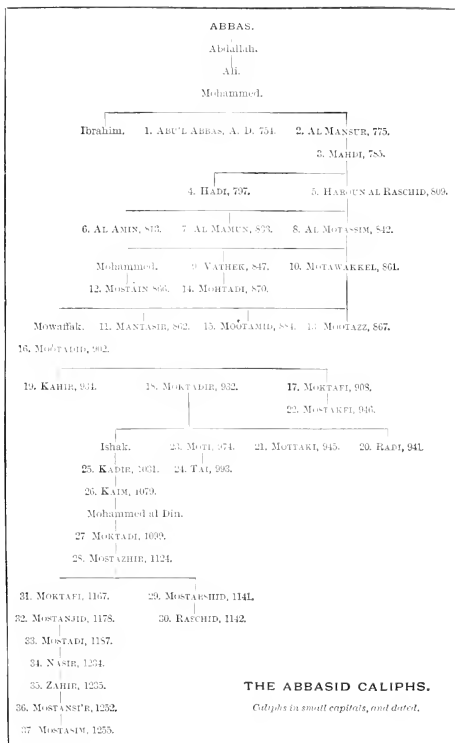
While the fame of these exploits was filling all the realms of Islam with the name of the slave-woman's son, his elder brother HADI was busily engaged in a conspiracy to destroy both his reputation and his life. Nor was the bitterness of Hadi at all appeased when, in 785, the father Mahdi died and left him heir to the Caliphate. No sooner had he reached this position than, fired with increasing jealousy, he issued orders for the execution of Haroun; and the edict was prevented from fulfillment only by the death of Hadi, who came to an end within a year from his accession. When this event occurred, Al-RASHID came into peaceable possession of the throne. His character and abilities far surpassed those of any preceding Caliph. With his accession came the golden era of Mohammedanism. In his dealings with the different nations under his dominion, he fully merited his honorable sobriquet of the Just. He selected his min-

isters from the different states of the Empire, and thus united in his government the claims and sympathies of all. Among those who were thus brought into his administration were Tahya and his son Jaffar, two of the ancient fire-worshipping priesthood of Persia. By their influence the people whom they represented were greatly advanced in the favor of the Caliphate, and even the religious system of Zoroaster, which had waned almost to extinction, was permitted to burn more brightly while its representatives remained in power.

In his foreign relations, Haroun Al-Rashid busied himself in strengthening his frontiers on the side of the Byzantine Empire. While thus engaged, a disgraceful war broke out between religious factions in Syria. The general Musa was sent by Al-Rashid into this region, and the leaders of the rival parties were captured and taken to Baghdad. An end was thus made of the Syrian dissensions, and Jaffar was appointed governor of that province, including Egypt.

It was at this time that the powerful family of the Barmecides became predominant in the affairs of the Caliphate. The head of this family, Khaled ben Barmek, had been the tutor of Haroun Al-Rashid in his youth. It was his son, Tahya, who became prime minister in 786. Twenty-five members of the family held important offices in the different provinces of the Empire. For fifteen years, their

ascendency remained unshaken; but at last in 803, a circumstance occurred which added fuel to the already increasing jealousy of Al-Rashid and led to the downfall of the Barmecides.



cides. The minister Jaffar, grandson of Khaled ben Barmek, made love to Abassa, sister of the Caliph; and when the lover represented to Haroun that his affection for the princess was purely platonic, it was agreed that he might marry her. In course of time, however, Abassa presented her singular lord with

an heir, greatly to the chagrin of the Caliph. So hot was his rage that he caused Ja'far to be beheaded. Tahya and Fadil were chained and thrown into a dungeon, where they died. Nearly all the other members of the family suffered deposition, confiscation of property, and imprisonment. The influence of the House was thus suddenly thrown off. But the memory of Al-Rashid suffered not a little from the gratification of his passion against those whom he had no cause of hating other than jealousy.

In the same year with the downfall of the Barmecides, Nicophorus, having then succeeded Irene on the throne of the Byzantine Empire, made a sudden show of old-time virtue by refusing payment of the annual tribute agreed to by his predecessor. Not only did he decline longer to continue the stipend, but he sent an embassy to Al-Rashid, demanding a restitution of all the sums previously paid by Irene. Thereupon the Caliph, flaming with rage, returned the following per-petuous but undiplomatic message: "In the name of the Most Merciful God, Haroun Al-Rashid, commander of the Faithful, to Nicophorus the Roman dog. I have read thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother. Thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold my reply." Nor was this threatening manifesto without an immediate fulfillment. The Caliph put himself at the head of his army, wasted a large part of Asia Minor, besieged the city of Heraclea, and quickly obliged Nicophorus to resume the payment of tribute.

The Emperor was not yet satisfied, and soon violated his agreement. In 806 Haroun Al-Rashid returned with a hundred and thirty-five thousand men, overtook Nicophorus in Phrygia, and defeated him with a loss of forty thousand of his troops. Still the Greek Emperor was not satisfied. Two years later, he again refused to pay the stipulated tribute, and Al-Rashid came upon him with an army twice as great as previously. He ravaged Asia Minor to the borders of the Egean, and then taking to his fleet, overran the islands of Rhodes, Cyprus, and Crete. The tribute was composed on more humiliating terms than ever. But hardly had the Mohammedans retired from their expedition before the perfidious Greek Emperor once more broke off his

engagement and took up arms. Haroun renewed the war with the greatest fury, swearing that he never would treat again with such an oath-breaking enemy as Nicophorus. But before his vengeance on the Greek could wreak a bloody satisfaction, a revolt broke out in Khourasan, and Al-Rashid was recalled from the West to overawe the insurgents. Before reaching the revolted province, however, he fell sick and died, leaving behind a reputation for ambition, prudence, and wisdom unequalled by any of his predecessors in the Caliphate. He had a breadth of apprehension which would have been creditable in a sovereign of modern times. He cultivated the acquaintance of the great rulers of his age. He corresponded with Charlemagne, and in the year 807 sent to that monarch a water-clock, an elephant, and the keys of the Holy Sepulcher. Nine times did Al-Rashid make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Above all his contemporaries, he sought to encourage the development of literature and art. About his court were gathered the greatest geniuses of Islam, and legend and poetry have woven about his name the imperishable garland of the *Arabian Nights*.

On the death of Al-Rashid, in the year 809, the succession was contested by his two sons, Al-Amin and Al-Mamoun. The former obtained the throne and held it for four years. But his brother grew in favor and power, and when in 813 the issue came to be settled by the sword, Al-Amin was killed and Al-Mamoun took the Caliphate. He entered upon his administration by adopting the policy of his father, especially as it related to the encouragement of learning. The chief towns of the East were made the seats of academic instruction and philosophy. Many important works were translated from the Greek and the Sanskrit. From the Hindus were obtained the rudiments of the mathematical sciences, especially those of arithmetic and algebra. Ancient Chaldaea gave to the inquisitive scholars of the age her wealth of star lore; while the elements of logic, natural history, and the Aristotelian system of philosophy were brought in from the Archipelago and Constantinople.

As a warrior Al-Mamoun was less distinguished. In his country, as in the West, a

disruptive force began to appear in the government, and many of the provinces, remote from the center of the Empire, regained their independence. Indeed, near the close of his reign, the disintegration became alarming; and when the government passed by his death, in the year 833, to his brother *Al-Motass-em*, the Empire seemed on the verge of dissolution. The latter sovereign received the name of the *Octonary*, for he had fought eight victorious battles with the enemies of Islam.¹ His reign, however, is chiefly notable for the fact that at this time the Seljukian Turks began to be a powerful element both in the armies and government of the Caliphate. The Seljuk soldiers surpassed in courage and vigor any others who ranged themselves under the Crescent. During the siege of Amorium, in Phrygia, in the year 838, in which the army of the Emperor Theophilus was environed by the Mohammedans, it was the Turkish cavalry that dealt the most terrible blows to the Greeks. Thirty thousand of the Christians were taken captive and reduced to slavery, and other thirty thousand were slaughtered on the field. From this time forth, the Turks were received into the capital. They became the guards of the Caliph's palace, and it was not long until they held the same relation to the government as did the pretorian cohort six hundred years before to the Imperial household in Rome. It was estimated that by the middle of the ninth century there were fully fifty thousand Turks in Baghdad.

This new and dangerous patronage of the Caliphate bestowed on a race of lawless foreigners, warlike, restless, and audacious, became in a short time the bane of the Mohammedan countries. Even during the reign of *Motass-em*, who was the Edward Confessor of the East, the quarrels of his Turkish guards with the native inhabitants of Baghdad produced so great turbulence and rioting in the city that the Emperor was constrained to retire with his favorites to Samarra on the

Tigris, about forty miles distant from the capital and there establish a new royal residence. The Caliph *Motawakkel*, next after *Vathek*, son of *Motass-em*, still further encouraged the Turkish ascendancy until the guards, having come to prefer the Prince *Mostasser*, son of the Caliph, murdered their master and set up the youth in his stead. The latter enjoyed or suffered the fruits of his crime no more than six months, when the same power that had created, destroyed him, and set up his brother *Mostain*, who reigned until 866. From this time until the close of the century, four other obscure Caliphs—*Motaz*, *Moutadi*, *Motammed* and *Motaded*—succeeded each other in rapid succession in the Caliphate. The following century was occupied with nine additional reigns, being those of *Moktafi I.*, *Moktader*, *Kaher*, *Khadi*, *Mottaki*, *Mostakfi*, *Mothi*, *Tai*, and *Kader*. Except in a special history of the Eastern Caliphate, but little interest would be added to the general annals of mankind by reciting in detail the bloody and criminal progress of events on the Tigris and in Asia Minor.

In the following—the tenth—century the ascendancy of the Seljukian Turks became more and more pronounced, and their intolerable domination was felt and resented almost equally by the more quiet Mohammedans of the south-west districts of the Caliphate and by the Christians who, especially in the Holy Land, were subjected to every humiliation and barbarity which the Seljuks could well invent. This circumstance, viewed from the Asiatic standpoint, was the antecedent condition of that fierce turmoil of excitement and wrath which spread through Western Europe in the latter half of the eleventh century and broke out in the wild flame of the Crusades.

Meanwhile the Crescent still floated over Spain. For in the great proscription of the *Omniyades* a royal youth, named *Abderrahman*, son of *Merwan II.*, escaped the rage of the *Abbasides* and fled into Western Africa. From thence he made his way into Spain, where, on the coast of Andalusia, he was saluted with the acclamations of the people. He was hailed by all parties as the lineal descendant and rightful successor of the great *Omniyah*, and therefore entitled to reign over the western followers of the Prophet. After

¹ According to the Arab chroniclers, *Motass-em* was an exceedingly eight-fold sovereign. He was the eighth of the *Abbasides*. He reigned eight years, eight months, and eight days. He left eight sons, eight daughters, eight thousand slaves, and eight millions of gold.

a brief struggle with the contending factions, under the leadership of rival heirs, he was elevated to the throne of Cordova, and thus, in 756, was established the Ommyyad dynasty in the Western Caliphate.

While these movements were taking place south of the Pyrenees, the Mohammedans were gradually expelled from their foothold in the North and driven back into Spain. The triumph of the Franks, however, was as advantageous to the Mohammedans as to themselves. A mountain barrier was established between the two races, and the Islamites were left on the southern slope to concentrate their energies and develop into nationality.

At first the head of the Eastern Caliphate relished not the idea of the independence of Spain. On the contrary, it was determined to make a strenuous effort to subject the Caliphate of Cordova to the scepter of Baghdad. One of the Abbasside lieutenants was sent into Spain with a fleet and army, but was overthrown in battle and slain by Abderrahman. The Caliph Al-Mansour at length came to understand that it was best for his rival to be left undisturbed in the West, lest his dangerous energies should be turned against himself. By the time of the accession of Charlemagne, the Caliphate of Cordova had already grown so much in solidity and strength as to become a formidable power with which to contend, even to the king of the Franks. The meager success, or positive unsuccess, of Charlemagne's expedition against Saragossa has already been narrated in the preceding Book.

Much of the glory of the Arabian civilization in Spain must be referred to the greatness of Abderrahman and his reign. To him the city of Cordova was indebted for the most magnificent of her mosques, of which structure the Caliph himself was the designer. He also it was who planted the first palm-tree in Cordova, and from that original all the palms of Spain are said to be descended. His immediate successors were HASHEM I., AL-HAKEM I., and ABDERRAHMAN II., whose reign extended to the year 852. The greatest of the House after the founder was ABDERRAHMAN III., who in the beginning of the tenth century occupied the throne for forty-nine years. The whole Ommyyad Dynasty in Spain em-

braced the reigns of twenty-two Caliphs and extended to the year 1031, when Hashem III. was deposed by a revolution having its origin in the army. During this time Spain, under the patronage of the Mohammedans, made greater progress in civilization than at any period before or since. Agriculture and commerce were promoted. Science and art flourished, and institutions of learning were established, the fame of which extended from Ireland to Constantinople, and drew within their walls a host of students from almost every country in Europe. It was from this source that the fundamentals of scholarship were deduced by the uncultured Christians north of the Apennines and the Alps. The language and customs of the Moors became predominant in the peninsula, and during the latter half of the eighth and the whole of the ninth century there was little disposition to dispute the excellence of the Mohammedan institutions which spread and flourished under the patronage of the Cordovan Caliphs.

In the course of time, however, the relative power of the Cross and the Crescent in Spain began to be reversed. About the beginning of the eleventh century, the dissensions and strife which prevailed in the Caliphate of Cordova gave opportunity for the growth of the Christian states in the north-western part of the peninsula. Here, in the mountainous district of Oviedo, under Pelayo and Alfonso I., the dominion of the Cross was considerably extended. Portions of Leon and Castile were added to Oviedo by conquest, and thus was planted the kingdom of Asturias. Under Ordoño II. the kingly residence was transferred to Leon, and that city henceforth gave the name to the Christian kingdom. Meanwhile, on the Upper Ebro and Pisuerga, arose the kingdom of Castile. In this region there had always been preserved a remnant of independence, even since the days of the Mohammedan conquest. Until the year 961 Castile was in some sense a dependency of Leon. At that date Fernando Gonzales appeared, and the people of Castile, under his leadership, gained and kept their freedom. In 1037 Ferdinand I. reunited the kingdoms of Leon and Castile, and the combined states soon became the most powerful in Spain.

While these events were in progress north

of the strait of Gibraltar a new line of Caliphs was established in Africa. This dynasty is known as the African Fatimites; for the founder of the house was a certain Abu, claiming to be the son of Obeidallah, a descendant of Fatima. The dynasty was founded in the year 909 and continued during the reigns of fourteen Caliphs to the death of Adhed in 1171. But the Fatimites of Africa did not display the energies which were exhibited by their contemporaries at Baghdad and Cordova, and civilization, which made such rapid progress in Spain, was as much as

liphate was given up to luxury. That monarch is said to have left behind him a treasure of thirty million pounds sterling, and this vast sum was consumed in a few years on the vices and ambitions of his successors. His son Mahdi is said to have squandered six million dinars of gold during a single pilgrimage to Mecca. His camels were laden with packages of snow gathered from the mountains of Armenia, and the natives of Mecca were astonished to see the white and cooling crystals dissolving in the wines or sprinkled on the fruits of the royal worshippers. Al-Ma-



THE ALHAMBRA.

ever retarded in the states south of the Mediterranean.

Of the three or four divisions of the Mohammedan power during the Middle Ages the most splendid and luxurious was the Caliphate of Baghdad; the most progressive, the kingdom of Cordova. In the latter realm it was intellectual culture and architectural grandeur that demanded the applause of the age; while in the East a certain Oriental magnificence attracted the attention of travelers and historians. In their capital on the Tigris the Abbassides soon forgot the temperate life and austere manners of the early apostles of Islam. They were attracted rather by the splendor of the Persian kings. As early as the reign of Al-Mansour the court of the Ca-

liphate is said to have given away two million, four hundred dinars of gold "before he drew his foot from the stirrup." On the occasion of the marriage of that prince a thousand pearls of largest size were showered on the head of the bride. In the times of Moktader the army of the Caliphate numbered a hundred and sixty thousand men. The officers were arrayed in splendid apparel. Their belts were ornamented with gems and gold. Seven thousand eunuchs and seven hundred doorkeepers were a part of the governmental retinue. On the Tigris might be seen superbly decorated boats floating like gilded swans. In the palace were thirty-eight thousand pieces of tapestry. Among the ornaments of the royal house was a tree wrought of gold and

silver with eighteen spreading branches. On these were placed a variety of artificial song-birds, which were made to twitter their native notes.

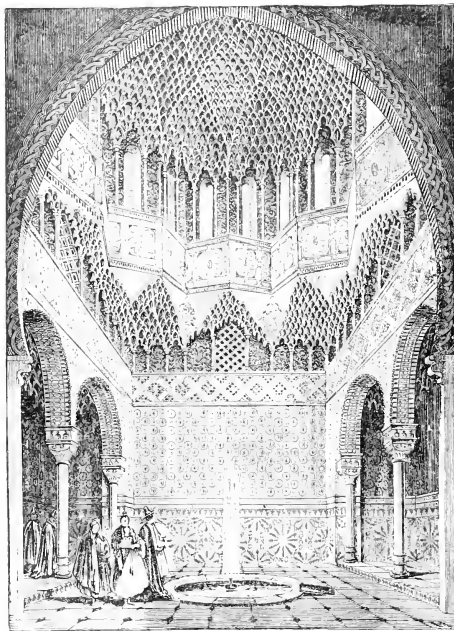
Though less gorgeous in their displays than the Abbasside monarchs, the Caliphs of Cordova displayed with not a little pomp the

was incrustated with gold and pearls, and the great basin in the center was surrounded with life-like effigies of birds and beasts.

Not less was the magnificence displayed in the famous residence of the Moorish kings at Granada. This celebrated structure, known as the ALHAMBRA, has (though partly in ruins)

remained to our day one of the wonders of the modern world. In its structure nothing that could contribute to the security and gratification of man or woman seems to have been omitted. The grandest apartment was known as the Hall of Lions, for in the mid-st was a great marble and alabaster fountain supported by lions and ornamented with arabesques. In the Hall of Abencerages the ceiling was of cedar inlaid with mother-of-pearl, ivory, and silver. The coloring was exquisite and beautiful, and even at the present day, after the lapse of more than five hundred years, the brilliant tints flash down upon the beholder as though they were the work of the highest art of yesterday.

In other parts of the Caliphate the glories of Mohammedan civilization were displayed in almost equal splendor.



HALL OF THE ABENCERRAGES, ALHAMBRA.

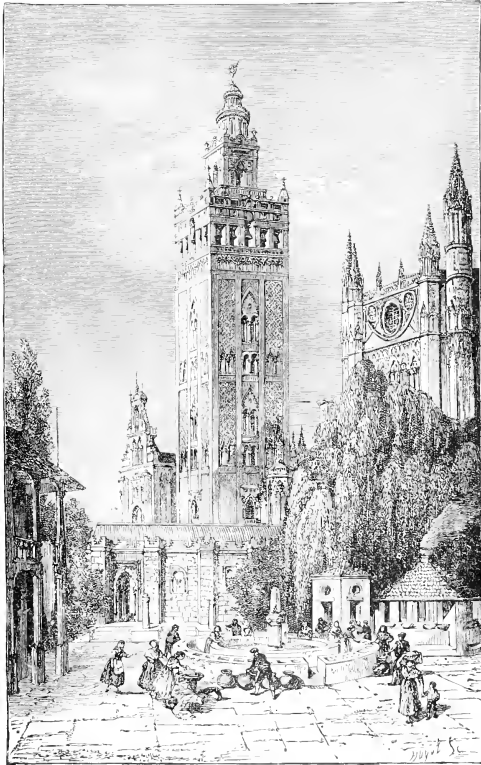
regal glories of Ommyyah. Abderrahman III. built near the capital the splendid palace and gardens of Zehra. Twenty-five years was the magnificent structure a-building, and three millions of pounds were consumed in the work. The most skillful sculptors and architects of the age were brought to Cordova to the end that the palace might want nothing in splendor. Within the hall of audience

For more than five centuries the city of Seville revealed in her progress and adornments the energies and genius of Islam. The population rose to three hundred thousand souls. Perhaps no tower in all the Moslem empires surpassed in grandeur the GIBRALDA of Seville, from whose summit the muezzin was wont to call to prayer the followers of the Prophet. This noble

structure was two hundred and fifty feet in height, and illustrated the beauties of arabesque architecture in its best estate. Of the other edifices of the city the most noted was the famous Moorish castle called the ALCAZAR, which was the residence of the prince of the city, and was in many respects equal in architectural excellence to the Alhambra itself.

While the greater part of Spain was thus dominated by the Moors, the Christians still maintained their hold in the north-western part of the peninsula. The kings of Leon and Castile, during the eleventh century made some valorous attempts to advance their frontiers and to re-establish the Cross. Of these sovereigns the most distinguished were Sancho II. and his brother Alphonso. To this epoch belonged the exploits of the hero, RODRIGO DIAZ, commonly known as the Cid, the most valorous Christian warrior of his time. In the country below the Pyrenees he was, for a season, a sort of Richard Lion Heart, whose battle-axe was well-nigh as terrible to the Moors as was that of Plantagenet in Palestine. He made war in the name of his sovereign against the Arab governors of Spain, and marked his way with havoc. He overthrew the Kadi of Valencia, took the

province for his own, and, if tradition may be believed, gave orders that his enemy's adversary should suffer death by fire. Scarcely less famous was his wife, the Princess Donna

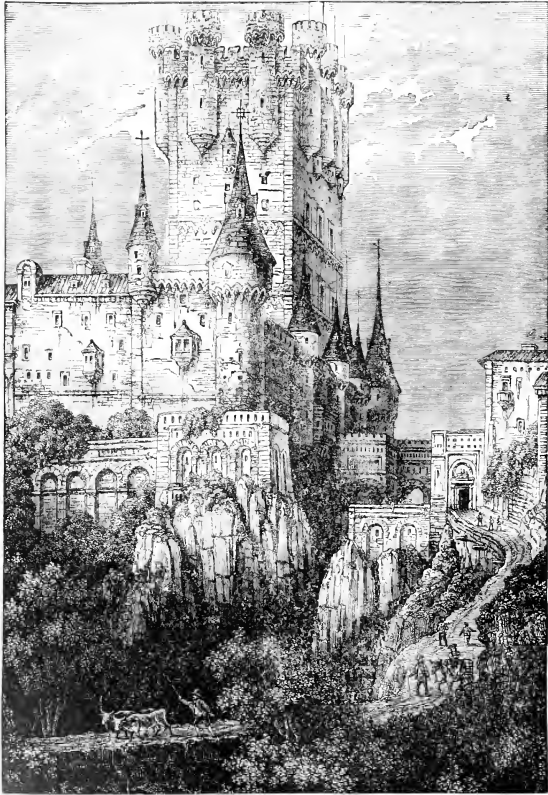


THE GIRALDA OF SEVILLE

Ximena, who accompanied him on his expeditions, and was, after his death, his successor in the palace of Valencia.

Such in brief is a sketch in outline of the character and progress of the Mohammedan

states during the Middle Ages. Let us now, before beginning a history of the Crusades, consider in a few brief paragraphs the rise and condition was the peninsular and insular kingdom of DENMARK. The earliest of the population of this region appear to have been the



THE ALCAZAR OF SEVILLE.

early development of the kingdoms of Northern Europe.

Among the earliest of the Northern states to make some progress toward the civilized

Cimbri, who held the country as early as the close of the second century. This race, however, was afterwards overrun by the Goths, who gained possession of Jutland shortly after

the downfall of the Western Empire of the Romans. The great Gothic chieftain Skiold, son of Woden, led his countrymen on this in-

vasion, and became the first king of the country. Denmark remained under Gothic auspices through the sixth and seventh centuries, and



THE CID ORDERS THE EXECUTION OF THE KING.

Drawn by A. S. G. G. G.

it was during this period that the national character was differentiated from that of the other Teutonic tribes. The people became *Danes*, the fathers of the Northmen who in the ninth century, jostled from their native seats by the fierce and long-continued wars waged by Charlemagne upon the Northern nations, took to the sea in their pagan barges, became pirates and hunters of men, and made all Western Europe red by night with the glare of their burnings. They fell upon England and gained possession of the island, proving themselves the equals, if not the superiors, of the warlike Anglo-Saxons. In the ninth century the different states of Denmark were consolidated into a single monarchy. In the year 1000 Norway was added to the kingdom, and in 1013 the greater part of England was gained by the conquests of Sweyn. Three years afterwards Canute the Great reigned over the entire Island, as well as his paternal kingdom. It was at this epoch that Christianity was carried by the missionaries to the Danes, who were finally induced to abandon paganism.

About the time of the political separation of England and Denmark in 1042 the influence of the latter kingdom among the Northern nations somewhat declined. Gradually the Feudal system made its way to the North, and the political power of Denmark underwent the same process of dissolution by which Germany, France, and England were transformed into a new condition. The Danish barons quarreled with their sovereign, went to war, and gained the same sort of independence which the nobles of the South attained under the Capetian kings. Not until 1387 did Queen Margaret, called the Semiramis of the North, arise, and, by the union of Denmark and Norway, restore the old-time prerogatives of the crown. As the widow of Haco, daughter of Waldemar III., and descendant of Canute the Great, she claimed the triple crown of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; and these three powers were united under her sway by the Treaty of Calmar in 1397.

The kingdom of NORWAY has the same mythical origin with that of Denmark. Prior to the seventh century, the history of the country rests wholly on myth and tradition. The first kings were reputed to be the descend-

ants of Woden, the first of the line bearing the name of Sconing. After him came Nor, out of Finland, and established himself on the site of the modern city of Drontheim. From this foothold, gained in the fourth century, he made war upon the neighboring tribes and reduced them to submission. Not, however, until the middle of the ninth century do we come to the actual dawn of Norwegian history. The great Harold Harfager, or the Fair Hair, came to the throne and reduced the petty chieftains of the country to submission. Love was the impelling motive of his conquests. For the beautiful Gyda, daughter of the Earl of Hardaland, vowed to wed him not until he had made himself king of all Norway. The Norse noblemen whom he overthrew took to sea and found in the exhilarating pursuits of piracy an oblivion for their losses. After Harfager, his son Haco, surnamed the Good, who had been educated at the court of Athelstane, king of England, reigned in his father's stead. Under his patronage the Christian monks traversed Norway, and the strongholds of paganism yielded under the influence of their teachings. Olaf I. came to the throne in the year 995, and continued the work begun by the monks. Pagan temples were destroyed, and churches built on their ashes.

This king also laid the foundations of Drontheim, which soon became the most flourishing of the Norwegian cities. Under Olaf, Denmark and Norway were involved in war. The king of the latter country was killed in battle, and Norway was overrun by the Swedes and Danes. In 1015 King Olaf II. signaled his zeal for the new faith by a bitter persecution of the pagans. Thirteen years later, Canute the Great landed on the Norwegian coast, dethroned and defeated Olaf, and was himself chosen king of the country. In 1030 the deposed king attempted to regain the throne, but was overthrown and slain in the battle of Stikkestad. The national cause, however, was revived by Magnus I., son of Olaf II., who succeeded in driving Sweyn, the successor of Canute, out of the kingdom. In 1047 Harold III., surnamed Hardrada, made an invasion of England, where he captured York, but was afterwards defeated and killed in the battle of Stamford Bridge. During the reign of his grandson Magnus III. (1093-

1103), the Isle of Man, the Shetlands, the Orkneys, and the Hebrides were overrun by the Danes. Ireland was invaded, and there Magnús was slain in battle. His son Sigurd I. became the Scandinavian hero of the Crusades, and his exploits against the Moors in Spain, as well as in Palestine, were the subject of many an epic ballad of the North.

Of the primitive history of SWEDEN but few authentic scraps have been preserved. Tradition relates that, when Woden with an army of Swedes entered the country, he found it already in possession of the Goths, who had previously expelled the Lapps and Finns. At the first Woden ruled over only the central portion, but under his successors the remainder was conquered before the eighth century. As early as 829, Augsar, a monk of Corbie, visited Sweden, and made the first converts to Christianity. Paganism, however, held its ground for more than a century, and it was not until the reign of Olaf Skotkonung that a regular bishopric was established at Skara.

When the Swedes took possession of the land to which they gave their name, the Goths were permitted to remain in the country. No union, however, was for many centuries effected between the two races, and innumerable feuds and frequent civil wars fill up the annals of the times. It was not until the accession of Waldemar, in the year 1250, that a political union was accomplished between the hostile peoples.

The authentic history of RUSSIA begins at a period somewhat later than that of the Scandinavian nations. There is a sense, however, in which the statement may be reversed, for the tribes inhabiting the vast region now included under the name of Russia were better known to the Greeks and Romans than were those of the Baltic provinces. The names Scythian and Sarmatian are sufficiently familiar as the tribal epithets by which the peoples of the great north-eastern steppes were designated.

During the great ethnic movements of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries Russia was the principal field on which and over which the powerful nations of Goths, Alans, Huns, Avars, and Bulgarians marshaled their hosts

for the subjugation of the West. At a later period the *Slavonic* tribes first appeared on the scene—unless, indeed, these were the descendants of the ancient Sarmatians. Their first impact was upon the Finns, whom they drove from their native seats. Many, however, remained, and were blended with the dominant Slavs. From this union and amalgamation sprang the modern Russians.

Soon after the Slavic tribes gained the ascendancy they founded the towns of Novgorod and Kiev, which became the capitals of the



RURIK THE GREAT.

two divisions of the country. In the course of a century the former principality was invaded by the Rus out of the North, and both Slavs and Finns were reduced to a tributary relation. Several times the Slavic tribes revolted; but finally, despairing of success, they invited the great Rus prince, RURIK, to come to Novgorod and be their king. In the year 862 he came with his brothers Sinaf and Truver, and then and there was founded the Russian Empire.

From this time until nearly the middle of the eleventh century the family of Rurik occupied the throne. On the death of the great

chieftain, in 879, the succession passed to his cousin Oleg, who reigned for twenty-three years. During this time the principality of Kiev was conquered and added to that of Novgorod. The Khazars between the Dnieper and the Caspian were also subdued, and the Magyars were driven out of Russia in the direction of Hungary. Oleg next made war on the Byzantine Empire, and pressed upon the Greeks with such force that in 911 the Emperor was obliged to consent

princess became a convert to Christianity, and the new faith gained a footing at Kiev.

The Emperor, however, remained a pagan, and devoted himself to war. He made campaigns against the same nations that had felt the sword of his father and grandfather. The Bulgarians also were at one time his enemies, and were defeated in battle. While returning from an unsuccessful expedition against the Greeks of Constantinople Sviatoslav was attacked and killed by the Petchenegs, through whose country he was passing. On his death, in 972, the Empire, which was now extended to the sea of Azov, was divided among his three sons, Yaropolk, Oleg, and Vladimir. The first received Kiev, the second the country of the Drevlians, and the third Novgorod. The brothers soon quarreled and went to war. Oleg was slain and Vladimir fled. Yaropolk gained possession of the whole country, but Vladimir gathered the Rus tribes to his standard, returned against his brother, put him to death, and secured the Empire for himself. He then conquered Red Russia, Lithuania, and Livonia. He became a Christian, married the sister of the Greek Emperor, and received the title of the Great. Under his influence and example Russia turned from paganism to Christianity. Churches rose on every hand; schools were founded, and new cities gave token that the night of barbarism was lifting from the great power of the North.

Vladimir left twelve sons to contend for the crown. On his death civil war broke out among them, and several of the claimants were slain. At length Sviatopolk, son of Yaropolk, himself an adopted son of Vladimir, hewed his way to the throne over the bodies of three of his foster brothers. Yaroslav, one of the surviving sons of the late Emperor, allied himself with Henry II. of Germany and returned to the contest. The struggle continued until 1019, when a decisive battle was fought, in which Sviatopolk was signally defeated. He fled from the field and died on his way to Poland. After this crisis the Empire was divided between Yaroslav and Metislav, but the latter presently died, and the former became sole ruler of Russia.

To this epoch belong the beginnings of art



VLADIMIR

to a peace in every way advantageous to the Rus.

After the death of Oleg, in the following year, Igor, son of Ruric, came to the throne, and reigned for thirty-three years. His career was that of a warrior. He first put down a revolt of the Drevlians on the Pripet, and then vanquished the Petchenegs, who had their seats on the shores of the Black Sea. Afterwards, in 941, he engaged in a war with the Greek Emperor, but was less successful than his predecessor. In a second conflict with the Drevlians he was defeated and slain, and the crown passed to his son Sviatoslav, under the regency of Olga, his mother. This

and learning in the Northern Empire. The works of the Greeks began to be translated into Slavic. Learned institutions were founded in various cities, and scholars were patronized and honored. The Russian customs and usages were compiled into a code of laws, and amicable relations were established with foreign states. Three of the daughters of Yaroslav were taken in marriage by the kings of Norway, Hungary, and France—a clear recognition of the rank of the new Russian Empire among the kingdoms of the earth.

In the year 1051 Yaroslav established the succession on his son Izaslav, but portions of the Empire were to go to the three brothers of the heir expectant. They were to acknowledge the eldest as their sovereign. In the same year the Emperor died, and the four brothers took the inheritance. The result was that the unity of the Empire was broken. Each of the rulers became independent; the feudal principle came in, and Russia was reduced to a confederation. Thus weakened, the frontiers were successfully assailed by the Poles, Lithuanians, Danes, and Teutonic barons. Such was the condition of affairs when Europe forgot her own turmoils and sorrows in a common animosity against the Infidels of the East.

In close ethnic affinity with the Russians were the primitive Slavic tribes of POLAND. Of these peoples the most numerous and powerful were the Polans, who ultimately gave a name to the amalgamated race. The mythical hero of this branch of European population was Prince Lech, brother to Rus and Czech, so that tradition as well as history associates the Poles and the Russians. Another fabulous leader was Krakus, the reputed founder of Cracow. The first historical ruler of Poland was Ziemowit, who was elected king in 860.

But the annals of the first century of Poland are very obscure, and it is not until 962 that we reach the solid ground of authenticity with the accession of Miecislav I. This prince took in marriage a Bohemian princess, by whom he was induced to become a Christian and to urge upon his people the abandonment of paganism. In common with so many other rulers of his times he adopted the

fatal policy of dividing his kingdom among his sons. Civil wars and turmoils ensued until what time Boleslas, the eldest of the claimants, subdued his brothers and regained the sovereignty of all Poland. He received the surname of the Brave, and vindicated his title by successful wars beyond the Oler, the Dnieister, and the Carpathian mountains. His right to reign was acknowledged by the Emperor Otho III., but at a later date he engaged in war with Otho's successor, Henry II. Afterwards he was called into Russia as arbi-



YAROSLAV.

ter between Novgorod and Kiev. In the civil administration he was still more successful than in war. He encouraged the industrial and commercial enterprises of the kingdom and promoted the cause of learning. He held his turbulent subjects with a strong hand and administered justice with impartiality. He assumed the state of a king, and had himself crowned by the Christian bishops. On his death, in the year 1025, the Polish crown descended peaceably to his son Miecislav II., whose brief reign was followed by the regency of his widow Rixa; for the Prince Casimir, her son, was not yet old enough to assume

the duties of the government. The regency went badly, but when Casimir arrived at the regal age he took upon himself the crown and gained the sobriquet of the Restorer.

In the year 1058 the Polish king died, and was succeeded by his son Boleslas II., who reigned for twenty-three years. Soon after his accession he became involved in a war with the Bohemians, over whom he gained a decisive victory. Afterwards he was summoned into Hungary to decide a dispute relative to the crown of that country, and a like mission to Kiev was successfully accomplished. Returning from that city he acquired in his

own government the reputation of a tyrant. At last he filled the cup of public indignation by slaying St. Stanislas, bishop of Cracow, who had reprimanded him for some of his acts. He was driven from the throne, and in 1081 died in exile. His half-imbecile brother, Ladislas Herman, succeeded to the crown of Poland, wore it for a season, and then abdicated to accept the less dangerous distinction of a dukedom.—Such was the condition of Polish affairs when Urban II., pursuing the policy of Gregory the Great, summoned the council of Clermont and exhorted all Christendom to lift the Cross against the Crescent.

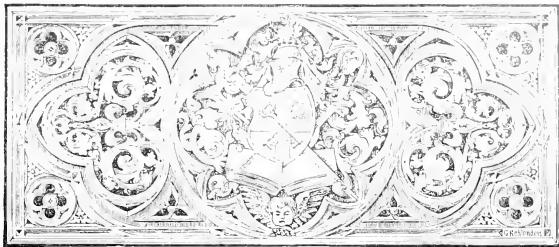




Painted by Gustave Dore.

SALADIN.

Etched by G. Y. Turner.



Book Fifteenth.

THE CRUSADES.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.—THE UPRISING OF EUROPE.



THAT great movement of mediæval society known as the CRUSADES was the first European event. That is, the agitation involved all Europe, territorially, socially, religiously, politically. Hitherto the various enterprises which had filled the annals of the West since the subversion of the Roman Empire had lacked the general character. They had been local—peculiar to some particular state or nation. At last the time arrived when every people west of the Bosphorus was moved by a common sentiment, impelled to action by a common motive. As far as the Cross was adored, as far as the Crescent was hated, so far was the proclamation heeded which called all christendom to unsheath the avenging sword against the Infidels.

Not only were the Crusades a European event—the first of modern times—but they were the first national event in the several states of the West. The condition of Europe during the Feudal Ascendency has already been delineated. Continental unity had been a delusive dream of Charlemagne. National

unity was a vision, a hope, rather than a reality. Europe parted into kingdoms; kingdoms, into dukedoms; dukedoms, into counties; counties, into petty fiefs. The dissolution was universal. Common interests ceased. Any thing that might properly be defined as national or European was impossible. The break-up was to the very bottom of the social fabric.

Even in the darkest age of the world there is something in the nature of man which revives, expands, develops. So it was in the time of the feudal dissolution of society. Humanity made sufficient progress to demand a common interest. Only the cause, the occasion, was wanting to call together the discordant and belligerent elements and unite them in a universal enterprise.

An outrage—a series of outrages—done to the religious sentiment of Europe furnished the opportunity and motive of action. Mutual hatred had long existed between the Christians and the Mohammedans. The latter aforesaid had done incalculable damage to the prospects of the Cross. All that the missionaries and evangelists had accomplished in Arabia, Abyssinia, Egypt, and Northern

Africa, had been eradicated by the followers of the Prophet. The triumphant Crescent was carried into Spain, and the Christian kingdom of the Visigoths went down before it. The system of Christianity seemed on the verge of extinction. Only Martel and his line of battle-axes stood between the tottering Cross and apparent doom.

When at last the tide rolled back and the Pyrenees became the *Thous far* to Islam, a deep-seated resentment took possession of the mind of Barbarian Europe. An instinct of revenge postponed lay deep in the sea-bed of European purpose. The West said in her heart, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay." When with the coming of the eleventh century the prophetic *Dies Ier* went by, and the Christians came to see that the drama of the world was not yet ended, the recollection of the old feud with the Mohammedans came back with redoubled violence. Europe—she that trembled under the shadow of impending fate—found time and occasion to gratify her passions and animosities as of old.

All ages and peoples have had their scapegoats. The meanness and barbaric gloom of human nature have always found something which they might rend and tear with popular approval. The eleventh century discovered its common enemy in the infidel Turk. In him were concentrated all the objective conditions of hatred. To destroy him and eradicate his stock from the earth was the one work worthy of the praise of man and the favor of heaven.

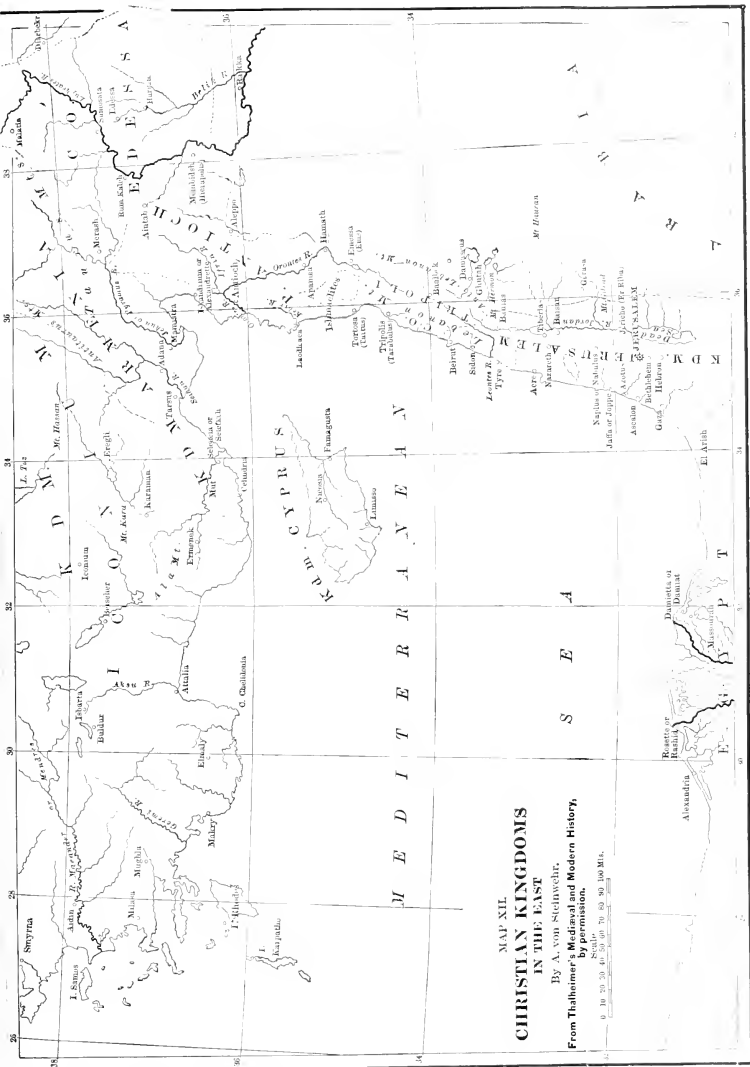
The thoughtful reader of the preceding pages will already have discovered the antecedent conditions or causes of the Crusades. The most general of these was the long-suspended reaction of Christian Europe against Mohammedan Asia. In the eighth century Islam struck the West a staggering blow. As a result of the conquests of Taric and Abdalrahman, Spain was severed from her natural affinities and brought into relations with the Asiatic states. The Spanish Crescent continued for centuries a flaunting menace to the followers of Christ. The movement of the Mohammedans westward through Africa and northward into Europe in the eighth century was answered by the counter-movement of the Christians eastward through Europe and into

Asia in the eleventh. The sword of the living Godfrey was crossed with that of the dead Taric.

The more immediate and specific causes of the uprising of the Christians against the Infidels were to be found in the condition of affairs in the Holy Land. About the year 1050 the great sultan Togrul Beg, grandson of that Seljuk who gave his name to one division of the Turkish race, came out of the Northeast, overran Khorassan and other provinces of Persia, and in 1055 took possession of Baghdad. His apparition, however, was that of a revolutionist rather than a conqueror. He and his followers were already disciples of Islam, and on assuming authority in the Eastern Caliphate he took the usual title of Commander of the Faithful. In 1063 he died and was succeeded by his equally famous nephew Alp Arslan, or the Valiant Lion. He continued the warlike policy of his predecessor, drove back the Byzantine Greeks, and captured the Emperor, Romanus Diogenes. He carried his victorious arms from Antioch to the Black Sea, and then turning about planned an expedition against Turkestan, the native seat of his race. Having crossed the Oxus and taken the first fortress in his route, he was assassinated by the governor of the town. The sultanate passed to his son Malek Shah, who transferred the capital of the East to Ispahan. Renewing the unfinished enterprise of his father and grandfather, he extended the Seljukian dominion from the borders of China to the Bosphorus.

In the course of these triumphant campaigns of the Seljuks they came upon Palestine. This province was at the time an appanage of the Caliphate of Cairo, now under the rule of those wild-mannered African Fatimites, successors of Abu Obeidallah. About the year 1076 Jerusalem was taken by the Turks, and the Fatimite governors were obliged to retire into Egypt. The Holy City fell under the dominion of the viceroys of Malek Shah, who instituted a high revel of violence and outrage against both Christians and Arabs.

For many years the fanatic religious sentiment of the West had prescribed a pilgrimage to some holy place as the best balm for an inflamed conscience. The morbid soul of



MAP XII.
CHRISTIAN KINGDOMS
IN THE EAST

By A. von Steinwehr,
 From Thalheimer's *Medieval and Modern History*,
 by permission.

Scale: 1:100,000
 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Miles.

the Western Frank saw in the sandal-sloom and scallop-shell of the pilgrim the emblems and passport of a better life. He who had sinned, he who had consumed his youth in lawlessness and passion, he who had in his manhood done some bloody deed for which he was haunted by specters, he who had forgotten the ties of kindred and stopped his ears to the entreaties of the weak, must ere the twilight faded into darkness find peace and reconciliation by throwing off the insignia of human power and folly and going bare-foot to the holy places of the East. And what other spot so sacred, so meritorious, as the scene of the crucifixion and burial of Christ?

Pilgrimages abounded. The paths of Asia Minor were thronged with those who made their way to and from the Holy Sepulcher. Around that Tomb of tombs knelt the devout believers from every state of christendom. Jerusalem was the Mecca of Europe. What, therefore, was the horror of the followers of Christ when the news was borne abroad that the Seljuk dogs, who had supplanted the Fatimites in the Holy City, were spurning and spitting upon the lowly at the very tomb of their Lord?—Such was the condition of affairs in Palestine as the eleventh gloomy century of our era drew to its dreary close.

Great was the terror inspired in the Byzantine emperors by the conquests of the Turks. Alp Arslan had waved his defiant banners almost in sight of Constantinople. The degenerate successors of the Cæsars quaked in their capital. In their agitation they looked abroad for help. Could they induce the barbarous West to come to their rescue? Would the successor of St. Peter heed their cry? Perhaps if the Pope were allured with the prospect of gaining an unquestioned recognition as the head of christendom—even of Eastern christendom—he would call the Italians, the Franks, the Germans, to the defense of the capital of the East. Such were the sentiments which moved the Greek Emperor to send an embassy to Gregory VII., and to implore that ambitious potentate to rally the armies of Europe against the Infidels.

Meanwhile the pious monk of Savona, Peter of Picardy, came home from Palestine, reciting with fervid and pathetic eloquence the

story of the intolerable outrages to which the Christian pilgrims were subjected. He himself had received brutal insults at the hands of the savage Turks. Into his ears the venerable patriarch of Jerusalem had poured a tale of horror. Christ was put to shame. His name was blasphemed. His lowly children were beaten, mocked, trampled under foot by the base and bloody-minded followers of the false Prophet. Under this recital Europe began to quake with the premonitory shudder of the great upheaval. In this condition of affairs the Greek Emperor saw the prospect of rescue and support. Urban II. saw the way open by which he was to confound his enemies and carry forward the ambitious plans of his great predecessor. The secular rulers of Europe saw an opportunity to recover from the feudal barons the lost prerogatives of royalty. The priests and bishops saw the promotion and glory of the Church; and the ignorant zealot saw in the gore of the Moslems smeared on sword-blade and Cross the element of purification and peace.

The council of Piacenza, held in the summer of 1095, was quickly followed by that of Clermont. Meanwhile Peter the Hermit had gone from town to town, from church to church, preaching the holy war. France took fire. The feudal settlements were all ablaze. Lord, retainer, and peasant all caught the spirit of the inflammatory appeal. Crowds followed at the Hermit's heels. They bowed down and kissed the hem of his garment. They plucked hairs as precious mementoes *from the mane of his mule!* His fame spread throughout the continent, and even in insular England the barons of William Rufus shared the excitement of their friends in Normandy.

When the time came for the great council convened by the Pope, Clermont was like a vast camp. Three hundred bishops were present. Thousands of priests flocked to the assembly. Multitudes gathered from all the surrounding states. Pope Urban braved the cold and fatigue of a journey across the Alps, and came in person to preside over the council. Princes, prelates, and ambassadors thronged to the scene, and caught the common spirit. The messages from Alexius, Emperor of the East, were read to the multitude. The Pope was warned of the peril to Constantinople, and of

the incalculable loss to Christendom if that city should fall into the hands of the Turks. The secular princes were exhorted to rise for the sake of the Cross, for the sake of the rich rewards which the Emperor was able to bestow, and for the sake of Greek women whose charms would be freely yielded to those who became their champions against the infidel dogs of Asia.

On the tenth day of the council the meeting was held in the great square of Clermont. The Pope, accompanied by the cardinals and Peter the Hermit, ascended a throne and made a pathetic address to the people. His Holiness said:

“Christian warriors, rejoice! for you who without ceasing seek vain pretext for war have to-day found true ones. You are not now called to avenge the injuries of men, but injuries offered to God. It is not now a town or castle that will reward your valor, but the wealth of Asia, and a land flowing with milk and honey. If you triumph over your foes the kingdoms of the East will be your heritage. If you are conquered you will have the glory of dying where Christ died. This is the time to prove that you are animated by a true courage, and to expiate so many violences committed in the bosom of peace. When Christ summons you to his defense let no base affections detain you at home. Listen to nothing but the groans of Jerusalem, and remember that the Lord has said, ‘He that will not take up his cross and follow me, is unworthy of me.’ Gird your swords to your thighs, ye men of might. It is our part to pray, yours to do battle; ours—with Moses—to hold up unwearied hands, yours to stretch forth the sword against the children of Amalek.”

Then it was that the surging mass arose in their enthusiastic rage, and the loud cry of *Dieu le Veut! Dieu le Veut!* resounded like the voice of many waters. “God indeed wills it,” responded the Pope. “Go forth, brave warriors of the Cross, and let ‘God wills it’ be your watchword and battle-cry in the holy war.” Such was the tumultuous scene in which the Crusades were first formally proclaimed.

