

STORY OF THE



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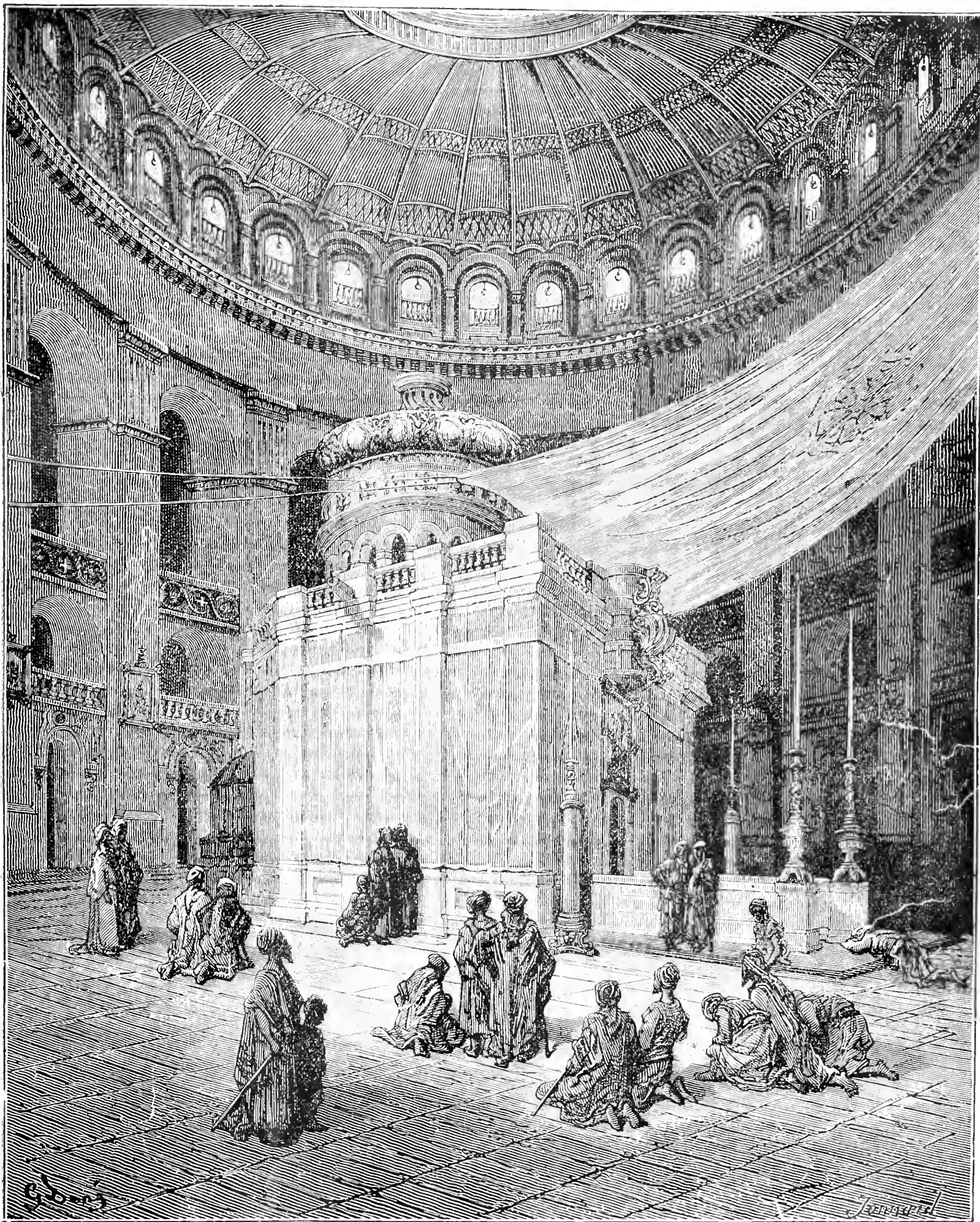


PLATE NO. I.—THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

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Story of the

Crusades.

WITH A

MAGNIFICENT GALLERY

OF

ONE HUNDRED FULL-PAGE ENGRAVINGS

BY THE WORLD-RENOWNED ARTIST,

GUSTAVE DORÉ.

BY JAMES P. BOYD,

*Author of "Political History of the U. S.," "Military and Civil Life of U. S. Grant,"
"Heavens, Earth and Ocean," etc., etc.*

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PREFACE.

EVERY reader of books turns with delight to those romantic chapters which compose the *Story of the Crusades*. No history is richer in thrilling events. No record of human action has more vivid colors or bolder outlines.