As soon as the loud cry of *Dieu le Veut* was hushed at a gesture from the Pope, one of the cardinals arose and pronounced a form of confession for all those who would enlist in the holy enterprise. Thereupon, Adhemar, bishop

of Puy, came forward and received from the hands of Urban one of the red crosses which had been consecrated for the occasion. Knights and barons crowded around the seat of his Holiness to receive the sacred badge and to take the oath of loyalty to Christ. The cross of red cloth was then stitched upon the right shoulder of the mantle, and the wearer became a soldier of the Cross—a *Crusader*.¹

As soon as the council of Clermont was dissolved those who had participated in its proceedings dispersed to their several provinces to rouse the people and to prepare for the advance on Palestine. Everywhere they were received with applause and enthusiasm. Urban II. traversed France, and the people gathered from far and wide to hear the story of the sorrows of Jerusalem. Already France resounded with the din of preparation. Men of every rank assumed the cross and demanded to be led against the defilers of the Holy Sepulcher. The more ignorant classes were profoundly agitated. The peasants surged to and fro and could scarcely be restrained from setting out in the dead of winter. Many of the nobles felt the spell and eagerly prepared for an expedition to the East. In order to secure the means of raising and equipping forces they borrowed money and mortgaged their estates. Men were thus enlisted and furnished, and by the beginning of 1096 a large army was gathered for the holy war.

From Scandinavia to the Mediterranean the Crusade was preached with a fiery zeal that kindled a flame in every village. In accordance with a canon of the Council of Clermont the taking of the cross was to be accepted in lieu of all the penances due to the church. The license thus granted was in the nature of a plenary indulgence and became one of the most powerful incitements to the cause. The peasant mind of Europe, long galled by ecclesiastical restraint, fired with the prospect of liberation, and the nobles were not proof against the same seductive motive. The bits were suddenly taken out of the mouth of Rapine, and the old pirate came up serenely with the red cross on his shoulder. All the warlike lusts of the age were set at liberty under the sanction of religion and retributive

¹The word *crusade* is derived from the French *croisade*, “a holy war,” from *croix*, a “cross.”

justice. The extravagant imaginations of traders and pilgrims painted in glowing colors the exhaustless treasures and rich provinces of

the opulent East, and to win these from the infidel Asiatics seemed to be the natural reward of all who would assume the cross.



PREACHING THE CRUSADE — "DIEU LE VEUT!"

Drawn by A. de Noailles.

The clergy were in the heyday of fanatical glory. All the world swayed to and fro under the magical scepter of Christ. The monks found a good excuse to leave their cloisters and share in the common activities of life. They beheld all the offices of religion suddenly elevated to a new respect and dignity. They saw themselves become the leaders of society, looked to as the arbiters of the common fate.

To no class did the crusade promise a fairer prospect than to the toil-burdened peasantry. To them it was an escape from bondage and oppression. Those who were in debt gladly threw off the burden by assuming the cross. The creditor might no longer menace or disturb those who had become the soldiers of Christ. Offenders and criminals also found the day auspicious. No prison wall might any longer restrain him who took the sword against the Infidel. Over the thief and the murderer on whose right shoulders appeared the sacred emblem of the holy war the church threw the *agis* of her protection. All manner of crime was to be washed white in the blood of the sacrilegious Turks.

In the midst of the excitement of these scenes the Italian merchants began to build up a profitable commerce. It was necessary that Europe should be furnished the means of arming herself for the fray, and of supplying her armies with provisions for the war. Perhaps, of all the classes of society, the traders gained the most solid and permanent advantages from the great commotion. They became the factors and carriers of the time, and in many instances furnished the money with which the lords and vassals armed themselves and their retainers. From the very first a certain advantage was thus gained by the merchants and town-people over the owners of estates and country folk, who became indebted to them for the means of joining the army of Crusaders.

The actual number of those who from the various ranks of society sprang up as if by a common impulse, took on the cross, and rallied at the call of Peter and his fellow apostles, can never be authentically ascertained. Certain it is that all Europe seemed to rise as if by a common impulse. By one of the ancient chroniclers the estimate is placed at six millions of persons. In an age when no au-

thentic records were kept, every thing was left to conjecture, but it is probable that after making due allowances for various delays and for the influence of returning reason, and for the thousand accidental causes which would operate to reduce the host, the number was not much short of that given above. For awhile it appeared that all Europe would be depopulated.

The eastern frontiers of France became the scene of the gathering. There Peter the Hermit, as the chief promoter of the enterprise, assumed the leadership of the host. Without adequate preparation, without suitable arms, without any appreciation of the dangers and difficulties to be encountered, the vast and tumultuous throng swept out of France and into Germany. The great sea of angry and excited humanity overflowed the ordinary routes of travel, and spread devastation on every hand. The means of subsistence were quickly exhausted, and the multitudes began to prey on the countries through which they traversed. They swept on through the German territories like an army of devouring locusts, until through sheer waste of resources they were obliged to divide into smaller masses.

One band numbering about twenty thousand, commanded by Walter the Penniless, of Burgundy, pressed forward through Hungary and Bulgaria in the direction of Constantinople. It is said of this advanced host that there were only eight horse-men in the whole number. The rest of the wretched mob proceeded on foot, generally marching without shoes and hundreds falling by the wayside through exposure, disease, and famine. Nothing but the tolerance and friendly disposition of Carlonan, king of the Hungarians, saved the miserable vanguard from entire destruction. In Bulgaria, however, the lieutenant of the Eastern Emperor looked with less favor upon the lawless horde that had been precipitated into his kingdom. The Crusaders were quickly cut off from supplies and were obliged to have recourse to violence, but they now found themselves opposed by a race as savage as themselves.

The Bulgarians took up arms to defend their country from destruction. The track of Walter and his army was marked with blood and fire. The Crusaders were cut off day by

day until at the confines of the country only Walter and a few followers remained to make their way through the forests to Constantinople.

Meanwhile the second division of the host, numbering about forty thousand men, women, and children, under the command of Peter the Hermit himself, pressed on in the same direction taken by Walter. Their march was promoted through Hungary by the favor of king and people. The wants of the vast multitude were supplied, and friendly relations were maintained, as far as the city of Zenlin. Here on the walls were displayed some of the spoils which had been taken two months previously from Walter and his savages. On seeing these tokens of their friends' overthrow the Crusaders broke into ungovernable rage, and fell furiously upon the offending city. The ramparts were scaled, thousands of the people were butchered, and Zenlin suffered all the horrors of pillage and burning.

These atrocious proceedings aroused the anger even of King Carloman. He quickly gathered an army, and marched against the despoilers of his city. At his approach the Crusaders hastily withdrew from Zenlin, and made their escape by crossing the river Save. On the opposite bank, however, they were furiously attacked by the wild Bulgarians, who had gathered to dispute their passage. The savage people were driven back by the desperate Crusaders, who, though they thus forced a way before them, found solitude on every hand. The Bulgarians withdrew into their fastnesses or shut themselves in fortified towns, from which they could not be dislodged. Peter and his followers were thus left to the mercy of the elements, and were reduced to the necessity of purchasing supplies from the Imperial officers who commanded the towers. The feeling between the invaders and the inhabitants became more and more hostile until the people of Hissa, who had been maltreated by the Crusaders, sallied forth and massacred the rear-guard. Hereupon the whole army—if such a name may be applied to an unorganized host—turned about and assailed the city, thinking to renew at Hissa the havoc and spoliation of Zenlin, but the citizens defended themselves with great bravery. The assailants were driven back from the walls and were pursued in a general rout and slaughter, in which

it was estimated that ten thousand Crusaders were butchered. Their camp was taken and plundered by the Hissans, and the wretched, half-starved fugitives pressed on to the destruction of Constantinople.

Meanwhile the Emperor Alexius began to exert his influence to save the remnant of the Crusaders from destruction. A few of the vanguard under the leadership of Walter the Penniless had already reached the Eastern capital. Those who survived of Peter's division were now received in the city, and their wants were supplied from the Imperial store-houses. Such was the desperate character, however, of the abandoned and licentious rabble that nothing could restrain them from outraging and plundering their protectors. Their presence in the city became intolerable, and the Emperor gladly acceded to their request to be transported into Asia. The ragged and desperate fanatics were accordingly taken on ship-board and carried across the Bosphorus into Asia Minor; but no sooner were they out of sight of the capital than they let loose all their fury upon the inoffending subjects of Alexius. Not Peter himself could prevent the wholesale robbery of the districts through which the Crusaders were passing. After striving in vain to preserve order and moderation in the fanatic herd of his followers he abandoned them to their own will, and returned to Constantinople.

But Walter the Penniless had all the spirit of the turbulent host. When they demanded to be led against the Infidels, he willingly assumed the responsibility of leadership. At this juncture the Crusaders were greatly excited by the report that the city of Nice, capital of the province of Roum, had fallen into the hands of the Christians. Hoping to share the spoils of this important conquest, the multitude rushed blindly into the hostile country, and reached the plain of Nice. Here, however, they received no welcome from Christian allies or signal from Christian banners. On the contrary they were surrounded by an immense army of Turki-h cavalry. The Crusaders were now fully gratified with the sight of the Infidels. Walter and his followers fought with desperate courage until they were all, with the exception of about three thousand, hewed down with the cimeters of the Turks. Those who

survived, escaped into the Byzantine forest, and made their way back to Constantinople. The triumphant Turks gathered into a huge mound the bones of the dead men of the West, and left the monument, like Tamerlane's pyramid of skulls, a warning to other fanatical hosts to beware of Asia Minor.

Thus did the first two divisions of the crusading host sink into the earth. A third rabble soon followed from Germany. A certain monk named Godeschal, envious of the fame of Peter and Walter, preached the holy war through his native districts, and about fifteen thousand villagers and peasants flocked to his standard. Following the same route which had been taken by the preceding divisions, Godeschal led his followers into Hungary. Carloman, however, had now wearied of casting his pearls before swine, and gave to the German fanatics an inhospitable reception. He adopted the policy of despatching them with all haste through his kingdom. But the lawless multitude was not to be appeased with any thing but violence and rapine. The former scenes of plundering and outrage were renewed until the Hungarians rose in arms, and the king permitted them to do as they would with the invaders. He even went further, and did an act of perfidy in order to free the land from the presence of the hateful horde. When the Germans had gathered before the walls of Belgrade, he induced them with fair promises to lay down their arms, but no sooner had they done so than the inhabitants were let loose upon them, and they were massacred almost to a man.

In the mean time, the fourth and last division of the host gathered on the eastern confines of Germany. Perhaps no other such execrable mass of vile humanity was seen before or since in the world. France sent her thieves; the Rhine provinces, their offscouring; the British Islands, their outlaws; and all the West, her pads and murderers. This delightful army of European refuse heaped up to the number of more than two hundred thousand. A few ignorant nobles with their bands of retainers were merged in the common mass; but when it came to the election of leaders, the choice fell on *a goat and a goose!* These ridiculous creatures were actually set forward as the divinely constituted agents by which the

host was to be led to victory over the invader Turks of Asia!

The result was as revolting as the beginning was abominable. The superstitious horde fell upon the Jewish colonists in the cities of the Rhine and the Moselle, and began to rob and murder. The victims of the atrocity had, under the protection of the barons of the towns, become prosperous and wealthy. This circumstance whetted the appetite of the vile rabble, who pretended to see in the Jews only the enemies of Christ. They proposed to begin the holy war by exterminating the foes of God in Europe before proceeding against those in Asia. The blood of the unoffending Israelites flowed in torrents, and their homes were ravaged and destroyed. In spite of the protests of the Romish Church, under whose call the Crusade had been begun, the Jews were massacred by thousands, and other thousands, in order to save themselves from a worse fate under the brutal swords of their persecutors, threw themselves into the flames or rivers.

When the ruffian host could find no further material for slaughter, the march was resumed from the Rhine to the Danube. The whole route was a scene of barbarous lust and licentiousness. Nothing which native depravity could suggest or sensual fanaticism enforce was omitted to complete the horrors of the advance. The day of judgment, however, at last arrived. On the thither side of the Danube a Hungarian army was drawn up to dispute the progress of the invaders. It was now their turn to feel the edge of a merciless sword. The Hungarian leaders proved to be more than a match for General Goat and General Goose. The immense rabble was hemmed in and beaten back against the river. The tide of the Danube was red with the blood of robbers. The bodies of the slain floated like drift-wood, or choked the channel with a horrid mass of putrefaction. Very few escaped the vengeance of the Hungarians and the engulfing river. It was perhaps the vastest and most salutary execution of criminals ever witnessed within the limits of Europe. Thus perished the fourth and last of those fanatic multitudes that arose at the call of Peter the Hermit. Already more than a quarter of a million of human beings had been swallowed from sight before a regular army could be

equipped and started in the wake of the popular tumult. Not a Christian soldier had thus far penetrated beyond the plain of Nice. Walter the Penniless was dead. The fame of Peter was at a discount, but the fever of Europe was in no wise cooled. It still remained for her soldiery to undertake by regular expeditions what her peasants and monks, her goose and her goat, had failed to accomplish.

In the mean time the secular princes of the West, who had attended the Council of Clermont and assumed the cross, were busily engaged in preparing for the holy war. Among those who were destined to distinguish themselves as crusaders, should be mentioned, first of all, Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine. His reputation for piety, learning, and courage was equal to that of the best prince of his age. In his father's house Peter the Hermit had lived before he became a monk. From his mother, who had in her veins the blood of the Carolingians, Godfrey inherited his dukedom. In early life he took up arms for the Emperor Henry IV. in his war with Hildebrand, and won high distinction as a soldier. In the bloody battle which was fought on the banks of the Elster he had struck down with his own hand that Rodolph of Swebia whom the Pope had invested with the crown of Germany. Afterwards, during the siege of Rome, when the papal banner trailed and Gregory fled for refuge into the castle of St. Angelo, it was Godfrey who, first of all the imperial captains, broke over the ramparts and opened the gates of the city. With the subsequent triumph of the Pope, however, the duke's conscience began to upbraid him for the wicked part he had taken against the Head of the church. Living in his duchy, surrounded with wealth and enjoying a good name, he none the less suffered all the pangs of remorse. How else should he atone for the great sins of his rash youth except by taking the cross and giving his life, if necessary, in recovering the Holy Land from the Infidel?

With no half-hearted purpose did Duke Godfrey become a Crusader. No sacrifices were spared to secure the desired end. He sold or mortgaged all of his castles and estates. He alienated his cities and principalities and gave up his duchy. He laid all on the altar

if by any means he might regain the favor of heaven, which he had forfeited by making war on the vicar of Christ. With the money procured by the sale of his vast domains he raised and equipped a magnificent army. Ten thousand knights, the flower of European chivalry, rallied around his banner, while a force of eighty thousand foot made up the body of his forces. His principal officers were his two brothers, Eustace and Baldwin, the former count of Bouillon; his kinsman Baldwin du Bourg, and several other noblemen less conspicuous by their rank and reputation.

In the south of France the men of war were rallied to the cross by Raymond, count of Toulouse. He too was a soldier by profession. He had fought against the Saracens in Spain. He had distinguished himself at the right hand of the Cid. He had wedded the daughter of King Alphonso, and was known as one of the most valiant captains of his times. It was his saying that he had spent his youth fighting the followers of the false Prophet in Europe, and would spend his old age in warring with them in Asia. Already aged, his white locks made a conspicuous sign around which soon was gathered out of Provence and Gascony an army of a hundred thousand men. His principal officer was the Bishop of Puy, who, after the Council of Clermont was made legate of the Pope, and now became a soldier of the cross militant against the Infidels.

While the Crusaders of Lorraine and Provence were thus marshaled by Godfrey and Raymond, Hugh, of Vermandois, brother of King Philip of France, and Robert, Count of Flanders, sounded the call in their respective provinces and armed their several hosts. Stephen, Count of Blois, and Robert, Count of Paris, also rallied their knights and retainers and made ready for the march into Asia. It was at this time that the crusading fervor kindled all Normandy into a glow. The court of Rouen furnished two gallant leaders. These were Robert Short Hose, son of William the Conqueror, and Edgar Atheling, heir of the Saxon line to the throne of England.

The characters and dispositions of both these princes have already been sketched in the preceding book. Such was the improvidence of Robert, and so frequently was he made the

victim of the wiles and cupidity of the hang- led in him all the elements of a genuine Cru-
ers-on of his court, that he was many times sader—brave, rash, fanatical, impetuous, ex-
duced to a state of ridiculous poverty. He cluded by his younger brother from the throne



THE FOUR LEADERS OF THE FIRST CRUSADE—GODFREY, RAYMOND, BOHEMUND, TANCRED.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

of England, beset by usurers who demanded their interest and women who wanted presents in exchange for their alleged virtue—he was precisely the sort of a personage who, without inducement to remain at home, might gladly embark in the respectable enterprise of hunting Infidels. Such were the antecedents of that mutually profitable bargain by which Count Robert for the sum of ten thousand marks sold out his duchy of Normandy to his brother William Rufus of England.

As to Edgar Atheling, though of a different character, and already past the fortieth milestone of life, he too found many and potent reasons for joining in the holy war. Proscribed from England, and robbed of even the

conduct of his own affairs, set out with an army of Anglo- and Scto-Saxons to eject Donald Bane from the throne which he had usurped. Before departing however, he promised his friend, Count Robert, to join him in the East as soon as the Scottish pretender should have been hurled from power.

Meanwhile, the Short Hose set up his white banner, and at the signal multitudes of Norman Knights flocked to join their fortunes with those of a leader so well renowned for generosity and courage. Stephen, Earl of Albermarle, Edward Percy, Aubrey de Vere, Joselyn de Courtenay, Conan de Montacute, and Girard de Gourney were the principal Anglo-Norman barons who set out with Count



GATHERING OF THE CRUSADEERS.

Drawn by A. Mallard.

prospect of the crown worn by his Anglo-Saxon fathers, he had for many years found his chief delight in the companionship of dogs and the solace of philosophy. Neither the one nor the other, however, had sufficed to quiet his ambition, and when the prevailing enthusiasm reached Rouen, especially when his friend Robert Short Hose caught the contagion, Edgar also fired with the crusading fever, and put the red cross on his shoulder.

At this juncture, however, it happened that a certain Donald Bane, an ambitious Scot, had seized upon the throne of his country, which of hereditary right belonged to a son of Edgar's sister. To resent his nephew on the Scottish throne, the English Prince, acting with more energy than he had ever shown in the

Robert to rescue the sepulcher of Christ from the Turks.

Very unlike the peasant-rabble were these magnificent bands of warriors. All the wealth and intelligence of Europe were now committed to the enterprise, and as far as the ignorance of the age would allow, due preparations were made to insure the success of the great expedition. All Europe went to prayers as the knightly pageant departed. In the matter of armor the best skill of the times was employed to perfect it. Each Crusader wore a casque and hauberk of chain mail. The foot soldiers carried long shields, and the knights wore circular bucklers. The weapons consisted of sword, lance, poniards, axes, maces, bows and cross-bows, slings, and indeed every fash-



PRAYING FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE CRUSADERS

ion of instrument and missile peculiar to the warfare of the Middle Ages. Still there was no true foresight of the difficulties to be encountered. The distance was totally unapprehended. The routes to the East were little known. The real obstacles to be overcome before a blow could be delivered were either unheard of or esteemed as trifles. The most intelligent knights began the extraordinary march as though it were a hunt or a holiday.

Many took their wives and children on their backs. Distinguished barons rode along on their high-horns and blew an unmelancholy signal to the chace. Some carried banners on their wrists, while hounds trotted by the side of the horses. Even yet the Crusade was considered rather in the light of a pilgrimage—a demonstration in force against the Infidels—than as a military expedition involving long marches, stubborn sieges, and bloody battles.

CHAPTER XC.—THE FIRST CRUSADE.



HE pilgrim princes who were now about to direct the chivalry of Europe against the Turks had sufficient prudence to consider the difficulty of subsistence. The countries through which they were to pass were already half exhausted by the ravages and excesses of the precursive multitudes. It was now agreed among the leaders to set out at different dates and by different routes. Constantinople was to be the rendezvous. It was clear that if all the hosts now under arms were to proceed in one body, the provinces through which they should pass would be utterly consumed. Europe could survive only by distributing the stomachs of her defenders.

The rabble vanguard of the soldiers of the Cross had not left a favorable impression on the minds of the Byzantine Greeks. The Emperor Alexis found reason to repent of having called from the vast deep the perturbed spirits of the West. Now came the news to Constantinople that other vast armies, less savage, but more severe, were on their way to the Eastern Capital. The Emperor began to see that he might as well have braved the warriors of Alp Arslan as to have evoked by his messages such an insatiable host of friends.

From this time forth Alexis was driven by the winds and tossed. Unable to dictate by authority and enforce with a menacing attitude such mandates as seemed necessary for the preservation of the Empire, he fell

into subterfuge and double dealing—the last resorts of the weak against the strong. Never was monarch more beset with perils.



SARACENIC COAT OF ARMS—Musée d'Artillerie, Paris.

He had himself procured the throne by the perpetration of a crime. He held it as if awaiting a visit from Nemesis. A thousand domestic foes were in the city. Now his

crowns, with his head in it, seemed to be pressed flat between a Turkish shield and a Christian buckler. Beyond the Bosphorus was the flaming Crescent. Over the Hungarian forest was seen the portentous shadow of the coming Cross.

The Greek Emperor, with something of the old-time craftiness of his race, perceived that the Crusaders were really adventurers. He knew that the Franks, and especially the Normans, had just one class of friends—those

rather the motive of loyalty is altogether wanting in such a soldiery. To match the hired barbarians of the Eastern Empire against the mail-clad warriors of Godfrey and Raymond was like setting curs on mastiffs.— So the Emperor fell back on craft and subtlety.

Meanwhile the several crusading armies took up their march for the East. For a while affairs went well. By and by, however, Hugh of Vermandois, leader of the French Knights, having set out with the Pope's ban-



THE FIRST CRUSADE.

who had nothing; and one class of enemies—those who had something. He understood that these greedy descendants of the Northmen would discover in the luxurious capital of the East every thing which was calculated to excite their cupidity; and what robber in the presence of spoil ever failed to find a cause of quarrel?

The situation was in the highest degree critical. The armies at the disposal of Alexius were made up of mercenaries. At all times such forces are notoriously disloyal, or

ner and blessing, was wrecked on the coast of Epirus. In this catastrophe Alexius perceived his opportunity. He ordered Count Hugh to be seized, brought to Constantinople, and held as a hostage. By this means he hoped to make King Philip of France, a brother of the prisoner, dependent upon his pleasure respecting the future conduct of the Crusade. Count Hugh was also held as a pledge for the future good conduct of the Franks while traversing the territories of the Empire.

The chivalrous Godfrey was deeply incensed at this act of bad faith on the part of the Emperor. Landing at Philipopoli, the Duke of Lorraine dispatched a messenger to Constantinople to bring the occasion of the arrest of the Count of Vermandois, and to demand his liberation. To this civil request an evasive and unsatisfactory answer was returned. It was not long until crowds of fugitive Greeks rushing into Constantinople gave notice that Godfrey had become the avenger of his friend, and turned his warriors loose upon the perfidious country.

Alexius came quickly to his senses. An embassy was hastily dispatched to Godfrey, promising full explanation and satisfaction for

tunately to whatever good things the fruitful East had heaped up in her lap. It was not long until Alexius perceived that another policy must be adopted with the warriors of the West. He sent a messenger to Godfrey informing him of his desire to supply the army out of the stores of the city, and the duke thereupon ordered his followers to desist from further pillage. A better understanding was thus arrived at between the treacherous Greeks and their unwelcome guest.

Notwithstanding the outward show of amity quarrels were constantly breaking out between the two races. At times it appeared that their common enmity against the Turks would be wholly forgotten in the bitter recriminations



CRUSADEERS ON THEIR WAY TO PALESTINE

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

the violence done to Hugh, and begging him to restrain his followers from further ravages. The prince thereupon bade his warriors to refrain from further injury to the Greeks, and then pressed forward to the Eastern Capital. Arriving before the gates he found them closed against the army of the Cross; for the highly moral Alexius, having now conceived the noble design of starving the Crusaders to death, had forbidden the Greeks to supply them with provisions. But the Emperor had not yet apprehended the spirit and temper of the men with whom he had to deal. The Crusaders were unwilling to be offered up on the altar of hunger. They burst into the suburbs of the city, plundered palaces and villages, captured store-houses and helped themselves bon-

which burned in the hearts of Byzantine and Frank. More than once the Crusaders were on the eve of assailing the city, and the leaders of the host were little concerned to prevent such a conflict. It were hard to say whether at this juncture the cupidity of the western soldiers or the insolence of the Greeks was more difficult to curb.

The Emperor within the walls looked with ever-increasing alarm upon the threatening attitude of the crusading host. His next piece of diplomacy was to secure from the Western princes such acts of homage and oaths of fealty to himself as could not be honorably or even decently violated. He first tried the new policy with success upon Hugh of Vermand-

des, with music, they were led to a banquet, surrounded by soldiers in the most splendid attire. Count Raymond, however, was the only pilgrim (except the emperor) who had any money known. But the Emperor, who treated him as a hostage to the Crusaders, and whose indignities were gradually increasing, made arrangements, Godfrey, Robert Strong, Hugh, and the counts of Flanders and Brabant consented to do homage to Alexius as their sovereign, but Raymond of Toulouse refused with disdain to render fealty to such a master. It became a problem with the Emperor in what way he might bring the sturdy Crusader to a sense of what was due the majesty of Constantinople.

On the appointed day the western princes were admitted to the city and taken to the palace of Alexius. There—

High on a throne of royal state that far
Outshone the wealth of Ormus or of Ind—

sat the Emperor of Byzantium, surrounded by the Imperial court. Nothing was omitted which artificial magnificence could supply to impress the Crusaders with a sense of eastern greatness. But the eye of penetration could not have failed to pierce through the flimsy and gilded sham and perceive the essential weakness of the power which was placed under the protection of the swords of western Christendom. Godfrey, the two Roberts, and Stephen did the act of homage as might become great knights and warriors. Rich gifts were showered upon them, and the Emperor began to wrap himself in the cloak of a delusive security.

Before the ceremony was fairly ended an incident occurred which shocked the crafty Greek from his pleasing reverie. Count Robert of Paris was among the number of nobles who were present at the obeisance of the leaders. While the pageant was still set this stalwart son of the ancient sea-kings, with no effort to conceal his contempt for the nummery that was enacting, strode boldly forward to the throne and sat down by the side of the Emperor. At this the Greeks were horrified and the Crusaders laughed. Some of the more prudent Franks attempted to remonstrate with Count Robert, and one of them taking him by the arm said: "When you are in a foreign country you ought to respect its customs!" "Indeed!" said the impudent count, with a significant look at Alexius; "but this is a

pleasant one who is seated with so many noble gentlemen, not standing." The Emperor was obliged to pocket the insult, and when the ceremony was over he attempted to modify the ill-mannered Crusader with some pleasant talk. "What is your birth, and which is your country?" said he with mild accent to the surly Robert. "I am a Frenchman," said the Frank, "and of the highest rank of nobles. And one thing I know, that in my country there is a place near a church where those repair who are eager to attest their valor. I have often been there myself, and no one has ventured to present himself before me." The hint of a challenge was lost on the mild-mannered Alexius, who had as little notion of exposing his person as he had of hazarding his throne.

Meanwhile the people of Southern Italy, especially the Normans of Calabria, had been roused from their slumbers by Prince Bemund, of Tarento. He was the son of that Robert Guiscard by whom and his brother William the knights of the North had been led against the Saracens in the war for the possession of the lower part of the peninsula and the Sicilies. Now he took up arms in the common cause. His own principality was far too small a field for his ambition. Like many another restless baron, he would seek in the East and under cover of a holy enterprise the opportunity which the West no longer afforded.

But while the aspirations of Bemund urged him to assume the cross he found himself with neither money nor soldiers. At this time the Norman army of the South, led by one of the brothers of the Prince of Tarento, was engaged in the siege of Analfi, a stronghold of Southern Italy, which the Normans had not yet reduced. Bemund repaired to the camp of his countrymen and began to excite their minds with the story of outraged Jerusalem and to compare the glories of a crusade with the unworth of the petty war in which they were engaged. From the enthusiasm which he thus kindled to the leadership of an expedition was but a step, and Bemund soon found himself at the head of a multitude of knights who wore the red cross and shouted, *Dieu le Voul!* The siege of Analfi was given up, and the army, thirty thousand strong, departed for the Holy Land. Among the leaders of

this division of Crusaders was the Prince Tamcred, nephew of Bismund, destined to become one of the greatest heroes of the age.

The first landing of the Italian knights was made at Durazzo. At this place the Prince of Tarento had already in his youth distinguished himself in a conflict with the Greeks. Even now his secret purpose was rather to renew the war with the Eastern Empire than to exterminate the Turks. He accordingly sent word to Godfrey, at Constantinople, advising him to seize the Byzantine dominions for himself; but the chivalrous Godfrey would be no party to such an enterprise. Bismund then advanced through Macedonia and approached the Eastern Capital.

When Alexius heard that the Norman Knights were coming, and that the implacable Prince of Tarento was their leader, he resorted to his usual method of duplicity. He resolved, if possible, to make Bismund his vassal by means of bribes. He invited him to come to Constantinople, and received him with all the arts known to an imperial demagogue. Nor did Bismund himself fail in the display of craft. The meeting of the twain was occupied with high-flown compliments and hollow professions of friendship. In the course of the sham interview, Alexius was indiscreet enough to exhibit to his dangerous guest one of the treasure houses of the palace. The eyes of the Prince of Tarento dilated with the sight. "Here is enough," said he, "to conquer a kingdom." Deeming the moment opportune, the Emperor immediately ordered the treasures to be conveyed to Bismund's tent as a present. The latter affected to decline the gift. "Your munificence," said he, "is too great; but if you would have me your vassal forever *make me Grand Domestic of the Empire!*" This request went through Alexius like a dart; for he himself had seized the Imperial crown while holding the office of Grand Domestic. He accordingly replied, that he could not confer the desired honor, but that he would grant it as a reward of future services.

Thus was the year 1096 consumed with the gathering of the armies of the West before the walls of Constantinople. All winter long the Emperor was in extreme anxiety lest the uplifted sword of christendom should fall on him-

self rather than on the Turk. So anxious was he that such a catastrophe could have occurred, but for the prudent restraints imposed by Godfrey of Bouillon upon the soldiers of the Cross.

At length, with the opening of the following spring, Alexius had the unexpected satisfaction of seeing the Crusaders break up their camp and cross into Asia Minor. The host was safely in Bithynia on the march for Palestine. The forces thus gathered out of the prolific West numbered fully six hundred thousand warriors. Of these, a hundred thousand were mounted knights, and the remainder foot soldiers in armor. The mixed character of the vast throng was still preserved. Priest, matron, and maid still journeyed by the side of young warriors, who carried white hawks on their wrists, and whistled at intervals to the hounds. At the head rode the austere Godfrey, the white-haired Raymond of Toulouse, and Peter the Hermit seated on a mule. The immense army pressed steadily forward and came to Nice, the capital of Bithynia.

The sultan of this province made strenuous efforts to put his kingdom in a condition of defense. Nice was strongly fortified. The people were roused by a proclamation, and called in for the protection of the capital. In accordance with the military methods of the East, the non-combatants were placed within the walls, while the Turkish army pitched its camp on the neighboring mountains. On the 10th of May, 1097, the banners of the Crusaders came in sight. Quite different was the prospect from that which the Western chivalry had expected to desery. Here lay a powerful city surrounded by the seemingly impregnable rampart, protected by Lake Ascanius and a ditch deep and broad, flooded with water. Here were turrets bristling with Turkish spears, and yonder on the mountain slope waved the black banner of the Abbasides over a powerful army of Moslem warriors. But the courage of the Crusaders was rather awakened into active energy than cooled by the spectacle. Taking their position on the plain in front of the city, they immediately began a siege. The day had at last arrived when the issue of valor, which had been tested three hundred and fifty years before on the field of Poitiers, was again to be decided, but now on the plains of Asia Minor.

For a season the opposing armies of Cross and Crescent tested each other's strength and powers in desultory and indecisive conflicts. Several times the Crusaders flung themselves against the walls of Nice, and were repulsed with considerable losses. But the sultan and his generals discovered in these reckless assaults a courage and determination which had had not been witnessed in Western Asia since the days of Alexander the Great. After some delay, the Moslem leaders determined to risk a battle. The sultan harangued his soldiers, appealing to every motive which seemed likely to call forth the most heroic energies of Islam. Then, girding on his sword, he gave orders for the charge, and the Moslem host, surging down the mountain slope, fell headlong upon the Christian camp. Such was the fury of the charge that the soldiers of Raymond of Toulouse, by whom the brunt of the battle was first borne, were thrown into some disorder and driven from their lines. But the advantage thus gained by the Saracens was of brief duration. Raymond rallied his men with the greatest bravery. Robert the Short Nose, now in the height of his glory, and Robert of Flanders, rushed to the rescue, and in a short time the bugles of the sultan were heard sounding the retreat. The Crusaders raised the shout of triumph, and the shadow of the victorious Cross fell athwart the field of carnage. The losses of the Moslems, however, were not great; for the sultan abandoning his capital, made good his retreat, and postponed the decisive conflict. The Crusaders were thus left to batter down the walls of Nice at their leisure.

Notwithstanding the withdrawal of the main army of defense the garrison within the city held out bravely against the besiegers. The latter, however, were not to be put from their purpose. A Lombard engineer lent his skill in the preparation of such military machines as were known to the skill of the Middle Ages. The ramparts were battered with rams. An engine called the balister discharged enormous stones against the turrets. Catapults hurled huge masses of wood and rock upon the defenders of the city, and the classical tower, built at a distance from the walls, and brought down against them by means of an artificial *agger* or mole of earth,

enabled the assailants to reach their enemies in hand to hand encounters on the top of the ramparts.

The besieged meanwhile answered force with force. Breaches were repaired, assaults repelled, the place of the fallen supplied with new soldiers, and the Crusaders kept at bay. After the siege had continued for several weeks it was discovered by Godfrey and the confederate princes that success would be indefinitely postponed as long as the inhabitants of Nice had free ingress and egress by way of lake Ascanius. To gain possession of this body of water became therefore the immediate object of the Crusaders. Boats were brought overland, manned with soldiers and launched by night on the lake. The morning brought consternation to the inhabitants of Nice. The wife and household of the sultan attempting to escape were captured. The exultant Crusaders prepared for a final assault, but to their utter amazement, when the charge was about to be made, the standard of the Emperor Alexius rose above the turrets of the city.

For this crafty ruler had determined to deprive the Crusaders of their prize. Seeing that they were about to prove victorious, he sent his general and admiral to open secret negotiations with the besieged. The latter were induced to believe that it would be far preferable for them to yield the city to their friend, the monarch of Byzantium, than to surrender to the terrible warriors of the West. To this course the authorities of Nice were easily persuaded. Accordingly when the Crusaders' bugles were about to sound the charge in an assault which must have proved successful, the subtlety of the Greek prevailed over the valor of knighthood, and the capital of Bithynia was given to him rather than to them. The weakness of human nature found ample illustration in the conduct of the western princes. They were called together by the Emperor, and their rising rage at the treachery to which they had been subjected was quenched in a copious shower of presents. But even this cooler upon the indignation natural to such perfidious conduct could not drown the secret hatred of the Christian knights for the double dealing and two-faced Alexius. With sullen demeanor they witnessed the transfer to his hands of the prize won by their valor, and

then set out in no enviable mood to prosecute their march toward Jerusalem.

Departing from the scene of their victorious discomfiture, the Crusaders set out in two divisions. The first and by far the larger force was commanded by the Counts Godfrey, Raymond, Hugh and Robert of Flanders. The other and more warlike army composed for the most part of the Norman knights, was under the lead of Short Hose, Bemund, and Tancred. The first division advanced across the plain of Dorykeum, and the other entered the valley of DOGORIAX. Ten days after their departure, namely, on the 30th of June, the warriors under the lead of Bemund pitched their tents in what was deemed a secure position and prepared for the rest of the night. Early on the following morning Greek spies hurried into the camp and announced the approach of the sultan with two hundred thousand men. Before the Crusaders could prepare for the onset, clouds of dust boiled up on the horizon, and the Turks bore down at full speed to battle.

Now it was that the powers of Bemund of Tarento shone with unequalled luster. The camp was hastily surrounded with a palisade formed with the wagons. Behind this the non-combatants were placed for safety, and the knights, vaulting into their saddles, quickly took the battle-line, with Short Hose and Tancred furious for the fight. Scarcely was the order of the conflict set when the white turbans and green sashes and long spears of the Turks flashed out of the dust-cloud and broke upon the Christians. Then followed the blowing of horns, the roll of drums, the yell of the Saracens, and the cloud of darts descending with deadly din and rattle upon the armor of the Norman horsemen. Galled by the javelins which set the horses in a foam of rage and fear, the Crusaders dashed into the small river which separated them from the enemy, and rushed hand to hand with their assailants. The skillful Turks opened their lines, and the Christians seemed to beat the air. Then the enemy wheeled, returned to the fray, discharged their arrows, and again sped out of reach. Many of the knights reeled from their saddles and fell. Horses dashed wildly about the field. Confusion and rout seemed to impend over the Christian army. Count Robert of Paris

and forty of his comrades were killed. The sultan, with a body of picked cavalry, dashed across the stream, and captured the camp of the Crusaders. At the critical moment, when all seemed well-nigh lost, Robert Short Hose burst with a fresh body of horsemen upon the astonished Turks, and several of their leaders bit the dust under the flashing swords of the Normans. In another part of the field Bemund rallied his men to the charge, and retook the camp. Nevertheless the odds against the Christians were as five to one, and it seemed impossible that the fight could be long maintained. The Crusaders were beaten back into the encampment. Despair was settling down on the heroic band when the shrill bugles of Godfrey were heard in the distance, and in a moment more than fifty thousand sabres flashing in the sunlight under the banner of Hugh of Vermandois gleamed over the summit of the hills behind the Christian camp. It was now the turn of the sultan to be dis-mayed. His bugles sounded a retreat, and the Turks fell back rapidly, pursued by the Crusaders. The lines of the enemy were broken, and the Saracens soon found themselves hemmed in on every side, and slashed by the swords of the Crusaders. Backed against the hills, flight was impossible. The host was cut down by thousands, and the sultan, with a few survivors, could hardly bolster up the courage of his countrymen with a lying report of victory. The Turkish camp, rich in provisions, treasures, camels, and tents, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The priests of the crusading army chanted a hymn of victory, and the outline of the triumphant cross was seen in the Valley of Dogorzan.

The Crusaders might with good reason celebrate their victory. It was now evident that the Saracens were not able to stand before them in battle. The courage of the conquerors arose with the occasion, and with renewed enthusiasm they took up their march towards Antioch. The expedition had not proceeded far, however, until a change came over the dreams of the Christians. The sultan of Nice, unwilling to hazard another engagement, adopted the policy of laying waste the country, to the end that his enemies might starve. The army of the princes soon came into a region where no food was to be found for man



BATTLE OF DUROORGAN—Drawn by Gustave Doré.

or beast. The distress became extreme. The pilgrims were obliged to subsist on the roots of plants and the chance products which had escaped destruction by the Turk. The hawks and hounds starved to death. Men and horses fell famishing. The despairing moans of dying women were heard in the camp. Hundreds and thousands dropped by the wayside and perished. Then the water failed. Not a brook, fountain, or well was any longer found. The horrors of thirst were added to those of famine. At length, when the whole host seemed on the brink of destruction, some of the straggling hounds came into camp dripping with water. They had found a river, bathed in it, and drank to repletion. The pilgrims hastened in that direction, and soon came to a cool, running stream. Forgetting all moderation, they rushed in and drank till nature gave way under the sudden reaction, and other hundreds died on the banks. Others sickened from the overdraught, and the camp was filled with anguish. Still the host quailed not; and evening and morning the heralds made proclamation of "Save the Holy Sepulcher!" and the chiefs courageously renewed the toilsome march.

At length in the middle of autumn a pass was found in the mountains, and the half-starved Crusaders, dragging themselves through, came into a region of plenty. Supplies were gathered from the towns and fields, and the spirits of the enfeebled warriors revived with the quieting of hunger. Presently, Antioch, with its lofty castles and four hundred and sixty towers, came in sight, and the second great prize to be contended for by the armies of christendom was reached.

The city itself was an object of the greatest interest. Beyond rose a mountain, the hither slope being covered with houses and gardens. In one of the suburbs the celebrated fountain of Daphne tossed its waters in the sunlight. The feet of the rich metropolis were washed by the great river Orontes, plentiful in waters. But better than her natural beauty and opulence were the hallowed associations of Antioch. Here the followers of Christ had first taken the name of *Christians*. Here St. Peter was made first bishop of the Church. Here the early saints and martyrs had performed their miracles and given to the city a sanctity second only to that of Jerusalem.

The portion of Upper Syria or *ancient Antioch* was the capital was at the time of the First Crusade governed by Prince Anslan, a dependent of the Caliphate. Not destitute of warlike abilities, this ruler now made preparations for an obstinate defense. So great, however, was the fame which flew before the triumphant Crusaders that the Moslems had come to anticipate defeat; and the momentum of victory carried the invaders onward.

Not only had success, in despite of famine and disasters, thus far attended the main body led by Godfrey and Short Hose, but the other divisions had in like manner triumphed over the Infidels. Tancred and Baldwin (of Bouillon) had captured Tarsus. The former had also been victorious at Malmaistra and Alexandria, and the latter had subdued the principality of Edessa. He then wreathed his sword in flowers by marrying a daughter of the prince of Armenia, by which act he gained the better portion of Ancient Assyria. Indeed, the greater part of Asia Minor was already dominated by the Cross; and the various divisions, elated with repeated successes, concentrated before Antioch.

Between that city and the crusading armies flowed the Orontes. The stream was spanned by a great bridge defended by iron towers. Before the Christians could reach the other side, the bridge must be captured, and this duty was assigned to Robert Short Hose of Normandy. In him it were hard to say whether his courage was greater than his rashness. He had all the heroic virtues and splendid vices of his age. With a picked force of Norman knights he attacked the bridge with the greatest audacity, and such was the terror of his flashing sword, that the Moslems abandoned the towers and fled. The Christian bugles sounded the charge, and the crusading host crossed in safety to the other side. A camp was pitched before the walls of Antioch, and here the mail-clad warriors of the West lay down to rest in the shadow of the palms of Syria.

Thus far in the course of the great expedition from the Rhine to Constantinople, from Constantinople to Nice, from Nice to Antioch, not much opportunity had been given the Crusaders to reap the harvest of promised pleasure. One of the chief incentives to the

uprising had been the license of city offered by the Church to all who should be victorious over the Infidel. To them restraint should be unknown. The marauders of Greece and the dark-eyed lions of Syria, were openly named as a part of the reward due to them who should hurl the Turk from his seat on the tomb of Christ; and the Crusader in his dreams saw the half-draped figures of Oriental beauties flitting in the far mirage. Before the walls of Antioch the men of the West sat down to enjoy whatever the land afforded. The god of License became the favorite divinity. All restraint was cast aside. Every village in the surrounding country was recklessly pillaged, and the camp of the Crusaders was heaped with spoils. Then the armed warriors gave themselves up to feasting and love-making with the Syrian damsels. Bishops of the Church wandered wantonly through the orchards and lay on the grass playing dice with Cyprians. Believing that the garrison of Antioch would not dare to come forth and attack them, the Franks abandoned themselves to riotous living, and all manner of excess.

It was not long until this course provoked its natural consequences. The defenders of the city watched their opportunity and made a successful sally. The Crusaders were dispersed in neighboring villages, expecting no attack. Thus exposed, they were slaughtered in large numbers, and the heads of all who were overtaken were cut off and thrown into the camp as a taunt. Great was the fury of the Crusaders on beholding the bloody reminders of their own and slain friends' folly. Roused to a sudden fury, they seized their arms and rushed like madmen upon the fortifications. They were beaten back with large losses by the garrison. In order to prosecute the siege the Christians now found it necessary to fortify their camp and build a bridge across the Orontes. The next work was the construction of wooden towers commanding the river; for a blockade was essential to the success of the investment.

Ere the siege was well begun winter came on. The riotousness of the summer and vintage months was brought to a sudden end. Hard-hip and hazard returned with the cold, and distress followed hard in the wake of carousal. Supplies grew scarce. Robert Short

Hose and Bonnard scoured the country and brought back little. All summer long the Western host had filled itself with fatness. Now there was no more. Suffering began. Storms of cold rain flooded the camp. Tents were blown away by the hurricane. The garments of the Crusaders were worn to rags. Disease brought anguish, and many in despair gave up the enterprise and set out secretly for home. Peter the Hermit escaped from the camp and had gone some distance before he was overtaken and brought back by force. The daring Short Hose undertook to save himself by retiring into Laodicea; but when Godfrey sent a summons to him in the name of Christ he was induced to return.

When affairs were about at their worst the Caliph of Baghdad, learning of the situation at Antioch, sent an embassy to the Crusaders with an offer of alliance and *protection!* The Norman and French knights were in no mood to be protected by an Infidel. They sent back a defiant message and resolutely continued the siege. Winter wore away, and the condition of the woeful warriors began to improve with the sunny weather; but better than the change of season was the news that came from the port of St. Simeon. That harbor had been entered by a fleet of provision-ships from Genoa and Pisa. Such was the elation of the Crusaders that many hurried off to the coast to obtain supplies, but returning without due caution they were attacked by a division of Saracens and dispersed. Thereupon Godfrey, Tancred, and Short Hose called out their forces and went to the rescue. Seeing this movement the commandant of Antioch ordered the garrison to sally forth and attack the camp. In order to make sure of success *he shut the gates behind them.* The Crusaders turned furiously upon the Moslems and drove them to the wall. Here they were hewed down until nightfall, when Auxian reopened the gates and the survivors rushed in for safety.

Still the defenses of the city held out. Spring went by and summer came, and the position of the combatants remained unchangeable. At last, however, when the sheer valor of the Crusaders seemed insufficient to gain for them the coveted prize, an act of treason did what force of arms had been unable to accomplish. One of the principal

commanders in Antioch was a certain renegade Christian named Emipher. For reasons of his own, in former years he had left the Cross to follow the Crescent, and by servility and zeal had gained the favor of the sultan of Antioch. Auxian had taken him into his official household, and given him an important command. The chief towers on the ramparts were committed to his keeping. The situation suggested to him the profitableness of a reconversion to Christianity. Looking down into the camp of the Crusaders, he soon desiered the figure of one to whom he deemed it well to open his designs. This was Bemund of Tarento. Not that this prince was disloyal to the cause for which he fought; but he was ambitious in the last degree, and had long been fixed in his purpose to conquer a principality of his own. The great and rich city of Antioch seemed to be the prize which he had seen in vision. Such was his frame of mind that when a secret message was delivered to him from Emipher, requesting an interview on matters of the highest moment, he not only scented the treachery which was intended, but gladly welcomed the opportunity of gaining his end by dishonorable means.

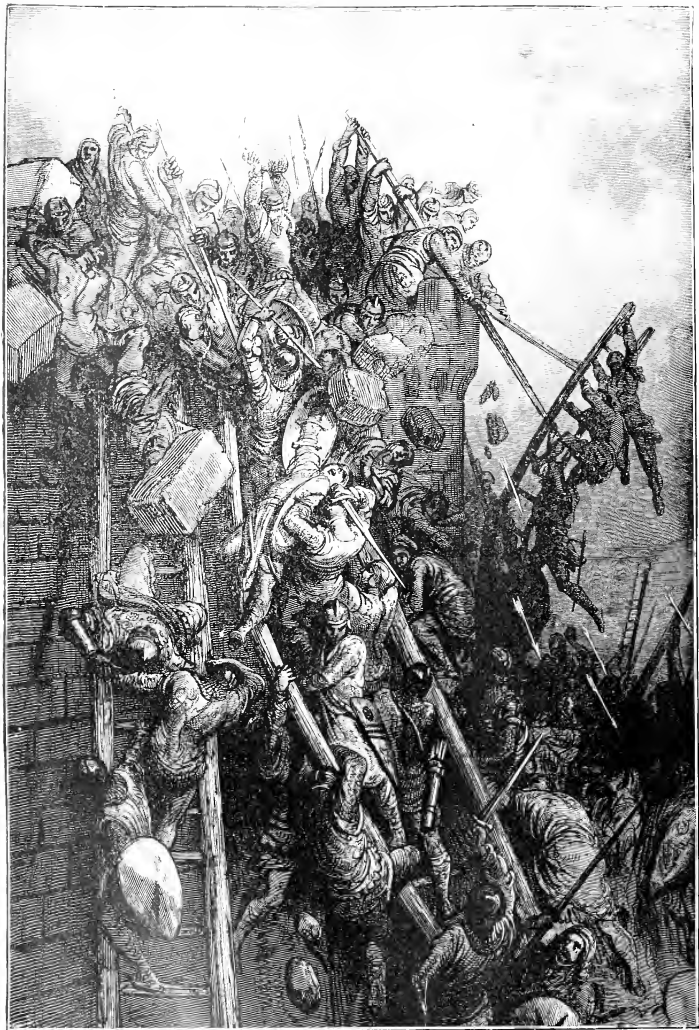
The meeting was held. The hypocrite Emipher narrated how Christ had come to him in a dream and warned him to turn again to the Cross and to bring forth fruits meet for repentance. The good Bemund exhorted him to go on and to follow the command of the Lord. The result was that the shrewd Prince of Tarento overreached the traitor, gained his confidence, and secured from him a promise to deliver Antioch into his hands.