Not all the novels of the world can surpass the terribly fascinating reality of that story which the Christian Crusaders acted through five centuries and upon the soil of three continents. It is the vivid and startling story of Islam—patron of the Crescent—and the graphic and magestic story of Christendom—patron of the Cross—; a story in which every effect is heightened by heroic exhibitions of valor, swift changes of scene, enthusiastic devotion to duty, perseverance even to martyrdom, passionate play of human emotions.

That is a many volumed history which tells of the Holy Wars waged for the recovery of Jerusalem. The author's object in writing this book is to bring within a single volume the mighty drama whose motive was religion, whose theme was the Holy City, whose actors were the hosts of Christ and of Mohammed. The effort has been to preserve the material facts of the larger histories, and to prepare a narrative which shall prove to be at once delightful, comprehensive and instructive.

Full view is had of the Infidel rampant, his capture of Jerusalem, violations of the

Holy Sepulchre, enslavement and massacre of Christians, ha! ha's under the very walls of Constantinople. And so of the opposing picture—Christendom insulted, pilgrimage cut off, Calvary denied, the Church aroused, Europe aflame, the Crusaders in motion.

Interest intensifies as the Western warriors witness the splendors of the Byzantine capital, swarm into Asia and begin their battles and sieges with the Infidel. The hardships endured, the victories gained, the defeats suffered, the armies swept away by sword, disease, famine and tempest, the mighty hosts that rose to supply their places, the onward surge of the cross, the triumph at Jerusalem, the thrill of joy in Europe—these, and vastly more, serve to crowd the chapters with most exciting events, and introduce the reader to the grander enthusiasm which impelled to new crusades, bred mightier leaders and champions, fought larger battles, gained more signal victories, suffered more disastrous defeats.

The story grows more and more dramatic, as it becomes interwoven with the ambitions of Rome, the destiny of European kingdoms, the fate of the Byzantine, or Eastern, Empire, the existence of the realm of Jerusalem. Nothing in history excels the intensity of that impuise which shook the valley of the Nile, shattered the gates to Bagdad, and toppled the proudest monuments of Islam

in its Persian and Syrian confines. Christianity was abroad in armed majesty. Victories and defeats alike contribute to results, whose impress affected the world as then known, and the world soon to be enlarged by discovery. America was an outcrop of the Crusades.

And then, aside from religious ferment, and all the glow of martial heroism; beyond the clash of knightly armor and all the passions of Christian endeavor; sprang monuments which typed the humanities. Chivalry arose to direct martial ardor, check fanaticism, and divert the manly impulse to the protection of the weaker sex. The Crusades gave new meaning to philanthropy, and mothered the modern hospital. They birthed the Orders whose names are found fully perpetuated in the organizations of our day, and whose mission is "Peace, and good will to men."

Departing further from the spectacular glory of the Crusades, they appear all the more a splendid surge toward civilization. Darkened Europe needed, not only martial clash with the Infidel, but the flood of Eastern light which followed. This light meant commerce, science, discovery, and the Reformation. It meant the diversion of energy to peaceful home enterprise, the freedom of thought and action, the recognition of enlarged manhood.

All these exciting things and useful lessons

go to compose the wonderful "*Story of the Crusades*," as narrated in this volume. It is the one story of which youth and age never tire. It is the illuminated bridge by which history crossed the dark ages. Not to know it, is to deny oneself the profoundest lessons of civilization. Not to read it, is to shut off a source of enjoyment, fresher, more invigorating, more captivating, than the most vivid imagination could supply. Not to possess it, is to be without a volume whose charm is equal for boyhood and age, cottage and castle, casual reader and historic student.

The wonderfully fascinating story is rendered more vivid and impressive by its attractive and imposing illustrations. The book embraces all of those brilliant conceptions and artistic achievements with which the world renowned Doré has embellished the eventful history of the Crusades. His magnificent gallery of one hundred designs, illustrating the wars for Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre, are here presented to the reader, with fidelity to their original proportions, beauty and effect, and with an added value to the volume, which gold and silver cannot measure.