Bemund now called the Western leaders together, and offered to gain possession of Antioch on condition that he should be recognized as prince of the city. At first the proposition was received with great disfavor. The ambitious leader was rebuked for his scheme, and like Achilles he went off to his tent in sullen anger. It was not long, however, until news was borne to the camp which changed the disposition of the Western princes. The sultans of Nice and Mossoul had aroused half the East, and were marching a host of four hundred thousand Moslems for the relief of Antioch. It was only a question of time when this tremen-

dous force would be hurled upon the Crusaders. Godfrey, Tancred, and the rest were prudent enough to put aside their scruples, and, sending for Bemund, they signified to him their willingness that he should be prince of Antioch if he would obtain possession of the city. Communication was accordingly opened with Emipher, and it was arranged that on a given night the towers should be surrendered into the hands of the Christians.

It was a perilous piece of business. The traitor was suspected and sent for by Auxian. Such, however, was his skill as a dissembler, that he completely reëstablished the sultan's confidence. On the day appointed for the delivery, the Crusaders withdrew as if abandoning the siege. They hid themselves in a neighboring valley, and lay there until night-fall. A storm came on and favored the enterprise. The besiegers returned and swarmed silently around that portion of the rampart which was held by Emipher. The latter established communication with the Franks below, and the Lombard engineer was taken up to the towers to see that every thing was in readiness for the surrender. When the signal was at last given for the Crusaders to plant their ladders and ascend, they became apprehensive of a double treachery, and refused to scale the rampart. It was with the utmost difficulty that Bemund and a few others, by first climbing the ladders themselves and reporting every thing in readiness, finally induced their followers to ascend. It was found that Emipher was in bloody earnest. There, in the tower, lay the body of his brother, whom he had butchered because he refused to be a participant in the treason.

The turrets were quickly filled with Christian warriors, and, when all was secure, they poured down into the city. Trumpets were sounded, and the thunder-struck Moslems were roused from their slumbers by the fearful and far-resounding cry of *Dieu le Veut!* In the midst of the panic and darkness they heard the crash of the Crusaders' swords. Auxian, perceiving that he had been betrayed, attempted to escape, but was cut down by his enemies. The Saracens, rushing to and fro in the night, were slaughtered by thousands. The gray dawn of June 4th, 1098, showed the streets heaped with



STORMING OF ANTIOCH.—Drawn by Gustave Doré.

corpses, and the banner of Benuud of Tarento floating from the highest tower of Antioch. Only the citadel remained in possession of the Moslems.

Meanwhile the great army of Turks, led by Kerboga, the sultan of Mossoul, and Kilidge Arslan, sultan of Nice, drew near to the city. The Christians were now inside the walls and the enemy without. Great was the disparity in numbers; for the Asiatics were estimated at nearly a half a million, of whom one hundred thousand were cavalry. Godfrey and Benuud found themselves in possession of abundance, but it was that kind of abundance upon which an army could not long subsist. The actual stores and provisions of Antioch had been well-nigh exhausted in the course of the recent siege, and gold and treasure could not suffice for bread. The Turks gained possession of the Orontes between the city and the sea, and cut off communication with the port of St. Simeon. No further supplies could, for this reason, be obtained from Europe. The allied sultans, perceiving their advantage, sat down in a spacious and luxurious camp and quietly awaited the day when the pent-up Christians must yield to the inevitable.

The condition soon became desperate. Hawks and hounds disappeared. Then horses began to be eaten. Many a hungry knight saw with fuming rage the splendid steed that had borne him proudly in every battle, from Scutari to the Orontes, slaughtered and devoured. Luxury was on every hand, but no food. The leaders saw that it was better to fight and die than to remain within the walls and starve. They, therefore, exhorted their followers to sally forth with them, and meet their fate like heroes; but the exhortation now fell on dull and despairing ears. Zeal had perished of hunger. But, when every thing else failed, superstition came to the rescue. A certain monk, named Peter Barthelemy, had a dream. St. Andrew came to him and said: "Arise! Go and dig in a spot which I will show thee in the Church of St. Peter, and thou shalt find the spear wherewith the soldier pierced the side of the Lord. Take that sacred weapon and carry it at the head of the army, and the Infidels shall flee before it."

The pilgrims went hastily and dug. Lo! the object of their search. It was brought forth and shown to the army. Inevitable was the excitement produced by the exhibition of the wonderful weapon. Now were they ready to go forth and fall upon the profane dogs of Asia. The host demanded to be led forth to that victory which St. Andrew had foretold.

It was deemed prudent by the Western princes to send an embassy to the sultan and warn him to retire from the country. Peter the Hermit was chosen to bear the message. Mounted on a mule and clad in a woolen mantle, the little monk of Savona rode boldly through the gates of Antioch to order out of Syria an army of four hundred thousand Turkish warriors! Coming to the sultan's camp he found him in a splendid pavilion, surrounded with all the luxury of the East, and amusing himself with a game of chess. "I come," said the Hermit, "in the name of the princes assembled in Antioch, and I conjure you, in the name of God, to leave this principality. Go in peace, and I promise that you will not be molested. But if you refuse to go in peace, let a battle convince you of the justice of our cause." The old sultan swelled with rage and scorn on the delivery of this insolent speech. "Return," said he, "to those who sent you, and tell them that it is for the conquered to receive conditions, not to dictate them. Bid thy captains hasten, and this very day implore my clemency. To-morrow they will find that their God, who could not save himself, will not save them from their fate. Drive the vagabond away."

With the return of this answer the Crusaders grew hot for battle. The chiefs prepared for the fight, and in a way half miraculous one full meal was served to the army. On the morning of the 1st of July the gates of Antioch were thrown open and the Crusaders went forth to stake all on a single hazard. Godfrey and the other leaders arranged their forces in twelve divisions in honor of the twelve apostles. The Duke of Lorraine himself led the right wing, supported by his brother Eustace and his kinsman Baldwin of Bourg. The left was under command of the Short Horse, and the Count of Flanders. The reserves, including the Anglo-Norman knights, under the

Earl of Albermarle, were held by Bemund of Tarento. In the van of the ragged host marched a company of priests bearing aloft the spear-head which Bartholemey had found under the altar of the Church of St. Peter.

Notwithstanding their desperate condition, the Crusaders were confident of victory. Delirious with the superstitions of the age, they urged their way towards the Turkish camp, fully persuaded that heaven would make good the promise of triumph.

The Moslems lay undisturbed in their encampment. Even when the Crusading army came in sight the sultan of Mossoul, himself an experienced warrior, refused to believe that the Christians had come forth to fight. "Doubtless," said he, "they come to implore my clemency." The peculiar "clemency" which they sought, however, was soon revealed in their conduct. Hardly had the Saracen trumpets sounded and the Moslem captains marshaled their immense army for battle, before the Crusaders set up their shout of *Dieu le Veut*, and rushed headlong to the charge. Perhaps the leaders knew that the fate of the First Crusade was staked upon the issue. The onset of the Christians was so fierce that nothing could stand before them. The Saracen host was borne back by the shock, and the first charge seemed to foretell the triumph of the Cross.

In the beginning of the engagement, however, the sultan of Nice had not brought his army into action. Seeing the Moslems driven back along the river, he now made a detour and fell upon the rear of the Crusaders. The latter were thus pent between two hosts seemingly innumerable. The Moslems set fire to the grass and bushes which covered the plain, and the stifling smoke was blown into the faces of the Christians. Godfrey and Bemund had the mortification to see their followers begin to waver, give way, and despair. For a moment, as on the field of Poitiers, three hundred and sixty-six years before, the fate of the two continents and the two great Semitic religions seemed to hang in the balance. In the crisis of the fight, the Crusaders cried out to the priests and demanded to know where was the promised succor from heaven. The undaunted Adhemar, bi-hop of Puy, pointed calmly through the clouds of smoke and exclaimed:

"There, they are come at last! Behold those white horse-men! They are the blessed martyrs, St. George, St. Demetrius, and St. Theodore come to fight our battle!" Then the cry of, "God wills it!" rose louder than ever. The news was borne from rank to rank that the heavenly host had come to the rescue. Fiery enthusiasm was rekindled in every Crusader's breast, and the Moslems suddenly felt the battle renewed with impetuous fury. On every side they fell back in disorder before the irresistible assaults of the Christians. The field was swept in all directions, and the blaring bugles of Islam called in vain to the rally. Terror succeeded defeat, and the flying Saracens were hewed down by frenzied Crusaders, who knew not to spare or pity. The heavy masses of the sultan's army rolled away in one of the most disastrous routs of the Middle Ages. The victorious Crusaders mounted the horses of the slain Moslems and pursued the fugitives until wearied with the excess of slaughter. The immense hosts of Kerboga and Kilidge Arslan melted from sight forever.

As soon as the result of the great battle was known in Antioch the citadel was surrendered to the Christians. Bemund was now complete master of his principality. A still more important result of the decisive conflict was the reopening of communication with the port of St. Simeon, and the capture of great quantities of provisions and stores in the Saracen camp. The whole aspect of the struggle was changed, and the Christian warriors began again to look forward with pleasing anticipation to the day when they should kneel as humble victors on the recovered sepulcher of Christ.

The position of the Crusaders in Antioch was not unlike that of the Carthaginians at Capua. It was evident that the Holy City might now be easily wrested from the Infidels. Those of the pilgrims who were actuated by religious rather than political motives were eager to advance at once into Palestine. There lay the goal of their ambition. Not so, however with the leaders. The example of Baldwin in seizing the Principality of Edessa, and of Bemund in gaining for himself the great and opulent city of Antioch, had proved infectious, and nearly every prominent chieftain now cherished the secret hope that ere long

he should possess a province of his own. Just in proportion as this ambitious sentiment was warmed and nurtured among the knights their horror of the atrocious Turk, sitting on the Holy Sepulcher, was mitigated into a mild sort of hatred which might well be postponed. But the multitude clamored to be led on against Jerusalem, and the princes were obliged to frame excuses for spending the summer at Antioch. The horses taken from the Turks must be trained to service under warriors of heavy armor. The season was too hot for a campaign through Syria—the autumn would be fitter for the enterprise.

The stay in the city, however, proved unfortunate. Raymond of Toulouse, to whom the citadel had been surrendered just after the battle, quarreled with Bemund, and the army was distracted with their feud. The luxurious living of Antioch proved too much for the rough men of the West. A contagion broke out, and fifty thousand Christians were carried off before its ravages were stayed. Among those who perished was Adhemar, bishop of Puy and legate of the Pope, a man scarcely less important in rank and influence than Godfrey and Bemund. So the summer of 1098 was wasted in enterprises of personal ambition, little conducive to the reputation of the Western princes.

What with battle, what with famine, what with pestilence and desertion, the army of the First Crusade was now reduced to fifty thousand men. It was perceived by the warrior pilgrims that their chiefs were busy with their own affairs, and neglectful of the great object for which the Holy War had been undertaken. Their discontent at this state of affairs broke into murmurs, and murmurs into threats. The Crusaders declared that they would discard the old and choose new leaders, who would bring them to the city and tomb of Christ. This ominous word broke the spell, and Godfrey, Raymond, Short Hose, and Tancred agreed to march at once on Palestine. As for Stephen of Blois and Hugh of Vermandois, they had already given over the war and returned to Europe.

It was evident on the march from Antioch to Jerusalem that already the furious zeal with which the Crusade had been begun had somewhat abated. Now a petty expedition against

the Saracens of a neighboring province, and now a quarrel between Arnold de Rohes, chaplain of Robert Short Hose, and Peter Barthelmy, relative to the sacred spear-head found in the church at Antioch, distracted the attention of the warriors from the prime object of the war. The whole winter was thus consumed, and it was not until the 29th of May, 1099, that the remnant of the great army, ascending the Heights of Emaus, came at early morning in sight of the City of David.

Then followed a scene of indescribable emotion. There lay the walls and towers of that holy but now profaned place, where the Son of Mary and the Carpenter had walked among men. To the Crusaders, the thought was overpowering. They uncovered their heads. They put off their sandals. They fell upon their faces. They wept. They threw up their hands and cried: "Jerusalem! Jerusalem!" Then they seized their swords, and would fain rush to an immediate assault. In a short time Tancred secured possession of Bethlehem, and, when a body of Saracen cavalry came forth to stay the progress of the Christians, he chased them furiously to and through the gates of the city. The main army encamped on the north side of Jerusalem—that part of the rampart being most accessible to assault. The leaders present to share in the toil and glory of the siege were Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Eustace, Raymond of Toulouse, Baldwin du Bourg, Robert of Flanders, Robert Short Hose of Normandy, and Edgar Atheling of England, who, after settling the affairs of Scotland with the usurper Donald Bane, had led his Saxon Knights to the East and joined the Christian army in Laodicea.

While the preparations were making for the siege an anchorite came out of the hermitage on Mount Olivet and harangued the princes. He exhorted them to take the city by storm, assuring them of the aid of heaven. Great was the enthusiasm inspired by his presence in the camp. Soldiers and chiefs were swayed by the appeal, and it was resolved to make an immediate assault. Poorly as they were supplied with the necessary implements and machines for such an undertaking, the Crusaders pressed their way to the outer wall and broke an opening with hammers and

pikes. Through this they poured into the space between the outer and the inner rampart and proceeded to storm the latter; but the emir of Jerusalem had taken measures for a successful defense. The wall proved to be too strong to be broken. The garrison poured down every species of missile—arrows, stones, blocks of wood, flaming torches, boiling pitch, balls of Greek fire—upon the heads of the Crusaders, who, unable to break the second rampart, or to stand the storm of destruction, were obliged to retreat to their camp. The hermit of Mount Olivet had proved a bad counselor and worse prophet.

The siege was now undertaken in a regular way. But there was need that the Christians should be expeditions in the work. The Saracens, before retiring into the city, had swept all the region round about of its provisions. Every village was stripped of its supplies to fill the store-houses of Jerusalem. The wells were filled up and the fountains poisoned. The brook Kedron had run dry and the remitting spring of Siloh was altogether inadequate to supply a sufficient quantity of water for an army of fifty thousand men. It became necessary to carry water in the skins of animals and to seek it at a great distance from Jerusalem. To add to the embarrassment the summer came on with its burning sun of Syria, and the Western pilgrims were unable to bear the heat.

As had many times already happened since the Crusade was undertaken, good news came in time to save the enterprise. Messengers arrived from Joppa, the seaport of Jerusalem, forty miles distant, and brought the intelligence that a Genoese fleet had arrived at that place with provisions and stores and engineers for the siege. With great joy the Crusaders at once dispatched a troop of cavalry to conduct the supplies and reinforcements from the coast to Jerusalem. But on arriving at Joppa the forces sent out for protection discovered to their chagrin that the Saracens had been there before them and had destroyed the fleet. The disaster, however, was not complete, for the engineers had made their escape and had saved a part of the stores so much needed by the Crusaders. All that escaped the Infidels were taken to Jerusalem.

The besiegers were thus considerably en-

couraged. One of the chief difficulties was to procure timber for the construction of engines. After much search a forest was found on a mountain thirty miles distant, and the echo of axes was soon heard felling the trees. The logs were drawn to the city by oxen shod with iron, and the engineers rapidly constructed such machines as were necessary for the demolition of the walls. Before the astonished Saracens could well understand what was done towers were brought against the ramparts, and the Crusaders were thus enabled to fight hand to hand with their enemies.

While this encouraging work was going on the hermit of Mount Olivet again appeared as a leader. He persuaded the Christians to go in a procession about the walls of the city even as the Israelites of old encompassed the walls of Jericho. A procession was formed, headed by the priests, who clad themselves in white, carried the sacred images, and sang psalms as they marched. Trumpets were blown and banners waved until the warriors reached Olivet, where they halted, and from the height viewed the city which they had come to rescue. They were harangued by Arnold de Rohes and other priests, who pointed out the sacred places trodden under the profane feet of the Turks, and exhorted them to pause not in the holy work until the Infidels had expiated with their blood the sin and shame of their presence and deeds in the sacred precincts of Jerusalem. The zeal of the Crusaders was thus rekindled, and they demanded to be led forward to the assault.

By the 14th of July, 1099, every thing was in readiness for a second general attack on the city. The vigor with which the Crusaders had of late prosecuted the siege had alarmed the Saracens and given the advantage to the assailants. The huge towers which the engineers had built were rolled down against the walls and the Christians were thus enabled to face the Moslems on the top of the rampart. The defenders of the city, however, grew desperate, and fought with greater valor than at any previous time. They resorted to every means to beat back their foes. They poured down Greek fire and boiling oil upon the heads of those who attempted to scale the walls. They hurled stones and beams and blocks of wood upon the pilgrim warriors who

battered the ramparts. So resolute was the defense that after twelve hours of hard fighting the Crusaders were obliged to fall back, amidst the taunts and insults of those who manned the turrets.

With both Christians and Moslems the crisis had now come. With both it was conquer or perish. The former were peculiarly pressed by the situation. A pigeon flying towards the city was intercepted with a letter under its wings, and the Crusaders were made aware that armies of Saracens were gathering for the relief of the city. It was therefore determined to continue the assault on the morrow. With early morning the engines were again advanced to the walls, and the Christians rushed forward to the attack. For a long time it could hardly be known whether the assault or the defense was made with greater obstinacy. In some parts the walls gave way before the thundering blows of the machines built by the Genoese engineers; but the garrison threw down straw and other yielding material to prevent the strokes of the battering rams from taking effect. In one place, however, a huge catapult played havoc with all resistance, and a breach was about to be effected, when two Saracen witches were sent to interpose their charms to the work of destruction. But the insensate monster hammered away with no regard to their spells and incantations. The Moslems saw their prophetesses perish as though the unseen world had nothing to do with war.

Still, for the time, the Crusaders could not break into the city. The Saracens found that fire was more potent than witchcraft as a means of resisting wooden engines. They threw down burning materials upon the catapults, and several of them were consumed. On the afternoon of the second day it seemed as if the Christians would again be driven back. They were well-nigh exhausted with heat and fatigue. They weltered and bled in the dust outside the walls. Just as they were wavering and about to retreat, Godfrey, who throughout the siege and assault had more than ever distinguished himself by his heroism, resorted to the usual expedient to revive the drooping courage of his followers. Looking up to Mount Olivet, he beheld there a mighty horseman waving on high a buckler.

"Behold!" cried the hero, "St. George comes again to our aid and makes a signal for us to enter the Holy City." *Dieu le Veut!* responded the Crusaders, springing forward with unconquerable purpose. As on the field before Antioch, when the celestial warriors came to the rescue, so now the dust-covered, heat-oppressed Christians became suddenly invincible. With an irresistible impulse they rushed to the wall and renewed the onset. The rampart broke before them. Tradition recites that Reinbault of Crete was the first to mount the wall. Godfrey followed. Then came Eustace with a host of warriors and knights. Clouds of smoke mixed with dust and flame arose on every hand as the victorious Crusaders broke over all opposition and poured into the city.

The Saracens gave way before them. They retreated through the streets, fighting at intervals until they were driven into the precincts of the Mosque of Omar. Blood flowed in the gutters, and horrid heaps of the dead lay piled at every corner. None were spared by the frenzied Christians, who saw in the gore of the Infidels the white Way of Redemption. Ten thousand dead, scattered through the city, gave token of the merciless spirit of the men of the West. Another ten thousand were heaped in the rocking courts of the great mosque on Mount Moriah. "God wills it," said the pilgrims.

The indiscriminate butchery of the Saracens was carried out by the rank and file of the Crusading army. In this bloody work they needed no incentive—no commander. Each sword flamed with hatred until it was cooled in the dripping life of the enemies of Christ. As for Godfrey, he was missed from the slaughter. Another sentiment had taken possession of his breast. As soon as he saw the city in the hands of his followers, he remembered the Holy Sepulcher. He stripped himself of his armor and went barefoot to the spot where the victim of Pilate and the Jews had been laid eleven centuries ago. There on his knees the great Crusader bowed and worshiped for a season, while his followers completed the extermination of the Saracens.¹

¹The spirit of the massacre is well illustrated in the letter which the Christian princes sent to His Holiness the Pope. The devout writers say: "If you wish to know what we did to the ene-

As soon as the host heard of the act of their pious leader, they too made a pause. A sudden revulsion of feeling swept over them and they made haste to follow his example. They took off their bloody weapons, and bared their heads and feet. They washed the gore from their hands, and formed themselves into a procession. Led by the priest and singing penitential psalms, they then marched—many of them upon their knees—to the Church of the Resurrection, and there found that sacred but long desecrated spot which had been the object and end of their more than three years of warfare—the sepulcher of Christ. There, like their most distinguished leader, they knelt and offered up such adoration as the heart of the Middle Ages was able to render to its Lord.

One of the most interesting incidents of the capture of the city was the emergence from places of concealment of many Christians, who came forth as if from prison to welcome their deliverers. Great was the mutual joy of these long-distressed wretches and the Crusaders. There was weeping as if the lost were found. In the midst of many frantic demonstrations, the victorious multitude turned with an enthusiastic outburst to one who had almost passed from sight during the siege—Peter the Hermit. The little fanatic monk was singled out as the greatest of all the human agencies by which the deliverance of Jerusalem had been accomplished. Around him, clad in his woolen garment and mounted on his mule, the mediæval zealots gathered in an enormous crowd, and did obeisance as to a liberator and savior. Thus, ever in the history of the world the real brawn and valor, the true heroic virtue which fights and bleeds and wins the battle, abases itself at the last before some scrawny embodiment of enfeebled bigotry.

The First Crusade had now reached its climax. The Holy City was wrested from the Turks. The blood of the infidel iron-forgers of the Altai had poured in thick streams down the slopes of Mount Moriah. The Syrian sun rising from the plains of Mesopotamia, flung the shadow of the Cross from the summit of Calvary to the distant Mediterranean. But

what should the victors do with their trophy? As for Baldwin, he had made himself secure in the principality of Edessa. As for Bernard, his selfish and ambitious nature had satisfied itself among the palaces and fountains of Antioch. As for the half million pilgrim warriors who had set out for Constantinople in the summer of 1096, nine out of every ten had perished. The remnant, now numbering fewer than fifty thousand, had reached the goal, and had planted their banners on the holy places in the City of the Great King. Could they preserve the prize which they had won?

A few days after the capture of Jerusalem the Western princes met to consider the disposition to be made of Palestine. The almost inevitable solution was the conversion of the country into a Christian state. The form of government was, of course, that feudal type of monarchy which then prevailed throughout Europe. It devolved upon the princes to choose a king, and to this task they set themselves with alacrity. Of the leading Crusaders, those who were eligible to the high office were Robert Short Hose of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, Raymond of Toulouse, and Godfrey of Bouillon. From the first the tide set strongly in favor of the last named duke. Short Hose and the Count of Flanders both announced their intention of returning forthwith to Europe, and as to Raymond, his haughty bearing and impetuous temper made him unpopular as a leader.

In order to settle the question, a commission of ten of the most discreet chieftains was appointed, and they at once set about the duty of election. Great care was exercised in regard to the fitness of the candidates. Duke Godfrey's servants were called and questioned relative to the private life and manners of their master. "The only fault we find with him," said they, "is that, when matins are over, he will stay so long in church, to learn the name of every image and picture, that dinner is often spoiled by his long tarrying." "What devotion!" exclaimed the pious electors. "Jerusalem could have no better king." So he was chosen. THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM was proclaimed in the city, and the nomination of Duke Godfrey was made known to the eager and joyous multitude. Thus, on the 23d of July, in the last year of the eleventh

1099, we found in the city, learn that in the portico of Solomon and in the Temple our horses walked upon the knees in the impure blood of the Saracens."

century, the Holy Land with its capital, once the City of David and the Christ, now wrenched from the dominion of the Turks by a series of exploits of well-nigh inconceivable audacity, was erected into a feudal monarchy after the European fashion, and placed under

the suzerainty of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, destined for the present to suffer more ills in defending than he had borne in conquering his heritage, and hereafter immortalized by the muse of Tasso as the hero of the *Jerusalem Delivered*.

CHAPTER XCI.—THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.



DUKE GODFREY accepted the office but refused the title of king. He declared to the electors that it would be unbecoming in him to wear a crown of gold in the city where Christ had been crowned with thorns. It was, therefore, decided that the new ruler of Jerusalem should be entitled "First Baron and Defender of the Holy Sepulcher." His sovereignty, however, was ample, and his right undisputed.

As soon as the monarchy was proclaimed, the king-elect repaired with the pilgrim princes to the Church of the Resurrection, and there took an oath to reign according to the laws of justice and honor. Hardly was this ceremony ended, when the startling intelligence was borne to the city that a powerful Moslem army, led by Afdhal, one of the most valiant emirs of the East, had reached Ascalon, and was searching for a force of Crusaders sufficiently strong to offer battle. The warlike emir had taken an oath in the presence of the Caliph to drive every European out of Syria; nor could it be denied that a knowledge of his coming had spread terror before him. In the city, the Christians were in consternation. But King Godfrey had seen too much of War to be any longer frightened at the sound of his chariot. With unflinching courage he summoned his followers to resume the weapons which they had so recently laid aside, and go forth to victory. His influence and authority secured the desired object. Even Robert Short Hose and Raymond consented to renew the struggle with the Infidels. The Crusaders were marshaled forth, and led out in the direction of the foe.

The march led into the plain between Joppa and Ascalon. When the Christians were about encamping for the night—it was now the 11th of August—the whole horizon seemed to be disturbed with some dark agitation. Scouts were sent out to ascertain the cause, and, returning, brought back the report that immense herds of cattle and camels were driven along in the distance. This news fired the cupidity of the Crusaders, and they would fain go forth to seize so rich a booty. Godfrey, however, scented a stratagem, and prudently restrained his followers. No man was permitted to leave the ranks for the night. Events soon showed the wisdom of the king.

For, before the break of day, news was brought to the camp that the Moslem army was but a short distance away. With due celerity Godfrey and his captains set their forces in order of battle. Nine divisions were formed, and placed under command of leaders true and tried. At dawn of day Arnold de Rohes, who had been elected Patriarch of Jerusalem, went through the ranks, bearing the cross and pronouncing blessings on the soldiers. The army then knelt down, and besought the favor of heaven preparatory to the decisive struggle. As the march was resumed in the direction of the enemy, the tempting droves of cattle were seen to pass around to the rear, as if to distract the attention of the Crusaders from the great game soon to be enacted in front.

While these movements were performed by the Christians the Emir Afdhal had also prepared for the conflict. He had posted himself on the edge of the plain of Ascalon in a position strongly defensible by nature. For the mountains and the sea conspired to protect the wings of the Moslem army, and in the

distance the towers of the city—one of the strongest in Palestine—were seen as a refuge.

The Saracen army was drawn up in two lines, and was terrible in its aspect and extent. The disparity of numbers was so great that to any other than a Crusader it would have appeared the excess of madness to offer battle. But to one who had seen the war-horse of St. George and had touched the sacred spear wherewith the side of Christ had been pierced no task could appal, no numbers terrify.

On the other hand, where every rational ground of confidence existed, the Saracens shook at the sight of the Christian banners. No exhortation of the Emir could suffice to inspire the host under his command. At the moment when battle was about to begin the device which the Moslems had invented to destroy their adversaries turned against themselves. The vast droves of cattle which had been intended to decoy the Crusaders were seen in the rear of Godfrey's army and were mistaken by Aflhal's forces for a part of the foe whom they had to face. The discouragement of the Saracens was so great that in the beginning of the engagement they fought but feebly, while every furious blow of the Christian knights fell with fatal effect upon the Mohammedan ranks. As usual on such occasions, Robert Short Hose fought like a lion. With a body of cavalry he forced his way to the Saracen center and captured the Emir's standard. The infantry rushed after him and the enemy's lines were broken and scattered.

For a while a division of Ethiopians, after the peculiar tactics of their country, fell on their knees to discharge their javelins and then with a clubbed weapon resembling a flail, armed with jagged balls of iron, sprang up and assailed the Crusaders with the fury of Huns; but even these fierce warriors were soon routed by the resistless charges of Godfrey's knights. The whole Saracen army broke and fled in confusion. They rushed in the direction of Ascalon, and were pursued with havoc and slaughter. Thousands perished on the field; other thousands in the flight, and still others at the drawbridge of the city, upon which they were helplessly crowded by the Christian warriors. Ascalon itself, in which Aflhal found refuge with the fugitives, might have been easily taken but for a quarrel which

broke out between Godfrey and Raymond, whose ungovernable temper was as dreadful to his friends as his sword was fatal to his enemies. As it was, the Christians withdrew from the scene of their great victory laden with spoil and driving before them the herds of cattle which had already served them better than the enemy. As for the defeated Emir, believing himself unsafe in Ascalon, he took ship for Egypt, and sought security under the shadow of the Caliphate.

The battle of Ascalon was decisive of the present fate of Palestine. For the time the Turk was hurled from his seat. With the accomplishment of this result the prime motive of the Crusade was satisfied. Many of the princes now made preparation to return to Europe. The eccentric Raymond, however, had sworn never to see the West again. He accordingly repaired to Constantinople, and received from the Emperor as the portion due his heroism the city of Laodicea. Eustace of Bouillon and Robert of Flanders returned to their respective countries, and resumed possession of their estates. Here they passed the remainder of their lives in prosperity and honor. Robert Short Hose went back to Normandy, and when the five years expired, during which he had leased his dukedom to William Rufus, he recovered his inheritance. His stormy life, however, was still agitated and unfortunate. A few years after his return his paternal dominions were invaded by his brother Henry, king of England. A battle was fought between the two princes at Tenchebray, and Robert was defeated and captured. He was taken to Cardiff Castle and there confined as a prisoner of state until the year 1148, when his strange and romantic career was ended by death. Peter the Hermit likewise left the Holy City and started on a homeward voyage. In mid sea his ship was caught in a storm and the terrified monk vowed, if he should be spared to found an abbey in honor of the tomb of Christ. The tempest passed and Peter kept his vow by building a monastery on the banks of the Meuse. Here he spent the remnant of his days in penitential works, after the manner of his order. As for the counts—Stephen and Hugh—they, as will be remembered, had abandoned the Crusade before Antioch, and without participating in

the glory of capturing Jerusalem, had returned to Europe. The age branded them, however, as recreants, and under the whip of public opinion they rallied their knights for a new expedition.

Thus in a short time King Godfrey found himself in the Holy City with only a few hundred warriors to defend it. His courage, however, was as great as the situation was perilous. His reputation as a military chieftain stood him well in hand, and the swollen stream of pilgrims from the West, who might now be expected to crowd towards Jerusalem, would doubtless be sufficient for defense.

But the valiant Godfrey was not destined long to enjoy the fruits of his toil and warfare. As Baron of the Holy Sepulcher he did as much as man well might to give regular institutions to the country and people that he had conquered. A code of laws, known as the *Assizes of Jerusalem*, was drawn up under his auspices, and Palestine was suitably divided for purposes of administration. The military arm was strengthened, and Tancred was sent into Galilee, where he captured the town of Tiberias. The whole province was taken from the Turks and added to Godfrey's dominions.

The valorous Tancred carried the war still further into the sultan's territories, whereupon a Saracen army was sent out from Damascus, and the adventurous Crusader was about to be cut off. Godfrey hurried to his assistance, and the Moslems were defeated in battle. Returning to Jerusalem, the Defender of the Holy Sepulcher passed by way of Caesarea, and was met by the emir of that district, who made him a seemingly courteous offer of fruits. The unsuspecting Godfrey accepted and ate an apple. Doubtless it had been poisoned, for the prince immediately sickened. He was taken in haste to Joppa, where he lingered until the 18th of July, 1109, when he died. With thoughtful solicitude he committed his kingdom of Jerusalem to the protection of his companions, and directed that his body should be buried near the tomb of Christ. A few days after his death his remains were borne up the slope of Calvary, and laid to rest not far from the Holy Sepulcher. All Christendom heard of the event with sorrow, and the mourning for the most unselfish and chivalrous of the great knights

who led the first Crusaders to ^{Victory} ~~Victory~~ ^{death} ~~death~~ was long continued, and as ^{success} ~~success~~ as the age was capable of showing.

The decease of the King of Jerusalem brought on a crisis. Scarcely was Godfrey buried until the barons fell to quarreling about the succession. The crown was claimed by Arnold de Rohes, now patriarch of the city, but his pretensions were vigorously resisted by many of the pilgrim warriors. In order to find support he sent an embassy to Bemund, prince of Antioch, to come to his assistance, and to aid in saving the Holy City from anarchy. The opposition meanwhile dispatched messengers to Baldwin of Edessa, brother of the late king, to come to Jerusalem and take the crown which now, according to feudal tenure, would rightfully descend to him. The envoys sent by Arnold to Antioch brought back the doleful intelligence that Bemund had been recently taken prisoner by the Turks, and was himself far more in need of assistance than able to go to the rescue of another. Not so, however, with Prince Baldwin. Notwithstanding the doubtful expediency of endangering all by leaving his safe principality of Edessa for the hazards attending the crown of Jerusalem, he gladly accepted the invitation of the barons, and laid claim to the throne vacated by the death of his brother. Putting all on the cast of the die, he made over the principality of Edessa to his kin-man, Baldwin du Bourg, and set out with fourteen hundred horsemen to make good his claims in the Holy City.

His reception was flattering. The inhabitants of Jerusalem came forth to meet their new sovereign, and welcomed him with plaudits. So marked were the expressions of approval that the Patriarch Arnold, after a few days of sullen discontent, gave in his adherence, and consented to officiate in the coronation of his successful rival.

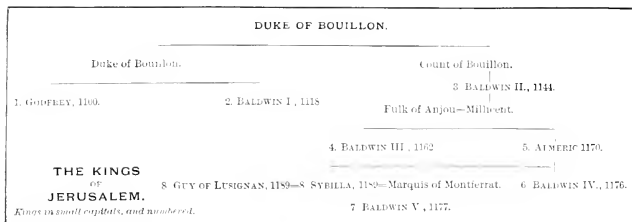
As soon as this ceremony was completed, Baldwin set about the duties of his office with great energy. His abilities were scarcely inferior to those of his predecessor, and his audacity greater. The Saracens soon learned that the transfer of the crown was not likely to injure to the benefit of the Crescent. King Baldwin organized several expeditions against the Infidels, and his successes were such as to

strike terror into the ranks of the foe. The cities of Cesarea, Sidon, Tripoli, and Acre were quickly taken, and the frontiers of the kingdom widened and established on all sides.

The forces of the king were in the meantime augmented by almost constant arrivals from Europe. Several bodies of warriors, who were drawn in the wake of the First Crusade, reached the Holy City in the first years of the new century, and joined the victorious standard of those who had preceded them. Now it was that Stephen of Blois and Hugh of Vermandois returned to the scenes of former days, shame-faced for their abandonment of the cause, and eager to retrieve their honor. The dukes of Aquitaine and Bavaria, and the counts of Burgundy, Vendôme, Nevers, and Parma, all envious of the fame achieved by their brethren in the East,

years later, when the armies of Baldwin were engaged in the siege of Sidon, two fleets, manned by Scandinavian Crusaders, arrived from the Baltic, and rendered important service in the reduction of the city.

To this epoch belongs the last of the exploits of Raymond of Toulouse. Before the capture of the Phœnician cities, he had acted as guide and leader to a band of French knights on their way through Asia Minor to Jerusalem. Obtaining an ascendancy over them, he induced them to join him in the conquest of Tortosa, on the coast of Syria. A new principality was thus founded, with Raymond for its ruler. He employed his own knights from Provence in enlarging the borders of his state, and presently undertook the reduction of Tripoli; but, before this object could be reached, the veteran warrior



assumed the cross and arrived with their knights in Palestine. So long and full of hardships was the march through Eastern Europe and Asia Minor, that those who survived were already veterans before reaching their destination, and the armies of Baldwin were thus replenished by a class of warriors scarcely inferior to the war-hardened Crusaders of the first expedition.

Another source of strength to the kingdom was the constant arrival on the Phœnician coast of fleets from Genoa and other European ports. A readier communication was thus maintained with the parent states. These armaments cooperated with the land forces in the subjugation of the maritime districts of Syria. As early as 1104, Beyrut and Serepta were conquered, partly through the aid of the Genoese squadron. A few

of Toulouse died. The work of subjugation, however, was continued by King Baldwin, assisted by all the Latin princes of the East. Tripoli was taken, and became the capital of a new dukedom, which was conferred on Bertrand, son of Raymond. The state thus formed was subject, after the feudal manner, to the Kingdom of Jerusalem; but its importance, lying as it did midway between the principality of Antioch and the Holy Land, was such as to give to Tripoli a rank of almost independent sovereignty.

At Antioch affairs had not gone prosperously. Bemund, as already narrated, was made prisoner by the Turks. Tattered thereupon assumed the government during the minority of Bemund's son. While acting thus as regent he continued his unending warfare with the Saracens and was killed in battle. Be-

mund finally effected his escape and soon afterwards engaged in hostilities with the Eastern Empire. Unsuccessful in this war he returned to Tarento, and there, in his old age, sat brooding and despondent amid the scenes of his boyhood. His restless nature, tormented with the vision of impossible activities, gave way to gloom, and he died of despair.

Of the heroic companions of Godfrey, there now remained in the East only King Baldwin and Baldwin du Bourg, prince of Edessa. The former was soulless, and reason and preference both indicated the latter as his successor to the crown of Jerusalem. In the year 1118 the king died and Baldwin du Bourg came to the throne with the title of Baldwin II. On his accession he transferred the Principality of Edessa to Joscelyn de Courtenay, a noble knight of France, who had gone to Asia Minor in the wake of the First Crusade.

In the mean time, Count Foulque, of Anjou, father of that Geoffrey Plantagenet who gave a race of kings to England, falling into profound melancholy on account of the death of his wife, would fain distract his thoughts from his grief by taking the cross and going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He accordingly left his province to the care of his son and departed for the East. On reaching the Holy City he became greatly admired for his qualities of mind and person. Nor was it long till he found a panacea for his sorrow in the acquaintance of the Princess Millicent, daughter of Baldwin II. Her he wooed and won, and when her father died he received and wore the crown rather as the husband of Millicent than in his own right. His son was named for his maternal grandfather, and afterwards reigned with the title of Baldwin III.

The principal event of the reign of Baldwin du Bourg was the siege and capture of Tyre. This great feat was accomplished in the year 1124, and chiefly by the aid of the Venetian fleet sent out by the Doge Ordelafò Falieri. Before engaging in the enterprise, however, this thrifty ruler stipulated that he should receive the sovereignty of one-third of the city as the price of his services. Already the Italian princes, especially those who held authority in the maritime Republics, had learned the value of their services to the Crusaders, and were not slow to turn their advantage to a

profitable account. Henceforth—though not less zealous than others in proclaiming the disinterested motives by which they were actuated in sending out their fleets against the Moslems—they ever took care to extort from those whom they aided exorbitant pay for their service. The squadron of Falieri arrived on the Phœnician coast, and the city of Tyre was obliged, after a five months' siege, to capitulate. The new conquest was erected into an archbishopric and added to the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Thus, in the last year of the first quarter of the twelfth century the most opulent city on the Syrian coast, being also the last stronghold of the Moslems in Palestine, was won by the Crusaders and annexed to their dominions.

This is the date of the greatest power and influence of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Holy Land was now all recovered from the Infidels. Neither the Turks from the direction of Baghdad, nor the Fatimites from the side of Egypt, were able for the time to shake the foundations of the Christian state. From the Mediterranean to the desert of Arabia, and from Beyrut to the Gulf of Sinai, the country acknowledged the sway of Baldwin II. Besides the large territory thus defined the County of Tripoli under Bertrand, and the Principalities of Edessa and Antioch were as distinctly Christian states as was Jerusalem itself, and throughout the whole of these countries the feudal institutions of Western Europe were established on what appeared to be an enduring basis.

The Christian kingdom of Palestine was divided into the four great fiefs of Jaffa, Galilee, Cesarea, and Tripoli, and over each was set a baron who was the vassal of the king. The one fatal weakness of the situation lay in the fact that while a constant stream of pilgrim warriors was setting towards Jerusalem, another stream fully as copious was flowing back into Europe. Even at the time of greatest solidity and peace the number of knights and soldiers resident in Palestine was never sufficient to defend the country in the event of a formidable invasion by the Moslems. It was estimated that the regular force of knights whom as his vassals Baldwin II. might call into the field did not exceed two thousand five hundred; and the feudal militia, consist-

ing for the most part of archers on foot, only numbered twelve thousand.

Another circumstance tending to undermine the foundation of the kingdom was the rapid deterioration of the people of the West under the conditions of life in Syria. The resident Crusaders were brought into communion and fellowship with the native Christians of the country—Syrians, Greeks, Armenians,—a nerveless race of Orientals, destitute of the warlike vigor of the Western pilgrims. Besides, the Mussulman peasantry remained in the villages and continued to cultivate the soil. After the lapse of a few years these diverse races began to commingle, and a new type of population was produced, inheriting but little virtue from either line of parentage. These hybrid inhabitants were known by the name of *Pollani* or *Poulains*—a degenerate stock deduced from a bad cross under the influence of a baleful climate and diseased society.

One of the principal events belonging to the interval between the First and Second Crusades was the institution of the two principal ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD. The prime motives of the origin of these celebrated societies are to be found in the martial spirit and religious enthusiasm of the age. The condition of society was such as to suggest the conservation of the chivalrous and benevolent sentiments by means of organization. As soon as the orders were established they rose to celebrity, and it was not long until the highest honors of secular society would have been freely exchanged for the distinction conferred by the badges of knighthood.

The fundamental principle on which the new Orders were founded was *the union of monachism and chivalry*. Hitherto the devotion of man to religion had made him a monk; his devotion to truth denied and innocence distressed, had made him a secular warrior. It now happened that the warlike vow and the vow of religion were united in the single consecration of knighthood. The condition of affairs in Palestine—unfavorable to monasticism from the insecurity of society, and unfavorable to secular chivalry on account of the absence of lofty sentiments among the lay population of the country—was peculiarly favorable to the development of organizations based on the cross militant. Such organiza-

tions contemplated the sword under the cowl—warfare in the name of Christ. The same ideas which had brought about the Crusade demanded preservation under the sanction of secrecy and brotherhood.

The oldest of the religio-chivalric orders was the KNIGHTS OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM, known also as KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS, and subsequently as Knights of Rhodes and Knights of Malta. The circumstances of the origin of this celebrated Order date back to the middle of the eleventh century. In the year 1048 some benevolent merchants of the Italian city of Amalfi obtained permission of the Fatimite rulers of Jerusalem to build in the Holy City a chapel for the use of Latin pilgrims. The establishment took the name of Saint Mary, and was for a while used in common by both men and women. Soon afterwards two hospitals were built in connection with the chapel; and then a second chapel, called after Saint Mary Magdalen, was erected adjacent to the woman's hospital. The man's hospital took the name of Saint John the Almoner, an Alexandrian patriarch of the seventh century. This saint had left a sweet memory in the City of David by sending thither in the year 614, after the destructive siege and capture by Chosroes II., a plentiful supply of money and provisions to the suffering people. Such was the origin of the hospitals or hostleries of Jerusalem.

To the whole establishment thus founded was given the name of Saint John, who became the recognized patron of the Order. The services in the hospitals were performed by a brotherhood—and sisterhood—of pilgrims under the direction of Pierre Gerard le Bienheureux, or Gerard the Blessed. It was this Order of the Hospital that came forth on the occasion of the capture of the city by the Crusaders, and rendered so great service to humanity by caring for the wounded and dying. So heroic were the efforts of the brotherhood, that Raymond du Puy joined the Order, and Godfrey himself bestowed on them their first foreign possession, namely, the estate of Montbairé in Brabant. His example was imitated by other princes, and it was not long until the brothers of the Hospital found themselves in possession of abundant means.

Now it was that the Order took on a per-

manent character. After the establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem the brothers bound themselves by a vow to labor forever in the hospitals. They were to become henceforth the "servants of Christ and his poor." Their vows embraced the trinity of mediæval virtues—obedience, chastity, and poverty. As a garb they chose the black robe of the Augustinian monks, and to this was added a white linen cross of eight points, worn on the left breast. On the 15th of February, 1113, the Order was approved by Pope Paschal II., under the name of the "Brothers Hospitalers of Saint John in Jerusalem."

In the organization which was thus made regular and permanent, Pierre Gerard was chosen Guardian and Provost of the Order. Gifts poured in upon the fraternity. A splendid church was built on the traditional site of the abode of the parents of Saint John the Baptist, and hospitals for the accommodation of pilgrims were founded in the principal seaport towns of Western Europe.

After five years of service as Guardian, Gerard died, and was succeeded by Raymond du Puy. He it was who, in order to protect the Christians of Palestine from injury or insult at the hands of the Moslems, armed himself and former companion knights, and thus gave to the Order its first military cast. The movement was applauded by the age. Both in the Holy Land and in the West the brothers in arms became more popular than ever. The chivalric sentiment was thus added to the charitable vows of the fraternity, and persons of distinction and high rank began eagerly to seek admission into the Order. The vow to bear arms in defense of Christ and his cause, and to defend from insult and wrong the Christians of all lands and languages, was taken with even more enthusiasm than the vow of monasticism and charity.

From the accession of Raymond to the guardianship of the Order, three degrees were recognized in the hospital; knights, priests, and brothers-servants. To these a fourth grade, called sergeants or half-knights, was presently added; and to these intermediates certain duties in both the field and the infirmary were assigned.

Under the auspices of Raymond, a code was drawn up for the government of the

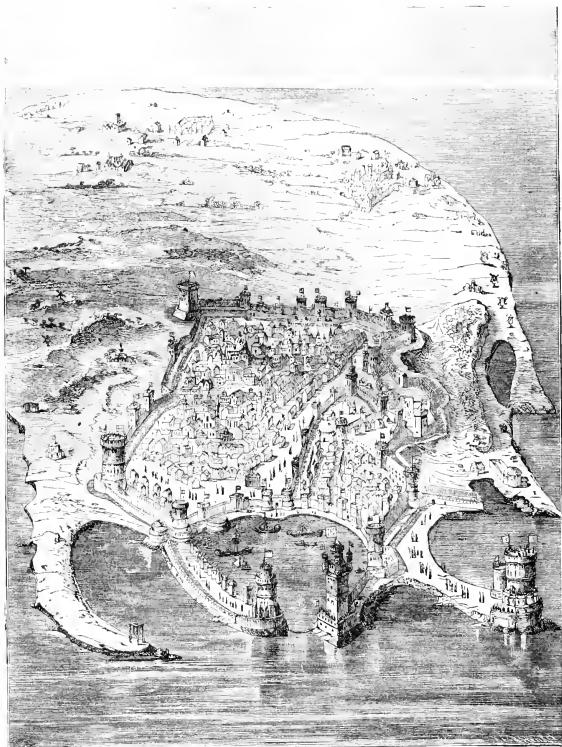
Order. The Augustinian rule was made the basis of the statute adopted for the Brothers of the Hospital. The name of the chief officer was changed from Guardian to Master, and Saint John the Baptist was substituted for Saint John the Almoner, as the patron of the brotherhood. In 1120 the new constitution was submitted to Pope Calixtus II., and by him cordially approved.

So rapidly did the Hospitalers extend their establishments and membership that it was presently found desirable to make—according to the members—a nine-fold division of the Order. The commanderies were thenceforth classified as those of Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon, Germany, England, Castile, and Portugal.

Before the middle of the twelfth century, the Hospitalers had become a powerful military factor in the affairs of the East. Their membership embraced the most puissant knights of Christendom. During the siege of Tyre, they contributed powerfully to the capture of the city, and the final expulsion of the Moslems from Palestine. In 1153 they aided in the taking of Ascalon, their valorous actions being the pride of the Christians and the terror of the Saracens. After these successful victories for the Cross, the wealth of the Order accumulated with great rapidity. Nor was it long until the moral and chivalric grandeur of the brotherhood began to be undermined by the invidious influences of luxury and corruption. As early as 1168, the Master Gilbert d'Assailit, successor to Raymond du Puy, was seduced with bribes, together with the larger part of the Order, to violate a treaty with Egypt, and to make an invasion of that country. In 1187 the Hospitalers of Palestine were almost exterminated in the disastrous battle of Tiberias, where Saladin so signally overthrew the Christians. When possession of Jerusalem was finally regained by the Saracens, the Order made its head-quarters for a while at the Castle of Margat, and at the same time the woman's hospitals in the East were abandoned. At this epoch, the knights suffered much from their disputes and rivalries with the Templars; but in times of danger both brotherhoods gave their best blood in defense

of the common cause. In the great battle of Gaza, A. D. 1244, the losses of both Hospitallers and Templars were so great that the two Orders came nigh suffering a common ex-

at this time that the Order of Saint John became a maritime power, having its own fleets and winning its own victories in the eastern Mediterranean. Early in the four-



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF RHODES, TIME OF THE CRUSADES.

inction. Finally, when, in 1291, the city of Acre was taken by the Moslems, the knights retired to Cyprus, where they made a stand and recruited their wasted ranks for the overflowing commanderies of the West. It was

in the thirteenth century, they seized the island of Rhodes, where they established their power, and defied the Turks for more than two hundred years. In 1522 they were driven from their stronghold, and obliged to seek a new

footing further west. They sought a refuge first in Crete, then in Messina, then in the main-land of Italy, and, finally, in 1530, were given the island of Malta by the Emperor, Charles V. This sea-born possession they converted into a fortress, which, in spite of the most strenuous efforts of the Turks, was held by the knights until 1798, when it was taken by Bonaparte.