The author finds in the presentation of these masterpieces of Doré one of the highest compliments that could have been paid to his own labors upon the volume which is now submitted to, let it be hoped, an appreciative public.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PLATE.	PAGE.	PLATE.	PAGE.
No. 1—The Holy Sepulchre. <i>Frontispiece.</i>		No. 21—Massacre at Antioch . . .	87
No. 2—Hospitality of Barbarians to Pilgrims	13	No. 22—Barthelemi Undergoing the Ordeal of Fire	98
No. 3—Foulque-Nerra Assailed by the Phantoms of His Victims	17	No. 23—The Way to the Holy City	102
No. 4—Peter the Hermit Preaching the Crusade	21	No. 24—Crusaders in the Mountains of Judea	104
No. 5—War Cry of the Crusaders	26	No. 25—Enthusiasm at Sight of Jerusalem	106
No. 6—Walter the Penniless in Hungary	32	No. 26—Famished for Water	109
No. 7—Army of Priest Volkmar and Count Emicio Attacks Mersbourg	37	No. 27—Repulse of the Crusaders at Jerusalem	113
No. 8—The Second Crusade Comes Upon the Remains of the First	40	No. 28—Apparition of St. George on Mt. of Olives	116
No. 9—Signs From Heaven	44	No. 29—Godfrey Enters Jerusalem	118
No. 10—Astonishment of the Crusaders at the Wealth of the East	50	No. 30—Discovery of the True Cross	122
No. 11—Godfrey Meeting the Remnant of Peter the Hermit's Army	53	No. 31—Godfrey Imposing Tribute on the Emirs	135
No. 12—Priests Exhorting Crusaders	55	No. 32—Gerard Exposed on the Ramparts of Arsur	137
No. 13—Battle of Nicea, (Nice.)	57	No. 33—Crusaders Massacring the Inhabitants of Cæsarea	141
No. 14—Crusaders Throwing Heads into Nice	59	No. 34—Two Hundred Knights Attack Twenty Thousand Saracens	143
No. 15—Battle of Dorylæum	64	No. 35—Gauthier Spared by Ylgazy	151
No. 16—Burying the Dead After Dorylæum	66	No. 36—Death of Baldwin	157
No. 17—Crusaders Crossing the Taurus Mountains	73	No. 37—Louis VII Receiving the Cross from St. Bernard	167
No. 18—The Battle of Antioch	75	No. 38—Destruction of Conrad's Army	176
No. 19—Florine of Burgundy	78	No. 39—Crusaders Surprised by the Turks	178
No. 20—Bohemond Mounting the Ramparts of Antioch	85	No. 40—King Louis VII	180
		No. 41—Saladin	186

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PLATE.	PAGE.	PLATE.	PAGE.
No. 42—Death of De Maille, Marshal of the Temple	204	No. 71—A Friendly Tournament . . .	369
No. 43—Death of Frederick of Ger- many	219	No. 72—St. Louis Before Damietta . .	371
No. 44—The Siege of Ptolemais, (Aere.)	223	No. 73— <i>Te Deum</i> After Victory . .	373
No. 45—Capture of Ptolemais	230	No. 74—Crusaders on the Nile . . .	380
No. 46—Massacre of Captives by Richard Cœur De Leon	232	No. 75—St. Louis a Prisoner in Egypt	383
No. 47—Battle of Arsur	234	No. 76—Arrival of Prisoners at Cairo	385
No. 48—Crusaders Surrounded by Saladin's Army	236	No. 77—Captive Cavaliers at Cairo	387
No. 49—Richard and Saladin at the Battle of Arsur	238	No. 78—Death of Almoadam	389
No. 50—Richard Cœur de Leon De- livering Jaffa	240	No. 79—Sultana Chegger-Eddour and Emir Saifedden	398
No. 51—Blondel Hears the Voice of Richard	246	No. 80—A Celestial Light	401
No. 52—Dandolo, Doge of Venice, Preaching the Crusade	262	No. 81—Cruelties of Bibars	403
No. 53—Emperor Alexius Poisoned and Strangled by Mourzoufle	285	No. 82—The Captives	405
No. 54—Parley Between Mourzoufle and Dandolo	287	No. 83—Departure from Aigues- Mortes	409
No. 55—The Crusaders Enter Con- stantinople	290	No. 84—The Night of Louis' Death, Aug. 25, 1270	411
No. 56—Confession	295	No. 85—Assassination of Henry of Germany	414
No. 57—Benediction	299	No. 86—Prayers for the Dead	416
No. 58—Making Converts	301	No. 87—Edward III Kills His At- tempted Assassin	418
No. 59—The Veteran Crusader	305	No. 88—The Dishonorable Truce	420
No. 60—A Message from the East	311	No. 89—Invocation to Mahomet	423
No. 61—Crusade Against Grenada	314	No. 90—Sanuti Showing Maps of the East to Pope John XXII	429
No. 62—The Crusade of Children	316	No. 91—Constantine Addressing the Defenders of Constantinople	439
No. 63—For the Defence of Christ	321	No. 92—Mahomet II Before Constan- tinople	441
No. 64—The Departure	324	No. 93—The Ottomans Penetrate Hungary	444
No. 65—The True Cross	326	No. 94—Gathering Means for the Holy War	447
No. 66—Crusader's War Machinery	329	No. 95—Battle of Lepanto	452
No. 67—St. Francis Tries to Convert Sultan Melic-Kamel	333	No. 96—The Order of Chivalry	460
No. 68—Baptism of Infidels	336	No. 97—Head of the Emir Shown in the Seraglio	463
No. 69—The Return	339	No. 98—Dispersion of the Syrian Army by a Sand Tempest	465
No. 70—Departure of Thibault, King of Navarre	349	No. 99—Miracles	467
		No. 100—Troubadours Singing the Glories of the Crusaders	469