The second of the great orders of knighthood was originally known as the KNIGHTS OF THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON, and afterwards as KNIGHTS TEMPLARS, or KNIGHTS OF THE RED CROSS. Under these various designations they ran a briefer but more glorious career than the Hospitallers, by whom they were at first generously aided and afterwards bitterly opposed. The founding of the Order of the Temple dates to the year 1117. Two French knights, Hugues des Pains and Geoffrey of Saint-Omer, perceiving the hardships to which Christian travelers were exposed in and about the Holy City, took upon themselves the duty of conducting the pilgrims who journeyed between Jerusalem and the Jordan. This charitable office soon gained a reputation for the humble warrior-guides, and they were joined by seven others, like-minded with themselves. An organization was effected under the benevolent patronage of the patriarch of the city. The members bound themselves by the usual monastic vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty; and to these two others were added, to defend the Holy Sepulcher and to protect the way-faring pilgrims in Palestine.—Such was the humble beginning of the Order.

At the first the Knights of Saint John, now in the flush of their heroic virtues, lent aid and encouragement to the new society of brothers. Nothing was to be feared from a humble fraternity known by the name of the "Poor Soldiers of the Holy City." Nothing could exceed the lowliness of the meek knights who founded the brotherhood. Hugues and Geoffrey had one horse between them, and him they rode together on their first missions of benevolence.¹ The first members were given a lodging by Baldwin II., who assigned them

quarters in his palace on the site of the ancient temple. Their first armory was established in a church near by, and here were stored their first knightly weapons. The first chapter was limited to nine members; but this limitation was removed by the council of Troyes in 1127. At this assembly St. Bernard, of Clairvaux, was commissioned to draw up a suitable code for the government of the body, and to devise an appropriate garb. The dress chosen was in strong contrast with that of the Hospitallers, consisting of a white tunic and mantle, with a red cross on the left breast. The rule of conduct and discipline was approved in 1128 by Pope Honorius II. The principal articles were these: The Knights were bound to recite vocal prayers at certain hours; to abstain from meats four days in the week; to refrain from hunting and hawking; to defend with their lives the mysteries of the Christian faith; to observe and maintain the Seven Sacraments of the



COSTUME OF A KNIGHT TEMPLAR.

Church, the fourteen articles of faith, the creeds of the apostles and of Athanasius; to uphold the doctrines of the Two Testaments, including the interpretations of the Fathers, the unity of God and the trinity of his persons, and the virginity of Mary both before and after the birth of her Son; to go beyond the seas when called to do so in defense of the cause; to fly not from the foe unless assailed by more than three Infidels at once.

Such was the nucleus of the Order. Humility was one of the first principles of the membership. The helmet of the Templar should have no crest—his beard should not be cut—his demeanor should be that of a servant of

¹The great seat of the Templars still perpetuates the story of the lowly origin of the Order in the figure of the steed with two riders.

his fellows. Each member on assuming the garb of a Knight must be girt with a linen cord in token that he was henceforth bound to service.

The organization of the Templars embraced four classes of members—knights, squires, servants, and priests. Each had their peculiar duties and obligations. The presiding officer of the Order was called the Master—afterwards the Grand Master—and he had as his assistants a lieutenant, a senechal, a marshal, and a treasurer, all of whom were elected by the chapter. The states of Christendom were divided into provinces, and over each was set a provincial master. The Grand Master of Jerusalem was regarded as the head of the entire

brotherhood in order to share its benefits. Every thing conspired to make the Knights the favorites of the century. They had the prestige of Crusaders. They had St. Bernard for their Master. They had the blessing of the Pope. They had the applause and gratitude of those whom they had relieved and protected. They had estates and castles and churches. They had the patronage of the great and the benediction of the Church.

It was the peculiarity of mediæval institutions that beginning in virtuous poverty they ended in luxury and crime. As early as the middle of the twelfth century the membership of the Templars was recruited largely from



DEFEAT OF THE TURKS BY CRUSADERS.—Drawn by A. de Neuville.

brotherhood, which soon grew in numbers, influence, and wealth to be one of the most powerful organizations in the world. Counts, dukes, princes, and even kings, eagerly sought the honor which was everywhere conceded to the red cross and white mantle of the Temple.

In course of time the Knights of the Temple became a sovereign body, owing no allegiance to any secular potentate. In spiritual matters the Pope was still regarded as supreme, but in all other affairs the Grand Master was as independent as the greatest sovereign of Europe. The houses of the Knights could not be invaded by any civil officer. Their churches and cemeteries were exempt from interdicts; their properties and revenues from taxation. So great were the immunities thus enjoyed that thousands of persons sought to

the class of adventurers and outlaws with whom Europe so greatly abounded. St. Bernard himself declared in a series of exhortations addressed to the Order that the greater number of the nobles who had joined the soldiers of the Temple had been men stained with every species of crime, the oppressors and scourges of Europe.

In the division of the Christian states into provinces by the Order of the Red Cross, three were formed in the East—Jerusalem, Antioch, and Tripoli. In the West the provinces numbered sixteen—France, Auvergne, Normandy, Aquitaine, Poitou, Provence, England, Germany, Upper and Lower Italy, Apulia, Sicily, Portugal, Castile, Leon, and Aragon. Of all these the most important by far was France. A majority of all the Templars were French,

21. Conrad II., Henry III., the Black, he deposes and
 1. Otto II. as the sarracins from Italy. Otto III. succeeds
 2. St. Henry, an aragonian to Henry I., elevated

7. Conventions with Hildebr and relative to the investiture of
 bishops legit.
 8. Confrontation of deprived of his dominions and his sister
 9. points to the end of the reign, he goes to Italy to see
 10. that absolute, and at various struggles he falls the
 victor of papal Venetians.
 11. Henry V., he takes Pass of II. prisoner, he
 does not release him until he restores
 the papacy.
 12. Matilda of England, the
 sarracins legates.

GERMANY.

21. HOUSE OF FRANCONIA.
 Robert II., son of Hugh Capet.
 The pope annuls his marriage
 with his sister-in-law, and puts
 his kingdom under an interdict.
 The feudal system still retains strength,
 and the power of the monarch declines.
 In the next century Louis VI. and his successors have many struggles with their vassals. Under them
 the power of the crown begins to revive and so to consolidate.

71. A series of bloody wars with
 the sarracins legates.
 37. Louis VI., THE FAT; he is an able
 37. Louis VI., THE
 42. He
 9. W. Eng. Henry defeated and
 forced to retire.
 19. Brennoire—Louis de-
 feated by the English.
 24. The emperor Henry V.

FRANCE.

2. Invasions of England
 1. Sweyn, King of Denmark, invades England
 3. Edmund II., King of England, son of Ethelred II.

71. A series of bloody wars with
 the sarracins legates.
 37. Louis VI., THE FAT; he is an able
 37. Louis VI., THE
 42. He
 9. W. Eng. Henry defeated and
 forced to retire.
 19. Brennoire—Louis de-
 feated by the English.
 24. The emperor Henry V.

ENGLAND.

14. DANISH KINGS.
 17. Canute the Great, a Dane, and the
 most powerful sovereign in Europe

71. A series of bloody wars with
 the sarracins legates.
 37. Louis VI., THE FAT; he is an able
 37. Louis VI., THE
 42. He
 9. W. Eng. Henry defeated and
 forced to retire.
 19. Brennoire—Louis de-
 feated by the English.
 24. The emperor Henry V.

SCOTLAND.

4. Malcolm II.; he publishes a new code of Laws.
 24. Duncan I.
 40. Macbeth usurps after murdering Duncan.
 41. Al Kaymen, caliph of Bagdad
 45. Bagdad taken by the Turks.
 From this time the caliphs are only the su-
 preme pontiffs of the Mohammedan faith
 65. The Turks take Jerusalem
 from the sarracins.
 Christian pilgrims resented and robbed—the excess of the Crusades.

71. A series of bloody wars with
 the sarracins legates.
 37. Louis VI., THE FAT; he is an able
 37. Louis VI., THE
 42. He
 9. W. Eng. Henry defeated and
 forced to retire.
 19. Brennoire—Louis de-
 feated by the English.
 24. The emperor Henry V.

MOHAMMEDAN EMPIRE.

28. Romanus III., 32. Constantine IX., 39. Constantine X., 78. Nicephorus.
 34. Theodora, the last of the Macedonians.
 35. Isaac Comnenus reigns.
 54. Schism of the East completed, a separation of the
 Eastern or Greek Church, from the Church of
 Rome after two centuries of union.
 68. Romanus IV. DIAGENES, who re-
 vives

71. A series of bloody wars with
 the sarracins legates.
 37. Louis VI., THE FAT; he is an able
 37. Louis VI., THE
 42. He
 9. W. Eng. Henry defeated and
 forced to retire.
 19. Brennoire—Louis de-
 feated by the English.
 24. The emperor Henry V.

EASTERN OR GREEK EMPIRE.

Boleslaus I., the first king of Poland, defeats the Germans, Russians, and Bohemians, and governs with wisdom.
 2. Miecislau II., 41. Casimir, 48. Boleslaus II., 79. Ladislaus I., THE CALIFLESS,
 34-41. Anarchy. Previous to 1000, A. D. Poland was governed by dukes.
 68. Romanus IV. DIAGENES, who re-
 vives

71. A series of bloody wars with
 the sarracins legates.
 37. Louis VI., THE FAT; he is an able
 37. Louis VI., THE
 42. He
 9. W. Eng. Henry defeated and
 forced to retire.
 19. Brennoire—Louis de-
 feated by the English.
 24. The emperor Henry V.

SWEDEN.

Christianity supposed to have been introduced into Sweden about 830, and into Den-
 mark about 826 A. D.
 The history of Sweden previous to the fourteenth century is confused and uncertain.

71. A series of bloody wars with
 the sarracins legates.
 37. Louis VI., THE FAT; he is an able
 37. Louis VI., THE
 42. He
 9. W. Eng. Henry defeated and
 forced to retire.
 19. Brennoire—Louis de-
 feated by the English.
 24. The emperor Henry V.

DENMARK.

Sweyn conquers England
 36. Canute III., 45. Magnus the Good, of Norway, 4
 51. Harold VII., 87. Olaf, 90. Eric.
 26. St. Canute IV.
 47. Canute II., THE GREAT, the civil war
 64. Peace
 19. Conquers Norway

71. A series of bloody wars with
 the sarracins legates.
 37. Louis VI., THE FAT; he is an able
 37. Louis VI., THE
 42. He
 9. W. Eng. Henry defeated and
 forced to retire.
 19. Brennoire—Louis de-
 feated by the English.
 24. The emperor Henry V.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART
 No. V.
EUROPE DURING THE CRUSADES.
 Prepared by F. C. Park, Rishopton, LL. D.

PORTUGAL.
 37. Ferdinand I., in 1179 obtains
 Leon by marriage.
CASTILE AND LEON.
 37. Ramirez I., 68. Sancho Ramirez,
 76. Unites Navarre to his domin
 80, W. Moors, 94. Peter I.

ITALY.

11. Normans conquer Apulia; William is at the
 37. Robert Guiscard, duke
 The Lombards VINDE of NOVA and PISA use in power and wealth. The foundations of
 these three republics were laid soon after 1000. They are usually called by the Crusades
 4. Ardoia, a common party divides the Republic. Ardoia loses most of Italy
 4. Henry comes to Italy in 1155. Henry II. crosses his troops and the people. Pavia is burnt, which causes mutual hatred. Study of the Civil Law revived

71. A series of bloody wars with
 the sarracins legates.
 37. Louis VI., THE FAT; he is an able
 37. Louis VI., THE
 42. He
 9. W. Eng. Henry defeated and
 forced to retire.
 19. Brennoire—Louis de-
 feated by the English.
 24. The emperor Henry V.

and their possessions on French soil exceeded the aggregate of all others together. It was estimated that by the middle of the thirteenth century as many as nine thousand manors were held by the Templars of France. It naturally came to pass that all the other elements of society were alarmed and excited on account of the bloated development of this monopoly of the wealth and honors of the kingdom. The protection of pilgrims was meanwhile forgotten in the rivalry for power and the lust of gain. In the course of the subsequent Crusades the Knights not infrequently acted in bad faith towards those whom they pretended to serve. When the Christian kingdom in the East tottered to its downfall, the Templars, with a strange depravity of principle, attempted to secure their own interests by separate treaties with the Moslems; but their fortunes were involved with those of the Western powers, and all went down together.

The chief seat of the Templars remained at Jerusalem from the foundation in 1118 to the year 1187, and was then transferred to Antioch. Here the Grand Master had his headquarters for four years, removing thence, in 1191, to Acre. This stronghold of Knighthood continued to be the head-quarters of the Order until 1217, when a third removal was made to the Pilgrim's Castle near Cesarea. With the capture of Acre, in 1291, and the consequent overthrow of the Christian kingdom, the Templars retired to Cyprus, which they purchased from Richard the Lion Heart for thirty-five thousand marks.

About this time the Order fell under the ban in several parts of the West. Especially in France were the suspicions and jealousies of the government aroused against the Knights. Their exemption from all the burdens of the state, their arrogance, their pride and licentiousness all conspired to excite against them the dread and hatred of the people and the king. Nor is it to be doubted that the great wealth amassed by the Order in the course of nearly two centuries had aroused the cupidity of those who, unscrupulous as the Knights themselves, were ready to seize the first pretext of violence. Especially was the hostility of Philip the Fair of France awakened against a power which he conceived to be a menace to the perpetuity of his kingdom. He accord-

ingly determined to free the realm of the presence of the dangerous and ambitious brotherhood. He took counsel with Pope Clement V. how the Order might be exterminated. A judicial inquiry was instituted, the Knights being charged with heresy and immorality. In 1306 Jacques de Molay, Grand Master of the Templars, was induced to come to Paris, and in October of the following year he and all the members of the brotherhood in France were seized. Their property was taken to await the issue of the proceedings. In the course of the trial many grave accusations, some of them contradictory of others, were brought forward, and the brothers were made to answer. They were charged with infidelity, Mohammedanism, atheism, heresy, profanation of holy things, and uncleanness. The prosecution was greatly troubled to produce evidence, but balked in the usual methods, a resort was had to torture, and many of the prisoners made confession. The Pope was loth to give his sanction to a measure of extermination, but Philip was determined, and the archbishop of Sens lent his countenance to the proceedings.

A grand council was called in Paris on the 10th of May, 1310, and three days afterwards fifty-four of the Templars being condemned were led into the field behind the alley of St. Antoine and burned at the stake. This example of vindictive fury was imitated in other parts of the kingdom. The reign of violence provoked action from the Pope, who two years later convened the Council of Venice to consider the question of the fate of the Templars. It was decided that the Order should be abolished and its property confiscated; but at the same time the Pope reserved his judgment as to whether the Knights were guilty of the heinous charges brought against them. The landed possessions of the famous brotherhood were transferred to the Hospitallers, and their movable property went to the sovereigns of the various states. Everywhere in Christendom, except in the kingdom of Portugal, where the brotherhood assumed the name of the Knights of Christ, the Templars as an organization were suppressed. De Molay himself and Guy of Auvergne were burned at Paris.

The third of the great chivalric bodies,

taking its rise in the time of the Crusades was the TEUTONIC KNIGHTS, or KNIGHTS OF SAINT MARY OF JERUSALEM. Like its two predecessors the new Order was based on a union of monastic and military service. A few years after the capture of Jerusalem by the Christians, a German merchant and his wife, dwelling in the city, threw open their house for the entertainment of the sick and distressed of their own nation. The attention of the Patriarch was called to this benevolent act, and a chapel near by was attached to the humble hospital, which received the name of Saint Mary. The founder of the institution devoted all his own means to the work, and it was not long until alms began to pour in aid of the enterprise. Several distinguished Germans contributed their property to the support of the work begun by their countrymen. A service and ritual were established, and in the year 1119, only one year after the founding of the Templars, the new Order received the sanction of Pope Calixtus II. Religious and martial vows were taken by the brothers, who made the work of charity and the relief of the distressed the prominent feature of their discipline.

In the choice of a dress and regalia, the Teutonic Knights distinguished themselves as much as possible from the Hospitallers and the Templars. The gown was black with a white mantle, and on this was a black cross with a silver edging. The Order soon achieved an enviable fame, and its members became the recipients of the same favors and honors which were showered upon the other two brotherhoods. The second establishment of the Teutonic Knights was founded in 1189 by the burghers of Bremen and Lubeck, who, during the siege of Acre, were moved to build a hospital for the relief of their countrymen. The two chapters were presently combined into one order by Duke Frederick of Swebia, who in 1192 obtained for the union the sanction of Pope Celestine III. The rule of the body was amplified and the discipline of the Augustinians adopted for its government.

At the origin of the Teutonic Order none but Germans of noble birth were admitted to membership. Not until 1221 were sergeants and priests added to the fraternity. The chief officer was called the Grand Master. At the first, he had his residence in Jerusalem. After

the fall of Acre in 1291 he removed to Venice and shortly afterward to Marburg.

The Teutonic knights first appeared as a powerful military factor in the affairs of Europe about the beginning of the thirteenth century. In 1226 they were called out by the Grand Master, Hermann of Salza, to aid Conrad, duke of Masovia, in repelling the Prussian and Lithuanian pagans from his borders. Their valor and religious zeal attracted the attention of all the European states; and Conrad gave them, in reward for their services, the province of Culm on the Vistula. Establishing themselves in this territory, they extended their authority over Prussia, Courland, and Livonia. In their wars in these dark regions, they carried the sword in one hand and the Gospel in the other, and the pagans were given their choice. In the year 1309, the residence of the Grand Master was transferred to Marienburg, from which, as a center, the Order became almost as dominant in the North as the Templars in the South. The territory under their rule extended from the Gulf of Finland to the river Oder, and the annual revenues of the fraternity were estimated at 800,000 marks. The highest dignitaries of Northern Europe eagerly sought membership, and the Church smiled her fairest approval.

As in the case of the Hospitallers and the Templars, the Teutonic Order felt the disastrous effects of luxury and power. The humble professions and practices of the founders were forgotten by the haughty German barons who now controlled the destinies of the brotherhood. Oppression followed in the wake of opulence and authority, and violent dissensions arose as the precursors of decline. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Order had reached its climax. At that epoch, a series of conflicts began with the kings of Poland which hastened the downfall of the fraternity. In 1410 the knights fought the great battle of Grunwald, in which they were disastrously defeated by Ladislaus Jagellon; and, in a subsequent struggle with Casimir IV., West Prussia was wrested from them and annexed to the Polish dominions. Even in East Prussia they were reduced to the rank of vassals.

At length the proud Knights, galled by their

subjugation, made an effort to regain their independence. In 1525 they revolted and went to war, but the conflict resulted in a still further eclipse of their fortunes. East Prussia was reduced to a duchy, and bestowed by Sigismund I. on the Grand Master, Albert of Brandenburg. The Order became the shadow of its former glory, and, after a precarious existence of three centuries, was finally abolished by Napoleon in 1809.

Let us, then, return to the course of political events in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. When, in 1118, Baldwin du Bourg succeeded his cousin, Baldwin I., on the throne, he was indebted for his elevation to the influence of his powerful kinsman, Joscelyn de Courtenay. This distinguished nobleman had gone to Asia Minor with the Count of Chartres in the wake of the First Crusade, and had settled at Edessa. Afterwards he was taken prisoner by the Turks, but, after five years, he escaped from his captors, and received from Baldwin a province within the limits of Edessa. In the course of time he and his patron quarreled, and Joscelyn, being grievously maltreated, retired to Jerusalem. Here he lived at the time of the death of Baldwin I. He and Baldwin du Bourg now made up their quarrel, and, when the latter became a candidate for the throne, Joscelyn favored his election, with a view of securing for himself the Principality of Edessa. The arrangement was carried out, and, when Baldwin II. came to the throne of Jerusalem, De Courtenay was rewarded with his kinsman's duchy.

Edessa proved to be a stormy inheritance. From the first, Prince Joscelyn had to fight for the maintenance of his authority. The Saracens on the side of the Euphrates were full of audacious enterprises, and the utmost efforts of the Christians were necessary to keep them at bay. Such, however, were the warlike energies of the veteran De Courtenay, that, during his lifetime, the Moslems were unable to break into his dominions. At the last he met his fate in a manner becoming the hero of the church militant. While laying siege to a fortress near the city of Aleppo, the aged warrior was crushed beneath the ruins of a wall; and, when recovered from the *debris*, was found to be

fatally injured. He was, however, conveyed to Edessa, and there awaited the hour of doom. His son, who also bore the honored name of Joscelyn, was named as his successor, and to him the dying governor looked for the defense of the realm. But the youth was lacking in the soldierly vigor of the father; and, when the latter summoned him to go on the instant to the defense of a stronghold which had been attacked by the Saracens, the younger De Courtenay replied that he feared his forces were insufficient. Indignant at hearing such a word as *few* from the lips of his son, the bruised and mutilated old Crusader ordered himself to be carried on a litter to where the Saracens were besieging his town. Learning of his approach, the enemy broke up their camp and fled. Whereupon, looking up into heaven from his couch, the chivalrous De Courtenay expired in unclouded content.

Events soon showed that the date of his death was a dark day for the Principality of Edessa. The younger Joscelyn was a mediæval roué. Without regard to the interests of the government or the glory of war, he gave himself up to a life of sensual pleasure. Seeking a luxurious retreat on the banks of the Euphrates, he surrounded his court with others like-minded with himself, and gave free reign to appetite. Such measures as were essential for the safety and welfare of the Principality were drowned in the pleasures of abandonment.

At the same time, when the government of Edessa was thus falling into incompetent hands, a great prince appeared among the Moslems. This was the warrior Sanguin, sultan of Mosul. By successful campaigns, he had already added Aleppo and other Syrian cities to his dominions. After thus strengthening his borders, he turned his attention to Edessa, and eagerly longed for an opportunity to measure swords with that degenerate city. As soon as he learned of the character and aptitudes of the young De Courtenay, he lost no time in setting out on a campaign against the almost defenceless capital of the Christian duchy. While Joscelyn was holding high carnival on the Euphrates, the sobering intelligence was borne to his ears that a powerful Saracene army had already encamped before Edessa. It is the first impulse of an alarmed drunkard to call

on some one savior than himself for aid. The terrified De Courtenay fled immediately to Millicent, queen-regent of Jerusalem, and to the prince of Antioch, to implore their assistance in his hour of peril. But neither the queen nor the prince was able to go to his rescue. Edessa was left to her fate; and, after a siege of a month's duration, the victorious Saracens entered the city, and put the inhabitants to the sword.

Every thoughtful reader of history must have been astonished at the many sudden reversions of fortune presented for his contemplation. The career of the warlike Sanguin furnishes such an example. Just as his dominion seemed to be firmly established by his conquest of Edessa, he was assassinated by his slaves; and just as Joscelyn de Courtenay was reduced to the rank of an adventurer without a province, without a city, he suddenly roused himself from his stupor, drew his sword, and putting himself at the head of his troops, retook his capital from the Moslems. His spasmodic heroism, however, was not sufficient to wrest the citadel of Edessa from the hands of the foe. Meanwhile, Noureddin, son and successor of Sanguin, came to the rescue of the beleaguered garrison; and the Christians found themselves pressed desperately between two armies of Saracens, the one within and the other without the city. Finding his situation hopeless, Joscelyn determined to save himself and his army by flight. In the silence of midnight, the gates of the city were opened, and the Christians undertook to make their exit. But the garrison in the citadel discovering the movement made a signal to the Moslems outside the walls and the escaping army was suddenly arrested in its flight. Only a few succeeded in breaking through the Saracen camp and making their way to the friendly settlements on the Euphrates. All the rest were slaughtered. Fully thirty thousand victims were hewed down in an indiscriminate massacre by the relentless Islamites. On the morrow the Crescent was raised above the blood-stained city, and the Christian principality of Edessa was no more.

This great disaster occurred in the year 1145. The news of the fall of the city was spread throughout Christendom, and the nations were profoundly stirred. The kingdom of Jerusalem was shaken to its center. It was

evident that unless a rally of the Western Christians should be made in defense of their provinces in the East, the whole fabric so painfully raised by the victories of the first Crusaders, would be swept away by the reflux tide of Mohammedan invasion. It was this condition of affairs that led to the preaching of the SECOND CRUSADE in Europe. The principal agent in the work of arousing the people for the succor of the holy places of the East was Saint Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux.

Many circumstances, however, now conduced to a second uprising of the European Christians. The half-century which had elapsed since the Council of Clermont had planted in several of the Western states the conditions of another movement on Asia similar to the first. In France, King Philip I. died in the year 1106, and was succeeded by his son Louis the Fat. The latter from the age of eighteen had been associated with his father in the government. The intellect of the new sovereign was comparatively a blank, but his moral qualities were of a higher order than was common in his age. He had a sincere regard for justice, and his temper had something of that gayety and enthusiasm for which the subjects of his remote descendants became so noted among the more somber peoples of Europe. The better energies of Louis's reign were expended in a laudable effort to protect the peasantry of France from the exactions of the feudal nobility. The larger part of his time was consumed in petty wars with his barons, whom he endeavored in vain to repress and force into obedience. This task, however, was beyond the limits of his power. The time had not yet arrived when the arrogance of the French nobility was to be broken on the wheel of royal prerogative.

In the thirteenth year of his reign, Louis was involved in a war with Henry I, king of England. It will be remembered that that ambitious prince had succeeded his brother William Rufus when the latter was killed in the forest; also that the duchy of Normandy had, during the absence of Robert Short Hose in the East, been held as an appanage of the English crown. On the return of Robert from Palestine, he repossessed himself of his estates, but was presently assailed by his brother, driven from his castles, captured and con-

denmed to perpetual imprisonment in the fortress of Carfil. William, the son of Duke Robert, fled for his life and sought refuge with the king of France. It was the protection of this fugitive prince by Louis the Fat that brought on a war between that monarch and King Henry. A battle was fought between their armies at Brenneville, in which the English were victorious, but the victory was neither bloody nor decisive. Indeed, it was the peculiarity of the feudal wars in the West not to kill but to capture, for the ransom of distinguished captives was more profitable to the victor than the brief exhibition of dead bodies on the battle-field. Only three Knights are said to have been slain in the battle of Brenneville. It happened that at the time of the conflict Pope Calixtus II., who had escaped from the disturbances of Italy, was sojourning in France. The potentate was greatly grieved at the war which had broken out between his subjects on the two sides of the Channel. He accordingly mediated between them, and the two kings agreed to be at peace.

In the year 1124 hostilities broke out a second time between the two kingdoms. The Emperor, Henry V., of Germany, had in the mean time married the Princess Matilda, daughter of Henry I., and the English king now called upon his powerful father-in-law to aid him in his war with Louis the Fat. The Emperor gladly accepted the invitation, for he had many causes of enmity against King Louis. The latter raised a powerful army of two hundred thousand men, but before actual hostilities began Henry V. died, and the war was thus averted. As to Prince William, Louis bestowed on him the earldom of Flanders as a recompense for the loss of Normandy, but the young earl presently died from the effects of a neglected wound.

In 1129 King Louis had his eldest son Philip, who was the pride and expectancy of the state, crowned with himself as heir apparent to the throne. Two years afterwards, however, the prince died, and such was the effect of the loss upon his father that the king was inconsolable and refrained for a long time from public duties.¹

In the following year the succession was established to Prince Louis, the king's second son, then but twelve years of age. Two years afterwards, borne down with excessive corpulency, the monarch was attacked with a malady, and, believing his end at hand, he sought diligently to be reconciled with all his foes. Destiny, however, had appointed him three additional years of life. He died in 1137, and was sincerely lamented by his subjects.

In accordance with the previous settlement, the crown passed peaceably to Prince Louis, who took the title of Louis VII. It was his good fortune to have for his minister the Abbe Segur, one of the ablest and most scholarly men of the kingdom. With such a support the young king found opportunity in the early years of his reign to indulge his natural love for chivalrous amusements, to which he devoted most of his time. His first serious business was in 1142, when he became involved in a quarrel with the Pope respecting the right of investiture in the French church. He also alienated from himself Earl Thibaud of Champagne, whose sister had been married to the Count of Vermandois. Him the king induced to divorce his wife, and to wed a sister of Queen Eleanor. Thibaud was so greatly incensed that he took up arms, and the king, in order to suppress the insurrection, marched a large force into Champagne, and laid siege to the castle of Vitry. Meeting with a stubborn resistance, he set fire to the fortress, and by an unexpected spread of the conflagration the town was wrapped in flames. A church in which thirteen hundred human beings had taken refuge was a part of the holocaust. The king, who had not intended that the fire should do so horrible a work, was near enough to hear the shrieks of the dying, and was seized with remorse and terror. Never afterwards did he recover from the shock, and the work of pacifying his conscience became henceforth his chief concern. It was while he was brooding

rubbish-covered streets a swine ran against his horse, threw him, and fatally crushed the rider. The king thereupon issued an edict that swine should not be allowed to run at large in the streets; but the proclamation was so seriously resisted by the monks of St. Antoine that the order was so modified as to give these sacred pigs freedom of the city, on condition that said pigs should *avert hell!* Such was Paris!

¹The manner of the death of the Dauphin well illustrates the existing conditions of life in Paris. While the prince was riding through the filth and

over his crime that the news was borne to the West of the fall of Edessa, and the project of warding off the vengeance of heaven by undertaking a Crusade was at once suggested to Louis's mind as a means of expiation. An assembly of barons and bishops was called, and the wish of the king to undertake a campaign against the Infidels of Asia was presented for discussion. The measure was received with much favor, and the Pope, on being consulted, gave his approval of the enterprise.

In the mean time, the Empress Matilda, the childless widow of Henry V. of Germany, had been given by her father, Henry I. of England, to Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of that Prince Foulque who, by his marriage with the queen-regent of Jerusalem, was acting so large a part in the Christian Kingdom of Palestine. It was a project of the English king (for he now had no son¹) to establish the succession to his daughter, with Geoffrey for Prince Consort. Very averse, however, to such a project were the barons and squires of England, who preferred a man for their ruler. For this reason they took sides with the Prince Stephen, son of Adela, daughter of the Conqueror, and vigorously supported his claims against those of Matilda. In the year 1127, the English king went abroad and resided with his daughter, the Empress Matilda, whose three sons by Plantagenet cheered their grandfather with the prospect of the future. In 1135, Henry I. died at St. Denis, but was brought home to England for burial.

Events soon showed that the precautions taken by the late king, respecting the succession, were of no avail. His nephew, Stephen, upon whom he had bestowed many favors, including a large estate in Normandy, immediately appeared on the scene to dispute the claims of Matilda. Every thing went in his favor, and he was crowned in Westminster, in 1135. Before the friends and supporters of the wife of Plantagenet were well aware of the usurper's proceedings, the whole affair was successfully concluded; and Stephen found time to fortify himself in popular esteem. So

when David, king of Scotland, took up arms against him, the English monarch was able to meet him on equal terms; and David was induced, by the cession of a part of the four northern counties of England, to desist from hostilities. The Earl of Gloucester, a natural son of the late King Henry, was disposed to fight for the rights of his father's family; but the other barons of the realm refused to join the enterprise, and the earl was obliged to submit.

It soon happened, however, that the severity of Stephen towards his nobles disturbed their loyalty; and after the manner of the men of their age, they went over to the opposition. Hostilities broke out between the rival parties, but the war was conducted in the desultory and indecisive manner peculiar to the feudal times. It was not until February of 1141 that the Earl of Gloucester, who commanded the army of Matilda, succeeded in bringing his enemy to battle before the town of Lincoln. Here a terrible conflict ensued, in which King Stephen was defeated, captured, and imprisoned in the castle of Bristol. Matilda entered London in triumph and was acknowledged as queen. Before her coronation, however, she behaved in so imperious a manner towards the people of the city as to alienate the affections even of her best supporters. Within a month she was obliged to fly to Winchester for safety. From this place she was quickly driven to Devizes, and the Earl of Gloucester, in attempting to follow her thither, was in his turn captured and shut up in the castle of Rochester.

The rival parties were now in a position to exchange their noble prisoners. The Earl of Gloucester was given up for Stephen. The former immediately repaired for Normandy to bring over Matilda's eldest son, the Prince Henry Plantagenet,² to whom the people already began to look for a solution of their

¹The name *Plantagenet* has been the subject of much dispute. The best etymology, perhaps, is that which derives the word from Low Latin *plantagenetia*, meaning "broom-twig." It appears that Foulque, Count of Anjou, who first bore the name of Plantagenet, had committed some crime for which, on going on a pilgrimage to Rome he was scourged with *bram*, and accepted the title which was given in commemoration of his punishment.

²Prince William, the only son of Henry I. was detained in prison while returning from Normandy, when he had been taken by his father to receive the homage of the barons of that duchy, in the year 1129.

difficulties. Stephen resumed the exercise of the royal prerogatives, and besieged the empress in the castle of Oxford. After a season she made her escape and fled to Abingdon, where she was presently joined by Gloucester and her son. The warfare between her and Stephen continued until 1147, when the Earl of Gloucester died, and Matilda resigning her claim to her son, retired with that prince into Normandy. For six years there was a lull, but in 1153 young Henry, now grown to man's estate, raised an army, and returning to England renewed the struggle for the crown. The rival princes came face to face at the town of Wallingford, but the barons on neither side were disposed to begin a battle in which they had nothing to gain and every thing to lose. Stephen and Henry were thus obliged to submit to their arbitration, and it was decided that the former, whose only son, Eustace, had recently died, should continue king of England during his life, and that the crown should then descend to Henry.

Such, then, was the condition of affairs in England, when the voice of St. Bernard was heard afar announcing the capture of Edessa by the Turks, and calling on Christendom to rally to the rescue of the imperiled Cross. Meanwhile, in Germany, in 1106, the great but unfortunate Emperor, Henry IV., died, and was succeeded by his unfilial son, Henry V. The accession of the latter was accomplished by the influence of the papal or anti-German party; but, no sooner was the young monarch seated on the throne than he went over to the policy of his father, and set himself against the assumptions of the Church. In a short time he and Pope Paschal II. were embroiled in the same way as Henry IV. and Gregory had been in the preceding century.

The general result of the long struggle was the gradual decline of Imperial influence, until the shadow of the Carolingian reality was hardly any longer seen outside of the borders of Germany, and even here the spirit of feudalism, cooperating with the destruction of civil wars, had reduced the Empire to a fiction. Nor was the character of Henry V. of a sort to revive the reality of three centuries ago. He was a cold, stern, and heartless prince, whose chief motive of action was a certain rational selfishness, and whose prin-

cipal virtue was force of will. The latter quality was in constant and salutary exercise in repressing the arrogance of the German feudal lords, who were robbers or gentlemen just as the sword of authority was drawn or sheathed by their master.

The first foreign enterprise undertaken by Henry was the invasion of Italy. In 1110 he raised an army of thirty thousand knights, and crossed into Lombardy. The cities of that realm acknowledged his authority, as did also Matilda of Tuscany. Even the Pope deemed it expedient to yield to his powerful antagonist, and, going forth, met him as a *friend*. His Holiness agreed to officiate at the coronation of Henry, but still claimed the right of investing the bishops. To this the Emperor would not assent, and the Pope then made the radical proposition that there should be a complete "separation of Church and State"—that is, that the bishops, abbots, and priests should give up their secular power, and become simply officials of the Church. This, of course, involved the reversion to the crown of the lands belonging to the ecclesiastics. The measure was assented to by Henry, and the long and bitter quarrel between the Popes and the Emperors seemed at an end.

Not so, however, in reality. When Henry advanced to Rome, he was met by a great procession headed by the Pope. The two potentates walked hand in hand into the city. But, when the agreement was read in the presence of the bishops assembled in St. Peter's, there was an angry tumult, and the ecclesiastics refused to ratify the compact. The ceremony of coronation was brought to a standstill, the Pope refusing to proceed; but he was at once seized by the German knights, and the scene became one of a bloody riot. After two months the Imperial party was triumphant. Paschal was obliged to put the crown of empire on the head of Henry, and the supporters of the papal prerogative were for the time forced into submission.

On his return into Germany, the Emperor made a successful campaign against the Thuringians and Saxons; and, in 1114, married the Princess Matilda, daughter of Henry I. of England. Presently afterwards there was a general revolt in the North of Germany.

Friesland, Cologne, Thuringia, and Saxony all renounced their imperial suzerainty, and took up arms to maintain their independence. Before this difficulty could be settled, the Emperor was called into Italy, on account of the death of the Countess of Tuscany, who bequeathed her realm to the Church, instead of to the empire, as had been previously agreed. Henry succeeded in securing Tuscany, and also in installing a new Pope of his own appointment in place of Pascal, who had died. The French and Italian bishops, however, now made common cause, and elected another pontiff, by whom Henry was excommunicated. But the fulmination of such a ban had already become less terrible than of old, and the act was ignored both by Henry himself and Calixtus, who came to the papal chair in 1118.

Four years later a great diet was convened at Worms for the final settlement of the dispute between the Popes and the German Emperors. The question was laid before the body and a decision was reached to the effect that henceforth the investiture of bishops with the ring and crozier should remain with the Pope; but all nominations to the episcopal office should be made in the Emperor's presence, and the candidates should receive their temporal authority from him. Such was the celebrated *Concordat of Worms*, by which the quarrel between the papal and imperial parties was settled for a period of fifty years.

In 1125 Henry V. died at Utrecht, in Holland. According to popular belief, the judgment of Heaven was upon him for his unnatural conduct towards his father. He went down to the grave without an heir, and there were few to mourn for his untimely death. His haughtiness and cold temper had alienated even his personal following, and the church was little disposed to hallow the sepulcher of one who had endeavored with all his might to force her into submission.

Henry V. was the last of the Hohenstaufen princes. The national diet which was summoned after his election was more favorable to the papal party than any which for a long time had been convened in Germany. After a stormy session the choice of the electors fell upon LOTHAIRE, Duke of Saxony, who at once evinced his servility to the church by being

for a coronation at the hands of the Pope, and by giving up that provision of the Concordat of Worms which required the bishops to be nominated in the presence of the Emperor. To compensate for this loss of prerogative he undertook to obtain of Frederick of Hohenstaufen the estates which had been bequeathed to that prince by Henry V. But in the war which followed the Emperor was defeated and obliged to give up the contest. In 1133 he went to Rome and was crowned by Pope Innocent II. Such was his humility that he agreed to pay to the church an annual tribute of four hundred pounds for the possession of Tuscany—an act by which he virtually acknowledged himself a vassal of the Romish See.

It was at this epoch that the violent and disgraceful feud broke out between the rival Popes Innocent and Anaclete. Lothaire was in duty bound to take sides with the former, while the latter was supported by Roger II., the Norman king of Sicily. In 1137 the Emperor conducted an army into Southern Italy, and gained some successes over the opposition. But before the campaign could be brought to an end Lothaire found it necessary to return to Germany. On his way thither he was attacked with a fatal malady, and died in the Brenner Pass of the Alps.

When the national diet was convened for the choice of a successor, the most prominent candidate for the throne was Henry the Proud, duke of Bavaria. In addition to his hereditary claims to the throne, he had greatly strengthened his cause by marrying Gertrude, the only daughter of Lothaire. The great prominence of Henry, however, acted against him in the diet; for the electors were jealous beforehand of one who seemed likely to prove an emperor in fact as well as in name. They accordingly turned from the able and haughty Prince of Bavaria, and in violation of the previous settlement elected CONRAD of Hohenstaufen. To this action Henry, who was himself a member of the diet, would not assent; and when the Emperor-elect undertook to force him into submission, he raised an army of Saxons and went to war. Before any decisive result could be reached, however, Henry the Proud died, and the claims of the Guelfic House descended to his nephew, afterwards known as Henry the Lion. The brother of

the late duke continued the war with Conrad of Hohenstaufen, and in the course of time the cause of the Bavarian princes became identified with that of the papal party, while that of Conrad was espoused by the imperialists throughout Germany. From this time forth the name of GIBELINE was used to designate the former, and GUINELLESE to denote the latter party in the long and violent struggle which ensued.

The conflict between the Guelphs and Ghibellines broke out with the year 1139, and continued for centuries together, being the most obdurate and persistent contest known in the history of the Middle Ages. It was in the sixth year of the reign of this Conrad of Hohenstaufen that the Christian principality of Edessa was, as already narrated, captured by Noureddin and his Turks. Let us then after these long digressions—necessary to an understanding of the condition of affairs of the leading states of Western Europe, during the first half of the twelfth century as well as to a proper appreciation of the origin and character of the three great Orders of Knighthood, destined hereafter to take so prominent a part in the conduct of the Crusades—resume the story of the second uprising of the European Christians under the inspiration of the preaching of St. Bernard.

This distinguished abbot began his work in the spring of 1146. A great assembly was called at Vezalay, and Bernard, clad in the garb of an anchorite, stood on the hill-side outside the walls and harangued the multitude. Among those present were the king and queen of France, together with all the most distinguished barons of the kingdom. Not even Peter the Hermit was more successful in kindling the enthusiasm of the throng at Clermont than was the great preacher of Clairvaux of rousing the assembly of Vezalay. When his oration was concluded the host was in the white heat of passion and raised the wild cry of *Dieu le Voud!* with all the ardor of the first Crusaders. King Louis flung himself on his knees before the orator and received the badge of the cross. Queen Eleanor also gladly accepted the token, and the barons and knights crowded and surged around the speaker until he was obliged to tear up his own vestments to supply the sacred emblem for their shoulders.

In other places the scene was repeated. Every province and city was roused from its slumbers. France was on fire, but when St. Bernard went to Spire and besought the Emperor Conrad to join the enterprise the latter, who was naturally of a lukewarm disposition, was hard to rouse from his German immobility. Not until the eloquent abbot paused in the midst of mass and expatiated on the guilt of those who refused to fly to the rescue of the imperiled cross did the apathy of Conrad give place to emotion. His eyes brought forth the witness of tears, and he mockly and courageously assumed the cross. The German barons followed the example of their sovereign, and the warmth of the glow which had been kindled at Vezalay was felt in the somber castles of the North. Even the women of Germany armed themselves with sword and lance and took the vow of the cross.

Thus were the king of France and the ruler of the German Empire brought into an alliance against the distant but hated Infidel. It was agreed that their armies, setting forth in the spring of 1147, should rendezvous at Constantinople.

With the break of winter all the roads of France and Germany were thronged with pilgrim warriors, on their way to the various camps. The upheaval surpassed, if possible, the outpouring of the First Crusade, in so much that St. Bernard found occasion to write to the Pope, saying: "Villages and castles are deserted, and there are none left but widows and orphans, whose husbands and parents are still alive." Everywhere men were seen wending their way to the places appointed by their leaders. Shepherds left their flocks in the field. Peasants abandoned their oxen still harnessed to their carts. Tradesmen quitted their places of barter. Lords were seen issuing from their castles. Priests left the village church, and monks the monastery. Every class of society contributed a full quota of its best men for the recovery of Edessa and the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher.

Nor did France and Germany only send forth their hosts with the sacred badges of red on their shoulders. England, though rent with the strife between the usurping Stephen and the aspiring Plantagenets, and Italy, distracted with the quarrel between the papal

and imperial parties, both alike sent forth their bands of warrior knights to join the armies of Capet and Hohenstaufen.

The Emperor established his headquarters at Ratisbon. Here were gathered his dukes and barons, armed for the distant fray. Hither came Bishop Otho, of Frisingen; Duke Frederick Barbarossa, of Suabia, nephew of Conrad; the Marquis of Montferrat; the Duke of Bohemia, and many other dukes and barons, brave and notable. A hundred thousand war-

Asiatic sultans, apprising them of the movements of their foes. It became the policy of Comnenus, as it had been of his grand-ire, to play double with the Christian and the Saracen, to the end that his own interests might in any event be subserved.

When the Crusaders at last reached Constantinople, they were received with outward blandishments and inward hostility. Conrad and his chiefs had discernment enough to perceive the actual sentiments with which they were entertained; and, although it had been agreed that the German army should await the approach of the French at the Eastern capital, so keen was the resentment of the leaders that they hastened their departure, and crossed the Bosphorus into Asia.

No sooner were the Crusaders beyond the sea than the hostility of the Greeks, which had been hidden under their duplicity until now, began to show itself in a manner not to be mistaken. All the towns were shut and barred against the army of Conrad, and the Crusaders began to suffer for provisions. Greek hucksters from the top of the walls bargained with the hungry knights outside, to whom they let down baskets in which to receive the silver paid for their meal—and the meal was found to be adulterated with an equal part of lime; nor did the impudent traders, from whom the German chiefs were obliged to secure their supplies, forbear to utter against their customers such taunts and insults as plentiful arrogance behind a wall might safely discharge at hungry valor on the outside.

Worse than this was the perfidy of the Greek guides, whom Comnenus sent out to lead the Crusaders to—destruction. Knowing well the lines of march, these supple, faith-breaking rascals conveyed to the Saracen scouts full information of the course to be taken by the German army. So, in addition to misguiding the forces of Conrad, the Greeks purposely led them into dangerous places, where ambushes had been carefully laid by the enemy. At last, however, the river Meander was reached, and there, on the opposite bank, the Moslems had gathered in great force to resist the passage. And now



KNIGHTS GOING FORTH TO THE SECOND CRUSADE.

riors were here collected, and, putting himself at the head, the Emperor began his march to the East.

Emperor Emmanuel Comnenus, grandson of Alexius was now ruler of the Greeks of Byzantium, and to him ambassadors were sent by the crusading chiefs, announcing their approach to Constantinople. Many were the professions of friendship made by the wily Emperor of the Greeks to the hardy warriors of Europe, and many were the secret messages which he at the same time sent to the

followed one of the most extraordinary episodes of the Holy Wars.

The Meander was barely fordable, if fordable at all, by infantry. Conrad, however, eager to reach the foe, and believing that his men could swim or struggle through the deeper part of the current, drew up the Crusaders on the hither bank, exhorted them to heroic battle, and gave the order to plunge into the stream. The command was obeyed with alacrity, and so great a number of warriors rushed into the river that the current was broken above and the waters ran away from below, leaving the bed almost as dry as the banks. Great was the amazement of the Moslems at this, to them, miraculous phenomenon. Believing that their enemies were aided by supernatural powers, they made but a feeble resistance, and then fled in a route. The Germans pursued the flying foe, and slaughtered them by thousands. Years afterwards their bones might be seen bleaching in heaps along the bank of the Meander.

The effect of the victory was very inspiring to the Crusaders, who began to draw the fallacious inference that they were invincible. From the Meander, Conrad took his way in the direction of Iconium. Still at the mercy of his Greek guides, he was led into the defiles near that city, where the sultan had collected an immense army to oppose his further progress. While the Germans were making their way through a narrow pass, they beheld above the hill-crests the spears and turbans of what seemed an innumerable host of Moslems. Great was the disadvantage at which the Crusaders were placed in the battle which ensued. Encumbered with heavy armor, it seemed impossible for them to reach and smite the light-armed Saracens, who swooped down on them from above. It was not long until the line of march was blocked up with the dead bodies of German warriors. Thousands upon thousands were slain; and Conrad had the infinite chagrin of seeing his army melting away under the blows of an enemy who, from his inaccessible position, suffered scarcely any losses.

After struggling vainly and courageously against the fate of his situation, the Emperor perceived that his only hope lay in a retreat. He accordingly withdrew the remnant of his

forces from the defiles, and began to fall back in the direction by which he had come. It was with the greatest difficulty that any portion of the German army was saved from destruction. The Turkish cavalry hung on flank and rear, and every straggler from the compact column of the ever-decreasing and weary remnant was cut down without mercy. Slowly and desperately, Conrad made his way back across Asia Minor, and finally reached Constantinople. Nine-tenths of his warrior knights had perished under the javelins and swords of the Moslems.

Doubtless the fatal folly of the Second Crusade consisted in the failure of the French and German armies to form the intended junction at the Eastern capital. Nothing could have been more disastrous than the premature advance of Conrad before the arrival of his allies on the Bosphorus. In the mean time King Louis of France, repairing to the abbey of St. Denis, took from above the altar that celebrated banner called the *Oriflamme*, and bore it with him as his standard.¹ Together with Queen Eleanor, he obtained permission to depart from the kingdom—a fact illustrative of the strong ascendancy of the French church over civil authority in the twelfth century. The queen, who, before her marriage to Louis, had as Princess of Aquitaine been thoroughly imbued with the culture of the South, took with her the refined ladies of her court, and a band of troubadours to enliven the tedium of the expedition. The first point of rendezvous was the frontier city of Metz, and here were gathered by hundreds and thousands the barons, knights, and warriors of the kingdom. The early autumn was occupied with the advance to Constantinople, where Louis arrived with his army about the beginning of October.

On reaching the Eastern capital the French were received with all the fictitious ardor which Comnenus was able to assume. His professions of friend-ship were unbounded, and for a while Louis and his knights believed themselves to be the most cordially entertained of any soldiery in Christendom. By and by, however, the king learned that Comnenus was of

¹ The old national banner of the Capetian kings was called the *Oriflamme*, from having its edges shaped like flames of fire, and being attached to a staff of gold.

a certainty in secret alliance with the Turks, and that his covert intent was to compass the destruction of the Western armies. Such was the indignation of the French knights that they were fain to fall upon the Eastern capital and snatch the scepter from the hands of the treacherous Greek. A council was held and prudence and moderation hardly prevailed to hold back the wrathful barons from their purpose.

Comnenus soon perceived the change in the sentiments and demeanor of his guests, and fearing their presence in the city, sought a means of securing their departure. He accordingly spread abroad the report—known to himself to be false—that Conrad and his Germans were gaining great victories over the Saracens in the regions of Iconium. The French were thus fired with emulation, and the leaders fearing lest the honors of the Crusade should be gathered by Conrad and his barons, urged an immediate departure. Comnenus soon had the gratification of seeing King Louis and his army on the other side of the Bosphorus.

Not far had the French advanced into Asia Minor until intelligence came of the overwhelming disaster which had befallen the Germans in the defiles of Iconium. The news, however—for such was the spirit of the age—dampened not the ardor of the warlike French. Not only did they press forward to meet the enemy, but they became over-confident, and took but little precaution either in camp or marching. They made their way through Laodicea without encountering the Moslems; but beyond the limits of this province lay a mountainous region, peculiarly favorable to the tactics of the Turks—and here the latter had gathered to oppose the Christians.

It was now the fate of King Louis to be overtaken and entrapped in precisely the same manner as Conrad had been at Iconium. In the defiles beyond Laodicea the careless French encamped in a position especially favorable to their own destruction. While the Crusaders were in the usual confusion of the camp, the Saracens suddenly appeared by thousands on the heights and rushed down with yell and trumpet and drum upon the astounded French. The surprise was complete. The main body of Louis's army was in a position where advance, retreat, and battle were all alike well-

nigh impossible. The horror of the scene that ensued was greater even than that which had been witnessed in the pass of Iconium. The gorges were soon filled with the mangled bodies of the chivalry of France; and upon this bleeding mass of humanity huge rocks came crashing down from the precipice above.

The king behaved with the greatest valor. Collecting a body of his best knights he charged the enemy, and secured a position from which after nightfall he made his escape and rejoined all his soldiers who had succeeded in extricating themselves from the defiles. Reorganizing his forces as best he could he then made his way to the Greek city of Attalia, where he was received with the usual treacherous civility. The French encamped without the walls, and negotiations were opened between the king and the governor of the city. The latter offered to furnish a fleet and convey the French to a place of safety; and although the squadron was only sufficient to receive the king, his nobles and cavalry, he accepted the proposal and embarked for Antioch. As to the foot-soldiers of his army, they were left to their fate before the walls of Attalia. The Greeks would not receive them into the city. The Saracens spared none who fell within their power. Gradually the French were reduced to a handful. Some turned Mohammedan, others died in despair. The rest were dispersed or slain. With the exception of those who accompanied the king to Antioch none were left to tell the story.

In the early spring of 1148, Louis and Eleanor with their Knights reached the city of Antioch. This old capital of Syria was now governed by Raymond of Poitiers, uncle of the queen and grandson by marriage of Bernard of Taranto. This relationship secured to the French a cordial reception. Amid the plenty and sunshine of the palaces, and under the branching trees of Antioch, the horrors of the expedition were forgotten, and Queen Eleanor's troubadours tuned their harps and sang the songs of the South. She who was herself the center of this romantic revival gave way to the admiration with which she was oppressed, and lulled by the soft airs of Syria, behaved not after the manner of a queen, forgot her espousals, provoked the king's jealousy, and was by him carried off to Jerusalem.



QUEEN ELEANOR AND HER TROUBADOURS — Drawn by Gustave Doré

Here Louis was received with great enthusiasm. In the city he met Conrad, who, after his retreat to Constantinople, had put on the sandal-shoon, taken the seal-of-shell and gone as a pilgrim to the Holy City. BALDWIN III., the young ruler of Jerusalem, was thus enabled to entertain on Mt. Zion the king of France and the German Emperor. It was not to be presumed that the younger of the three princes would allow such an opportunity to pass without improvement. He called a council of the great Christians of the East to assemble at Acre for the consideration of the interests of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Louis and Conrad both attended the assembly. Many projects for the further establishment of the cross in the East were debated before the council, and it was finally determined that an expedition should be undertaken by the combined armies of Syria against the city of Damascus.

The German Emperor and the kings of France and Jerusalem were appointed as leaders. The campaign was begun with alacrity and zeal, and the patriarch of the Holy City, walking before the army, carried the cross as the source of inspiration and the earnest of victory. On arriving at Damascus the Crusaders encamped in the orchards and gardens outside the walls, and immediately began a siege of the city. For a while the investment was pressed with great vigor and every prospect of success. It seemed certain that the old capital of the Caliphate would be wrested from the followers of the Prophet, and added to the Christian dominions in the East.

But as the hour of capture drew near, the richness of the prize, seemingly within the grasp of the allied armies, proved the ruin of the enterprise. For who should have the Queen City of the desert when the capture should be effected? Conrad and Louis decided that Damascus should be given to Thiery, Count of Flanders; but the barons of Syria, unwilling that the Western leaders should gain such a complete influence over the Christian states of the East, refused their assent, and demanded the city for one of their own number. In the hour of possible victory, violent discord broke out in the camp of the besiegers. Ayoub, governor of Damascus, learning of the quarrel, made haste to avail himself of the folly of his foes. He so managed an intrigue with the

Syrian party in the Crusaders' camp that the grip of the investment was presently broken, and the whole enterprise was quickly brought to nothing.

For a brief season the minds of the Christian warriors were now occupied with the project of an expedition against Ascalon. But both Conrad and Louis were in reality anxious to return to Europe, and the second expedition was abandoned. With the coming of autumn 1149, the king of France took ship at Acre, and returned to his own realm. He was accompanied by a small fragment of his once splendid army, and was received with little honor by his subjects. His bearing ever afterwards was rather that of a monk than that of a king. Queen Eleanor little appreciated the alleged heroism of her husband, and still less his monastic manners and behavior. Tired out with his conduct and ill success, she separated herself from him, procured a divorce, and retired to her own province of Aquitaine, which now reverted to her as a dowry.

Very little was the king affected by this infelicity. He satisfied himself with circulating the report that while at Antioch the queen had fallen in love with a horrid Turk, named Saladin, and that even then she had been disloyal to the royal bed. By this means he hoped to be revenged, and to destroy the possibility of a future marriage between Eleanor and any Christian prince. Not so, however, the result. The charms of the queen had lost none of their power. Scarcely had she left Paris on her way to Aquitaine when the Count of Blois, through whose province she was passing, arrested her progress, and attempted to wed her by force. She managed, however, to escape from the snare, and made her way to Tours, where almost the same scene was enacted by the wife-seeking Count of Anjou. Again she withdrew from the ambush, and proceeded to Poitiers. Here a *third* lover awaited her coming. Young Henry Plantagenet of England, handsome, accomplished, and royal in his bearing, proved a better wooer than his fellow-princes of the continent. Nor did the fact that he was several years the junior of the queen militate against his success in winning her hand and with it the duchy of Aquitaine.

As to the Emperor Conrad, he married in

his pilgrims to be a year longer in Palestine, and then returned with a small body of his followers to Germany. The Second Crusade, undertaken with so much enthusiasm and *élan*, preached by a saint and commanded by an Emperor and a king, had proved to be among the most abortive of all the projects of fanatical ambition. Not a single permanent advantage had been gained by the quarter of a million of French and German warriors who flung themselves into the mountain passes of Asia Minor as if Europe had no graves.

Notwithstanding the collapse of the Second Crusade, the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, under the rule of Baldwin III., for a while held its own against the assaults of the Moslems. The king was at all times able to call to his aid the feudal lords and warriors of his own dominion; and beside these the Knights of the Hospital and the Templars were ever ready to rally at his summons. He was thus able to make a fair defense of his own kingdom, and at the same time to strike an occasional blow at some stronghold of the enemy. The capture of Ascalon, which had been proposed by the German Emperor and King Louis after their failure before Damascus, was undertaken and successfully accomplished in 1153 by Baldwin and his warriors. After a successful reign of eighteen years, he died from the effects of poison administered by a Syrian physician, in 1162, and left his crown to his brother ALMERIC, a prince who was unfortunate in having an ambition greater than his genius.

On coming to the throne, the new king of Jerusalem at once projected an expedition into Egypt. In that country the government of the Fatimites had become a thing of contempt. The Caliphs themselves had little influence, and the actual power was disputed by ambitious viziers, reckless of all interests save their own. At the time of the death of Baldwin III., two rival viziers named Dargan and Sanor, contended for the supremacy in Cairo; while their master, El Hadac, was passing his time in the voluptuous indulgences of the harem. When the quarrel between the viziers was at its height, Sanor appealed for aid to Noureddin, who, after wresting the principality of Edessa from the younger De Courtenay, had become sultan of Damascus. Not unwillingly did this distinguished Moslem hear the

appeal from Egypt. With the view of doing his own interest, he sent the smallest and poorest of his army, and though at the time the force of Syrians and Egyptians was outnumbered by the troops of Dargan, the latter was eventually slain, and Sanor established himself.

As soon, however, as success was achieved, Noureddin, instead of withdrawing to Damascus, began to behave like a conqueror, and Sanor discovered in his late friend a foeman more to be dreaded than his former rival. Alarmed at the situation and tendency of affairs, the vizier bethought him of those terrible Crusaders who had conquered Palestine. With all haste he dispatched messengers to Jerusalem and appealed to Almeric to send an army into Egypt and aid him in expelling the Syrians. The Christian king was not slow to avail himself of the fatal opportunity. A force of Crusaders was at once dispatched to the assistance of Sanor, and Syriacon was driven from the country.

The defeated Syrian general at once repaired to Damascus and reported to Noureddin. The sultan hereupon sent word to the Caliph of Baghdad inviting him to join in a formidable expedition against Egypt, with a view to the extermination of the Fatimite dynasty and the transfer of the Egyptian Caliphate to the Abbassides. The rumor of the proposed invasion was carried to Sanor, who, in great alarm, sent the intelligence to the king of Jerusalem, imploring him in the name of a common cause to face the armies which were coming thither for their destruction, and offering him forty thousand ducats as the price of an alliance. To make assurance doubly sure, Almeric insisted that a personal interview must be had with the Caliph of Cairo; for Sanor was only a subordinate and might not be able to fulfill his agreement. Hugh, earl of Cesarea, accompanied by a Knight Templar, was sent on an embassy to Egypt, and was conducted into the palace of El Hadac—a place where no Christian had ever set foot before. Here the eyes of the Christians were greeted with such a spectacle of splendor as they had previously beheld only in dreams. With much hesitation the Caliph permitted the warriors to look upon him seated on his throne of gold, and then ratified the conditions made by

the vizier with the king. Almeric was already on his march towards Egypt, and on coming near Cairo, was joined by the army of the viceroy. Syracon was met and defeated in battle by the allied forces of the Christians and the Fatimite Moslems. The enemy retired from the country and Almeric's army returned to Jerusalem laden with gold and presents.

Had the Christian king been content with what he had now achieved, all would have still been well. But the sight of Egypt with her storied treasures, and the knowledge of the condition of imbecility into which the government of that country had fallen, inflamed the mind of Almeric with the passion of conquest. He resolved, in the very face of his recent treaty with the Caliph, to make an invasion of Egypt; but, before undertaking so important and perilous an enterprise, he had the prudence to seek and obtain an alliance with Comnenus, Emperor of the East, whose daughter he had taken in marriage. Fortified with the promise of assistance from his father-in-law, he deliberately broke his promise with El Hadee, and began an expedition into the country of his recent allies. This perfidious proceeding, however, was by no means heartily ratified by the knights and warriors of Palestine. The Grand Master of the Templars entered his protest against the dishonor of causelessly violating a treaty; but the Hospitallers, less sensitive to the point of honor, and actuated by rivalry of the opposing Order, cordially supported the king. Almeric was by no means to be turned from his purpose. At the head of his army he marched into Lower Egypt, took the city of Belbers, and burned it to the ground.

In the mean time, however, the sultan of Damascus was himself planning an invasion of Egypt. Perceiving the effemescence of the Fatimite dynasty, he was thoroughly convinced that the times were ripe for the annexation of the land of the Pharaohs to the Eastern Caliphate. While cogitating his schemes, the ambitious Nour-eddin was amazed on receiving from the Egyptian Caliph an earnest message to come to his aid against the enemies of the Prophet, who were already in the country with an army. Quickly as possible the sultan, rejoicing at the news, dispatched an army across the desert to se-

cure whatever was to be gained by war or diplomacy in the African Caliphate.

Before the arrival of this army, which was led by Syracon, the vizier Sanor had beaten the king of Jerusalem at his own game of duplicity. The crafty Egyptian sent to Almeric an embassy, offering to give him two millions of crowns if he would abandon the invasion. Dazzled with the splendid prospect, the king stood waiting while the Egyptians fortified their cities, and otherwise prepared for defense. When he awoke from his reverie, he heard on one side the derisive laughter of the Fatimites, and on the other the blasts of Syracon's trumpets coming up from the desert.

Almeric, perceiving his condition, turned about, not without a show of valor, and offered battle to the Syrians. But Syracon was wary of the Christian warriors, and declined to fight until such time he had effected a junction with the Egyptians. The king of Jerusalem, finding himself unable to cope with the united armies of his foes, withdrew from the isthmus and returned to the Holy City.

It would have been supposed that his late experiences were of a sort to cure the folly of Almeric and lead him to a wiser policy; but not so with the ambitious prince. Instead of falling back upon defensive measures he at once repaired to Constantinople and besought the Emperor Comnenus to join him in the magnificent project of the conquest of Egypt. If the fulfillment had been equal to the promises made by the wily Greek to his ardent son-in-law, then indeed not only Egypt, but the world, might have been subdued. Comnenus, however, had no thought of hazarding aught in the interest of the kingdom of Jerusalem. He therefore, after the manner of his race, promised and promised and did nothing. The disappointed Almeric returned to Jerusalem still haunted by the vision of the gold and treasures which his ambassadors had seen in the palace of El Hadee.

Very soon after the withdrawal of the Christian army from Egypt the ambitious and successful Sanor met an inglorious end at the hands of Syracon, who had him seized and put to death. The office of vizier was transferred to the Syrian, who, however, survived his success for the brief space of but two months.

On his death he was succeeded by his nephew, named Sallah-udeen or SALADIN, destined ere long to become the most famous of all the leaders in the later annals of Islam. This young Moslem chief was by birth a native of Kurdistan, who had drifted westward out of obscurity and joined his uncle's army in the two invasions of Egypt. His military genius first revealed itself in the defense of Alexandria, which he conducted in so able a manner as to win the applause of the Moslem leaders. This episode, together with the influence of Syracon, procured for the ambitious young Kurd the viziership at his uncle's death, nor was it long until, by his abilities, his intelligence and far-reaching plans, he had made himself the real, though not the nominal, master of Egypt.

Even at this early period he had conceived the design of uniting in one all the dominions of Islam in the East. As a measure inaugurative of so bold a plan he presently caused one of his followers—a priest—to go into the principal pulpit of Cairo and offer prayers, substituting the name of the Caliph of Baghdad for that of the Fatimite. Such was the audacity of the business that it succeeded. The people were either dumb or indifferent. As for the Egyptian Caliph himself, he was secluded in his palace and knew not what was done. A few days afterwards he died a natural death, and one troublesome obstacle to the success of Saladin's schemes was removed. He then caused the green emblems of the Fatimites to be removed from the mosques and palace of Cairo and to be replaced with the black badges of the Abbassides. Thus silently, and as if by magic, the descendants of Ali, who for two centuries had held sway over Egypt, were overwhelmed, and their dynasty extinguished by a parvenu Kurdish chieftain blown up from the desert.

Saladin, now emir of Egypt under the sultanate of Nouredin of Damascus, abided his time. While his master lived he deemed it prudent to remain in loyal subordination. But when in 1173 Nouredin—one of the greatest and best Moslems of his times—died, Saladin threw away all concealment of his designs, and putting aside the minor sons of the late sultan, usurped the government for himself. Such was the brilliancy of his *coup de*

main that all stood paralyzed until the work was accomplished, and then applauded the thing done. In a short time Saladin had united in one all the Moslem states between the Nile and the Tigris. He it was who was now in a position to look with a malevolent and angry eye upon the figure of the Cross seen above the walls of Jerusalem.

In the mean time, while Saladin remained in Egypt waiting for the death of Nouredin to open the way before him, the king of Jerusalem died, and bequeathed his crown to his son, BALDWIN IV. This young prince was afflicted with leprosy, to the extent of being wholly incapacitated for the duties of government. He accordingly, without himself resigning the crown, committed the kingdom to the regency of his sister, Sybilla, and her husband, GUY OF LUSIGNAS. This event happened in the same year in which Saladin, by his stroke of policy, had made himself master of Islam—1173.

The consort of Sybilla soon showed his inability to bear the cares of state. His conduct was so little worthy of his position that the barons of Palestine turned from him with contempt. Their hostility was increased by the machinations of Raymond II., of Tripoli, whose misfortune it was to be no more virtuous than he whom he opposed. The lords and knights of the kingdom were thus divided into factions, whose partisan selfishness boded no good to the Christian cause in the East. At length the leprous Baldwin IV. was obliged by his vassals to make a new settlement of the kingdom, which he effected by abolishing the regency of Sybilla and her husband, and bestowing the crown upon her son by her former husband, the Count of Montferrat. This prince, who, by his uncle's abdication, took the name of BALDWIN V., was himself a minor, and was for the time committed to the guardianship of Joscelyn de Courtenay, son of that heroic son of a hero, from whom Nouredin had snatched the Principality of Edessa. At the same time of the settlement of the crown of Jerusalem upon Baldwin V. the custody of the fortresses of the Holy Land was intrusted to the Hospitallers and the Templars, and the general regency of the kingdom to Count Raymond of Tripoli.

Soon after this adjustment of affairs Bal-

win IV. died, and his death was quickly followed by the possibly unnatural taking-off of Baldwin V. The settlement was thus brought to naught, partly by the original nature and partly by the crime of the great Raymond. Sybilla hereupon appeared from obscurity, and, supported by the Patriarch of the city, procured the coronation of herself and Guy of Lusignan as King and Queen of Jerusalem. This procedure led to civil war. Many of the barons refused to acknowledge the new sovereigns, and took up arms under the lead of Raymond, and with the ostensible object of

raising Isabella, a sister of Sybilla, to the throne of Palestine. Such was the bitterness of the strife that, although the queen by her prudent and conciliatory measures succeeded in winning over most of the insurgent nobles, the remainder in their implacable distemper allied themselves with Saladin! Thus when the storm of Moslem fury was already about to break upon the kingdom won from the Infidels by the swords of Short Hose, Tancred, and Godfrey, the day of wrath was hastened by the treason of those who wore the sacred badge on their shoulders.

CHAPTER XCII.—FALL OF THE CROSS.



WHOM the Supernals would destroy they first make mad. So it was with the Christians of Palestine. At the very crisis when Saladin, after settling the affairs of Egypt and Sy-

ria, was ready to fall upon the kingdom of Jerusalem, that disaster was precipitated by the rashness of a conscienceless baron of the Holy Land.

In the year 1186 a certain Reginald de Chatillon, an adventurer more fit to be called a robber than a knight, fell upon a Mohammedan castle on the borders of the Arabian desert, and having captured the place made it his head-quarters, from which he sallied forth to plunder the caravans passing back and forth between Egypt and Mecca. Hearing of this lawless work the sultan, Saladin, with due regard to the existing treaty, sent a message to the king of Jerusalem demanding redress for the outrages committed by his vassal. Guy of Lusignan, who had lately received the crown, was either unable or unwilling to punish Reginald for his crimes, and Saladin was left to pursue his own course. He immediately put himself at the head of an army of eighty thousand men and began an invasion of Palestine.

The march of the Moslems was first directed against the fortress of Tiberias, the most important stronghold of the Christians in the

northern part of their kingdom. It was all-important that King Guy should save this outpost from falling into the hands of the Turcomans. He accordingly mustered his forces for the conflict and proceeded in the direction of Tiberias. His whole army numbered no more than twelve hundred knights and twenty thousand infantry, and even this small force was shaken with quarrels and animosities. Raymond of Tripoli was accounted a traitor, and the king himself was considered a coward. Yet upon such a force under such a commander was now to be staked the fate of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem.

It was mid-summer of 1187. The two armies met in the plain of Tiberias. Events soon showed that Saladin was as superior in skill as he was in numbers. During the first day's battle he succeeded in forcing the Christians into a position where they could procure no water. He then fired the neighboring woods and almost suffocated his enemies with smoke and heat. On the following morning he renewed the battle with great fury, and although the Templars and Hospitalers, as well as the foot, fought with their old-time bravery, they were surrounded, hewed down, piled in heaps, exterminated. All the principal leaders of the Christian army were either slain or taken. The Grand Master of the Hospitalers was mortally wounded. He of the Templars, the Marquis of Montferat, Reginald de Chatillon, King Guy himself, and a host of nobles and

knights were made prisoners. The scene that ensued well illustrates the spirit and temper of the crusading epoch and the character of war and victory in the twelfth century.

Hardly had the dust and noise of the battle passed when the captives were led into the presence of Saladin. With a smile the great Islamite received the trembling king, and after the manner of the East tendered him a cup of cold water. Moved either by fear of poison or by the desire to include another with himself in the friendly act, he of Lusignan accepted the cup, but passed it to Chatillon. Thereupon the rage of Saladin shot up like a flame. He declared that so far from Reginald's sharing his clemency he should then and there embrace Mohammedanism or die like a dog. It was the Christian robber's time to show his mettle. He haughtily spurned the condition of escape by apostasy. Thereupon the sultan drew his cimeter and with one blow struck off his head.

It appears that Saladin rightly appreciated the character of the Templars and Hospitalers. While he was all courtesy to the king—poltroon as he was—he was all severity towards the Knights. To them he now presented the same alternative which he had put before the audacious Reginald. Not a man of them blanched in the presence of his fate. They could die, but apostatize never. Their vows of knighthood and loyalty to the Cross were stronger than all the bonds of kindred, all the ties of affection, all the hopes of mortality. To them the Prophet was Antichrist, and his religion the gateway to hell. The two hundred and thirty captive Knights stood fast in their integrity, and were all beheaded.

The battle of Tiberias shook the kingdom to its center. Nearly all the fortresses had been emptied of their garrisons to make up the inadequate army which had met its fate in the North. Saladin was in no wise disposed to rest on a single victory. Tiberias itself fell into his hands and then Cesarea. Acre, Jaffa, and Beyrut went down in succession. Tyre was for the present saved from capture by the heroic defense made by her inhabitants, led by the son of the captive Marquis of Montferat.

Finding himself delayed by the obstinacy of the Tyrians, Saladin abandoned the siege and pressed on to Jerusalem. Sad was the

plight of the city. Fugitives from all parts of Palestine had gathered within the walls, but there was no sense of safety. The queen was unable to conceal her own trepidation, to say nothing of the defense of her capital; and when the enemy encamped before the walls there were already moanings of despair within.

None the less, there was a show of defense. The summons of the sultan to surrender was met with a defiant refusal. The garrison made several furious sallies, and fourteen days elapsed before the Turks could bring their engines against the ramparts. Then, however, the courage of the besieged gave way and they sought to capitulate. But Saladin was now enraged, and swore by the Prophet that the stains of that atrocious butchery of the Faithful, done by the ancestors of the then Christian dogs in the City of David should now be washed out with their own impure blood. At first he seemed as relentless as a pagan in his rage; but with the subsidence of his passion he fell into a more humane mood, and when the Christians humbly put themselves at his mercy, he dictated terms less savage than his conquered foes had reason to expect. None of the inhabitants of Jerusalem should be slaughtered. The queen, with her household, nobles, and knights should be conveyed in safety to Tyre. The common people of the city should become slaves, but might be ransomed at the rate of ten crowns of gold for each man; five, for each woman; one, for each child. Eagerly did the vanquished submit, and the Crescent was raised above the Holy City.

Thus, in 1187, fell Jerusalem. The fierce nature of Saladin relaxed under the influence of his victory, and he began more fully than before to manifest that magnanimity of which he was capable. By the concurrent testimony of the Christian and Mohammedan writers, his conduct was such as to merit the eulogies which posterity has so freely bestowed. It appears that no drop of blood was shed after the capitulation. Instead of butchering ten thousand of the inhabitants within the precincts of the Temple as the Crusaders had done in 1099, he spared all who submitted. The frightened queen was treated with consideration. As she and her train withdrew through the gates of the city, weeping after

the manner of women over their misfortunes, he forbore not, touched as he was with the spectacle of their misery, to shed tears of sympathy. He endeavored to soothe the princesses with manly and chivalrous words of condolence. Nor was his conduct towards the captured city less worthy of praise. The ransom of the common people was enforced with little rigor, or else not enforced at all. Finding a group of Hospitallers still plying their merciful vocation about the Church of St. John the Baptist—though at first he was enraged at the sight of their hateful badges—he left them unmolested in their good work of healing the sick and succoring the distressed.

As soon as the captive queen and her company had withdrawn in the direction of Tyre, Saladin made a triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The golden cross which stood above the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was pulled down and dragged through the streets of the city. The great Mosque of Omar, which now for eighty-eight years had been consecrated to the worship of God and Christ, was rededicated to the worship of God and Mohammed. In order to remove all stains of defilement from the sacred edifice, the walls and courts and portals were carefully washed with rose-water of Damascus.

The other towns of Palestine quickly submitted to the victor. Nazareth, Bethlehem, Ascalon, and Sidon were successfully taken by the Moslems. Of all the Christian possessions in the Holy Land only Tyre remained as a refuge for the scattered followers of Christ. To that city the garrisons of the other towns and fortresses were permitted to retire, and its walls were soon crowded with the chivalry of the East. Here, moreover, Prince Conrad, son of the captive Marquis of Montferrat, was still distinguishing himself by his courageous defense against the enemy. Now strongly reinforced by the gathering of the Christians into Tyre, he was still more able to keep the Moslems at bay. So great was his popularity, that the inhabitants voted him the sovereignty of the city; and when the captive king of Jerusalem, who, on condition of perpetual renunciation of the crown, had been set at liberty by Saladin, attempted to enter Tyre, the people rejected him with contempt, and would

not even permit him to come within their walls. Meanwhile the victorious sultan, well satisfied with the results of his conquests, returned to Damascus, and there, amid the delights of his palace and the cool shadow of the palms, found time to meditate, after the manner of a true Saracen, upon the vicissitudes of human affairs and the glorious rewards of war. Here he remained at peace until the winds of the Mediterranean wafted across the Syrian desert the news of belligerent and angry Europe preparing her armor and mustering her warriors for the THIRD CRUSADE.

For great was the consternation, the grief, the resentment of all christendom when the intelligence came that the Holy City had been retaken by the Turks. The fact that the Infidel was again rampant in all the places once hallowed by the feet of Christ acted like a fire-brand on the inflammable passions of the West. It was not to be conjectured that the Christian states of Europe would patiently bear such an outrage done to their traditions and sentiments. The first days of gloom and sullen despair which followed the news of the great disaster quickly gave place to other days of angry excitement and eager preparation for the renewal of the conflict.

By this time the crusading agitation, which had begun in the very sea-bottom of Europe a century before, and, after stirring up first of all the filthiest dregs of European society, had risen into the higher ranks until nobles and princes fell under the sway of the popular fanaticism, now swept on its tide the greatest kings and potentates west of the Bosphorus. Of all the leading sovereigns of Europe, only the Christian rulers south of the Pyrenees—who were themselves sufficiently occupied with the Mohammedans at home—failed to cooperate in the great movement which was now organized for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Infidels. Henry Plantagenet of England, Philip II. of France, Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, and Popes Gregory and Clement, all alike vied with each other in promoting the common cause.

Nor had the people lost while the kings had caught the enthusiasm of war. The popular impatience could not await the slower preparations of prudent royalty making ready

for the struggle. Thousands upon thousands of pilgrim warriors, unable to restrain their ardor, hurried to the seaports of the Mediterranean, and embarked at their own expense to imperil Palestine. The maritime Republics of Italy, more than ever before, came to the front as the carriers of the numerous bands that now urged their way to the East. Not only the ports of Italy, Southern France, and Greece furnish an outlet for this tumultuous movement, but those of the Baltic, the North Sea, and the British Channel in like manner sent forth their hosts of warriors.

So rapid was the accumulation of the Crusaders at Tyre that, by the beginning of 1189, the alleged King Guy found himself at the head of more than a hundred thousand men. Such was the zeal of the host that the leaders were urged on to undertake the siege of Acre. It was this movement which roused Saladin from his dreams at Damascus, and sounded the tocsin for the renewal of war. With a great army, the sultan set out for the relief of his beleaguered stronghold, and it was not long until the Christians were in their turn besieged. With great diligence, however, they fortified their position, and, while on one side they continued to press hard upon the walls of Acre, on the other they kept Saladin and his host at bay.

Meanwhile a Christian and a Mohammedan fleet gathered to participate in the struggle. While the Moslem ships brought relief and supplies to the garrison of Acre, the Christian ships did the same for the Crusaders. For the reinforcement of the latter, Europe continued to pour out her tens of thousands, while behind the Moslem army were the measureless resources of the desert and the East. So numerous became the Christian host that supplies failed, and the terrors of famine were added to the horrors of disease. In like manner, though in a less degree, the Mohammedans became sufferers from their excess of numbers; and in both armies abused nature cooperated with the destructive energies of war to reduce the battling multitudes. Nor is it likely that in any other of the great struggles of human history so terrible a waste of life was ever witnessed as before the walls of Acre. It was estimated that the Christian losses reached the enormous aggregate of three hun-

dred thousand men, while those of the Moslems were but little inferior, and *then* the siege was indecisive. Such was the after-piece of the struggle between Isaac and Ishmael!

Even this awful conflict and carnage was but premonitory of the real battle which was to come. For in the mean time the great potentates of the West were preparing for the struggle. First of all in the work was the aged but still fiery and warlike FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, Emperor of Germany. Already for forty years a veteran, he flung himself into the breach with all the enthusiasm of youth, moderated by the prudence of manhood. A great national fête was held at Mayence, and the valiant young knights of Germany bowed before their Emperor and vowed the vow of the cross.

Of all who had preceded him, not one was Barbarossa's equal in genius and generalship. He carefully weighed the perils of the great undertaking, and provided against its hazards. In mustering his forces he would accept no volunteer who could not furnish the means of his own subsistence for a whole year. A German of the Germans, he would not intrust himself and his army to the mercies and rapacity of the Pisan and Venetian ship-masters, but determined to take the old land route by way of Constantinople and Asia Minor. His army in the aggregate, exclusive of unarmed pilgrims, numbered over a hundred thousand men. Of these, sixty thousand were cavalry, and of these fifteen thousand were Knights, the flower of the Teutonic Order. The Emperor had with him as a leader, his son, the Duke of Swabia, together with the dukes of Austria and Moravia, and more than sixty other distinguished princes and barons. The great army was thoroughly disciplined and supplied, and the host moved forward with a regularity and military subordination which would have been creditable to a modern commander.

In traversing the Greek Empire, Frederick met with the same double-dealing and treachery which had marked the course of the Byzantines from the first. At times the fury of the German warriors was ready to break forth and consume the perfidious Constantinopolitans, but Barbarossa, with a firm hand, restrained them from violence. Sharing their indignation, however, he refused to accept the invitation of the reigning Cæsar,



PARRICIDE OF THE NATIONS AT THE CORONATION OF
FRANCIS II. 1559.

Isaac Angelus, to visit him in his capital. With an eye single to the work in hand, he crossed into Asia Minor, and began the herculean task of making his way towards Antioch. In this movement he was opposed, as his predecessor had been, by every inimical force in man and nature. He was obliged to make his way through heated deserts and dangerous passes with the Turcoman hordes darkening every horizon and circling around every encampment. But they were never able to take the old hero off his guard. He overcame every obstacle, fought his way through every peril, and came without serious disaster to Iconium. Here he was confronted by the sultan, whom he defeated in battle, and whose capital he took by storm. By this time the name of Frederick had become a terror, and the Moslems began to stand aloof from the invincible German army.

Here, however, was the end of Barbarossa's warlike pilgrimage. While moving forward steadily, he came, in Cilicia, to the little river Calycadnus, where, on the 10th of June, 1190, he met his death. But Tradition, with her usual painstaking obscurity, has not decided whether he died of a fall from his horse, or from carelessly bathing, when overheated, in the ice-cold waters of the stream.¹

Evil was the day when Frederick died. It was soon discovered to what a great degree the success of the German invasion had been due to his genius. The Moslems had properly judged that the leader was the soul of the Christian army, and, learning of his death, they returned to the charge with impetuous audacity. Disease and famine began to make terrible havoc among the German soldiers. The command devolved upon the son of Barbarossa, who was in many respects worthy of his father's fame. Slowly the Crusaders toiled on, harassed by the almost daily

onsets of the Saracens, whom to repel was but to embolden for another charge.

At last the worn-out warriors reached Antioch. Nine-tenths of their number had perished, but the remnant had in them all the courage and steadfastness of their race. The Principality of Antioch was at this time held by the forces of Saladin, and their numbers far exceeded those of the Crusaders. Nevertheless the German Knights, disregarding their numerical inferiority, fell boldly upon the Moslems and scattered all before them. Antioch was taken, and the Saracens retreated in the direction of Damascus.

Having achieved this marked, albeit unexpected, success, the Crusaders pressed forward to Acre. They were received with great joy by the Christian army, but the force was so wasted by sickness and continuous fighting that the addition to the numbers of the besiegers was scarcely noticeable. In a short time the gallant Duke of Suabia died, and the magnificent army of Barbarossa was reduced to a handful. The leader, however, did not perish until he had had the honor of incorporating into a regularly organized body the Order of Teutonic Knights, which had hitherto held a precarious and uncertain course since the date of its founding, as already narrated in the preceding chapter. A papal edict followed, putting the new brotherhood on the same level with the Hospitallers and Templars, under the sanction and encouragement of the Church.

At this juncture a new figure rose on the horizon—a warrior armed cap-a-pie, riding a powerful war-horse, brandishing a ponderous battle-axe, without the sense of fear, stalwart, and audacious, a Crusader of the Crusaders, greatest of all the mediæval heroes—young Richard Plantagenet the Lion Heart, king of England. In that country Henry II., founder of the Plantagenet dynasty, had died in July of 1189. The siege of Acre was then in progress, and Frederick Barbarossa was on his march to the Holy Land. King Henry himself had desired to share in the glory of delivering Jerusalem from the Turks, but the troubles of his own kingdom absorbed his attention. Greatly was he afflicted, or at least angered, by the conduct of his sons, Richard and John. The former was headstrong, the latter cunning, and both disloyal

¹Frederick Barbarossa, the Red Beard, is the national hero of Germany. The folk-lore of that story-telling land has preserved a tradition that he did not die, but, returning to Europe, entered a cave at Salzburg, where he went to sleep. There he sits nodding until to-day. But whenever Fatherland is endangered, he wakes from his slumber, comes forth in armor, and is seen on the battle-field where Germans are fighting, terrible as of old.

to their father and king. Richard had conceived a romantic affection for Philip Augustus of France—a prince of his own age, and with something of his own audacity.

In vain did the English king endeavor to break the attachment between his heir and the French monarch. They continued to vow eternal friendship and to resolve that they would fight the Infidels together. Even when Henry went to war with Philip, he had the mortification and horror of finding his sons

ready for his expedition to the East. It had been arranged that he and Philip should join their forces at Vazelay, and thither in the summer of 1190 both kings repaired with their armies.¹ England was left to the care of Bishop Hugh of Durham and Bishop Longchamp of Ely, while the guardianship of the French Kingdom was intrusted to Philip's queen and ministers.

Arriving at their rendezvous, the French and English kings renewed their vows of



DEATH OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA IN THE CALYCADNUS.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

arrayed against him. So in the summer of 1189 he came to his end, and died cursing both of his heirs. The dutiful Richard, however, attended his father's funeral, was greatly and perhaps sincerely afflicted, was acknowledged as king, and crowned on the 3d of September in that year. But it was the least part of his intention to waste his energies in the insignificant business of governing the English and the Normans. Having released his mother Eleanor from prison, and raised a large sum of money by the sale of castles and estates he made

friendship, reviewed their army of more than a hundred thousand men, and set out on a march to Lyons. Arriving at that city, they separated their forces, intending to unite them again at the port of Messina in Sicily. Philip led his army from Lyons to Genoa, which was his port of debarkation, while Richard pro-

¹ Before departing from England, Richard's vices, of which he made little or no concealment, became the occasion of a famous incident and cutting repartee. A certain Foulque of Senilly, a zealous preacher of the Crusade, upbraided him for his

ceeded to Marseilles, to await the arrival of his fleet from England. The short delay which here occurred proved intolerable to his impetuous spirit, and, hiring a few ships, he embarked with his immediate following, and sailed for Italy. In the mean time, the English squadron made its way into the Mediterranean, reached Marseilles, took on board the army, and arrived at Messina ahead of both Philip and Richard.

In Sicily the French and English armies were maintained during the winter. It was not long until the island was in a ferment of excitement. Tancred, the reigning king, had imprisoned Joan, widow of his predecessor and sister of Richard. The English king not only enforced her liberation, but seized a castle and gave it to her as a residence. He permitted his soldiers to help themselves to the best which the island afforded. When hostilities broke out between his forces and the inhabitants of Messina, and the latter were defeated, he allowed the city to be sacked as though it were a stronghold of the Turks. These proceedings greatly offended King Philip, for Tancred was his vassal; but Richard enforced his will, and then, in order to placate the French king, sent him a present of twenty thousand ounces of gold, which he had extorted from Tancred as the price of peace. He also gave a splendid Christmas festival to the knights and warriors of both armies, thus greatly increasing his influence and popularity.

Soon afterwards a more serious difficulty arose between the friendly kings. For some time Richard had been under engagement with Philip to marry his sister, the Princess Adelia; but for some reason the ardor of the lover cooled. Forsooth, his former passion for the princess had been one of the chief causes of estrangement between himself and his father Henry. Perhaps the appearance of another royal maiden on the horizon of conduct, particularizing his pride, his avarice, and his voluptuousness which he designated as the king's *three daughters*. "Your counsel is excellent," said Richard, "and I here and now part with my three daughters forever. I give the first to the Knights Templars; the second, to the monks of St. Benedict; and the third to *my priests and bishops*." Fouleque was one of them.

Richard's dreams had something to do with the change in his affections. For at this juncture the Princess Berengaria, daughter of King Sancho of Navarre, arrived in Sicily, escorted by the queen-mother, Eleanor of England. With her Plantagenet fell deeply in love, and Philip was as deeply offended. Nothing, however, could stay the tide of



THE LION HEART AT ACRE.—DESIGNED BY A. DE NOUVILLE.

Richard's purpose when once it began to flow. He discarded Adelia. He and the French king thereupon had a scandalous quarrel, which was only smoothed over when the capricious lover agreed to pay the rejected princess ten thousand marks and to restore to her all the castles which had been assigned as her dowry.

With the opening of spring, the two kings made ready to set out for the East. Philip departed first. After an auspicious voyage, he arrived in safety in Palestine, and joined his forces to the army before Acre. Richard, on the other hand, had ill-fortune. Off the

coast of Crete, his squadron was shattered by a storm. Two of his vessels were wrecked on the shores of Cyprus; and, although he himself had reached Rhodes when the news over-

took him that the stranded crews had been robbed and detained as prisoners by the Cypriots, he turned about to avenge the injury. Disembarking his troops, he took the capital



ROBERT PLANTAGENET, TAKING DOWN THE BANNER OF HENRI
PLANTAGENET.

of the island by storm, and put the governor in chains. And, to add insult to ignominy, the chains were made of silver. The inhabitants of Cyprus were made to pay dearly for their aggression. For the king levied upon them a tribute as heavy as their offense had been rank.

Satisfied with his vengeance, Richard now celebrated his nuptials with Berengaria, whom he had hitherto forborne to wed, the season being Lent. When the festivities were over, he sailed for Acre. His squadron at this time consisted of fifty war-galleys, thirteen store-ships, and more than a hundred transports. On his way to the eastern coast, he had the good fortune to overhaul a large ship of the enemy carrying fifteen hundred men and stored with Greek fire. So terrible was the defense made by the Moslem sailors that the vessel, shattered by the conflict, went to the bottom with all her stores. Only thirty-five of her defenders were taken alive from the foaming sea.

Arriving at Acre, the English king was received with great enthusiasm. His astonishing audacity and prowess were precisely the qualities needed in the Christian camp before the fortress. On his appearance, notwithstanding the serious illness with which he was prostrated, new life flashed through the dispirited ranks. His battering engines seemed to work with the vigor of his own will. He became the Achilles of the host, whom nothing could resist or divert from his purpose. The repeated and unwearied efforts of Saladin to relieve and reinforce the beleaguered garrison were repulsed as fast as made. The inhabitants of Acre found themselves in the grip of a giant. The walls were broken on every side. The garrison was reduced in numbers and driven to despair. Saladin at last gave a reluctant assent, and Acre, hitherto impregnable, surrendered to the Crusaders.

In the hour of victory the character of Cœur de Lion revealed itself in full force. Without the show of courtesy to Philip, he took possession of the palace for himself. He would not brook even a protest against his arbitrary and high-handed proceedings. Perceiving that Leopold, duke of Austria, had planted his banner on the wall, Richard seized the standard and hurling it into the ditch, set up the banner

of St. George in its stead; for the Leopard chose to express by other signs than silent rage his burning resentment.

The sultan was obliged to make terms most favorable to the Christians. Fifteen hundred captives held by him were to be taken up. Acre was to be surrendered, and the garrison ransomed by the payment of two hundred thousand crowns of gold. The victorious kings agreed on their part to spare the lives of the prisoners. The Moslem camp before Acre was broken up and the army withdrawn in the direction of Damascus. The Lion Heart having detained about five thousand hostages, permitted the remaining inhabitants of the captured city to depart in peace. And now followed a scene terribly characteristic of the bloody annals, ferocious spirit, and vindictive methods of the age.

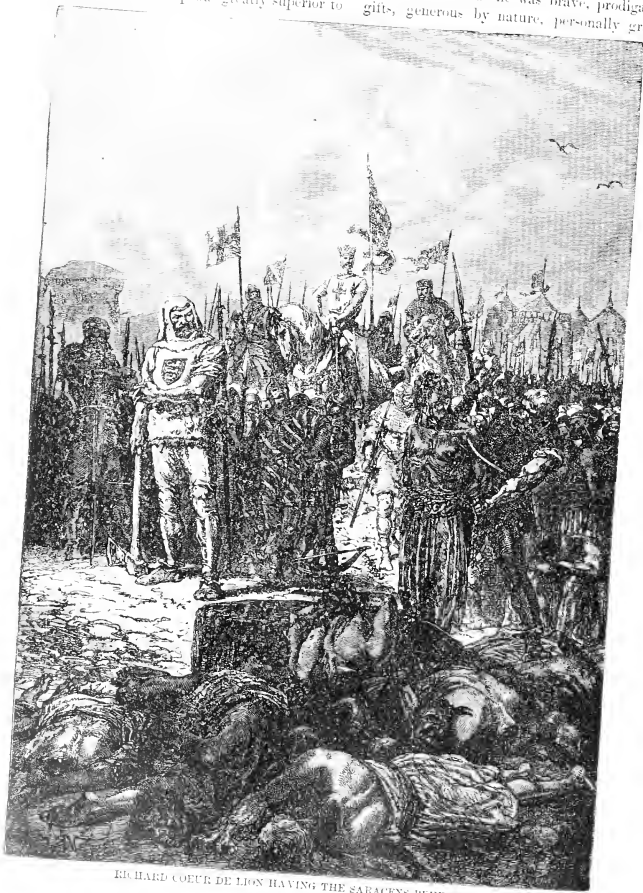
Saladin failed either through negligence or inability to pay to the victors within the prescribed time the stipulated ransom for the captives of Acre. Thereupon Richard fell into a furious passion, and the Moslem hostages to the number of five thousand were led out from the walls to the camps of the French and English and there beheaded in cold blood, and so little was the humanity of the great Crusader shocked, that he complacently beheld the end of the horrid tragedy, and then wrote a letter in which his deed was boasted as a service most acceptable to heaven.

The massacre of his subjects provoked Saladin to retaliation. He revenged himself by butchering the Christian captives in his hands and seizing others for a similar fate. One massacre followed another until the lineaments of civilized warfare were no longer discoverable in the struggle. Nor could it well be decided whether the Cross or the Crescent was more smeared with the blood of the helpless in these ferocious butcheries.

The news of the recapture of Acre was received with great joy by the Christians of both Asia and Europe. The success of the English and French kings seemed the well-omened harbinger of the recovery of Jerusalem and all the East. Great, therefore, was the vexation that followed when it was known that Philip Augustus had abandoned the conflict and left the Holy War to others. To this course he was actuated by a severe illness with

which he was prostrated, and more particularly by his envy and jealousy of Richard. The two monarchs were unlike. As a ruler, prudent and politic, Philip was greatly superior to

his rival, but as a hero he was in no wise to be compared with the Plantagenet. The latter was as reckless as he was brave, prodigal of gifts, generous by nature, personally grand.



RICHARD COEUR DE LION HAVING THE SARACENS BEHEADED.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

The former was shrewd, cautious, wise, a king rather than a warrior. Such qualities as his were disprized by the age, while those of the Lion Heart were the ideals of the times in which he lived. But Philip could not bear the praise and enthusiasm with which Richard was everywhere greeted, much less his arrogance and caprice, of which the one was intolerable and the other past apprehension. Perhaps it was well after all that the French king withdrew at the time he did from an alliance which must soon have resulted in an open and probably fatal rupture. He left the scene which had brought him little personal glory, repaired to his own dominions, and presently exhibited a perfidious disposition by attacking the dominions of his recent ally.

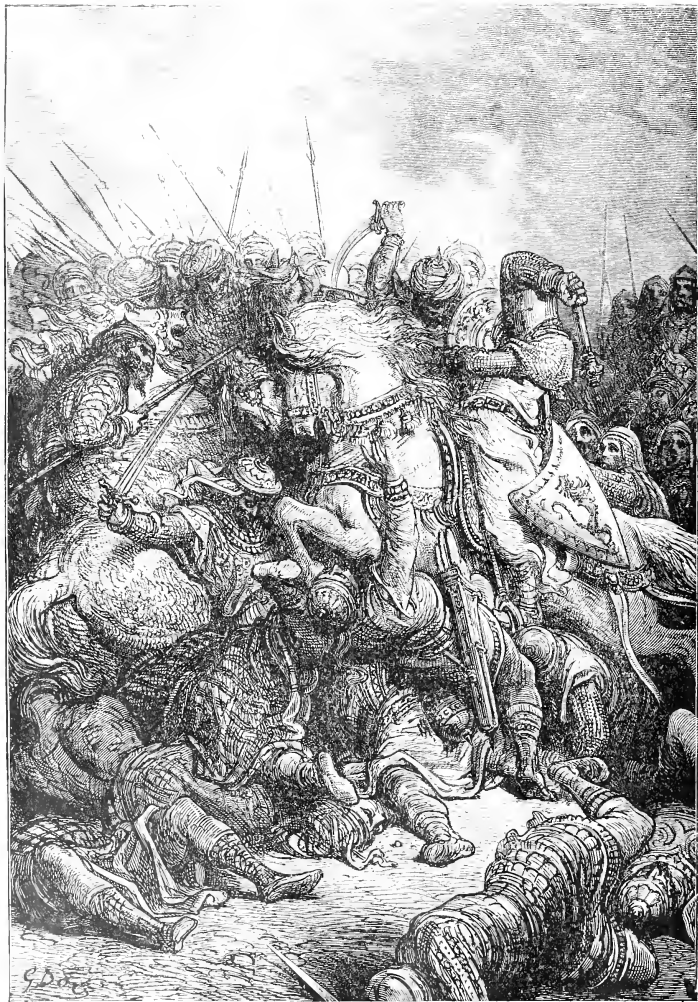
By the retirement of Philip from the contest Richard was left in the sole leadership of Christian affairs in Syria. All of the French forces retired with their king except a division of ten thousand men under the Duke of Burgundy. Finding himself deserted by his old-time boon-companion, the English king prepared to renew the war. With an army of about thirty thousand warriors he left Acre and proceeded along the coast in the direction of Jaffa. The English fleet, laden with supplies, accompanied the march, but the progress of the expedition was by no means unchecked by adverse forces. The enemy gathered in great numbers and hovered with sleepless vigilance on flank and rear. For fifteen days the Christians advanced under an almost constant shower of arrows from an enemy who durst not come to battle. At last, however, the sultan resolved (for his army was now increased to great proportions) to hazard a general engagement. When on the 7th of September, 1191, the Crusaders had come near the town of Azotus he ordered a charge of his whole host upon their position. The conflict that ensued was one of the most remarkable of the Middle Ages. The mere weight of the Moslem myriads pressed the Christians into a small space, and here from all directions, except from the side of the sea, a shower of arrows that darkened the air rained upon them.

Smarting under these missiles the restless but undaunted Knights eagerly desired to return the charge of the foe, but the genius of Richard shone out starlike. With a courage and

calmness that would have done credit to Napoleon he ordered his warriors to stand fast until the Turks had emptied their quivers and *then* to make the charge. So, when Saladin's hosts had exhausted their missiles upon the well-nigh impenetrable armor of the Crusaders, the Christian ranks were suddenly opened and the Knights burst forth like a thunderbolt upon the impacted masses of the Moslems. Fearful was the revenge which those steel-clad warriors now took upon the insolent foe. Seven thousand of the noblest of the Turkish cavalry were hewn down on the field. The Saracens fled in all directions, and only the speed of their horses saved them from the swords and battle-axes of the Crusaders.

After this signal victory, Richard continued his march to Jaffa, which city was abandoned by Saladin at his approach. Cesarea was also retaken by the Christians; nor is it improbable that if the king's wish to advance at once on Jerusalem had been seconded by his subordinates the Holy Sepulcher might have been wrested again from its defilers. The French barons, however, insisted that the better policy was to tarry on the coast, rebuild the ruined fortresses, and reserve the recapture of Jerusalem for the next campaign. The golden opportunity was thus allowed to pass without improvement, and the Christians foolishly rested on their laurels.