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTORY.

Pious Pilgrimage—The Holy Sepulchre—Tests of Faith—Conversion of Europe—Mecca and Jerusalem—Constantinople and the Holy City—Christian Cities—The Saracen and Calvary—Infidel Sects—The Mohammedan Advance—Danger to the Greek Empire—Looking to Europe—Latin and Greek Churches—The Spark that Burst into Flame—Religious Warfare. 11

PART I.

THE FIRST CRUSADE.

I. PREACHING OF PETER:—Uniting the Christians—Peter the Hermit—Patriarch of Jerusalem—The Pope and the Princes—The Call from the East—The Turk and the Eastern Empire—Grand Council of Clermont—Power of the Pope—Religious Frenzy—“*The Truce of God*”—Peter’s Eloquence—Soldiers of the Cross—The Term Crusader—Armed Pilgrimage—A Church Militant—King and Knight—“*It is the Will of God*”—The Fanatical Mob—Signs, Omens and Superstitions—Crowding Eastward—Millions on the March. 20

II. CRUSADE OF THE MOB:—Peter as Leader—An Army of Beggars—Brutality of the Crowd—A Trail of Blood—The Hostile Bulgarians—Excesses of the Crusaders—Their Armies Cut to Pieces—Spirit of License and Revolt—All Europe Aflame—The Rabble Let Loose—Four Armies in Motion—Persecution of the Jews—Defeats in Hungary—Arrival at Constantinople—Plundering and Pillaging—Crossing the Bosphorus—Invading Asia Minor—A Motley Swarm of Freebooters—Battle of Nicea—Defeat and Carnage—Peter Without an Army—Failure of the Mob Crusade. 31

III. CRUSADE OF KINGS AND NOBLES:—Enlistment of Knights—Flocking to the King’s Banners—Fabulous Gifts—Mighty Armies Under Way—Leadership and Discipline—Spirit of Chivalry and Valor—Religious Fanaticism—The Brave Godfrey—Other Heroic Leaders—“*Lance and Sword of the Christians*”—By Land and Sea to Palestine

—The Fiery Normans—Again, “*The Will of God*”—Arriving at Constantinople—Emperor Alexius—The Eastern Empire—Policy of the Emperor—Kingly Promises and Knightly Vows—Crossing into Asia—Marshaling the Crusaders—The Infidel Armies—Investment of Nice—Terrible Battle of Nice—Defeat and Massacre of the Turks—Siege of Nice—Prodigies of Valor—Ram, Catapult and Armed Tower—Treachery of Alexius—Surrender of Nice—Double Dealing With the Crusaders—Terrible Battle of Dorylaeum—Crusaders Fight Among Themselves—Desertion of Baldwin—He Captures Edessa—Founds an Empire—Forgets Jerusalem. 41

IV. MARCH TO AND SIEGE OF ANTIOCH:—Crossing Mt. Taurus—Death and Destruction—Land of David and Solomon—Bible Cities—Mountains of Lebanon—Wonderful Antioch—Charge on its Walls—A Terrible Defeat—Sad Plight of Crusaders—Ravages of Famine and Disease—Christian Exploits and Cruelties—A Siege in Earnest—Betrayal of the City—Success of the Treachery—Entry of the Christians—Massacre of Infidels—The Curse of Fire and Sword—Miracles and Visions—Battle on the Plains—A Christian Triumph—All Islam Discomfited and in Mourning—Grand March to Jerusalem. 72

V. SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM:—Terrorism of the Christian Name—Ambitions of the Barons—Excesses of the Crusaders—Tracks of Blood and Carnage—Schemes of Leaders—Marches, Sieges, Sacks and Massacres—Low Grade of Christian Morals—Battles in Phœnicia—Approach of the United Armies to Jerusalem—First View of the Holy City—Description of Jerusalem—Enthusiasm Run Wild—Investment of the City—Siege Operations—Defeat and Despair of the Besiegers—Revival of Courage by Signs and Omens—New Rams and Catapults—Second Attack on the Ramparts—Heroism of Leaders—Scaling Walls and Entering Breaches—Horrid Massacre of the Infidels—Christians in Full Possession of the Holy City—Scenes of Barbaric Cruelty—The Empire of Jerusalem—Godfrey Elected King—A Saracen Attack—Great Battle of Ascalon—A Christian Triumph—Christian Possession Complete—Recruits

from Europe—Slaughters on the Way—
Christian Defeats and Losses—End of First
Crusade—Results to Europe—Effects on
Christianity. 96

VI. KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM:—King Godfrey
—Battles for Supremacy—Gerard at Asca-
lon—Troubles With the Church—Godfrey's
Government—His Death by Poison—Acces-
sion of Baldwin—Siege and Capture of Ar-
sur—Defeat of Christians at Jaffa—Escape
of Baldwin—Terrible Christian Defeat at
Charan—Desperation of Bohemond—Appeal
to Europe—Another European Army—
Christian Quarrels—Capture of Tripoli—
Death of Tancred—Death of Baldwin—The
New King of Jerusalem—His Capture by
the Turks—Battle of Asealon—Fleets from
Venice—Siege of Tyre—"The Old Man of
the Mountains"—A New Mohammedan
Dynasty—The Orders of Chivalry—Scen-
dals and Hatreds at Jerusalem—Siege and
Capture of Edessa by the Turks—Decline of
Christian Power in the East—A Discordant,
Dying Empire. 134

PART II.

SECOND CRUSADE.

I. PREACHING OF ST. BERNARD:—Who was
Bernard?—The Pope and Louis VII—As-
sembly of Verzei—Eloquence of Bernard
—Excitement of the People—Religious
Furore—Taking the Cross—Enlistment of
the Armies—All Europe Aroused—Off for
Palestine—Zeal of the "Soldiers of the
Cross"—Thunders of the Church—Spirit of
Chivalry—Louis VII and Conrad III in
Command—Persecution of Jews—The Fear
at Constantinople—Greek Treachery—The
Crusaders in Asia Minor—Homage to the
Greek Emperor. 164

II. IN PALESTINE:—The March from Con-
stantinople—Signs and Omens—Hardships
and Battles—Destruction of Conrad's Army
—Louis to the Rescue—Battle at the Mean-
der—Rout and Slaughter of the Turks—Joy
Among the Crusaders—In the Mountains of
Phrygia—Battles in the Defiles—Terrible
Slaughter of the French Crusaders—Hero-
ism of King Louis—His Miraculous Escape
—The Rescue by Everard, Grand Master of
the Templars—Sickness and Famine—By
Sea and by Land to Palestine—A Divided
Army—Sad Fate of the Land Army—Pesti-
lence and Slaughter—Martyrs Perish by
Thousands—Landing of Sea Army at Anti-
och—The Beautiful Queen Eleanor—Her
Perfidy—Arrival of Louis at Jerusalem—
Meeting of Louis and Conrad—Jealous and
Discordant Christians—The Unhappy King-
dom of Jerusalem—Battle of Damascus—
Destruction of the Turks—The Mighty
Saladin—The Turn of Affairs—Failure of
the Crusade. 175

PART III.

THIRD CRUSADE.

I. FALL OF JERUSALEM:—The Infidel Hosts—
Career of Nouredin—The Brave Baldwin
—Plight of the Christians—Caliphs of Bag-
dad—A New Infidel Power—Invasion of
Egypt—Infidel and Christian Union—Sala-
din in the Saddle—Christians Weak and
Discordant—Saladin Invades Palestine—
Battles on the Jordan—Jerusalem's New
King—The Victorious "Scourge of God"—
Decay of Jerusalem—Appeal for Help to
Europe—Templar and Hospitaller—Sala-
din's Mighty Army—Slaughter at Tiberias
—Invasion of Palestine—The Death Knell of
the Holy City—Saladin Victorious and
Feared—Siege and Fall of Christian Cities
—Terror of the Infidel Name—Siege of
Jerusalem—Desperation of the Christians—
The Holy City Surrenders to the Infidel—
The Crescent Triumphant—Magnanimity
of Saladin—End of the Kingdom of Jeru-
salem—Preaching of a Third Crusade—The
Pope and the Kings—Europe Again to the
Rescue of the Holy Sepulchre—A Mighty
Army Moves on Asia—Great Battle at the
Meander—Rout of the Infidels—Sad Death
of Emperor Frederick—Disasters to the
Crusaders—Loss of 100,000 by War, Famine
and Exposure. 193