With the opening of the spring of 1192 the Crusaders were again rallied around the banner of Plantagenet for the great original purpose of retaking the Holy City. All the Knights took a solemn oath that they would not abandon the cause until the tomb of Christ should be recovered. The army proceeded from the coast as far as the valley of Helron, and it seemed to the Moslems that the day of fate had again arrived. Many fled from Jerusalem, and Saladin himself gave up all for lost. Strange and inexplicable, therefore, was the event. The Christians, already in sight of the city, halted. Was it the treachery of the Duke of Burgundy? Was it the whim of the king? Had he and Saladin come to a secret understanding? or did the military genius of Richard warn him of the insufficiency of his resources for such an undertaking as the siege of the city? Did the news from England, telling him of the intrigues of his



COUER DE LION IN THE BATTLE OF AZOTUS.—Drawn by Gustave Doré.

treacherous brother John, who was endeavoring in his absence to deprive him of the kingdom, prevail to reverse his plans and destroy his hopes? or was it one of those unaccountable failures of will which, in the supreme hours of the lives of the greatest, have so many times supervened to break the knees of the demigod on the threshold of his highest ambition? None can answer.

Here in the valley of Hebron, with the towers of Jerusalem in view, the *Lion Heart* called a council! Ten of the leading barons were called upon to decide whether the siege of the city should be undertaken or deferred. It was decided that the present prosecution of the enterprise was inexpedient, and should be given up. Great was the chagrin of the army when this decision was promulgated; and if appearances might be trusted, Richard was himself as much mortified as any of his chiefs. With slow and discontented footsteps the English warriors and their Syrian allies made their way back to the coast, and Jerusalem was left to the perpetual profanation of the Turks.

The supposition that Saladin was in collusion with Richard in the abandonment of his enterprise against the Holy City seems to be contradicted by the conduct of the sultan after the fact. He eagerly followed the retreating Christians, and sought every opportunity to strike them a fatal blow. While the Crusaders were on their way from Jaffa to Acre, a host of Moslems assailed the former city and gained possession of all but the fortresses. Many of the inhabitants and garrison were cut down in the streets. Richard was already at Acre, and busy with his preparations to sail for Europe, when the news came of what the Turks had done at Jaffa. Enraged at the sultan for this aggression, he at once took ship with a mere handful of Knights, and returned to Jaffa. Here he found the Christians still in possession of the citadel, and doing their best to keep the Moslems at bay. With the very excess of reckless daring the king, on coming into the shoal-water, jumped out of his boat and waded to the shore, followed by his warriors. There was no standing against such valor. The Saracens who lined the beach were amazed, and gave way before the brandished battle-axe of Plantagenet as though he were the Evil Genius of Islam. In a short time

the assailants of Jaffa escaped from the environments of the town, and fled to the hills for safety. The entire force of Richard, including the defenders of the city, amounted to fifty-five Knights and two thousand infantry; and yet with this mere handful he defiantly pitched his camp *outside of the walls*, as if to taunt all the hosts of Saladin with the implied charge of cowardice.

This was more than the Turks could stand. On the next day, perceiving the insignificance of the force from which they had fled, they returned with overpowering numbers and renewed the battle. From the fury of their onset it seemed that they had determined to destroy Richard at whatever cost to themselves; but the English hero grew more terrible with the crisis. He fought up and down the shore like Castor on the field of Troy. Neither numbers nor courage prevailed to stay his fury. He charged a whole squadron as though it were composed of boys and women. His pathway was strewn with cleft skulls and headless trunks. He was in the height of his glory. Appalled at the flash of his death-dealing weapon, the greatest warriors of Islam fell back from the circle of destruction. They lowered upon him from a distance, but durst not give him battle. Not until the shadows of the Syrian twilight gathered over the scene did Richard and his Knights abate their furious onsets. The Moslems had had enough; they retreated from before the city, and the siege was abandoned.¹

We have now come to the close of the Third Crusade. The exploits of the *Lion Heart* in Palestine were at an end. His tremendous exertions in the battle of Jaffa brought on a fever of which he was for some time prostrated. His eagerness to return to Europe was

¹ Perhaps no other warrior ever excited so great personal terror in battle as did Richard Cœur de Lion. His prodigious deeds in fight might well be regarded as wholly fictitious were it not for the concurrent testimony of both Christian and Mohammedan writers. Tradition ever afterwards preserved a memory of his dread name and fame in the East. Syrian mothers were accustomed for centuries, if not to the present day, to frighten their refractory children with the mention of his name; and the Islamite traveler, when his horse would suddenly start by the way, was wont to say, *C'est à qui ce soit le Roi Richard?* That is, "Think'st thou that it is King Richard?"



Jomara

increased by every additional item of news which he received from his own kingdom. A conspiracy had been formed by the faithless Prince John and Philip Augustus to rob him of his crown; and the Emperor Henry VI. of Germany was not without a guilty knowledge of the plot. Moreover, his recent triumphant defense of Jaffa had so increased his influence in the East that the aged Saladin, whose sands of life were almost run, was more than willing to come to an understanding with the Crusaders. A treaty, or rather a truce for three years and three months, was accordingly concluded between him and Plantagenet, which, if both had lived, might have had in it the elements of permanency. It was agreed that Richard should dismantle the fortress of Ascalon, the same being while held by the Christians a constant menace to the peace of Egypt. On the other hand, Tyre, Acre, and Jaffa, with all the sea-coasts between them, should remain to the Crusaders. Antioch and Tripoli should not be molested by the Turks, and all Christian pilgrims who came unarmed should have free ingress and egress in visiting the holy places of Palestine, especially those in Jerusalem. Having concluded this settlement, King Richard embarked from Acre in the autumn of 1192, and started on his homeward voyage.

The great Crusader was now destined to rough sailing and hard treatment. His fame had filled all Europe, and nearly all the monarchs of Christendom were in a league of common jealousy against him. After making his way through many storms at sea into the Adriatic, his vessel was wrecked near the head of that water, and he was cast ashore in the neighborhood of the coast-town of Aquileia, in the dominions of Leopold, duke of Austria. That personage had been among the German princes engaged in the siege of Acre when Richard first arrived in Palestine. On a certain occasion the English king had torn down the duke's banner, and had struck him an insulting blow which he durst not resent. It now happened that Plantagenet, disguised as a pilgrim—for in that guise he hoped to make his way in safety to his own dominion—was brought into the presence of the offended duke, who recognized him by a mark which no disguise could hide—his kingly bearing and profuseness.

Here, then, was an opportunity for revenge. But avarice prevailed over malice, and hoping to share in the large ransom which was sure to follow the imprisonment of Richard, the Duke of Austria sent him under guard to the Emperor Henry VI.

Of all the people of England, Prince John was most rejoiced at the news of his brother's capture. Otherwise there was great grief throughout the kingdom. John sent abroad the lying report that the Lion Heart was dead, and his confederate, the king of France, made an invasion of Normandy. The English barons, however, remained loyal to Richard, and defended his rights during his absence.

At the hands of the Emperor Henry, Richard received every indignity. He was put in chains and thrown into a dungeon. Nothing but his abundance of animal spirits saved him from despair. But the prisoner was a man of so great distinction and fame that the Emperor durst not destroy him, or even continue to persecute. A diet of the Empire was presently held at Worms, and the princes, showing a disposition to demand of Henry a reason for his course, he had Richard conveyed to Worms to be disposed of. As a justification for his own conduct, he accused the English king of having driven Philip Augustus out of Palestine and maltreated the Duke of Austria. He also charged him with having concluded with Saladin a peace wholly favorable to the Moslems and against the interests and wishes of Christendom. The defense of Richard against these calumniation—was in every way triumphant, inasmuch that some of his judges were excited to tears by the eloquence and pathos of his story. It was impossible to convict such a prisoner in such a presence. Nevertheless, the spirit of the age permitted the Emperor to exact of his royal prisoner a ransom of a hundred thousand marks as the price of his liberation. Richard was also obliged to give hostages as security for the payment of sixty thousand marks additional on his return to his own country.

On hearing the news that Richard was again at liberty, his brother John and Philip of France were in the frame of mind peculiar to a wolf when a fox when a lion is turned into their keep. The king of France at once

sent word to his ally to take care of himself as best he could. The confederates next attempted to bribe Henry VI. to detain Richard for another year, and that money-making sovereign would have gladly accepted the bait but for the interference of the Pope, who threatened him with excommunication should he dare further to molest the greatest champion of the Cross.

Richard's friends in England were meanwhile exerting themselves to raise the required ransom. In order to secure the amount a general tax was levied, and, the sum thus raised being insufficient, the nobles contributed a fourth of their yearly income, while many of the churches gave up their silver-service to be coined for the king's redemption. When the sum was secured, Queen Eleanor herself took the money to Germany, and her great son was liberated.

In March of 1194, the king arrived in England. He had been absent from the kingdom for four years, the last fifteen months of which he had been held as a prisoner. Great was the joy of the English people, not only in London, but throughout the realm, on again beholding their sovereign. There was a burst of loyal devotion on every hand, and the king in the midst of acclamations might well forget the perils and hardships to which he had been exposed. As for Prince John, who was as timid as he was treacherous, he availed himself of the first opportunity to rush into the apartment of his famous brother, and, flinging himself down at his feet, anxiously pleaded for forgiveness. It was not in Richard's nature to withhold a pardon from his abject brother; but he accompanied the act with the laconic remark to some of his friends that he hoped to forget the injuries done to himself as soon as John would forget his pardon!

Richard took the precaution to have himself re-crowned; for he had been a prisoner. As soon as the affairs of the kingdom could be satisfactorily settled, he crossed over into Normandy to defend that province against the aggressions of Philip. For the remaining four years of the king's life he was almost constantly occupied in preparations for war, or making truces with the French, who had neither the good faith to keep a treaty or the courage

to fight. In the year 1199 the report was spread abroad that a treasure had been discovered on the estate of the Viscount of Limoges. He being Richard's vassal, the king claimed the treasure, but the viscount would yield only a part. Thereupon Plantagenet went with a band of warriors to take the castle of his refractory subject. One day, while surveying the defenses preparatory to an attack, he incautiously walked too near the wall and was wounded by an arrow. Though the injury was slight, a gangrene came on, and the king was brought to his death. Before that event, however, the castle was taken and all of its defenders hanged except Bertrame de Gourdon, who discharged the fatal arrow. He was taken and brought into Richard's presence to receive sentence of his doom. "What harm have I done you," said the king, "that you should thus have attempted my death?" "You killed my father and brother with your own hands," said the prisoner, "and you intended to kill me. I am ready to suffer with joy any torments you can invent, since I have been so happy as to destroy one who has brought so many miseries on mankind." Richard was so impressed with the boldness and truth of this answer that he ordered Bertrame to be set at liberty. His soldiers, however, were less merciful, and as soon as the king was dead, his slayer was executed.

Before he expired Richard changed his will, and being childless, bequeathed his kingdom to his brother John. Hitherto he had made a provision that the crown should descend to his nephew, Prince Arthur of Brittany, son of Geoffrey Plantagenet. On the 6th of April, 1199, Richard breathed his last, and in his death was greatly lamented by the English nation, whose name he had made a terror as far as the corners of Asia.

At the epoch of the Third Crusade it was the misfortune of the Christians of Palestine to be rent by faction. One party embraced the adherents of Guy of Lusignan, and the other the followers of the valiant Conrad, count of Montferrat. When Richard and Philip were at Acre the former espoused the cause of Guy, and the latter that of Conrad. After the departure of the French king, however, Richard, finding the country on the verge of civil war, and perhaps discovering the

worthlessness of Lusignan, concluded to recognize Conrad as king of Jerusalem. Guy was reconciled, or at least conciliated, by the bestowal of the crown of Cyprus. But this settlement was of short duration. Conrad was murdered in the streets of Tyre by two of the ASSASSINS, a new sect of fanatic Moslems, whose leading tenet was to destroy their enemies by secret murder. The destruction of Conrad, however, was charged to the old enmity of Richard, and the factional bitterness of the Christians was increased by this false accusation.

After the death of Conrad his widow was married to Count Henry, of Champagne, who in virtue of the union was by common consent made titular king of Jerusalem. This settlement tended to allay the malignant party strife which had prevailed in Palestine, and, together with the successes of the Crusaders at Acre and Jaffa, gave promise of an actual restoration of the kingdom.

This favorable turn in the tide of affairs was promoted by the death of Saladin. This most distinguished of the later Moslems died a few months after the conclusion of his truce with Richard, and left his Empire to his three sons, who soon established three distinct thrones at Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo. The solidarity of the Caliphate was thus broken, and the Christian kingdom, or rather the prospect of its re-establishment, gained greatly by the division. The bad tendency of Moslem affairs was still further increased by the conduct of the great Caliph's brother, Saphadin, who, stronger than his nephews, wrested from them a large part of Syria, and in 1193 organized it into a government of his own.

It was with some impatience that the Christians of Palestine awaited the expiration of the three years' truce concluded by Cœur de Lion with Saladin. The discussions among the Moslems gave good ground of hope that the kingdom established by Godfrey might be restored, and the Holy City recovered from the Turks. This feeling was especially potent among the Templars and Hospitallers, whose profession of arms had little glory in the "weak, piping time of peace" which followed the Third Crusade. It became the policy of the two Orders to promote every movement in Western Europe which looked to a

renewal of the holy war. In 1194 they induced Pope Celestine III. to proclaim another Crusade, and the same was preached in Germany, France, and England. At this juncture, however, there was no such exciting cause of an uprising as had existed on previous occasions, and the French and English refused to agitate. In Germany a cause was found in the personal ambition of the Emperor, Henry VI. Without great breadth of mind, he was nevertheless capable of that sort of avarice which could look with eager and covetous eye upon the treasures of the East. It was one of the curses of the Middle Ages that the rulers of Christendom generally preferred to replenish their coffers by robbery rather than by the encouragement of industry and frugality among their subjects.

Henry VI. brought the whole Imperial influence to bear in favor of the new Crusade. The German clergy assisted in the work, and a sufficient agitation was produced to draw together a large army of volunteers. Three formidable bodies of warriors were fitted out and were dispatched in succession to Acre. On arriving at this stronghold of Syrian Christianity the spirits of the Europeans, especially of the Knights, revived, and a momentary enthusiasm was kindled which perhaps under great direction might have led to great results.

When it was known to the Moslems that new armies of Christians were arriving in the East they quickly made common cause to repel the invasion. Saphadin was chosen as the leader most likely to succeed in driving the German Crusaders out of Palestine. On the other hand, the chiefs who commanded the Christian host quarreled and divided their forces. During the years 1195-96 a series of indecisive conflicts ensued, in which, though the Germans were sometimes victorious, no permanent results were reached in the way of reconquering the country. As a general rule the Turks were unable to confront the Knights in battle, but the former were for the most part a light-armed cavalry, that fought or fled as the exigency seemed to demand, and which it was almost impossible for the mailed warriors of the North to beat to the ground.

After two years of this desultory warfare the Emperor died, and the princes and prelates who had commanded his armies in Palestine

returned to Europe. The movement had affected but slightly the destinies of the conflict in the East, and the most critical authors have not dignified the expedition by numbering it among the Crusades. Perhaps a slight solidity was given to the alleged "kingdom," which now, under the rule of the nominal king, Henry of Champagne, included within its limits the better part of the coast of Palestine. In 1196 Henry died, and soon afterwards his accommodating queen, for the third time a widow, was married to Almeric of Lusignan, successor of Guy in the kingdom of the Cypriots. A union was thus effected between the two sovereignties, and the joint rulers were designated as the King and Queen of Jerusalem and Cyprus.

In the year 1198 the papal crown passed from Celestine to Innocent III. The latter was one of the most able and ambitious Pontiffs recently regnant over christendom. Soon after his accession he determined, if possible, to rekindle the expiring fires of religious zeal by proclaiming a new Crusade. He became more largely instrumental in the movement that followed than any of his predecessors since the days of Urban had been in arousing the Christians of Europe to concurrent action against the Infidels. He wrote to all the Christian rulers of the West, urging them to rally to the Cross and to assist the holy work he had in hand, either by themselves enlisting for the war, or by contributing a part of their means for the glorious enterprise. As to the Church, he exacted of all the ecclesiastics in Europe a tithe of one-fortieth part of their revenues, and at the same time, by his messengers, he urged the laity to give in like manner a liberal per centum of their incomes.

So effective were the measures thus originated that the papal coffers were soon filled to overflowing. At this juncture a popular preacher appeared who, like Peter the Hermit and St. Bernard, was destined to enforce and energize the will of the Pope by an appeal to the masses. Pretending to have revelations from heaven, this fanatic priest, whose name was Fouleque of Neuilly, went abroad loudly and vehemently preaching to the people and calling upon them in the name of all things sacred, to enlist in the holy war. To convince them of his mission he performed miracles,

and as a finishing touch to the spectacular, he exhibited *himself* as an example of devotion and sacrifice; for he had formerly been a distinguished libertine.¹ The flame of excitement rose high under the appeals of this dramatic orator, and thousands in France and Flanders rushed forward to take the cross.

Now it was that the gallant Count Thibaut of Champagne, and his cousin, Earl Louis of Blois, fired the French chivalry by their example. At a great tournament held in the count's province in the year 1200, these two nobles publicly renounced the mimic deeds of the knightly ring for the actual glories of war. They assumed the cross, and vowed the vow of service against the Infidels. Great was the enthusiasm created by their devotion, and hundreds of the assembled knights and nobles emulated their deeds by putting on the red badge of Christian warfare. Among the most distinguished of the number was Simon de Montfort, baron of Mante. The excitement spread into Flanders, and Count Baldwin, a brother-in-law of Thibaut, enlisted with a great company of chivalry. Other famous leaders also appeared: from Italy the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat; from Germany, the bishop of Halberstadt; from Hungary, the king. Such was the beginning of the FOURTH CRUSADE.

As a means of promoting the cause two great councils were held, the one at Soissons and the other at Compeigne. At these meetings it was resolved to avoid the hardships and disasters which the former Crusaders had undergone, by taking the sea—instead of the land—route to Palestine. It was also determined as a necessary part of this policy to employ the fleets of the maritime Republics of Italy as the best means of transportation to the East. Especially did the princes turn to the Venetians, whose navy was by far the largest and most efficient in Europe. The leaders accordingly sent ambassadors to the veteran Venetian doge, Henrico Dandolo, now ninety-three years of age and blind as a stone, but still fired with the zeal and spirit of youth. The councils of state were convened, and aff-

¹ It was this Fouleque whom Richard Plantagenet horrified with the proposition to give his three daughters, Pride, Avarice, and Voluptuousness, to the Templars, the Benedictines, and the priests!

erwards the citizens were called together in the great square of St. Mark. Here in the presence of the assembled state of Venice the French barons knelt before the majesty of the people, and besought with all the fervor of eloquence the aid of the Republic in the recovery of the holy places of the East.

The Venetians heard the petitions with favor, and agreed to furnish a navy for the required service for the sum of eighty-five thousand silver marks. For this sum it was stipulated that Venice should transport to any designated coast of the East four thousand five hundred knights, nine thousand esquires and men-at-arms, twenty thousand infantry with horses and accoutrements, and provisions for nine months. The fleet set apart for this service numbered fifty galleys, being perhaps the best vessels then afloat in the Mediterranean.

Great was the joy of the gathering Crusaders of France on learning that the Venetians had agreed to transport them to Palestine. Soon, however, the ardor of the chivalry was cooled by the untoward circumstance of the death of their chosen leader, Count Thibaut, of Champagne. This positive loss, moreover, was greatly aggravated by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the French barons, whose mutual rivalries prevented a choice of any one of their own number to the command of the expedition. It thus happened that a foreign prince, the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat, was chosen as leader of the Fourth Crusade; and thus it happened, also, that what with the embassy to Venice, and what with the delays incident to the bickerings and disputes of the barons, the space of two years elapsed from the tournament of Champagne to the gathering of the Crusaders at Venice, preparatory to their departure for Syria.

When at last, in the year 1202, the warriors of the Cross were mustered in the Place of St. Mark, it was found that many, through the abatement of zeal, had remained at home, and that others were less willing, or, perhaps, less able, than in the first glow of their enthusiasm, to pay the subscriptions which they had made to meet the Venetian indebtedness. Less than fifty thousand marks of the whole sum could now be secured. The doge and

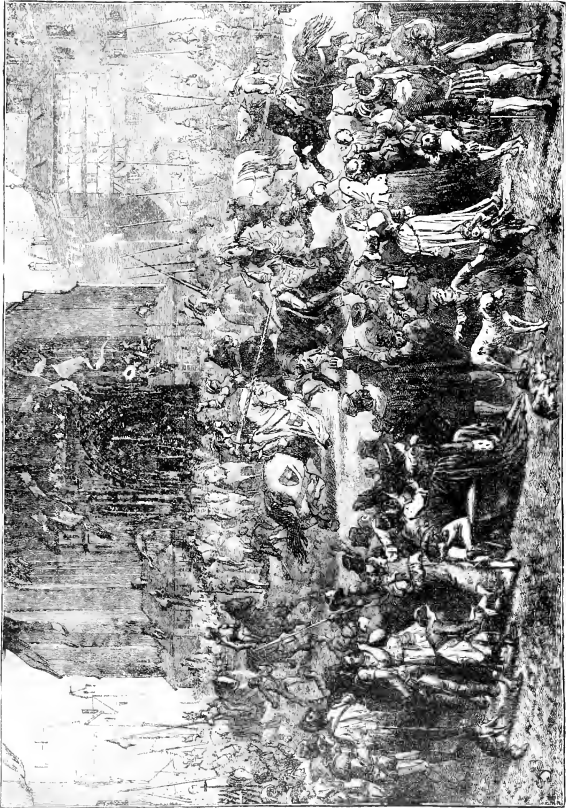
citizens of the Republic refused to permit the departure of the fleet until the entire amount should be paid.

At length, however, the dead-lock was broken in a manner which radically changed the whole character of the enterprise. When it became apparent that the Crusade, even after two years of preparation, must be abandoned because of non-compliance with the contract made by the French ambassadors, the doge himself came forward with a measure of relief. He proposed that instead of the present payment of the remaining thirty thousand marks, the Crusaders should assist him in reducing the revolted city of Zara, on the coast of Dalmatia. If they would do so, the residue of their indebtedness might remain unpaid until the close of the Crusade; and, in that event, he would himself assume the cross, become a soldier of Christ, and conduct the Venetian fleet against the seaports of the Syrian Infidels.

This advantageous proposition, though it seemed to divert the Crusaders from their original purpose, was gladly accepted by them. Indeed, such was the situation of affairs that they had no alternative. At this juncture, however, a new complication arose which threatened to annul the whole compact. The inhabitants of Zara had, after their revolt, made haste to put themselves under the protection of the Hungarians. The king of Hungary was himself one of the promoters of the Crusade, and had taken the cross. Pope Innocent III. now interfered, and forbade the Crusaders to turn their arms against a people who were under the protection of a Christian king, engaged in war with Infidels. But the Venetian republicans stood less in awe of the papal authority than did the feudal barons from beyond the Alps. Not caring whether their action was pleasing or displeasing to His Holiness, they went ahead with the enterprise, and prevailed with most of the leaders to join them in the expedition. The Marquis of Montferrat, however, would not, on account of conscientious scruples, accompany the expedition. The fleet of Venetians and Crusaders departed under command of the blind old doge, who, though seeing not with his eyes, perceived with the inner sight the exigencies of the campaign,

and directed his forces with success. Zara, though one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, was besieged and taken after a five

Great was the anger of the Pope when he learned of the thing done by his disobedient children. He excommunicated both Vene-



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days' investment. The lives of the rebellious inhabitants were spared, but the fortifications were thrown down, and the city itself given up to pillage.

tians and Crusaders; but, when the French barons went humbly to Rome and declared to Innocent their penitence for their evil deed, he granted them a pardon on the con-

ditions that they should restore to the people of Zara the booty of which they had been robbed, and that the alliance with the refractory and perverse Venetians should be at once broken off. It was, however, in a manner impossible for the barons to comply with these conditions. They were so entangled with the Republic, that to break the league was to give up the Crusade and violate their knightly vows. Simon de Montfort, however, more fanatic than the rest, heeded and obeyed the papal injunction. As for the other Crusaders, they went into winter quarters with their allies at Venice and Zara.

During the interval between the capture of the Dalmatian fortress and the opening of the spring of 1203, circumstances occurred which led to a complete change of the original purpose of the Crusade. A new condition of affairs had supervened in the Eastern Empire which excited the hostility of the Western Christians to the extent of making war on Constantinople instead of the cities of Syria. The Comnenian emperors were now represented in the person of Alexius, who had conspired against his brother Isaac, whom he had deposed from the throne, deprived of his eyes, and thrust into a dungeon. The son of Isaac, who also bore the name of Alexius, was but twelve years of age, and was spared by his victorious uncle.

This young prince made his escape and fled to Italy, and, when the Crusaders gathered at Venice, he had sufficient penetration to see in the host there mustered the possible means of his own or his father's restoration to the throne of the Eastern Empire. He accordingly laid his cause before the Christian princes, and besought their aid. His petitions were strongly backed by the influence of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Suabia. During the interval, when the barons of the West were lying inactive at Zara, the negotiations were continued, and both Crusaders and Venetians were won over to the idea of a campaign against Constantinople. Indeed, so far as the subjects of the doge were concerned, not much was wanting to inflame the motives already existing for war. For a quarter of a century a rivalry had existed between Venice and the capital of the East. At one time, the Emperor

Mannel had confiscated all the property of the Venetians in the ports of the Empire. At another, the ships of the Venetian merchants had made a descent upon several of the Byzantine islands and laid them waste. By and by the Emperor adopted the policy of encouraging the Pisans, the rivals of the Venetians, by conferring on them the carrying-trade of the East. This act was wormwood to Venice, and she awaited an opportunity of revenge.

The aged but ambitious Dandolo now perceived that by espousing the cause of the young Alexius against the usurping uncle of the same name the wrongs of the Republic might be avenged and her commercial advantages restored in the Eastern Mediterranean. It thus happened that the prayers of the Prince Alexius were supported not only by the Duke of Suabia, but also by the still more powerful voice of the doge.

Such was the temper of the age, that though the attention of both the Crusaders and Venetians was thus diverted to the enterprise of a campaign against Constantinople, neither party of the confederates was disposed to do so without first extorting every possible advantage from the young prince in whose interest the expedition was to be ostensibly undertaken. The Imperial lad was led on under the stimulus of hope to make the most flattering promises. He agreed to pay the Crusaders two hundred thousand marks for the restoration of his imprisoned and sightless father to the throne of Constantinople. He also promised to heal the fatal schism of the Greek and Latin Churches, to the end that spiritual unity might be attained throughout christendom under the Pope of Rome. He would, moreover, when the affairs of the Empire should be satisfactorily settled, either himself become a Crusader or else send out a division of ten thousand men at his own expense to aid in the recovery of Palestine. Furthermore, he would maintain during his life a body of five hundred Knights in the Holy Land, to the end that the Turks might not again regain their ascendancy.

Meanwhile the usurper, Alexius, had been on the alert to prevent the impending invasion of his dominions. He at once set about the work of arraying the Pope against the scheme of his enemies. The papal sanction

was an important factor in all the conflicts of the Middle Ages, and to obtain this the secular princes were wont to bid against each other as in a market. It now appeared that the elder as well as the younger Alexius was willing to sell out the independency of the Greek Church for the support of Rome. The Eastern Emperor accordingly sent ambassadors to Pope Innocent and tendered the submission of the Byzantine Christians as the price of papal interference. Innocent was already angered with the Venetians, and the Crusaders themselves had shown so refractory a spirit as to incur his displeasure. Since, therefore, in either case the solidarity of the church was to be attained by the submission of the schismatic Greeks, the Pope readily, even eagerly, espoused the cause of the Emperor against the prince. The Crusaders were forbidden to disturb the peace of a Christian dominion. The tyrant of Constantinople was promised the protection of Rome. She, and not the barons and knights, would heal the schism of long-suffering christendom. If any would disobey her mandate, let them remember the terrors wherewith she was wont to afflict those who set at naught her wishes. Legates were sent to Zara to acquaint the tempted army with the will and purpose of the Holy Father.

Little were the Venetians terrified by these premonitory mutterings from the Vatican. They openly disregarded the interdiction and proceeded with their preparations for the expedition. The Crusaders proper heard the papal voice with more respect, but with them there was a division of sentiment. The more scrupulous were disposed to heed and obey the command of the Pope, but the greater number, either regarding themselves as hopelessly involved and compromised with the Venetians, or else influenced by the lustful hope of repairing their fortunes out of the treasures of Constantinople, chose to stop their ears and follow their inclinations.

When the papal envoys perceived that their mission was fruitless they left Zara, took ship and sailed for Syria. In doing so they bade all follow who would fight for the Cross and obey the voice of the Church. Not a few of the barons and knights accepted this opportunity of escaping from all entanglements and going on board with the legates, departed for

Palestine. The remaining and more adventurous portion of the Crusaders silently defied the Pope, cast in their lot with the Venetians, and made ready for the campaign against the Byzantine capital. Chief among those who thus joined their fortunes with republican Venice in preference to papal Rome were the Marquis of Monterrat, the counts of Flanders, Blois, and St. Paul, eight others of the leading French barons, and a majority of the warriors who had originally embarked in the Crusade.

The expedition which was now set on foot against Constantinople was the most formidable armament which had been seen in the Mediterranean since the days of Pompey the Great. The squadron included fifty galleys of war, one hundred and twenty horse-transports, two hundred and forty vessels for the conveyance of the troops and military engines, and seventy store-ships for the supplies. The force of Crusaders on board consisted of six thousand cavalry and ten thousand foot, and the Venetian soldiers numbered about twenty thousand.

It now appeared that Alexius Comnenus was much more of a diplomatist and intriguer than warrior. During the whole progress of the expedition which was openly directed against his capital he made no attempt to stay its course or prevent its entrance to the Bosphorus. The harbor of Constantinople was found to be defended by only twenty galleys; for the Greek admiral, Michael Struphuos, brother-in-law of the Emperor, had broken up the vessels of his master's fleet in order that he might sell for his own profit the masts, rigging, and iron which they contained. When in the immediate face of the peril the proposition was made to build a new navy, the eunuchs of the Imperial palace to whom the keeping of the parks and hunting-grounds had been intrusted *refused to have the timber cut!* Such has ever been the folly of those *effete* despotisms which have survived their usefulness.

Nor did the people of the city of Constantinople show much interest in the crisis which was evidently upon them. Like voluptuous idlers floating in the Bay of Biscay, they recked not of the gathering storm. What to them was a change of masters? The tyrant Alexius was in a measure deserted to his fate.

Great, however, was the strength of the

city before whose walls the men of the West were now come with hostile purpose. There rose the massive ramparts of stone; there the lofty turrets of palaces and basilica—a splendid show of beauty, magnificence, and strength, such as the Crusaders had never before beheld.

At first the fleet was brought to anchor on the Asiatic side of the channel. For a few days after the landing the forces of the doge and the Marquis of Montferrat, who may be regarded as the commanders of the army, were allowed to rest in Scutari, and while they were here reposing, negotiations were opened by the Emperor. He offered to expedite the march of the Crusaders into Asia Minor! They were not going in that direction. He warned them against any disturbance in his dominions. It was for the express purpose of disturbing his dominions that they had come. He threatened them with the Pope. The Pope had already done his worst. On the other hand, the doge and barons warned him to come down from the throne which he had usurped under penalty of such punishment as the soldiers of the Cross were wont to visit upon the opposers of the will and cause of offended heaven.

After these mutual fulminations the Crusaders prepared to cross to the other side of the strait. They ranged themselves in six divisions, and, passing across the channel, scattered the Byzantine forces which were drawn up to resist their landing, and captured the suburb Galata. The great chain which had been stretched across the mouth of the harbor was broken, and the few ships remaining to the Greeks captured and destroyed.

The assailants now found themselves before the huge walls of the city. Constantinople was at this time the most strongly fortified metropolis in the world. The act of the Crusaders in undertaking the siege of such a place is perhaps without a parallel in the annals of audacity. Their forces were only sufficient to invest one side of the ramparts. Their provisions were regarded as good for three weeks' subsistence. If only the physical conditions of the situation should be considered, then indeed might Alexius and his officers well look down with indifference and contempt upon the puny preparations outside the walls. But the mental conditions were different.

To the Crusaders delay would be fatal. They accordingly exerted themselves to the utmost to bring on the crisis of an assault. In this work the Venetians vied with their allies in the prodigious activity which they displayed. It was determined to assail the walls from the side of the sea and in the parts adjacent. With herculean endeavor the Crusaders succeeded in filling up the ditch and thus were enabled to bring their engines to bear upon the fortifications. In a few days the walls had been sufficiently injured to warrant the hazard of an assault. The blind old doge of Venice took his station on the raised deck of his vessel, and with the banner of St. Mark above his head, directed his men in the attack by sea. The Venetian galleys were brought to the beach immediately under the walls. Drawbridges were thrown from the masts to the tops of the ramparts, and for the foot-soldiers scaling-ladders were planted, and then with a rush and a shout the battlements were surmounted. Twenty-five towers were carried by the marines of Venice, and the banner of the Republic was planted on the summit.

The Crusaders in making the attack from the land-side had met with poor success. The breaches made by their engines proved to be less complete than had been thought, and those who had been set to defend this part of the walls were (if the history may be credited), a body of Anglo-Saxon and Danish guards whom the Emperor had taken into his service. Very different were these brave and stalwart warriors of the North from the supple and degenerate Greeks, who had inherited all the vices without any of the virtues of their ancestors. The Crusaders were confronted in their impetuous charge by these resolute and powerful soldiers, and were unable to break into the city.

As soon, however, as the doge was victorious from the side of the sea, he made haste to fire the part of the city which was in his power, and then hurried to the succor of his allies. On the appearance of the Venetians, the guards and Greek cavalry who, by sheer force of numbers, had almost surrounded the chivalry, and were assailing the hard pressed Crusaders in front and on both flanks, fell back quickly and sought safety within the

walls. Night came on and the allies anxiously awaited the morning to renew the struggle.

But Alexius was not more tyrant than politician. In the darkness of midnight he robbed the Imperial treasure-house, gathered together his terrified followers and fled from Constantinople. With the coming of dawn the Crusaders were amazed to see issuing from the city an embassy which, making its way to the camp, informed the barons and the doge that Alexius had fled, that the blind Isaac had come from his dungeon and was on the throne, and that he desired the immediate presence of his son and deliverers in the city. In answer to this message, two barons and two Venetians were sent to congratulate Isaac on his restoration, and to notify him of the conditions which his son had made, in accordance with which they had come to effect his deliverance and restoration.

Great was the shock to Isaac when he learned of the hard, almost intolerable terms which his rash but loyal boy had made with the mercenary soldiers of the Cross. But he was in the grip of an appalling necessity, and there was no alternative but to ratify the conditions imposed by his masters. All was agreed to. The young Alexius made a triumphant entry into the city and was jointly crowned with his father. For the moment there seemed to be an end of the struggle and the beginning of a lasting peace.

The character of the Latins and Greeks, however, forbade any permanent concord between them. The coarse vigor of the one, and the pusillanimous spirit of the other, made it impossible for them to harmonize in interest or purpose. For the time, the Greeks were obliged to yield in all things to their conquerors. The Patriarch of Constantinople was constrained by the compact and the presence of the Crusaders to do his part by proclaiming from the Church of St. Sophia the submission of Eastern Christendom to the Romish See. This was, perhaps, the most intolerable exaction of all to which the people of the city were subjected. Their hatred of the heretical faith and ritual, which they were obliged to accept, was transferred to the young Emperor Alexius, in whose interest the revolution had been accomplished.

Nor was his own conduct such as to allay

the antipathy which was thus aroused. During his two years' sojourn in the camp of the Crusaders, he had become thoroughly imbued with their manners and spirit. Their carousals and debaucheries were now a part of his life as much as of their own. He would not, perhaps could not, shake off the rude and intemperate habits which he had thus acquired by contact with the boisterous soldiers of the West. Under the force of a disposition which had now become a second nature, he continued to prefer the license and uproar of the Crusaders' camp to the refinements and ceremony of the palace and court.

It was not long until the respect and esteem of his own countrymen had been so completely forfeited by Alexius that he found it necessary to retain the Latin warriors in his capital as a means of support. Nor did they appear reluctant—so greatly had their ferocious morality been corrupted—to postpone the fulfillment of their vows in order to enjoy the winter in Constantinople. Meanwhile their self-confidence was in a great measure restored by the pardon received from the Pope. Both they and the Venetians, after their capture of the city, had made such penitential professions to the Holy Father that he gladly extended full absolution to his wayward and refractory children.

During the winter the time was occupied by a portion of the Crusaders with an expedition into Thrace. Alexius himself accompanied the barons on this campaign, and his absence from the city, together with that of the Marquis of Montferrat, was made the occasion of a disastrous outbreak. The Latin warriors, tired of inaction, fell upon and almost exterminated a colony of Moslem merchants, who had long enjoyed the protection of the city. The Mohammedans made a brave defense, and the Greeks came in large numbers to the rescue. In like manner the Latin party in the city rallied to the support of the Crusaders, and the battle became a slaughter. In the midst of the conflict a fire broke out which continued to rage for eight days. One-third of the beautiful city was reduced to ashes. The multitude of Greeks thus dispossessed of their homes were exasperated to the last degree; and, falling upon the Latin residents of the city, whom

they regarded as having instigated the outrage, they obliged them to seek shelter in the camp of the Crusaders.

The circumstances of the deposition and murder of Isaac and his son Alexiüs in a conspiracy headed by Angelus Ducas, surnamed Mourzoutle, and the assumption of the crown by the latter; the wrath of the Crusaders on learning of what was done; the second siege of Constantinople; the capture and pillage of that city; the desecration of the churches; the overthrow of the Greek Empire, and the establishment of a Latin dynasty in the capital of the Eastern Cæsars,—have already been narrated in the Ninth Book of the preceding Volume.¹ As soon as this work was accomplished, the Western revolutionists set about the partition of the spoils of an empire. As to the vacant throne of Constantinople, the same was conferred on Baldwin, count of Flanders. The new emperor-elect was raised on a buckler by the barons and knights and borne on their shoulders to the Church of St. Sophia, where he was clothed with imperial purple. The Marquis of Montferrat was rewarded with Macedonia and Greece and the title of king. The various provinces of the Empire in Europe and Asia were divided among the barons who commanded the Crusaders, but not until three-eighths of the whole, including Crete and most of the archipelago, had been set aside for the Republic of Venice.

As soon as the division of the territorial and other spoils had been effected, the barons and knights departed with their respective followers to occupy their provinces. As to the two fugitives, Alexius Angelus and Ducas Mourzoutle, both usurpers and both claiming the Imperial dignity, the former soon fell into the power of the latter, and was deprived of his eyes; while Mourzoutle himself was seized by the Latins, tried and condemned, and cast headlong from the lofty summit of the Pillar of Theodosius. A new claimant hereupon arose in the person of Theodore Lascaris, who, possessing more of the qualities of heroism than any of his predecessors of the preceding century, obtained the lead of the anti-Latin parties in the East, and became a formidable obstacle to the progress

and permanency of the Latin Empire. Thus, in a marvelous manner, unforeseen alike by Christians and Moslems, the original purpose of the Fourth Crusade was utterly abandoned and forgotten. The impulse of the movement expired west of the Bosphorus; and the blows of the chivalrous barons and knights of France and Italy fell upon the heads of the Byzantine Greeks instead of the crests of the warriors of Islam.

The interval between the Fourth and Fifth Crusades was noted for the extraordinary spectacle of an uprising among the boys and children of France and Germany. In the spring of 1212 a French peasant boy by the name of Stephen began to preach a Crusade to those of his own age. The appeal was directed to both sexes. Heaven had ordained the weak things of this world to confound the mighty. The children of Christendom were to take the Holy Sepulcher from the Infidels! Another peasant boy named Nicholas took up the refrain in Germany and mustered an army of innocents at Cologne. Around the fanatical standards of these two striplings was gathered a great multitude of boys and girls who, in rustic attire, and with no armor more formidable than shepherd's crooks, set out under the sanction of a royal edict to battle with the Moslems of Syria. Embarking from Marseilles under the lead of a few pious fools, older but no wiser than themselves, they came to a miserable end by shipwreck on the island of San Pietro. Such was the so-called CHILDREN'S CRUSADE—one of the strangest and most absurd spectacles recorded in history.

There still remain to be recounted the annals of the last four movements of Christendom against the Turks. The conquest of the Greek Empire was effected in the year 1204. Never was there to all human seeming a more unfortunate diversion of an enterprise than that which turned the Fourth Crusade against Constantinople instead of Jerusalem. The condition of the Islamic dominion in the East was at this juncture precisely such as to invite a renewal of the efforts of the Christians for the recovery of the Holy City. Egypt was dreadfully scourged with pestilence and famine. Syria was rent with the disputes and turmoils of the successors of Saladin. Every circumstance seemed favorable to the restora-

¹See Book Tenth, *ant.* pp. 375, 376.



THE CHILDREN'S CRUSADE — Drawn by Gustave Doré

tion of Christian supremacy, not only in Palestine but in all the principalities which they had formerly held. And yet of all the advantages afforded by the general condition of affairs, the Syrian Christians secured no more than this: a six years' truce with Saphadin.

Meanwhile, Almeric and Isabella, titular king and queen of Jerusalem, both died; and the shadowy crown of that alleged "kingdom" descended to the Princess MARY, daughter of Isabella by her former marriage with Conrad of Tyre. It was, however, deemed essential by the barons and knights of the West that the young Queen Mary should be strengthened by the arm of a husband, and the choice being left to Philip Augustus of France, that monarch selected the Prince JOHN, son of the Count of Brienne, as most worthy of the honor. Accordingly, in 1210, the prince departed for Palestine, claimed the hand of Mary, and with her was jointly crowned.

When the truce with Saphadin expired, the Christians refused to renew the treaty, and hostilities were presently resumed. It soon appeared that King John, with the handful of knights whom he had brought with him from Europe, was unable to repel the encroachments of the Turks. In his distress he wrote a pathetic appeal to Pope Innocent III., beseeching him for the love of the fallen Cross again to rally the Christians of the West for the salvation of Palestine. His Holiness was most ready to undertake the enterprise. Although he was at present profoundly engaged in the work of suppressing the heretical Albigenses in the south of France, he sent a favorable answer to King John's appeal, and issued a letter to the Christian rulers of Europe, proclaiming a new Crusade. He also directed the clergy of all Christendom to urge forward the laity, should the latter lag in renewing the Holy War. The fourth council of the Lateran was called, and a resolution was adopted by the august body to undertake once more the great work of subjugating the Infidels of Syria. Such was the origin of the FIFTH CRUSADE.

The leaders of the new expedition to the East were King Andrew of Hungary and the Emperor Frederick II. Besides the armies led by these two princes a third was organized, consisting of a mixed multitude of Germans, French, Italians, and English. King Andrew

set out with his forces in the year 1216, and was joined on his route by the dukes of Austria and Bavaria. On reaching Palestine the Hungarian monarch made some desultory incursions into the Moslem territories, but besides ravaging undefended districts accomplished nothing honorable to himself or his country. He soon abandoned the enterprise, gathered his forces on the coast, and reembarked for Europe. The Germans, however, who had accompanied the expedition, refused to return, and joined themselves with the knights of Palestine to aid them in defending whatever remained of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Other bands of warriors like-minded with themselves arrived from Germany, and the forces of the Christians were so augmented that it was resolved to make a campaign against Egypt. That country had been reduced to such a state by mis-rule, famine, and pestilence as to have become an especially inviting field for foreign invasion. There only wanted the additional fact of storied wealth and treasure to inflame to the highest pitch the cupidity of the mercenary chivalry of the West. Nor could it be denied that even from a military point of view the conquest of Egypt was an important, if not a necessary antecedent, to that of Syria.

In the year 1218 an armament fitted out at Acre left the Syrian coast and proceeded against Damietta, at the mouth of the Nile. The Christian forces were landed before the city, and the place was at once besieged. An assault was made upon a castle in the river, and though the assailants were beaten back, so furious was their onset that the defenders of the castle were terrified into a capitulation. A short time afterwards the news was borne to the Christian camp that their great enemy, Saphadin, was dead, and the dread which they had hitherto felt of Syrian assistance to the Egyptians was dismissed. Another circumstance favorable to the Crusaders was the almost constant arrival of other bands from Europe. Some of these were headed by the chief barons of Italy, France, and England, such as the counts of Nevers and La Marche, and the noted earls of Salisbury, Arundel, and Chester.

While, however, the forces of the besiegers of Damietta were thus augmented, an

element of discord and danger was introduced in the jealousies and intrigues which at once sprang up among so many eminent leaders. Within the city were the ravages of disease and famine, yet the residue of the courageous people held out for six or seven months. When at last neither passive endurance nor actual bravery availed any longer to keep the Crusaders at bay, the latter burst into the city and found themselves in a metropolis of death.

The other cities of Egypt were greatly alarmed by the capture of Damietta. The

sure the conquest of Palestine. Both the sultans were anxious for peace. He of Damascus demolished the fortifications of Jerusalem and joined with his brother in offering to cede that city and all Palestine to the Christians on the single condition that they should withdraw from Egypt. Thus at last, upon the camp of the Crusaders, pitched on the sands of Lower Egypt, arose out of the Syrian desert the glorious sun of success, flashing his full beams on the spires and Necropolis of Cairo.

The more conscientious soldiers of the Cross



NECROPOLIS OF CAIRO.
After the painting of P. Marilhat.

consternation spread throughout all Syria, and for once the Christians were completely masters of the situation. For the time they might have dictated to the terrified Moslems whatever terms they chose to offer. Meanwhile, Coradinus and Camel, two sons of Saphadin, both weaklings, had been seated on the respective thrones of Damascus and Cairo. It were hard to say which of these two princes was now more seriously distressed. Camel saw his stronghold wrested from his grasp, while Coradinus remembered that the Crusaders were only warring in Egypt with a view to making

were anxious to accept the terms which were offered by the brother sultans. Why should they war any longer since the sepulcher of Christ and all the sacred places of the Holy Land were now freely, almost abjectly, offered by the cowering representatives of Islam? The king of Jerusalem, the French and English barons, and the Teutonic knights, eagerly favored the conclusion of a treaty. But the Templars and Hospitallers, together with the Italian leaders, influenced partly by their insatiable lust for the treasure-houses of Egypt and partly by the stupid bigotry of Cardinal Pe-

lagius, the legate of the Pope, vehemently opposed the conclusion of a peace, and overrode the wishes and wise counsels of the allied chieftains. Whenever the latter would urge the immense and definitive advantages of the proposed cession of Palestine with the consequent recovery of the Holy Sepulcher and every thing for which the blood and treasure of Europe had been poured out like water for a hundred and twenty-five years, the blatant Pelagius would bawl out with imperious inconsistency that the soldiers of the Cross should never compromise with Infidels. The result was that the auspicious opportunity of ending the Holy War on terms most satisfactory to every sincere knight in Christendom, went by unimproved, and instead of withdrawing from Egypt the Crusaders passed an inglorious winter in the captured city of Damietta.

Perceiving that their enemies were inexorable, the Moslems rallied from their despair and employed the interval in recruiting their armies and planning campaigns for the ensuing year. With the beginning of 1220, the army of Coradinus came out of Syria and was joined to that of Camel at Cairo. The incompetency of Pelagius, and the outrageous folly of his course, were now fully manifested. While hesitating to attack the Islamite armies, he permitted his own forces to remain in the vicinity of Damietta until with the rise of the Nile the Egyptians deliberately cut the canals on the side next the Idumus, and inundated the country. On a sudden the Christians found themselves in a world of waters, swelling higher and higher. The crisis was overwhelming. The bigots who were responsible for it were obliged to send a humble embassy to the sultan, and to offer him the city of Damietta for the privilege of retiring from Egypt. The sultan accepted the offer, but took care to detain as a hostage the king of Jerusalem until what time the embarkation should be effected. The miserable and crest-fallen Crusaders took ship as quickly as possible and sailed to Acre. So completely was the host dispirited that great numbers of the warriors abandoned the enterprise and returned to Europe.

The broils which had so many times distracted the counsels and defeated the plans of the Christian princes in the East were now transferred to the West. Great was the mor-

tification of Christendom when it was known what might have been, and what was, accomplished in Egypt. It seemed necessary to find a scapegoat, on whose head might be laid the sin and ignominy of the failure. Popular indignation with a due apprehension of the facts pointed to Pelagius, and great odium was set against his name. But Honorius III., who had now come to the papal throne, defended his legate from the aspersions of his enemies; and, in order that the blame might rest upon some one sufficiently eminent to bear the disgrace, His Holiness laid the charge of failure at the feet of Frederick II. That distinguished and obstinate ruler had promised, but had not fulfilled. In 1220 he had gone to Rome in a triumphal fashion and had been crowned by the Pope, who had every hope that the eccentric Emperor would become an obedient son of the Church. Now it was said by the papal adherents that the Emperor, after taking the vow of the Cross, had failed to keep his covenant, and had left the suffering Crusaders to their fate among the floods of Lower Egypt.

It soon appeared, however, that Frederick was not to be moved by such imputations of dishonor. The Pope accordingly changed his tone, and undertook to accomplish by policy what he could not effect by upbraiding the imperial Crusader. He managed to bring it about that Herman de Saltza, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, should bring to the Emperor from the East a proposal from King John of Jerusalem that his daughter Isolanta should be given to Frederick in marriage. The scheme amounted to this, that the kingdom of Jerusalem should become an appanage of the German Empire. John of Brienne was most willing to give up the shadowy distinction with which he had been honored and to escape from the perils of Syrian warfare, and Frederick was equally willing to accept a trust made palatable by such a gift as the Princess Isolanta. Accordingly, in the year 1225, the project was completed, and the Emperor solemnly bound himself to lead an army to the Holy Land for the re-establishment of the kingdom planted by Godfrey in the City of Zion.

The event showed, however, that Frederick was slow to fulfill what he had so readily promised. A period of five years elapsed and

still he was not ready to depart for the East. Pope Honorius died and was succeeded by Gregory IX., who espoused with zeal the en-

His Holiness excommunicated him, and finally forbade him to do the very thing which he had so long refused to undertake. This last



ENTRANCE OF FREDERICK II. INTO ROME.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

terprise which his predecessor had not lived to see accomplished. Unable to urge the Emperor to go forward by any milder persuasion,

measure seems to have aroused the perverse Frederick by the law of contradiction, for setting at naught both the threats and the inter-

dicts of the Pope, he collected a small squadron and departed for Palestine.

The armament with which the Emperor, still under the ban, set out on his mission consisted of only twenty galleys. Those who had had experience in the long-continued wars with the Infidels were excited to contempt on witnessing the departure of the ruler of the German Empire with such a force on such an expedition. It was not long, however, until their contempt was turned into wonder at the extraordinary success which attended the arms of Frederick. Notwithstanding the anathemas of the Pope, and the unwearied efforts of that potentate to defeat his plans and cover him with disgrace, the Emperor made all speed to Acre, and there with his handful of soldiers prepared for the reconquest of Palestine. Both the Hospitallers and the Templars, acting under the commands of the Pope, withheld their support, and Frederick was left with only his own troops and the Teutonic knights. Such, however, was the vigor of his movements that many of the Syrian chivalry were impelled by a sense of shame, even against the papal interdiction, to join their German brethren in their struggle with the Infidels.

Having made every thing secure at Acre, Frederick courageously set his forces in motion toward Jaffa. Contrary to expectation, this stronghold was taken from the Turks, re-fortified, and garrisoned. It appears that Frederick, more wise than his predecessors in the Holy War, had conceived the project of playing off the sultan of Damascus against his brother of Cairo, and of gaining through their conflict of interests and ambitions what the other Crusaders had failed to reach—the recovery of Jerusalem. But before he was able to achieve any results by this shrewd policy, Conrad died and Camel was left without a rival to contend with the German invaders. Frederick, however, was not to be put from his purpose. He pressed forward from Jaffa in the direction of the Holy City, and the Infidels fell back before him. Bethlehem, Nazareth, and other important places were taken without a battle, and so great was the alarm both in Jerusalem and in Damascus that the sultan made overtures for peace. Thus, against all expectation (unless it were his own), Frederick found himself in a position to dic-

tate terms almost as favorable as might have been obtained by the conquerors of Damietta. Nor has any one ever been able to discover the nature of the motives which he was able to bring to bear on the sultan to secure so favorable a settlement. It was stipulated that henceforth all Christians should have free access to the Holy City; that the Mohammedans should approach the temple on Moriah only in the garb of pilgrims; that Bethlehem, Nazareth, and other recent conquests should remain to the Christians; that the peace should not be broken for a period of ten years.

Great was the wrath of the Pope on hearing of the victory of the excommunicated prince. The whole power of the Church was rallied to deny and explain away the signal success and good fortune of Frederick. The latter, however, was now in a position to laugh at, if not despise, his enemies. Preferring to consider himself under the ban, he determined to celebrate his coronation in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Nor durst the Moslems offer any opposition to the ceremony. The Emperor accordingly entered the city with his train of Teutonic Knights and soldiers, and, repairing to the altar, took therefrom the crown and placed it on his head; for the patriarch of Jerusalem, fearing the Pope, refused to perform the crowning, nor would the Templars and Hospitallers be present at the ceremony. Thus, in the year 1229, the Fifth and least pretentious of all the Crusades terminated with complete success. The victorious Emperor returned to Acre, and then set sail for Europe, followed by the plaudits of his own countrymen, but jeered at and scandalized by the papal party throughout Palestine. It had already come to pass that Rome looked with greater aversion and hatred upon a heretical and disobedient Christian than upon the worst of the Infidel Turks.

Such was the anger of the papal party against him by whom the restoration of Christian influence in the Holy Land had been achieved, that no efforts were made to conserve the fruits of his conquests. Not satisfied with this negative policy, the adherents of Gregory began a series of active aggressions against Frederick, looking to the undoing of his Imperial title, and the sap-

ping of the loyalty of his subjects. Bitter were the persecutions which were directed against him. When the Empress Yolanda died at the birth of her son, the anti-German party insisted that the child should be discarded along with its father, and that the crown of Jerusalem should be given to Alice, daughter of Isabella and Henry of Champagne. The latter chaimant went over from Cyprus to Syria to set up her pretensions, whereupon, in 1239, a civil war ensued between her adherents and the supporters of Frederick. The party of Alice had greatest numerical strength, but the Teutonic Knights remained loyal to their Emperor, and more than counterbalanced the advantage of his enemies.

After the strife had continued for a season, a reconciliation was effected between Frederick and the Pope. The settlement was without any sincere foundation on either side, but was sufficiently meritorious to bring about a peace in Syria. But in that country the mischief had already been accomplished. More than half of the time of the truce concluded by the Emperor with Sultan Camel had already run to waste, and nothing had been done towards securing the conquests made by the Germans in Palestine.

Perceiving their opportunity in the quarrels and turmoils of the Christians, the Saracen emirs of Syria disclaimed the compact which had been made by their sovereign, and renewed hostilities. They fell upon the outposts which had been established by Frederick, and drove away the defenders. Pursuing their successes, they attacked and massacred a large body of Christian Pilgrims on their way from Acre to Jerusalem. Loss atrocious, but more serious in its consequences, was the defeat of the Templars, who had undertaken an expedition against Aleppo. So terrible was the loss inflicted upon the Knights, that a considerable period elapsed before they could rally from their overthrow. One disaster followed another, and it soon became apparent that, unless a new Crusade should be speedily undertaken, the Holy Land would be entirely regained by the Infidels. The same Church which had so recently, by neglect and positive opposition, thwarted the efforts of Frederick for the restoration of the

Christian kingdom, now exerted itself to the utmost to organize a new expedition against the Turks. A great council was called at Spoleto, where it was resolved to renew the Holy War, and the two orders of Franciscan and Dominican friars were commissioned to preach the Crusade. It appeared, however, that the monks were lukewarm in the cause, and it was soon known that the moncyys which they procured for the equipment of armies were finding a lodgment in their own coffers and the papal treasury at Rome.

In this way seven years of precious time were squandered, and still no relief was brought to the suffering Christians of Palestine. In the interval their fortunes had constantly run from bad to worse. At last the sultan of Egypt, incited thereto partly by the news of the preparations made in Europe for renewing the war, and partly by the hope of restoring his own influence throughout the Moslem dominions, raised an army, marched against Jerusalem, ejected the Christians, and shut the gates of the city against them.

When the news of this proceeding was carried to Europe the people were everywhere aroused from their apathy. Not even the selfish and sordid policy of the Pope and the monks could any longer avail to check or divert popular indignation from its purpose. The barons of France and England assumed the Cross, and in spite of papal opposition and interdiction, the SIXTH CRUSADE was organized. In order to make sure that their object should in no wise be thwarted the English nobles met at Northampton and solemnly recorded their vows that within a year they would *in person* lead their forces into Palestine.

Nor were the French barons of highest rank less active and zealous in the cause. Count Thibaut — now king of Navarre — the Duke of Burgundy, the counts of Brittany and Montfort were the most noble of the leaders who sprang forward to rally their countrymen and arm them for the expedition. They even outran the English lords in the work of preparation, and before the latter were well on their way the French were already at Acre preparing a campaign against the Moslems at Ascalon. The latter were driven back, and the French, grown confident, divided their forces. The Count of Brittany plunged into

the enemy's country, made his way victoriously to the very walls of Damascus, and returned laden with booty. The effect of this success, however, was presently worse than a reverse. The counts of Bar and Montfort, emulating the fame gained by the Lord of Brittany, led their forces in the direction of Gaza, and were disastrously routed by the Moslems. De Bar was slain and Montfort taken prisoner. The king of Navarre was constrained to gather up the remnants of the French army and retreat to Acre.

In these expeditions led by the barons of France the Hospitallers and Templars took little part. It was evident that the Knights had no sympathy with any movement by which glory might accrue to others than themselves. Finding in this defection of the two military orders a good excuse for such a course, the French nobles collected their followers, and taking ship from Acre returned to Europe.

In the mean time the more tardy but more resolute English came upon the scene which the continental lords had just abandoned. They were led by one well calculated to achieve great victories, even by the terror of his name—Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. of England, and nephew to the Lion Heart. Such was the fame of the Plantagenet that on his arrival at Acre he was almost immediately placed in control of the affairs of the kingdom, and as the hopes of the Christians rose, the fears of the Moslems were excited.

Nor was the great Earl Richard slow to avail himself of the various conditions favorable to success. It happened that on his arrival in Palestine, the sultans of Cairo and Damascus had fallen into dissensions, and were pursuing different policies with respect to the Christians. Richard, emboldened by a knowledge of this fact, at once demanded of the emir of Karac the restoration of the prisoners taken by that high Turk in the battle of Gaza. When the emir refused or neglected to release his captives, the English forces set out towards Jaffa to enforce compliance, but the Moslems durst not resist one who carried the terrible sword of Plantagenet. The prisoners were liberated before the Christians struck a blow. One success quickly followed another, until with little bloodshed all that the Crusaders had

contended for since the capture of the Holy City by Saladin was accomplished. The humble sultans made haste to renew their offers of peace. Richard acceded to their proposals, for these were all that he or the most sanguine of the Western princes could have desired. It was solemnly agreed by the Moslems that Jerusalem, with the greater part of the territory which had belonged to the kingdom in the times of Baldwin I., should be absolutely given up to the Christians. In addition to this prime concession it was stipulated that all captives held by the Turks should be liberated without ransom. Thus by a single and almost bloodless campaign, headed by the English prince, was the reconquest of the Holy Land at last effected. The Crescent was replaced by the Cross in the city of David, and Richard and his barons, well satisfied with the result, departed for their homes. The immediate care of Jerusalem was left to the Patriarch of that sacred metropolis and to the Hospitallers, who undertook the rebuilding of the walls. As to the crown of the kingdom, the same was decreed to Frederick II., who had previously assumed the somewhat dubious honor in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

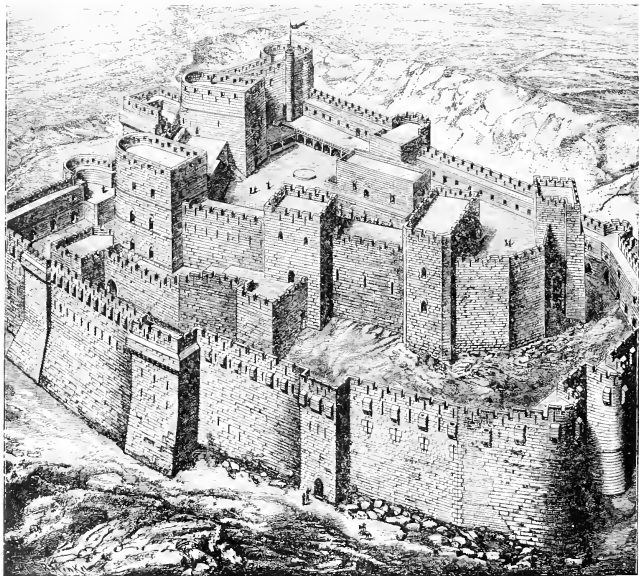
For the moment, it now appeared that the epoch of the Crusades was closed with the complete triumph of the Christians. The essential question at issue had been decided in their favor. It happened, however, that just as this auspicious state succeeded the century and a half of war, a new element was introduced into the Syrian problem. The story of the great invasion of Genghis Khan and his Monguls has already been recited in the preceding volume of this work.¹ It is only necessary in this connection to note the fact that in the overthrow of the Persian Empire by the Monguls, the Corasmins of that region were driven from their seats of power to make room for the conquerors. These Corasmins made their way to the west at the very time when the victorious Earl of Cornwall was re-establishing the kingdom of Jerusalem. Within two years after that event, the Persian brigands, acting under the advice and guidance of the Emir of Egypt, himself justly offended by some hostilities of the Templars, broke into Palestine twenty thousand

¹ See Vol. II., Book Tenth, pp. 378, 379.

strong, and under the leadership of their chief Barbaan, set at naught all rules of war and peace. The Hospitallers had not yet succeeded in restoring the walls of Jerusalem, and the invaders immediately directed their march against that city. Unprepared for defense, the Knights abandoned Zion to her fate.

In the year 1242 the Corasmins appeared before the ruined ramparts and entered without

No other such desperate barbarians had been seen in Palestine since the dawn of history. In order to stay their course, the Knights of Syria and the Moslems joined their forces; but the Emir of Egypt made common cause with the Corasmins. Even a casual glance at the composition of the two confederate armies could not fail to show the complete and utter demoralization of the conflict between the



FORTRESS OF THE EMIR OF KARAC.

resistance. Then followed a scene of butchery hardly equaled by the massacre of the Moslems by the army of Godfrey. In this instance Christian and Mohammedan were treated with no discrimination. Nor did the savages desist from their work with the destruction of human life. The churches were robbed and desecrated; the tombs, broken open and rifled; the sacred places, profaned. Jerusalem, already desolate, was converted into a waste.

Christ and the Prophet. The original antipathies of Christian and Moslem had given place to other conditions of hostility in which the old-time antagonism of Cross and Crescent were forgotten.

The confederate army of Knights and Syrian Moslems was presently induced by the patriarch of Jerusalem and other zealots to risk a battle with the combined forces of Corasmins and Egyptians. Never was there a more

complete and ruinous overthrow than that to which the Christians were now doomed. Their entire forces were either killed or scattered. The Grand Masters of the Hospitallers and Knight-Templars were both slain. Only twenty-six Knights of the Hospital, thirty-three of the Temple, and three of the Teutonic Order were left alive of the whole Christian chivalry of Palestine. The blood-smeared and ferocious victors made haste to seize the fortress of Tiberias and Ascalon, and every other stronghold of Eastern Christendom, with the exception of Acre. Here were gathered the fugitives from all parts of the Holy Land, as to a last rock of refuge. Nor is it likely that even this mediæval Gibraltar of the East would have been able to escape the general fate but for the fortunate quarrels which broke out between the Corasmins and their Egyptian allies.

But this unnatural league came to a natural end. The Emir of Egypt sought a more congenial combination of his forces with his fellow Moslems of Syria. Meanwhile the barbarous Corasmins continued to devastate the country as far as Damascus, which city they captured and pillaged. The effect of this terrible devastation was to arouse the half apathetic Moslems from their stupor. With a heroic effort they rallied a large army, confronted the Corasmin hordes in the Desert near Damascus, and routed them with tremendous slaughter. The invaders were driven entirely out of Palestine, and Syria was relieved of her peril.

To the Christians, however, the destruction of the Corasmins brought no advantage. The Moslems had not reconquered the Holy Land to deliver it gratis to the followers of Christ. The sway of Islam was restored in Jerusalem, and the Christian kingdom continued to be bounded by the fortifications of Acre.

As soon as this deplorable condition of affairs was known in Europe the same scene which had been already six times witnessed in the Western states was again enacted. In 1245 Pope Innocent IV. convened a general council of the church at Lyons, and it was resolved to undertake another crusade to restore the Cross to the waste places of Palestine. To this end it was decreed that all wars among the secular princes of the West should be suspended for a period of four years, so that the

combined energies of all might be devoted to a great expedition against the Infidels. Again the preachers went forth proclaiming a renewal of the conflict, and from Norway to Spain the country resounded with the outcry of the monks.

In Germany the old bitterness between the Emperor Frederick II. and the papal party had broken out afresh, and the efforts of the zealots to rekindle the fires of a holy war were not of much avail. Time and again the Imperial forces and papal troops were engaged in battles in which the animosity of the German Knights, beating with battle-axe and sword around the standard-wagons of the Italian zealots, was not less fierce than were the similar conflicts of the Christians and Islamites in Syria. In France and England the flame of crusading enthusiasm burst forth with brighter flame, and many of the greatest nobles of the two kingdoms ardently espoused the cause. Thus did William Long Sword, the Bishop of Salisbury, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Walter de Lacy, and many other English Knights, who armed themselves and their followers for the conflict. Haco, king of Norway, also took the Cross, and became an ardent promoter of the enterprise, but before the expedition could depart for Syria he was induced by reasons best known to himself to abandon the cause. Most of all, however, was the crusading spirit revived in France, in which realm King Louis IX., most saintly of all the mediæval rulers, spread among all ranks of his admiring subjects the fire of enthusiasm. It was under his devoted leadership that the SEVENTH CRUSADE was now undertaken.

The island of Cyprus was appointed as the place of rendezvous. Thither, in the year 1248, repaired the barons, knights, and soldiery of the West. King Louis, leaving his government in charge of his mother, Blanche of Castile, departed with his warriors and became the soul of the enterprise. As in the case of the Fifth Crusade, it was resolved to make a descent on Egypt, and to conquer that country as the gateway of Syria. Nothing could more clearly illustrate the blind folly, recklessness, and infatuation of the military method of the Middle Ages than the course now pursued by St. Louis and his army. With a singular disregard of the lesson of the recent

past, the Crusaders proceeded against Damietta, there to repeat in almost every particular the blundering disasters of the fifth expedition.

The force with which the French king set out from Cyprus was one of the most formidable

an expedition attended with worse fortune. The squadron was caught in a storm and scattered. On arriving before Damietta the king was accompanied by only seven hundred of his Knights, and his other forces were



BATTLE OF GERMAN KNIGHTS AND ITALIANS

Drawn by N. Sinesl.

able ever seen in the East. The fleet contained eighteen hundred vessels, and the army numbered two thousand eight hundred Knights, seven thousand men-at-arms, and about seventy-five thousand infantry. But never was

correspondingly reduced. On the shore the sultan had gathered an immense army to oppose the landing of his enemies. Such was the array and such the warlike braying of the trumpets of Islam that the leaders admonished Louis not to attempt debarkation until his strength should be increased by the arrival of his dispersed ships. But he was by no means to be deterred from his purpose. With a courage that would have done credit to the Lion Heart he ordered his vessels to approach the shore, sprang into the waters with the oriflamme of France above his head, waded with his resolute Knights through the surf, and attacked the Egyptian army. Such was the heroism of the onset that the Moslems gave way in dismay before the incredible charge and fled, first

to and then from Damietta. That city, which since its previous capture by the Christians had been converted into a stronghold, was taken without serious resistance, but the Infidels, before retreating, set fire to the commer-

cial portion of the emporium, and the flames destroyed all that was most valuable to the captors.

It was the peculiarity of the military temper of the Islamites of the thirteenth century that they sometimes fled from shadows and sometimes fought like the lions of the desert. There was still in them a residue of that fiery valor which they had displayed in the days of Omar the Great. At the present juncture, after flying from a fortress which they might

Christians found themselves closely invested and in danger of extermination. It was well for them that their scattered fleet, most of which had been driven into Acre, now arrived with reinforcements. At the same time William Long Sword and his English chivalry reached Damietta, and joined themselves to the forces of King Louis. The French, thus strengthened, might have sallied forth with a strong prospect of raising the siege and scattering the Moslem army.



LANDING OF SAINT LOUIS IN EGYPT.

easily have defended, they suddenly turned about in great force, and the Christian army in Damietta was in its turn besieged. The Sultan Nejmaddin, great-nephew of Saladin, now occupied the throne of Egypt; nor did he fail to exhibit those sterling qualities as a soldier which might have been expected in one of so heroic a lineage. Himself suffering from disease, he hastened to Damietta, put to death fifty of his officers for having in so cowardly a manner given up the city to the invaders, took command in person, and soon reversed the fortunes of the campaign. The

Much valuable time was wasted in inaction. At length it was resolved by the Christians to make their exit up that branch of the Nile on which Damietta was located, and force their way to Cairo. As soon as the Moslems discovered the movement, they threw their forces along the river, and strenuously opposed the progress of King Louis's army. After much hard fighting, the Christians reached Mansoura. Here a terrible conflict ensued. Before the city could be taken, it was necessary that the Crusaders should cross the Ashmoun canal, and this was held by the

best of the Islamite warriors. At last, however, the Count of Artois, brother of the French king, gathering around him the bravest of the Knights of England and France, succeeded in forcing his way across the canal in the very face of the enemy, who turned and fled into Mansoura. If the count had now acted with discretion, all might have been well; but, instead of yielding to the prudent counsels of William Long Sword and other cool-headed leaders, he rashly and impetuously pursued the flying foe into the town. The other Knights, not to be shamed by his valor, pressed after him, and the whole disorganized mass of mingled Moslems and Christians rolled through the gates of Mansoura.

In a short time the Infidels perceived the folly of their pursuers, and made a rally in overwhelming numbers. He of Artois and his rash followers found themselves surrounded. Valor availed not. The count himself, Long Sword, and the Grand Master of the Templars, were all either killed outright, or hewed down in blood. The Grand Master of the Hospitaliers was taken prisoner; nor would any of the force have escaped but for the opportune arrival of the king with the main army. The Christians succeeded in holding Mansoura, but the victory was comparatively fruitless.

At this juncture Nejmaddin died, and the sultanate passed to his son; but, before the latter was well seated on the throne, the powerful Bibars, general of the Mamelukes, obtained the direction of affairs, and presently took the crown for himself. Under his direction, the Egyptians now took up their galleys from the Nile above the Christian camp, and drew the same overland to a position between the Crusaders and Damietta. In this wise, the army of King Louis was left in precisely the same predicament as the Knights of the Fifth Crusade had been aforesaid. In a brief period famine was added to the horrors of disease in the French camp, and it became evident that, unless a retreat could be effected to Damietta, the whole force would be destroyed. Daily the audacious Infidels, emboldened by the near prospect of success, narrowed their lines and renewed their assaults on the failing Christians. When the latter began their retreat, the victorious Moslems captured the camp, and murdered the sick and wounded. All

the stragglers were cut off, and the main body was thrown into confusion, overwhelmed, annihilated. King Louis and his two remaining brothers, the counts of Anjou and Poitiers, together with a few other nobles, were taken prisoners, but the remainder, to the number of at least thirty thousand, were massacred without mercy.

The son and successor of Nejmaddin was named Touran Shah. By him King Louis and his fellow captives were treated with some consideration, and negotiations were opened with a view to securing the ransom of the prisoners. But, before the terms of liberation could be carried into effect, a revolution broke out in Egypt by which the lives of the captives were brought into imminent peril. The Mamelukes, that fierce band of Turcoman horsemen, revolted against the government, and Touran Shah was slain. His death was the extinction of that Kurdish dynasty which had been established by Saladin, in place of which was substituted a Mameluke dynasty, beginning in 1250 with the chieftain Bibars.

At length avarice prevailed over the thirst for blood, and Louis should be liberated for the fortress of Damietta, which was still held by the Christians, and that all his living followers should be redeemed for four hundred thousand livres in gold. In order to obtain the first installment of the ransom, the sorrowing but still saintly warrior-king was obliged to borrow the requisite sum from the Knights Templars. Damietta was surrendered to the Moslems, and Louis, with the shattered remnant of his forces, took ship for Acre.

Most of the French barons and knights, however, considering their vows fairly fulfilled by their sufferings in Egypt, sought the first opportunity to return home. As to the king, no such course was to be thought of. His pride and religious zeal both forbade his retirement from the hands of the Turk until he had done something to requite the Infidels for the destruction of his army. Entering Acre, the pious monarch at once set about the work of reorganizing the small band of warriors who still adhered to his fallen fortunes. Of those who had survived the ill-starred expedition, and of resi-



THE COUNT OF ARTOIS IN THE BATTLE OF MANSOURAH — DRAWN BY GEORGE DAVY

dent Christian soldiers in Palestine, he collected an army of nearly four thousand men, but with this handful he was unable to undertake any important campaign. Nevertheless, his energies were successfully directed to the scarcely less essential work of repairing the fortifications of the few places over which the Christians could still claim authority. The walls and fortress of Acre were greatly strengthened, and Cesarea, Jaffa, and Sidon put in a state of tolerable defense. In this way the king succeeded, in the course of four years, in making more secure the little that was left of the Latin kingdom in the East.

The hopes of Louis grew with the occasion. The Egyptian and Syrian Moslems quarreled and went to war. So bitter was the feud between the new Mameluke dynasty and the adherents of the Kurdish House at Damascus, that the French king was able to obtain from the former the release of all his prisoners still remaining unransomed with the sultan of Cairo. More hopeful still was the promise which he secured from that potentate of a recession of Jerusalem to the Christians. Nor is it to be doubted that, if the war between Egypt and Syria had continued, the king would have accomplished a great part of what all christendom had fought and prayed for for more than a hundred and fifty years.

But the early reconciliation of the warring Moslems served to blast all expectation of so happy a result. The sultans not only made peace but combined their forces to crush the rising hopes of the Syrian Christians. The latter were so feeble in numbers that no successful stand could be made against the infidel hosts that had gathered on every hand. All the fortresses, except that of Acre, were again given up to the Moslems, and even the gates of that stronghold were threatened by the triumphant soldiers of the Crescent. At length, however, the Islamites withdrew without seriously attempting the reduction of Acre, and this movement on their part, together with the news which was now borne to Syria of the death of the king's mother, gave him good excuse for retiring from the unequal contest. In 1254 he took ship at Acre, and the Seventh Crusade was at an end.

Though in a manner barren of positive results, the expedition of Saint Louis to Pal-

estine had done much to shore up the tottering fabric of the Christian kingdom. Perhaps, if he had in his turn been well supported by the states of the West and by the three great Orders of Knights, a more permanent result might have been achieved. But the Templars and Hospitallers had now forgotten their vows and given themselves up to the mercenary and selfish spirit of the times, to the extent that the Cross was shamed rather than honored, by their support. Moreover, a state of affairs had supervened in the West unfavorable to the maintenance of the Christian cause. The Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans had fallen into such bitter rivalries as to preclude any possibility of a united effort in any enterprise. These peoples had grown wealthy and cosmopolitan, and had ceased to care about the different religions of the world. It was enough that those with whom they held intercourse should desire merchandise and possess the means of purchase. For these and many other reasons the discouragement to the cause of Eastern Christianity was extreme, and all who were at once thoughtful and not blinded by religious fanaticism could but see in the near future the probable and final expulsion of the Christians from the remaining fortresses still held by them in Syria.

As soon as the new Mameluke sultan Bibars was firmly seated on the throne of Egypt, he began a career of conquest. He made expeditions into the Moslem states of Syria, and compelled them to submit to his sway. He then carried his ravages into the territories still nominally belonging to the kingdom of Jerusalem. This movement served the good purpose of hushing for the moment the dissensions of the Templars and Hospitallers who had recently been breathing out threats of mutual destruction. They now united their hostile forces, and did as much as valor might to resist the overwhelming forces of the sultan. As a general rule the Knights fought to the last, refusing to apostatize, dying rather than abandon the faith. In 1265 a body of ninety of these invincible warriors defended the fortress of Azotus until the last man was killed. The Templars acted with as much bravery as they of the Hospital. In the year following the capture of Azotus, the prior of the Order of the Temple made a courageous defense of Saphory, and finally capitulated on a promise

of honorable treatment. Sultan Bibars, however, violated his pledge, and gave his prisoners their option of death or the acceptance of Islam. All chose death, and gave up their lives as a seal to their fidelity. Before the year 1270, all the inland castles belonging to the Orders, including the fortresses of Cesarea, Laodicea, and Jaffa, had been taken by the Infidels. At last, in 1268, the city of Antioch was captured by the Mamelukes. Many thousands of the Christians were massacred, and no fewer than a hundred thousand sold into slavery. For a while it seemed that Acre itself would share the fate of the Syrian capital; but the opportune arrival of the king of Cyprus, and the still more opportune prevalence of the tempest in which the Egyptian fleet was well-nigh destroyed, postponed for a season the final catastrophe.

Such was the imminent doom now impending over the Christian power in the East that the Romish See was at last awakened from its slumbers. The news of the capture of Antioch produced something of the same shock in Western Christendom which had been felt on so many previous occasions. The zeal of Pope Clement IV. cooperated with the devotion of Saint Louis to revive the flagging cause. Nevertheless so completely had the impulses of fanaticism abated that three years were consumed in preparation before the now aged French king was able to gather the armies of the EIGHTH CRUSADE, and set out for the East. On the 4th of July, 1270, the expedition departed from the port of Aignes-Mortes, and came to Sarlinia. Here it was determined—such being the king's own wish in the premises—to make a descent on the coast of Africa with a view to the conquest of Tunis. For it was believed that both the king of this country and his subjects might be converted to Christianity.

Such was the extraordinary nature of this enterprise that many of King Louis's barons tried to dissuade him from the project. But the piety of the king, backed as it was by the interested motives of his brother Charles of Anjou, now king of Naples and Sicily, proved superior to all objections, and on the 24th of July the squadron was brought to anchor in the harbor of ancient Carthage.

At this epoch the kingdom of Tunis was

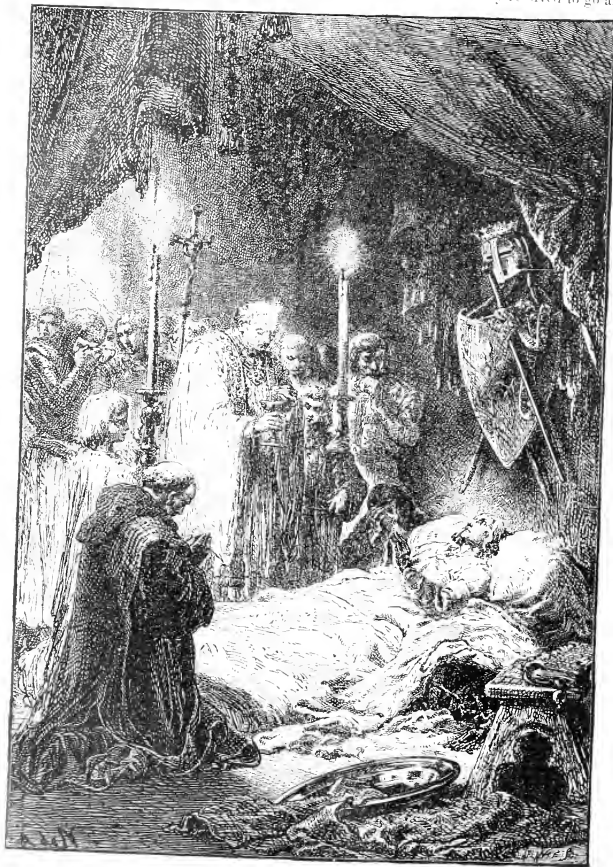
torn by faction. The royal or Saracenic party was opposed by the Berbers. It appears that King Louis had hoped to profit by this dissension and by espousing the cause of the Saracenic ruler to bring him and his countrymen to Christianity. The presence of the French army, however, had the effect to heal the breach in the African kingdom, and both parties made common cause against the invaders. The king of Tunis raised a powerful army to drive his officious *friends* into the sea. He desired neither them nor their religion. For the time no general battle was fought. Both parties avoided it. The Moors knew, and the Christians soon came to know that the climate of that sun-scorched region would avail more than the sword in the destruction of a European army.

Pestilence broke out in the camp of the Crusaders. The soldiers died by hundreds and then by thousands. The air became laden with poisonous vapors. The dead lay unburied, for the living were sick. Many of the noblest of France yielded to the blight. The counts of Vendôme, La Marche, Gaultier, and Nemours, and the barons of Montmorency, Piennes, and Bressac, sickened and died. The king's favorite son, the Duke of Nevers, followed them to the land of shadows, and then Saint Louis himself fell before the destroyer. The few who remained alive eagerly sought to save themselves by flying from the horrid situation and returning to France.

In the mean time, however, another train of circumstances had been laid which led to a continuance of the Crusade after the death of King Louis and the ruin of his army. The barons of England, also, hearing of the fall of Antioch, had felt a generous pang and taken the cross for the rescue. Prince Edward Plantagenet, son of Henry III., and heir of the English crown, rallied his nobles to aid the French in the salvation of the Christian states of the East. He was supported in the work by five of the great earls of England, and a force of lords and knights numbering about a thousand. With this small but spirited army Edward set out from the kingdom which he was soon to inherit, and landing on the African coast joined himself and his brave followers with the army of King Louis to aid in the conquest of Tunis. The French forces, how-

ever, were already in the pangs of dissolution; and when, after the death and funeral of Saint Louis, Edward and his heirs tried to persuade the sick and dying soldiers of France

to continue the Crusade by embarking for the East, they refused to proceed. Not so, however, the English. With a steady perseverance peculiar to their race they resolved to go alone



DEATH OF SAINT LOUIS.
Drawn by A. de Neville

to Palestine and thus redeem the Eighth Crusade from failure.

In the autumn of 1270 Edward and his warriors arrived at Acre. The Christians of that forlorn outpost of the Cross were greatly inspired by the coming of their English friends, led by one who bore the terrible name of Plantagenet. The Moslems conceived a wholesome dread of the Knights, who had just arrived from the West. The Sultan Bibars, who was already before the gates of Acre, retired in haste when he learned that Edward *Plantagenet* was in the fortress. The scattered Christian warriors of Palestine sought shelter and a renewal of confidence by gathering around the English standard. Prince Edward thus succeeded in rallying a force of about seven thousand warriors, and with this small army went boldly forth to encounter the hosts of Islam.

Marching in the direction of Nazareth the Crusaders soon fell in with a division of the Moslems, whom they defeated and dispersed. Proceeding to the boyhood home of Christ they took the town by storm and slaughtered the inhabitants with an excess of ferocity which might well have signalized the deeds of the first Crusaders. The Christians took up their station in Nazareth, but were almost immediately attacked with dreadful diseases, more fatal than the swords of the Moslems. Hundreds of the small army fell victims to the pestilence. The prince himself fell sick, and while confined to his couch was assailed by one of the Assassins. The wretch, under pretense of giving Edward important information, gained access to his tent, and while the latter was reading the pretended credentials attacked him with a poisoned dagger. Plantagenet, however, was not to be extinguished by a murderer. Springing from the couch he seized his assailant, threw him to the earth, and transfixed him with his own weapon. The prince's physician then excised the poisoned wounds of the prince and his vigorous constitution prevailed over both his injuries and the pestilence. So greatly, however, were his scanty forces wasted that a further continuance of the conflict seemed out of the question.

The news now came from England that King Henry III. was sick unto death, and the prince's presence was necessary to the

peace of the realm. He accordingly determined to avail himself of the overtures made by the sultan, who perhaps not knowing the condition of Edward and his handful of warriors, and entertaining for them a salutary respect had proposed a truce for a period of ten years. A settlement was accordingly made on this basis, and after a residence of fourteen months Prince Edward retired from Palestine. The success of his campaign had been such as to secure another respite to the tottering fabric of Christianity in Syria.

In the year 1274 the Pope's legate in Palestine, the Count Thibaut, was elected to the papal throne with the title of Gregory X. Himself familiar by long and painful observation with the deplorable condition of Christian affairs in the Holy Land, he at once resolved to do as much as lay in the power of the pontiff to rouse the states of Europe from their lethargy. He accordingly, in the year of his elevation to the papacy, convoked the second council of Lyons, and there exerted himself to the utmost to induce another uprising of the people. The effort was in vain. Though several of the secular princes promised to lend their aid in a new movement to the East, their pledges remained unfulfilled, and with the death of the Pope two years afterwards the whole enterprise came to naught.

For eight years the Syrian Christians remained unmolested. This observance by the Moslems of the treaty made with Prince Edward was due, however, rather to the dissensions of the Islamites than to any consideration of a compact which they knew the Christians to be unable to enforce. After the death of Frederick II., in the year 1250, the crown of Jerusalem had been conferred on Hugh of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, though his claim to the mythical dignity was controverted by Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily. The latter by his recent victory over Count Manfred of Naples, whom he defeated and slew in the decisive battle of Benevento, had become the leading actor in the affairs of Italy. The new sovereign was, however, so far as his Syrian dominions were concerned, a mere phantom. No attempt was made by him to recover the Holy City or any other of the lost possessions of christendom in Asia. Indeed, the Latin power on the coast existed only by sufferance. In

1280, two years before the expiration of the truce, some Moslem traders plying their vocation in the coast towns and villages of Palestine were attacked and robbed by bands of

saalem, was taken and garrisoned by the Moslems. From year to year he continued his aggressions until the mere foothold in the fortress of Acre was all that remained under the shadow of the Cross in Syria.



DEATH OF MANFRED IN THE BATTLE OF BENEVENTO.

marauding Christians. After demanding redress and obtaining none, the sultan of Egypt cut short the existing order by raising an army and renewing the conflict. The Latin outposts were cut off one by one until Tripoli, the last remaining fief of the crown of Jeru-

terminate the last Christian dog within the limits of his dominions. He accordingly drew out an immense army of two hundred thousand men, and in 1291 pitched his camp before the walls of Acre.

Perhaps at this time there was gathered

It was a strange spectacle even in these strange times of lawlessness and rapine, to behold the Christians thus pent up in a single town, still displaying the spirit of aggression. It is the duty of History to record that the last Crusaders in Palestine were as brave and reckless as the first. Notwithstanding their feebleness, these strange warriors of the Middle Ages availed themselves of every opportunity to sally forth and attack the Moslem merchants whom chance or interest drew into the vicinity of Acre. This policy was continued until the Sultan Khatil, then reigning in Cairo, enraged at the audacity, not to say perfidy, of these remaining soldiers of the Cross, swore by the name of Allah and his Prophet that he would ex-

within the defenses of the last stronghold of christendom in Palestine such a *mélange* of people as never before or since was congregated in a city. Almost every nation of Europe was represented in the multitudes that thronged the streets. So great was the diversity of tongues, races, and religions that seventeen independent tribunals were instituted in the alleged administration of justice. It was Gog and Magog with the immense throng between whom and the sword of Khatil's Mamelukes only the walls and towers of Acre interposed.

Such was the distraction of counsels prevalent in the city, that no adequate measures of defense could be carried into effect. The ramparts were imperfectly defended, and the crowds of non-combatants soon came to understand that safety lay in the direction of escape. In a short time the ships in the harbor were crowded with those who were fortunate enough first to perceive the situation and avail themselves of the opportunity. This process of debarkation went on steadily until it appeared that Acre would be left without an inhabitant. But the knights of the three military orders and a few other warriors, to the number of about twelve thousand in all, showed a different mettle.

Perhaps nothing more heroic has been witnessed in the annals of warfare than the resolute and unwavering courage displayed by this band of European and Syrian chivalry in defending the last fortress of Eastern christendom. For thirty-three days they manned the ramparts against Khatil and his twenty myriads of Mamelukes. With ever increasing vehemence the Moslems leveled their destroying engines against the tottering walls and towers. At last an important defense, known by the name of the Cursed Tower, yielded to the assailants, and went down with a crash. The breach thus effected in the defenses opened into the heart of the city. Then it was that Hugh of Lusignan, whom the folly of the times still designated as king of Jerusalem, gathering together a band of friends and favorites, fled in the darkness, went on shipboard, and left the city to its fate. But the Teutonic Knights, scorning the conduct of the royal poltroon, rallied in the breach with an energy born of heroism rather than despair, and beat back the Moslems with terrible slaughter. The latter rallied

again and again to the charge, and at last the bleeding Knights, reduced very handful, were overcome by the Infidel host, and hurled backwards from their post of glory. In poured the savage tides of victorious Islam, hungry for blood and revenge. The few inhabitants who remained in the city were quickly butchered or seized as slaves. In the last hours, the surviving Knights of the Hospital and the Temple shared the dying glory of the Teutonic chivalry. Sallying forth from the parts of the defenses which had been assigned to their keeping, they charged upon the Moslems, and fought till only *seven* of the gallant band remained to tell the tale of destruction. This remnant of an Order which it is impossible not to admire for its stubborn exhibition of mediæval virtues gained the coast, and, with good reason, considering that their monastic vows had been fulfilled, saved themselves by embarkation.

For three days after the assault and capture of the city, the surviving Templars defended themselves in their monastery. Here their Grand Master, Pierre de Beaujeu, one of the bravest of the brave, was killed by a poisoned arrow. His companions continued the defense until the sultan, not unappreciative of such heroism, granted them honorable terms of capitulation. No sooner, however, had they surrendered than they were assailed with jeers and insults by the infuriated Mamelukes, who could hardly be restrained. Enraged at this treatment, the Knights attacked their enemies with redoubled fury, and fought until they were exterminated almost to a man. A few, escaping into the interior, continued to smite every Moslem whom they met, until finally, returning to the coast, they took ship and sailed for Cyprus.

Such was the last act of the drama. The few Christians still clinging to the coast towns of Syria made their escape as soon as possible, and left the savage Mamelukes in complete possession of the country. After a continuance of a hundred and ninety-one years, the contest between the Cross and the Crescent had ended in a complete restoration of the ancient *regime* throughout Syria and Asia Minor. The semilune of Islam was again in the ascendant. The hardy virtues of the races of Western and Northern Europe had not been, perhaps could

not be, transplanted to the birthplace of that religious system under the influence of which the Crusaders had flung themselves upon the East. The collapse was fatal. The spirit, which had so many times inflamed the zeal and passion of Europe, had expired, and could be no more evoked from the shadows. Spasmodically, at intervals, for a period of more than fifty years after the fall of Acre, the voice of the Popes was heard, calling on lethargic christendom to lift again the standard of the Cross in Palestine. But the cry fell on deaf ears. The nations would agitate no more; and the picture, drawn with such vivid effect in the preceding century, of the profane and turbaned Turk performing his orgies on the tomb of Christ, kindled no more forever the insane fanaticism of the Christians of the West.

It is appropriate in this connection to add a few paragraphs on the effects which followed the Crusades as their antecedent and cause. It is a difficult question on which to express such a judgment as will fairly reconcile the conflicting views of those writers who have essayed the discussion. It is natural, in the first place, to look at the relative position and strength of the combatants after the conflict was ended. In general, it may be said that neither Islam nor Christianity was much retarded or promoted by the issue of the almost two centuries of war. The prospects of the Crescent in Syria and Asia Minor were nearly the same after the fall of Acre as they had been before the Council of Clermont. The Crusades failed to alter the established condition of Asia; and it is to be doubted whether, taken all in all, the downfall of Constantinople was either greatly delayed or promoted by the Holy Wars.

The same may be said of the religious condition of Europe. The Mohammedans fought to maintain a status; and to that extent they were successful. But they seem never to have contemplated the invasion of the Christian continent as a measure of retaliation. It was sufficient that the soldiers of the Cross were expelled from Palestine, and limited to such intestine strifes as were native to their own dominions.

As to religious opinions, a larger change was effected. At the beginning of the conflict, both Christians and Mohammedans entertained for each other's beliefs and practices

an indescribable abhorrence. A mutual hatred more profound than that with which the first Crusaders and the Infidels were inflamed can hardly be imagined. The fanaticism and bigotry of the Christians was more intense in proportion as they were more ignorant than the Islamites. They believed that Moham-med was the Devil, or, at least, that Anti-christ whom to exterminate was the first duty and highest privilege of Christian warriors. By degrees, however, this insane frenzy passed away, and was replaced with a certain respect for an enemy whom they found more intelligent and less bloody-minded than themselves. From the time of the Third and Fourth Crusades it was easy to perceive a change of sentiment affecting the conduct of the combatants. Their battles were no longer mere massacres of the vanquished by the victors. Saladin himself, though still in a measure under the influence of savage Islam, set the example of a more humane and tolerant spirit. In some degree his conduct was emulated by the Christians, and the later years of the war were marked by less atrocity and fewer butcheries.

The altered sentiments of the Crusaders and the Moslems are easily discoverable in the tone assumed by the earlier and later writers who followed the Christian armies. In the older chronicles there is diffused on every page the intense hatred of the author. It is manifest that they write of peoples whom they had not yet seen, of beliefs which they did not understand, of institutions and practices which they had not witnessed. They detest the Mohammedans as if they were monsters, dogs, devils. But in the later annals of the Crusades there is a change of tone and opinion. The Moslems are no longer the savage and inhuman beasts which they had been represented to be by the earlier historians. The Christians had come to understand and to a certain degree to appreciate the ideas and social customs of the Islamites. Friendly relations sprang up in the intervals between the successive Crusades, and it is doubtless true that the Christian dwellers in the Holy Land frequently heard with regret and grief the premonitory mutterings of another outbreak, by which their moiety of peace was to be swept away. Besides this, the later Christian chroniclers have words of praise not

few or stunted for the great Mohammedan leaders with whom they had become acquainted. Bernard le Tresorier pronounces a glowing eulogium on the character of Saladin, and William of Tyre praises Nouredin in a strain of equal commendation. It is evident that by the close of the thirteenth century the opinions of that part of christendom which had come into actual contact with Islam had undergone a radical change. There are not wanting Christian writers of the epoch who go to the length of drawing unfavorable comparisons between the manners, customs, and institutions of their own people in the West and those of the more refined Mohammedans. The historical treatises and letters of the later Crusaders are thus found to express sentiments and opinions which would have been horrifying in the last degree to the contemporaries of Godfrey and Baldwin.¹

It will be seen, then, that the general tendency of the Crusade was, so far as ideas and beliefs were concerned, in the direction of the emancipation of the human mind. Though the Holy Wars were begun under the impulse of religious fanaticism, though they were continued for the express purpose of making religious zeal the criterion of human character and conduct, yet year by year the despotic sway of that fanaticism and zeal was loosened and the mind set free in wider fields of activity. The change of place and scene had a marvelous effect upon the rude imaginations and confined beliefs of the Crusaders. They saw Rome, the mother of mysteries. They saw Constantinople, the wonder of two continents.

¹ The following paragraphs from Sir John Mandeville will illustrate the altered tone of the later Christian writers relative to manners and merits of the Moslems. Sir John thus, in 1356, narrates the story of his interview with the sultan, and of the sentiments which they interchanged:

"And therefore shall I tell you what the sultan told me one day in his chamber. He sent out of the room all manner of men, both lords and others, for he would speak with me in private: And there he asked me in what manner the Christian folk govern themselves in our country. And I answered him, 'Right well; thanks to God.' And he replied, 'Indeed not so; for the Christian people do not know how to serve God rightly. You should give example to the lewd folk to do well, but you give them example to do evil. For your people upon festival days when they should go to church to serve God, then go they to taverns,

They saw Jerusalem, and found it only a Syrian town hallowed by nothing save its associations. They observed the riches and elegant manners of the Moslems, and thus by degrees were weaned from the domination of those ideas which had impelled them to take the Cross.

As to the Papal Church, the influence of the Crusades was more baleful than beneficial. There is no doubt that the ambition of Gregory was sincere; nor are we at liberty to suppose that Urban II. was actuated by other than a true zeal for the honor of the Cross. But the Holy Wars had not long continued until the Popes discovered in the situation a vast source of profit to themselves and the Church. The principle of a monetary equivalent for military service was admitted, and it became the custom with the Crusaders to pay into the papal treasury large sums as a satisfaction for unfulfilled vows. This usage, if not the actual beginning, was at least the powerful excitant and auxiliary of the sale of indulgences by the Church. The principal of buying exemption from military service was extended to other classes of service and duty; and the plan of purchasing the removal of penalties, both past and prospective, became almost universally prevalent.

Another fatal consequence flowing to the Church from the Crusades was the subsequent misdirection of the zeal and fanaticism which she had evoked against the Infidels. When papal Europe ceased to agitate against the Moslems, it became a question with the Popes to what end the forces which had been expending themselves in warfare with the Turks

and remain there in gluttony all day and all night, eating and drinking as beasts that have no reason, and wit not when they have enough.' And then he called in all the lords whom he had sent out of his chamber and there he showed me four that were grandees in that country; and these told me of my country and of many other Christian countries as truly as if they had been there themselves. And they spake French right well; and the sultan also, whereof I had great marvel. Alas! it is a great scandal to our faith and our law when they that are without the law do thus reprove and moderate us on account of our sins. And truly they have good reason. For the Saracens are good and faithful. For they keep perfectly the commandment of the Holy Book Al-Koran, which God sent them by his messenger Mohammed, to whom, as they say, God often revealed his will by the angel Gabriel.²

should now be turned. To the endless misfortune of Rome, the remaining energy of the Christian states—the residue of fanaticism which two centuries of war had not wholly consumed—was turned into the two channels of open persecution for unbelief and private inquisitorial tortures for the heretical. The Church which had failed to overthrow the Crescent in Asia, undertook the extirpation of heresy in her own dominions. And the means by which she would accomplish this result were far less honorable to her judgment and conscience than were the measures adopted to destroy the supremacy of the False Prophet in the East. The horrid cruelties to which for several centuries Europe was to be subjected for opinion's sake, were referable in a large measure to the unexpired and malignant energies of the Crusading epoch, misdirected against the clearing judgment and rising conscience of the age.

Among the political effects of the Crusades, the most marked and important was the stimulus given to monarchy at the expense of feudalism. At the outbreak of the Holy Wars, Europe was feudal; at their close, she had become monarchic. Not that feudalism was extinct; not that monarchy was completely triumphant; but the beginning of the new order of things had been securely laid, and the extinction of the old system was only a question of time. The events which led to this result are easily apprehended. The Crusades were the very wheel under which feudalism might be most effectually crushed. The movement at the first was headed by feudal barons, but there was a survival of the fittest. The fittest became kings. The rest sank out of sight. While the Crusades were thus bringing princes to the front, a process of transformation was going on in the home states, out of which the pilgrim warriors had been recruited. Here the smaller fiefs were rapidly absorbed in the larger. The great and powerful barons grew towards the kingly estate, and the feeble lords lost their importance with their lands. At the close of the Crusades, the kings of the Western states found themselves opposed by a less numerous nobility; and many of the surviving grandees were barons of low degree, or knights of shreds and patches. In the contest that pres-

ently ensued, every circumstance favored the cause of an aspiring royalty as against that of the feudal nobles.