II. SALADIN:—His Victorious Career—Power
of His Infidel Armies—His Skill and Brav-
ery—His Dealing with Christians—Siege of
Ptolemais—Terrible Battles and Losses—
Arrival of a Crusading Fleet—Richard
Cœur de Leon—Ptolemais in Christian
Hands—Massacre of Infidels—Valor of
Richard—Great Battle of Arsur—Victory
for the Christians—Victories of Richard—
Failure to Deliver Jerusalem—A Truce
with the Infidel—Close of the Third Cru-
sade—Review of Results—Return of the
Armies and Heroes. 221

PART IV.

FOURTH CRUSADE.

Death of Saladin—Confusion in Infidel Ranks
—The Military Orders—Decline of Christian
Colonies—Desire to Re-capture the "Holy
City"—Preaching a New Crusade—Emperor
Henry VI—Empire of the Cæsars—Religious
Furore in Germany—The Fourth Crusade
Takes Shape—An Immense Religious Army
—Routes of the Crusaders—Swarming into
Palestine—Breaking the Truce of Saladin—
Dismay of Eastern Christians—Gathering
of the Infidels—Malek-Adel to the Front—
Siege of Jaffa—Terrible Massacre of the
Garrison—Battle of the Plains—Victory for
the Christians—Re-capture of Mussulman
Cities—"Zion Leaps with Joy"—Henry VI

in Sicily—Arbiter of the Christian Cause—Reinforces the Crusaders with a Third Army—Siege of Thoron—Battle of Jaffa—Discordant Christians—Death of Henry VI—German Crusaders Abandon the Cause of Christ—A Three Years' Truce—End of Fourth Crusade—Return of the Armies—Results of the Crusade—Henry's Diplomacy—A Battle with the Pope. - - - - - 221

PART V.

FIFTH CRUSADE.

I. SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE:—Decline of Religious Fanaticism—Increase of Temporal Motives—Ambition of Princes—Prayers from the East—Pope Innocent III.—Preaching the Fifth Crusade—Thunders of the Church—The New Armies of Christ—A blow at Constantinople—Crushing the Eastern Church—Excommunication of Philip—Preaching of Foulques—Enlistment of Kings and Barons—The Sea Route Chosen—Venice and Her Fleets—The Doge “Espouses the Sea”—Old Dandolo and His Ships—The Little Republic—Dandolo in Command—Alexius of Constantinople Appeals to the Pope—Diversion of the Crusade to Constantinople—Capture and Pillage of Zara—Discordant Crusaders—Riches of Byzantium—Hostility to the Greeks—Uniting the Eastern and Western Churches—Cause of Young Alexius—Crusaders at Corfu—Entering the Bosphorus—Before Constantinople—The New City of the Cæsars—Enthusiasm of the Crusaders—Christian Against Christian—Siege of Constantinople—Battles by Land and Sea—Assaulting the Walls—Catapults and Rams—Storming the City—Javelins and Greek-fire—Firing of the City—Hand to Hand Conflicts—Flight of the Greek Emperor—Triumph of the Crusaders—Young Alexius Enthroned—The Eastern Empire and Rome—Romanizing the East. - 258

II. SACK OF CONSTANTINOPLE:—The East and Europe—Greek and Latin Churches—Fleets of Venice—Policy of Dandolo—Policy of the Crusaders—Union of Army and Navy—Antagonism to the Greek Clergy—Denouncing the Patriarch—The Two Churches at War—Constantinople in a Ferment—Disrepute of Alexius—Insolence of the Crusaders—Crusaders Declare War on the Greeks—Determine to Take and Hold Constantinople for Themselves—Death of Alexius—Treachery of Mourzouille—Battles Between the Greeks and Latin Crusaders—Constantinople Attacked by Land and Sea—Victory for the Crusaders—Fire and Sword—Terrible Scenes of Slaughter—The City Sacked and Ruined—Christians Worse than Vandals—Suppression of the Greek Religion—Stealing of Riches and