Still more striking, however, was the influence of the Crusades in promoting the growth and development of the free municipalities of Europe. First of all did the maritime Republics of Italy feel the impetus of prosperity and greatness under the agitation of the Northern states. It is in the nature of war that it makes heavy drafts upon commerce and manufactures. The latter produce and the former conveys to the destined field the arms, munitions, and enginery necessary to the success of the expedition. Before the Council of Clermont the Italian Republics had already grown to such a stature that they were ready to avail themselves of every opportunity to get gain. During the progress of the Holy Wars these sturdy maritime states sprang forward with rapid strides and took their place among the leading powers of the West. The general upheaval of European society contributed wonderfully to the prosperity and influence of the seafaring republicans who, caring but little for the principles involved between the Christian barons and the Moslems, were ready with ships and merchandise to serve whoever would pay for the use of their wharves and fleets. During the latter half of the thirteenth century nearly all the pilgrimages and expeditions to the East were conducted in Venetian vessels, though the ships of Pisa and Genoa competed with their more prosperous rivals for the carrying trade with the ports of Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor. The squandered wealth lifted by religious fanaticism from the products of the peasant labor of France, England, and Germany found its way to the Venetian merchants, and into the swollen coffers of the Roman Sea.

Not only did the crusading expeditions inure to the benefit of the Italian Republics, but also to the general commerce of the Western states. The naval enterprises were conducted with so great success by the merchant sailors of Italy that trading-ports were established in the Levant, into which were poured and out of which were exported the riches of the Orient. Merchandising became the most profitable of all pursuits. Not only the cities of Italy, but those of Germany, of England,

and of the North of Europe, felt the life-giving impulses of the new commerce established with the East. No other circumstance between the time of the downfall of the Roman Empire of the West and the double discovery of the New World and an all-water route to India, did so much to revive the dormant commercial spirit of Europe as did the Holy Wars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Perhaps the influence of the Crusades, as it respects the diffusion of the learning of the East, has been overestimated. It has been the custom of writers to draw an analogy between the effects of the conquests of Alexander the Great and those which followed the establishment of the Latin kingdom in the East. A closer examination of the facts destroys the parallel. The comparative barbarity of the Crusaders, their want of learning and complete depravity of literary taste, forbade the absorption by them of the intellectual wealth of the peoples whom they conquered. Even in Constantinople the French barons and knights appear not to have been affected by the culture and refinement of the city. Only their cupidity was excited by the splendor and literary treasures of the Eastern metropolis. It does not appear that the Crusaders, even the most enlightened of the leaders, were sufficiently interested in the possibilities of the situation to learn the language of the Greeks. The literary imagination of the invaders and conquerors of Palestine seem not to have been excited in the midst of scenes which might have been supposed to be the native sources of inspiration. Poetry followed not in the wake of those devastating excursions. Art came not as the fruit of war-like agitation, or to commemorate the exploits of mediæval heroes.

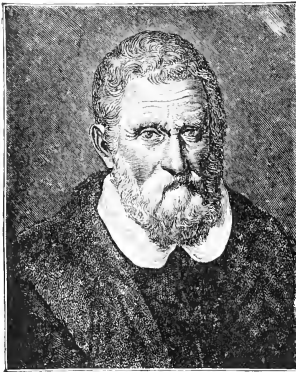
Perhaps the greatest single advantage flowing from the Crusades was the establishment of intercourse between the Asiatic and the European nations. Hitherto the peoples of the East and the West had lived in almost complete ignorance of each other's manners, customs, and national character. Traveling became common, and the minds of men began to be emancipated from the fetters of locality. Many Europeans settled in the East, and becoming acquainted with the Asiatics, diffused a knowledge of the Orient among their own

countrymen. Relations were established between the Moslem and the Christian states. Embassies were sent back and forth between the Mongol emperors and the kings of the Western nations. More than once it was proposed that the Christians and the Mongols should enter into an alliance, and that the Crusades should be continued by them against the common enemy, the Turks. The impress made upon the mind and destinies of Europe by these relations of the Christians and the Mohammedans, is thus described by the distinguished historian, Abel Rémusat:

"Many men of religious orders, Italians, French, and Flemings, were charged with diplomatic missions to the court of the Great Khan. Mongols of distinction came to Rome, Barcelona, Valetia, Lyons, Paris, London, and Northampton, and a Franciscan of the kingdom of Naples was archbishop of Pekin. His successor was a professor of theology in the University of Paris. But how many other people followed in the train of these personages, either as slaves, or attracted by the desire of profit, or led by curiosity into regions hitherto unknown! Chance has preserved the names of some of these; the first envoy who visited the king of Hungary on the part of the Tartars was an Englishman, who had been banished from his country for certain crimes, and who, after having wandered over Asia, at last entered into the service of the Mongols. A Flemish Cordelier, in the heart of Tartary, fell in with a woman of Metz called *Paquette*, who had been carried off into Hungary; also a Parisian goldsmith, and a young man from the neighborhood of Rouen, who had been at the taking of Belgrade. In the same country he fell in also with Russians, Hungarians, and Flemings. A singer, called *Robert*, after having traveled through Eastern Asia, returned to end his days in the cathedral of Chartres. A Tartar was a furnisher of helmets in the armies of Philip the Fair. Jean de Planarpin fell in, near Gayouk, with a Russian gentleman whom he calls *Tancr*, and who acted as interpreter; and many merchants of Breslau, Poland, and Austria, accompanied him in his journey into Tartary. Others returned with him through Russia; they were Genoese, Pisans, and Venetians. Two Venetians, merchants, whom chance had brought to Bokhara,

followed a Mongol ambassador, sent by Houlagou to Khoubilai. They remained many years in China and Tartary, returned with letters from the Great Khan to the Pope, and afterwards went back to the Khan, taking with them the son of one of their number, the celebrated Marco Polo, and once more left the court of Khoubilai to return to Venice. Travels of this nature were not less frequent in the following century. Of this number are those of John Mandeville, an English physician; Oleric de Frioul, Pegoletti, Guilleaume de Bouddeselle, and several others.

“It may well be supposed, that those travels of which the memory is preserved, form but a



MARCO POLO.

small part of those which were undertaken, and there were in those days many more people who were able to perform those long journeys than to write accounts of them. Many of those adventurers must have remained and died in the countries they went to visit. Others returned home, as obscure as before, but having their imagination full of the things they had seen, relating them to their families, with much exaggeration, no doubt, but leaving behind them, among many ridiculous fables, useful recollections and traditions capable of bearing fruit. Thus, in Germany, Italy, and France, in the monasteries, among the nobility, and even down to the lowest classes of society, there were de-

posited many precious seeds destined to bud at a somewhat later period. All these unknown travelers, carrying the arts of their own country into distant regions, brought back other pieces of knowledge not less precious, and, without being aware of it, made exchanges more advantageous than those of commerce. By these means, not only the traffic in the silks, porcelain, and other commodities of Hindostan, became more extensive and practicable, and new paths were opened to commercial industry and enterprise; but, what was more valuable still, foreign manners, unknown nations, extraordinary productions, presented themselves in abundance to the minds of the Europeans, which, since the fall of the Roman empire, had been confined within too narrow a circle. Men began to attach some importance to the most beautiful, the most populous, and the most anciently civilized, of the four quarters of the world. They began to study the arts, the religions, the languages, of the nations by whom it was inhabited; and there was even an intention of establishing a professorship of the Tartar language in the university of Paris. The accounts of travelers, strange and exaggerated, indeed, but soon discussed and cleared up, diffused more correct and varied notions of those distant regions. The world seemed to open, as it were, towards the East; geography made an immense stride; and ardor for discovery became the new form assumed by European spirit of adventure. The idea of another hemisphere, when our own came to be better known, no longer seemed an improbable paradox; and it was when in search of the Zijangri of Marco Polo that Christopher Columbus discovered the New World.”

Many disputes have occurred relative to the discoveries and inventions alleged to have been brought into Europe by the returning Crusaders. It stands to reason that things known in Asia, and unknown in the West, would be revealed to the pilgrim warriors, and by them reported to their countrymen. It should be remembered, however, that the bigotry of the Crusaders knew no bounds. They went to Asia as *despoilers*. They beat to the earth, with indiscriminating hatred, both man and his works. It was their theory and belief that all things Mohammedan were of the Devil. Acting under this blind and superstitious fanatic-

cism, they were little disposed to admit the merit, much less to copy the advantages, of Asiatic discoveries in art and science. It has been said that those great factors of civilization—gunpowder, the art of printing, and the mariner's compass—were known in Asia before the epoch of the Crusades, and there is little reason to doubt that such was actually the case; but it would perhaps be difficult to prove that a knowledge of these sterling inventions

was obtained in Europe from the Christian warriors returning from Palestine. It was in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that Europeans began to employ the compass, to manufacture explosives for the purposes of war, and to print from movable types. Perhaps the rumor and general fame of such arts may have preceded, by a considerable period, their actual introduction among the nations of the West.

CHAPTER XXIII.—ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.



HE present Book may be appropriately closed with a brief sketch of the history of England and France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the former country, beginning with the accession of the House of Plantagenet, we come, in 1154, to the reign of Henry II. This distinguished prince was the son of Geoffrey Plantagenet and Matilda, daughter of Henry I. Though no Crusader himself, he gave to the Holy Wars the greatest of all Crusaders in the person of his son, the Lion Heart. The reign of Henry extended to the year 1189, and was on the whole a time of distress and trouble.

The middle of this period was noted for a violent outbreak between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the kingdom, the former headed by the king, and the latter by the celebrated Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. On the one side were arrayed most of the barons and lords, and not a few of the clergy, including at one time the Archbishop of York; while on the other were marshaled most of the bishops and priests, backed by the whole power of Rome. From the peculiar structure of English society it happened that the common people, who were grievously oppressed by the barons, were all on the side of the church as against the king. By them the Archbishop of Canterbury was regarded as a friend, champion, and protector, and they looked to him as to one able to deliver them

from the woes of secular despotism. Becket himself had been a soldier, and besides the reputation which he had gained in the field, he bore the name of one of the ripest scholars of the age. He had been the bosom friend of Henry Plantagenet, and by the influence of that sovereign had been raised through successive grades of ecclesiastical preferment to the archbishopric of Canterbury. His break with the king may be dated from the year 1164, when, by setting himself in antagonism to a series of royal measures known as the "Constitution of Clarendon," he incurred the monarch's unyielding enmity. The great prelate's opposition was without doubt based upon a sincere devotion to the cause of the English commons, no less than on the purpose to maintain the independence of ecclesiastical authority.

In the beginning of the quarrel, King Henry withdrew his son from the tutorship of Becket, and placed him with the Archbishop of York. By and by the Pope interfered, and Becket was at the first ordered to cease from his opposition to the measures of the king. Henry procured the archbishop's trial by the parliament of Northampton, and he was obliged to fly from the kingdom. More than four hundred of his relatives were driven into exile; but Becket, having surrendered his authority into the hands of the Pope, was reinstated by him in all his former and several additional dignities. The measure was openly canvassed in the Romish See of excommunicating King Henry from the communion of

the church. The latter, however, was as obstinate as his enemies. He had the coronation of his son Henry remanded to the Archbishop of York, thus openly denying the primacy of

Canterbury. In the early part of 1170, a superficial reconciliation was patched up between the king and the prelate; but Henry gave some of his less scrupulous barons to under-



MURDER OF THOMAS À BECKET.
Drawn by L. F. Leydler.

stand that Thomas à Becket's exit from the world would be a fact most pleasing to himself. Hereupon Reginald Fitzurse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito made a conspiracy against the archbishop's life. On the 28th of December, 1170, they met at the castle of Ranulph de Broc, near Canterbury, and were there joined by a body of armed men ready for any business, however desperate. On the following day the leaders, who appear to have desired to stop short of taking the prelate's life, had an interview with him, and tried to frighten him out of the realm. But the soldier priest was not to be terrified, and on the evening of that day, the conspirators forced their way into the cathedral, where Becket was conducting vespers. They first attempted to drag him from the church, but the bishop tore himself from their clutches and knelt down at the altar, already bleeding with a sword gash in his head. His assailants now fell upon him with fury, and dashed out his brains on the floor.

Though the king's party had thus freed themselves from the presence of their powerful enemy, the spirit which he represented was not so easily extinguished. The people of Knaresborough rose in their wrath, and the slayers of Becket were obliged to fly from the kingdom. Everywhere throughout England the tide rose so high against Henry that he and his dynasty were threatened with overthrow. The king of France took up arms and the Pope threatened excommunication. The king, however, escaped from the dangerous situation by taking a solemn oath that he had not been privy to the murder of Becket; but even after this he deemed it necessary to make a further atonement at the altars of the irate church. He accordingly made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Thomas à Becket, and after fasting and praying at the shrine of that martyr received a flagellation on his naked back at the hands of the monks. After this public mark of his submission and penitence the excitement subsided, and Henry forbore to give further cause of offense to the ecclesiastical party.

The king now found time to resist an invasion of the Scots. The latter proved to be unequal to the enterprise which they had undertaken. Henry defeated them, compelled

the king of Scotland to surrender a part of his dominions and himself and his sons to do homage for the remainder.

On the death of King Henry, in 1189, the crown descended to his eccentric and famous son, RICHARD THE LION HEART. On the occasion of his coronation an insurrection broke out in London, and the hated Jews became the objects of a popular vengeance which could not be easily appeased. At the first the new king sought to stay the fury of his subjects, and afforded some protection to the hunted Israelites. But when Richard, by nature large-hearted and generous, departed on the great Crusade, the persecutions broke out afresh, and extended into various parts of the kingdom. It was the peculiarity of the times that the brutal religious fanaticism of the people of Western Europe burst forth with indiscriminate madness against all those who were, or had ever been, the enemies of Christ. The Jews were as much hated in various parts of the West as were the Mohammedans in the East. England was the scene of several butcheries hardly surpassed in any age of barbarism. Three years after the crowning of the Lion Heart the city of York witnessed a massacre of unusual atrocity. Hundreds of the Jews were slaughtered without mercy. Their distinguished and kind-spirited rabbi, with a large number of his people, was driven into the castle of York, where, attempting to save themselves from destruction, and despairing of help or compassion, they slew their wives and children, fired the edifice, and perished in the flames.

The earlier years of the twelfth century were a stormy and agitated epoch—a kind of March-month of English liberty. In the closing year of the preceding centennium King Richard Cœur de Lion died, bequeathing his crown and kingdom to his heroic and contemptible brother John, surnamed *Sans-cœur*, or Lackland. The latter came to the throne with all of the vices and none of the virtues of the Plantagenets. The Lion Heart had been induced in the last hours of his life to discard his nephew Arthur, of Brittany, in favor of the unprincipled John, who was already intriguing against the interests of England. Philip, who had been the protector of Prince Arthur, abandoned him on the accession of

John to the throne, and a treaty was made between the French and English kings by which it was agreed that the niece of the latter, Blanche of Castile, should be married to Louis, the Dauphin of France. Arthur was to be given up to the tender mercies of his



DEATH OF THE RABBI AND THE JEWS IN YORK.

Drawn by H. Leutemann

uncle. This settlement, however, never reached a fulfilment. Prince Arthur married the daughter of Philip, and his father-in-law espoused his cause and aided him in the hostilities which ensued.

Shortly after this change of policy on the part of the French king, Arthur was taken prisoner by his uncle John, and was shut up in the castle of Bristol. The English king, with his usual perfidy, gave orders to Hubert de Burgh, governor of Falaise, to which place Arthur had been transferred, to put the prisoner to death; but the heart of Hubert failed him in the execution of the order, and King John was deceived with a false report of the prince's execution and funeral. The people of Brittany also believing that Arthur had been murdered, rose in revolt, and Hubert, in order to save himself from odium and probable destruction, was obliged to divulge the truth.

Great was the wrath thus enkindled against the unnatural king. The barons of England refused to join his standard, and Philip, making war upon him in the French provinces belonging to the English crown overthrew his authority and drove him out of Normandy. That great duchy, after having belonged to England for more than three centuries, was torn away and united to France. So great an offense and injury to the English crown had not been known since the days of Rollo the Dane.

In the ninth year of his reign, King John fell into a violent quarrel with Pope Innocent III. The matter at issue was the choice of a new archbishop for the see of Canterbury. The choice of the Pope was the distinguished Stephen Langton, already a cardinal of the Church. The appointment, however, was violently opposed by John, and, in 1208, Innocent laid the kingdom under an interdict. But the punishment was insufficient to bring the monarch to his senses. He continued his career of injustice and folly, making war on the people of Wales and Ireland, and filling his coffers by confiscation and cruel extortion. On one occasion he called together all the abbots and abbesses of the religious houses in London, and then deliberately informed them that they were his prisoners until what time they should pay him a large sum of money. So flagrant was the outrage thus perpetrated against the

honor and dignity of the church, that the Pope proceeded to excommunicate King John, and to absolve his subjects from their oath of allegiance. The Holy Father, in his wrath, went to the extreme of inviting the Christian princes of Europe to unite in a crusade against the audacious and disobedient king of England. Philip of France, as the secular head of Western christendom, was especially besought to undertake a war; and he was by no means loth to seize the opportunity of increasing his own power at the expense of his fellow prince.

This movement, however, aroused the ire of the English barons, who, though they heartily detested their king and his policy, were not at all disposed to yield to the settlement of their national affairs by the French. Philip proceeded with his preparations for the invasion; and King John, taking advantage of the reaction among his subjects, collected a large army at Dover. Just before his departure, the French monarch received from the Pope, by the hands of the legate Pandulf, a message to abandon the undertaking! For, in the mean time, His Holiness had made an offer to the refractory John that, if the latter would accept Langton as archbishop of Canterbury, and resign the crown of England into the papal hands, the Pope would restore the same to him, and would forbid the invasion of his realm by the French. These terms were accepted by the base Plantagenet, who laid down his crown at the feet of Pandulf. This haughty cardinal is said to have kicked contemptuously the diadem which had once been worn by William the Conqueror. Satisfied with this act of abasement, he then replaced the dishonored crown on the head of the alleged king.

Great was the rage of Philip on receiving the message of the Pope. Fearing to disobey, and unwilling that his military preparations should come to naught, he diverted the expedition against the territories of Earl Ferrand of Flanders. The latter immediately applied to King John for help; and that monarch, responding with an unusual show of alacrity, sent a large squadron to aid the Flemish earl in maintaining his independence. A battle was fought between the English and French fleets, in which the armament of Philip was either destroyed or dispersed. So signal was the dis-

aster, that the land forces of the French broke up in disorder, and returned in haste to their own provinces.

It appears that John was crazed by his victory. Eager to follow up his advantage, he purposed an invasion of France; but his barons, though having no affection for the French, and very willing to go to war to maintain the honor of England, were in no wise disposed to follow the banner of an unpopular king on a foreign expedition. John was therefore obliged to forego his project. But though

In a short time, however, the English king received intelligence that his ally, the German Emperor, had, in 1214, been decisively defeated by the French in the great battle of Bouvines. Seeing that Philip would now be able to concentrate all his forces against the English, John made haste to conclude with that monarch a five years' truce, and quickly made his way back to England.

The Island during the king's absence had become the scene of a great commotion. The barons, thoroughly disgusted with John's vacil-



BATTLE OF BOUVINES.

lating conduct and unkingly bearing, had made a conspiracy against him, and the movement had gained such headway that he quailed before his powerful but disloyal subjects. Archbishop Langton lent the sanction of the Church to the insurrection and proved himself to be an able and far-seeing leader. Having discovered a long-concealed copy of an old charter signed by Henry I., wherein were set forth and guaranteed by the royal seal the rights and privileges of Englishmen, he made it the basis of a new Bill of Rights, which he

un- supported by his nobles and by the temper of his kingdom, he still sought to carry out his retaliatory purpose against the French king. He accordingly sought an alliance with Frederick II., Emperor of Germany, with whom it was arranged to make an invasion of France on the east, while John would do the same in the provinces adjacent to the Channel. An English army, made up in large measure of the refuse of the kingdom, was accordingly landed at Poitou, and an expedition was begun into Anjou and Brittany.

drew up and which the barons determined to maintain with their swords. Such was the famous document known as *MAGNA CHARTA* — the Great Charter of English Liberty.

When the king returned from France the demand was made of him by the barons that he should sign their instrument. This he refused to do, and endeavored to oppose force with force; but finding his banner almost deserted, he came to his senses and consented to hold a conference which had been proposed by the Earl of Pembroke. On the 15th of June, 1215, a meeting was accordingly held at a place called Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines, and there the king was obliged to sign the Charter.

In general terms *Magna Charta* was intended by its authors to prevent the exercise of arbitrary authority over his subjects by an English king. The royal prerogatives were limited in several important particulars, so that the despotism which had been so freely practiced during the feudal ascendancy, became impossible in England, save in violation of the chartered rights of the people. The great document thus wrenched from the pusillanimous John consisted of sixty-three articles, most of them being negative, defining what the kings of England might *not* do as it respected their subjects. Of positive rights conceded and guaranteed in the Charter, the two greatest were the *Habeas Corpus* and the Right of Trial by Jury. The first was that salutary provision of the English Common Law by which every free subject of the kingdom was exempted from arbitrary arrest and detention; and the second, that every person accused of crime or misdemeanor, should be entitled to a trial by his peers in accordance with the law of the land. The right of disposing of property by will was also conceded, and in case no will should be made, it was provided that the goods and estate of the father should descend to his children by the law of inheritance. On the negative side there were interdicts against outlawry and banishment, and against the seizure of the property of freemen.

It should not be supposed, however, that popular liberty, in the modern sense, was secured or even contemplated in *Magna Charta*. True it is that many invaluable principles and maxims were assumed by the barons, and that

the restrictions of the royal prerogative were of the most salutary character. But the feudal classes of society were still recognized, and the *people*, as a factor in the state, were ignored. Although it was provided that no *freeman* should be seized or distressed in his person or property, but little was said respecting the rights and immunities of the laboring classes of Englishmen. Only a single clause of *Magna Charta* was intended to secure to the peasant those immunities and privileges which in every civilized country are now regarded as his birthright. It was enacted that *even a rustic* should not be deprived of his carts, plows, and implements of husbandry. So great was the difference between the spirit of the thirteenth and that of the nineteenth century!

Notwithstanding the humiliation of King John at Runnymede, he immediately sought opportunity of avenging himself on his barons. Great was his wrath on account of the Charter, and at those who had compelled him to sign it. The barons were little alarmed at his preparations and oaths of vengeance; but with an army of foreign mercenaries he reduced them to such extremity that they in their folly invited Prince Louis, the heir of France, to come to their aid, and promised to reward him with the crown of England. The fortune of war was turned against the king and he was obliged to shut himself up in the castle of Dover. In the mean time the barons grew tired of their French protector, and many of them rejoined the standard of John. The latter again entered the field and marched into Lincolnshire, where he was attacked of a fever, and died on the 19th of October, 1216.

It was during the reign of King John, who has the bad reputation of being the worst sovereign that ever reigned over England, that the great outlaw Robin Hood began his career as a bandit. It appears that the true name of this generous brigand who, until the year 1247, set the laws at defiance and measured swords with England, was Robert, earl of Huntingdon. The legend recites that in his youth he attended a great tournament in archery, where by his skill he excited the envy of some rival noblemen, who had the rashness to upbraid him on account of his Saxon blood and uncourtly manners. Falling into a passion under their insults, he turned

upon them and shot down several of their number. He then made his escape into Sherwood forest, where he became the head of a band of outlaws like himself. Their practice was to pillage the estates of the rich, to rob the wealthy and titled personages, distributing the proceeds of their lawlessness to the poor and needy. So persistently was this policy

ter, who took the title of Henry the Third. Being only eight years of age at the time of his father's death, the management of the kingdom was intrusted to the Earl of Pembroke. The latter had the wisdom during his administration to confirm the articles of Magna Charta, and by this means those English barons who had still adhered to the fortunes of Prince Louis of France were won back to the royal cause. Louis, though his forces were greatly reduced, ventured on a battle in 1217, in which he was so disastrously defeated that he was glad to escape with the remnant of his followers from the kingdom. Two years afterward the Earl of Pembroke died, and his office of protector was given to Hubert de Burgh.

When King Henry reached the age of sixteen he was declared capable of conducting the government. In the following year, 1224, Philip of France died and was succeeded by his son Louis, but the latter soon after passed away and the crown descended to his son Louis IX., who being a mere child was left to the guardianship of his mother, Blanche of Castile. Perceiving the exposed condition of the French kingdom on account of the minority of Louis, King Henry determined to invade France and attempt the recovery of Normandy. He accordingly raised a large army, and in 1230 undertook an expedition against the French. But he soon showed himself to be of little competency for such an undertaking. One disaster followed another until in the course of a few months the king was glad to give up the enterprise and return to England. In his matrimonial adventure he was scarcely more fortunate than in war. In his search for a queen he chose Eleanor, daughter of the Earl of Provence, who brought with her into England a retinue of friends, for whom important places in the government were provided. A great offense was thus given to the English barons, who would not quietly brook the elevation of strangers and foreigners to the chief offices of England.

While the king was thus exhibiting his folly



HENRY SWEARING AN OATH AGAINST THE BARONS.
DRAWN BY A. MULLER.

pursued by the merry Robin and his men that they gained a great reputation among the peasants, in-somuch that ballads commemorative of his exploits and chivalry became the most popular literature of the times, and have ever since remained as a witness of the esteem in which even a lawless benefactor is held by an oppressed people.

On the death of the king the crown descended to his eldest son, Henry of Winches-

he also showed his weakness. Nearly all his administrative acts were marked by a spirit of narrowness and bigoted imprudence. Popes Innocent IV. and Alexander IV. were not slow to perceive the advantages which might be gained for the Church by an interference with English affairs. Italian ecclesiastics were accordingly insinuated into the principal religious offices of the kingdom, and these became the agents to carry out the papal will and pleasure respecting questions which were purely English. In 1255 the Pope conferred on the king's son Edmund the title of King of Sicily, hoping by this means to induce the English nation to espouse his own cause in a quarrel which he had had with Manfred, the Sicilian monarch. But the English barons, more wise than their sovereign, refused to be inveigled into the Pope's scheme, and the enterprise was about to come to nought. Henry, however, finding that no inducement could avail with his refractory subjects, undertook to raise the money for the Sicilian expedition by a means as novel as it was outrageous. He caused to be drawn bills of exchange against the prelates of England, and gave these bills to Italian merchants for money pretentially advanced by them for the war. The prelates at first refused payment of these forged accounts, but since the ecclesiastics were not supported by either the king or the Pope, who made common cause in support of the fraud, they were obliged to give up the contest and pay the Italian bills.

The effect of these measures was to revive the antipathies of the English nobles against the king. A new rebellion broke out in 1258. Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, who had himself been one of the king's favorites, headed the insurrection. The insurgents gathered in such strength at Oxford that Henry and his son were obliged to sign a treaty, by which it was agreed that twenty-four of the barons, including the Earl of Leicester, should be constituted a sort of commission to reform the abuses of the kingdom. The legitimate work of reform, however, was soon abandoned for the assumption of the right of government by the barons. The nation was thrown into a state of turmoil, which continued with unabated violence for about six years. The struggle is known in history as the WARS OF THE BARONS, and

constituted one of the most disastrous epochs in the annals of England. Louis IX. of France, actuated by nobler motives than were common in the princes of his times, made unavailing efforts to bring about a peace between Henry and his nobles; but neither would the one yield to reason or the other to patriotism.

Not until the year 1264 did events assume such form as to promise a settlement. At that time Prince Edward, heir to the English crown, born to greater candor than his grandfather and greater ability than his father, came forward as a leader of the royal forces, and for a season it appeared that the insurgent nobles had met their match. Many of the barons, seeing with pride the spirit and valor displayed by their prince, went over to his standard. At length a battle was hazarded with the forces of De Montfort, but the result was exceedingly disastrous to the royal cause. Edward's army was defeated and himself captured, and sent with his cousin, Prince Henry, a prisoner to the Castle of Dover.

The Earl of Leicester was now master of the field. He at once conceived the ambition of making himself king of England. To this end he seized the royal castles not a few, and presently allowed his ambition to reveal his purposes. At this juncture, the Earl of Gloucester appeared as a rival of De Montfort, and began to plan his overthrow. Leicester perceived that the heart of the nobles was turned against him, and began to bid for a renewal and continuance of their support. All his acts were done in the king's name. As a sop to Cerberus, he set Prince Edward at liberty. Gloucester established himself on the confines of Wales, and De Montfort, having proclaimed his rival a traitor, and assuming the office of protector to Henry and Edward, set out to overthrow the insurgents. When nearing the camp of Gloucester, the latter managed to open communications with Edward, and the prince made good his escape, and went over to the barons. Many of the nobles followed his example, and Leicester was obliged to send in all haste to London for an army of reinforcements commanded by his son, Simon de Montfort, the younger. The latter was intercepted on the way to join his father, and was decisively defeated by Prince Edward in the battle of Kenilworth. A general engagement

followed at Evesham, in which the Earl of Leicester was routed, and his forces dispersed. King Henry, who was unwillingly detained among the defeated forces, was about to be cut down by a soldier, but declared his identity in time to save his life. Both Leicester



DEATH OF SIMON DE MONTFORT.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

and his son, the younger Montfort, were slain in the battle.

The story of Prince Edward's departure for the Holy Land, to take part in the Eighth Crusade, has already been narrated in the preceding pages.¹ This event happened in 1270. Henry III. had now occupied the throne of England for fifty-four years. His government was as feeble as himself was decrepit. The land was full of violence and distress. His nephew, Prince Henry, son of Richard, the king's brother, was assassinated by the exiled sons of Leicester, who had survived the battle of Evesham. Richard died of grief. The barons despised their sovereign, and looked forward with pleasant anticipations to the day of his death. Riots and violence prevailed in many parts of the kingdom. At last, in November of 1272, the aged and despised Henry died, being then in the fifty-seventh year of his reign.

Prince Edward, on hearing the news of his father's death, set out from Palestine, and arrived in England in 1274. His presence—even the knowledge of his coming—tended to restore confidence and order. He began his reign with the enactment of many salutary regulations relating to the police of the kingdom, and other measures of public safety. He was greatly distressed on the score of means with which to administer the government, and, in his embarrassment, adopted a measure which came near producing a civil war. He appointed a commission to examine into the titles by which the barons of the kingdom were holding their estates, with a view to the confiscation of any which might prove to be illegally held. The commissioners had not proceeded far, however, until they came upon the Earl of Warrene, who, when summoned to produce his titles, deliberately drew his sword from its scabbard, and, laying his hand significantly on the hilt, replied: "This is the instrument by which my ancestors gained their estate, and by which I will keep it as long as I live." This answer reported to the king had the effect of putting an end to the project of fine and confiscation.

In the year 1282 an insurrection broke out in Wales. The people of that country had illy brooked the conditions of peace which

Edward had imposed upon them after the battle of Evesham. Llewellyn, the king, led his countrymen in the insurrection, which came to a climax in a great battle in which the Welsh were totally defeated. Llewellyn was killed, and his brother David, the only remaining heir to the throne of Wales, was taken and beheaded. A good excuse was thus afforded to King Edward for claiming the crown for himself. In settling the terms of peace he promised to give the people of Wales a prince of their own country, and when the condition was accepted he presented them with his own son, who had been born a few days before in the Welsh castle of Caernarvon. To this babe was given the title of PRINCE OF WALES, which has ever since been borne by the eldest sons of the kings of England.

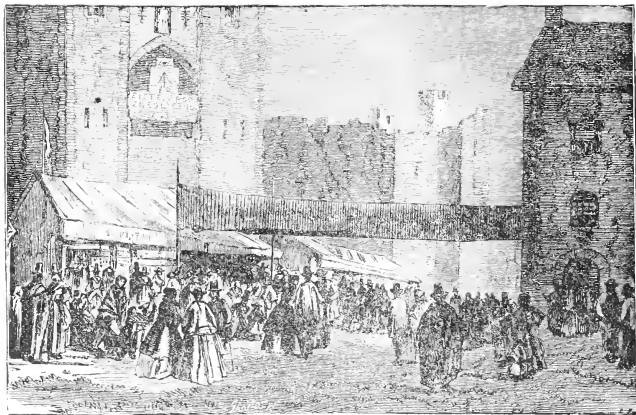
While Wales was thus acquired by conquest a plan, partly the product of natural events and partly the work of Edward's ambition, was brought forth with a view of adding the crown of Scotland to that of England. In that country King Alexander III. had chosen for his queen the sister of the English monarch, and of this union the only issue was the Princess Margaret, who was married to the king of Norway; and of *this* union only a little daughter survived, who became the heiress of Scotland. In 1286 Alexander died, and the Norwegian princess inherited her grandfather's dominions. Edward now proposed that his new-born son and the infant queen of Scotland should be betrothed, and the proposition was accepted by both the king of Norway and the Scottish parliament. It thus appeared that the union of the crowns of England and Scotland was about to be effected. But destiny had prepared the event otherwise. The Norwegian princess on her way from the country of her birth to the kingdom which she had inherited was taken ill on shipboard and died at the Orkney Islands. This unfortunate occurrence produced great grief throughout the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Norway. The union of the former two realms was postponed for three hundred years, and such was the distraction of the Scottish councils that no fewer than thirteen claimants of the crown appeared in the field. While feuds and turmoils prevailed on all sides it was agreed to refer the settlement of the succession to King

¹See *ante*, p. 707.

Edward, who, after weighing the relative rights of Robert Bruce and John Baliol, decided in favor of the latter. The English king, with an eye to his own interest, required that the Scottish castles should be put into his hands before rendering his decision. The result was that Baliol, who had little of the nature and qualities of a king, became a mere puppet in the hands of the English monarch, who proceeded to settle the affairs of the Northern kingdom according to his will and purpose. Hereupon an insurrection broke out, and Edward, marching across the border, defeated

Guienne under this fiction of doing homage for it than Philip refused to make the promised restitution. So deeply at this time was Edward involved in the complications relating to the crown of Scotland that he was unable to recover by force what he had lost by the craft and subtlety of Philip the Fair. Such was the condition of affairs in England from the beginning of the thirteenth century up to the time when, by the capture of Acre, the Christian kingdom in the East was finally overthrown.

Let us then refer briefly to the course of events in France in the later epochs of the



CAERNARVON CASTLE.

the Scots in the great battle of Dunbar. Baliol surrendered himself to the victorious king and was detained in captivity for three years, after which he was permitted to retire into France.

It was at this epoch that the province of Guienne, which had descended to the English crown from the old Queen Eleanor, who had possessed that realm on her marriage to Henry II., was regained by the king of France. Guienne owed fealty to the French crown, and Philip the Fair persuaded Edward to perform the act of homage as a recognition of that relation, at the same time promising to restore the province as soon as the formal act was done. But no sooner had Edward resigned

Crusades. In 1180 Philip II., surnamed Augustus, inherited the French crown. Such were his talents and ambitions, and such his impatience under the restraints imposed on his kingdom by Feudalism, that he set himself to work after the manner of a politician and statesman to overthrow the feudal princes and to build upon the ruins of their privileges and liberties the structure of regular monarchy. What might have been his success but for the condition of affairs in Syria it were perhaps useless to conjecture. It will be remembered that Philip, before coming to the throne of France, had formed an attachment to Prince Richard Plantagenet, and that the two princes,

in order to vex and distract the mind of King Henry II., of England, had made a great parade of their alleged friendship. After the two royal youths acceded to the thrones of their respective kingdoms their attachment continued and led to an agreement between them to undertake that great Crusade of which an account has already been given in the preceding pages.¹

After Philip's return from Palestine, in which country the breach between him and his old-time friend had become irreparable, he made haste to attempt the destruction of the interests and rights of the Lion Heart in Western Europe. To this end he made an attack on Normandy and incited the unworthy John Lackland to seize on England, though both of these schemes were defeated and brought to nought. But not until the foundation of infinite mischief had been laid between the kingdoms of France and England, Philip continued his machinations against Cœur de Lion until the latter, having obtained a tardy liberation at the hands of the German Emperor, made his way as rapidly as possible in the direction of his own kingdom. Hearing that his friend had been set at liberty, Philip sent a hasty message to John of England to take care of himself as best he could, for the devil was unchained!

As soon as Richard had reestablished his authority in the kingdom, he sought to avenge himself on the perfidious Philip. War broke

out, and continued without abatement almost to the end of the century. In 1194 a decisive battle was fought at Vendôme, in which Philip was disastrously defeated. His money, camp equipage, and the records of the kingdom were captured by the victorious English.¹



BATTLE OF VENDÔME.

In the mean time the French monarch became involved in a quarrel with the Pope, which plunged the kingdom into still deeper distress. The king's first wife, Isabella of Hainault, had

¹It is noteworthy of the character of the times that up to the battle of Vendôme it had been the custom of the feudal kings of France to bear about

¹See *ante*, p. 732.

died in 1191, and two years afterwards Philip had taken as a second queen the Princess Ingeberge of Denmark. But the Danish lady soon fell under the displeasure of her lord and was divorced. The suspicion was not wanting that the king had already turned a longing eye upon Maria, the daughter of the Duke of Dalmatia, and that the discarding of Ingeberge was attributable to that circumstance. These proceedings were highly displeasing to Pope Innocent III., and he ordered the abrogation of the marriage with Maria, and the restitution of that with the divorced Ingeberge.

crown after the death of his uncle, Richard Plantagenet. King John, refusing to obey the summons, was declared guilty of murder and felony, and his province of Normandy was said to be forfeited. Philip lost no time in asserting his claim to the countries of which he hoped to deprive his rival. Laying siege to the Château Gaillard, he succeeded, after a rigorous investment of many months' duration, in reducing the place to submission. The rest of Normandy was easily subdued. The whole duchy was wrested from the imbecile John and his successors forever. For two hundred and



MURDER OF PRINCE ARTHUR.

Philip refused obedience, and His Holiness laid the kingdom under an interdict for the space of three years. At last the French monarch was obliged to yield, and the discarded queen was brought back to Paris.

In the early part of the following century, Philip summoned King John of England to come to the French capital and answer to the charge of having murdered Prince Arthur of Brittany, the rightful heir to the English throne. It is now from place to place the royal archives. It now penetrated the thick skull of the age that a permanent depository of such records was a necessity of the situation. Philip Augustus accordingly directed the construction of a suitable building in Paris for that purpose.

ninety-three years Normandy had been a part of the English dominions, and would doubtless have so remained but for the pusillanimous character of the king, whose duty it was to defend his continental possessions.

Philip now went on from conquering to conquest. The provinces of Maine, Touraine, and Anjou were successively taken, and added to the French domains. In 1213 the king, supported by Pope Innocent III., undertook the invasion of England. The miscarriage of this expedition, and the diversion of the campaign into Flanders, have already been recounted in the preceding narrative.¹ The battle of Bon-

¹See *ante*, p. 781.

vines resulted in a complete overthrow of the Flemish and German auxiliaries. The counts of Flanders and Boulogne were taken prisoners, and were confined, the one in the tower of the Louvre, and the other in the castle Piron.

It was at this epoch that the religio-civil war with the Albigenses broke out in the south of France. From the year 1209 to 1218, the best portions of the kingdom were ravaged with a ferocity that would have done credit to the Mamelukes. The harmless fathers of French protestantism were made to feel how cruel a thing the sword is when backed by religious intolerance. It ought not to be denied, however, that in the outbreak of the war the papal party had a just cause of complaint. In 1208 the

son. In 1223 Philip II. died, and was succeeded by Louis VIII., who, acting under the instigation of the Pope, renewed the war against the Albigenses; but his short reign was terminated by his death in 1226.

After a three years' continuance of the struggle Raymond VII. was induced by the distresses to which his people were subjected to purchase exemption from further persecution and relief from the penalties of excommunication by the cession of a portion of his territories to the king of France and by adopting as his heir to the remainder the brother-in-law of Saint Louis. The Albigenses were thus deprived of the protection of the counts of Toulouse, and to fill up the cup of bitterness



PERSECUTION OF THE ALBIGENSES.

Pope's legate, Peter of Castelman, was murdered under circumstances which gave Innocent III. good ground for believing that the heretical nobles of Southern France were responsible for the crime. Suspicion was directed against Raymond VI. of Toulouse, and a crusade was preached against him and his people. By making a humiliating submission, the Count of Toulouse saved himself from the impending blow; and the crusading army was turned against the viscounts Roger of Albi, Beziers, Carcassonne, and Rasez, whose lands were laid waste and confiscated by Simon de Montfort. Raymond thus gained time to renew the conflict, which was continued until 1218, when Simon was killed in the siege of Toulouse. Most of the conquests made by Montfort were recovered by Raymond and his

which the papal party now mixed for the heretics to drink, the Inquisition, with its Chamber of Horror, was organized to complete their extermination. Notwithstanding the fierce persecutions to which these early protestants were subjected, the name of the Albigensian sect survived to the close of the thirteenth century, and even after the beginning of the fourteenth, adherents of the party were still found, not only in Southern France, but also in secluded parts of Italy and Spain.

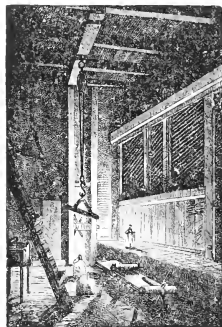
The course of French history during the reign of Saint Louis has been incidentally sketched in the account already given of the Seventh Crusade. After an absence of six years the king returned to his own realm in July of 1254, and without laying aside the cross, began an administration which was

marked by much pomp and ceremony. He became a reformer of abuses in the kingdom, abrogating oppressive taxes, regulating the French municipalities, and framing new codes of laws. Until a late date the shade-tree was still standing in the Bois de Vincennes under which Saint Louis was wont to sit, hearing the complaints of the poor, and redressing the grievances of those who had suffered wrong.

As it respected integrity of character and sincerity of purpose, Louis IX. enjoyed the best reputation of all the monarchs of his age. So great was his fame for justice and probity, that neighboring princes, when involved in difficulties among themselves, were accustomed

to refer the matters in dispute to the calm temper and impartial judgment of Louis.¹

To this epoch belongs the establishment of a French dynasty in Sicily and Naples. The crown of this kingdom had fallen



CHAMBER OF HORRORS—THE INQUISITION.

into the hands of the imperial family of Germany by the marriage of the daughter of the last Norman king of the Two Sicilies to the father of Frederick II., and when this Emperor died the kingdom was seized by his illegitimate son Manfred. Pope Urban IV., regarding the accession of this pseudo prince as a scandal to christendom, and offended at the additional power thus gained by the Ghibellines, set up Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX., as king of the Two Sicilies, and in 1265 the

claims of the latter were successfully asserted by the defeat of Manfred in battle. Charles, however, was a man very different in character from his brother, the king of France. His life and reign were marked by personal ambition, selfishness, and cruelty. His name and that of his country became forever afterwards odious in the kingdom which he ruled. Two years after his accession to the throne the German princes, under the lead of Conradin, son of Conrad IV., and last representative of the House of Hohenstaufen, made an attempt to expel the French from Italy, but they were decisively defeated. Conradin was taken prisoner, carried to Naples, and put to death by order of King Charles. When about to be executed, he threw down his glove from the scaffold, appealing to the crowd to convey it to any of his kinsmen in token that whoever received it was invested with his rights, and charged with the duty of avenging his death.

In the year 1258 Philip, eldest son of Saint Louis, received in marriage the Princess Isabella, daughter of the king of Aragon. When this union was effected, it was agreed by the kings of France and Spain that the latter should surrender to the former the towns which he held in the south of France, and that Louis should give in exchange to the king of Aragon those districts of Spain which had been wrested by Charlemagne from the Mohammedans. About the same time the French monarch secured a large portion of the province of Champagne by purchase from Count Thibault, who in virtue of his mother's right had acceded to the throne of Navarre.

Having completed the disposition of affairs in his kingdom, Louis IX. at last found himself in readiness to renew the war with the Turks and Mamelukes. How the expedition with which he left France in the year 1270 was diverted into a campaign against Tunis, how the plague broke out in the French army encamped on that sun-scorching shore, how many thousands perished in anguish and despair, and how the aged king himself sickened and died, have already been recounted in a preceding chapter.¹

Saint Louis left as his successor his son Philip by Margaret of Provence. This prince was with his father in the siege of Tunis, and

¹One of Saint Louis's maxims may well be repeated: "It is good policy to be just; inasmuch as a reputation for probity and disinterestedness gives a prince more real authority and power than any accession of territories."

¹See *ante*, p. 767.

like him was attacked with the plague. Recovering from the malady he embarked for home and reached Sicily in the latter part of the year 1270. Here his queen died, as did also King Thibault of Navarre. Many other distinguished personages connected with the expedition, including Alfonso—the king's uncle—and the Countess of Provence, fell victims to the pestilence. In the beginning of the following year Philip reached his own dominions, bearing with him in sad procession the dead bodies of his queen and his father.

The new sovereign ascended the throne with the title of PHILIP III., and received the surname of the Bold. In his policy, he imitated the methods of his father. Two years after his return to France, he took in marriage the Princess Maria of Brabant. In the mean time, he had raised to the position of chief minister of the kingdom a certain parvenu named Pierre de la Brosse, whose former vocation of barber had little recommended him for affairs of state. Not long after the king's marriage, De Brosse conceived a violent hatred for the queen, and resolved to compass her downfall.

In 1276, Prince Louis, the king's eldest son, died, and the circumstances were such as to favor the false accusation that Queen Maria had caused his death by poison. For the time it appeared that her cause was hopeless, but a valiant brother came forward, and, after the manner of the age, challenged the accuser to a mortal combat. The cowardly

De Brosse, thus confronted, durst not accept the gage of battle, and was himself executed on a gibbet.

Meanwhile, Charles of Anjou, now king of the Two Sicilies, was pursuing his schemes of personal ambition. Desiring to be regarded as the head of Eastern Christendom, he purchased from the granddaughter of Guy of



SAINT LOUIS SITTING IN JUDGMENT.

Lusignan the title of king of Jerusalem. The effect of this and other measures of self-aggrandizement was to raise up around Charles a host of enemies, who made a conspiracy to expel him from the kingdom. A general massacre of all the French in Naples and Sicily was planned to take place at the ringing of the vesper bell on the eve of Easter 1282.

With fatal precision, though the plot had been in preparation for the space of two years, the diabolical plot was carried out. The massacre began in Palermo, and spread from town to

the SICILIAN VESPEERS—a fitting prelude to the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

In the year 1285 Philip the Third found it necessary to undertake a war with Pedro, king



DEATH OF THE LAST OF THE HOHENSTAUFEN.

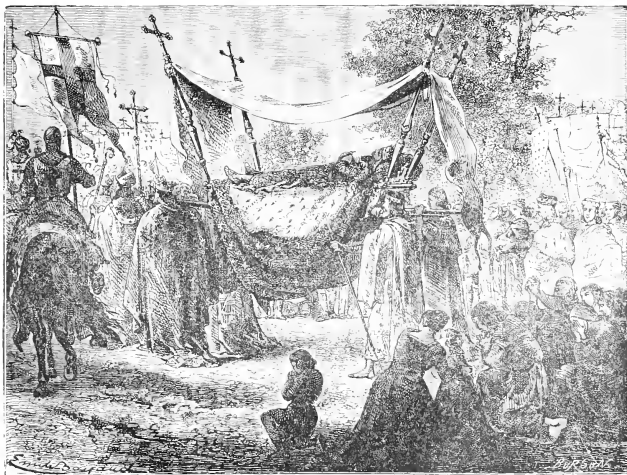
Drawn by H. Plüschmann.

town, wherever the French had made settlements, until at least eight thousand innocent people had been butchered. This infamous outrage against human life is known in history as

of Aragon. That ruler had presumed to set at naught the settlement sanctioned by the Pope, by which the crown of Aragon was to be conferred on Prince Charles, son of the

French king. The expedition undertaken by Philip was, however, attended with disaster. A fleet which had been sent out with provisions for his army was captured by the Aragonese commander, De Lauria, and the French troops were left without supplies. It now appeared, moreover, that the health of King Philip had been ruined in the African campaign of his father. Despairing of success, he attempted to withdraw into France, but, on arriving at Perpignan, he found it impossible

into Aragon. For a while, he was withheld from his purpose by the mediation of King Edward of England, whose daughter had been married to Alfonso of Aragon. But the good offices of the English monarch could not permanently avail to prevent hostilities. A war broke out between the French and Aragonese, and continued for some years without decisive results. At the last, the contest was ended by the independence of Aragon, which was attained without material loss of territory.



FUNERAL OF SAINT LOUIS.

to proceed, and died at that place in October of 1286. The crown descended, without dispute, to his son Philip, surnamed the Fair, who ascended the throne with the title of PHILIP IV. In him the mild temper and prudent behavior, which had of late characterized the kings of France, disappeared, and was replaced with violence, avarice, and excess, inasmuch that a strange contrast was presented between the beauty of the royal person and the moral deformity of the king.

At the first, Philip IV. undertook to retrieve the misfortunes of the late expedition

It was during the continuance of this petty and disgraceful conflict that the news of the downfall of Acre, and the consequent subversion of the kingdom of Jerusalem, was carried to Western Europe. That event has already been fixed upon as a proper limit for the present Book. Here, then, on the high dividing ridge from which, looking to the past, we behold the wild and extravagant drama of the Crusades, and, turning to the future, discover the colossal form of Monarchy rising above the ruins of Mediæval Europe,—the free cities growing great and

powerful as the conservators of public liberty, and the convex rim of the New World seen afar in the watery horizon of the West,— we pause, intending to resume, in the begin-

ning of the following Book, the annals of Germany, Italy, France, and England, from the close of the thirteenth century to the discovery of America by Columbus.



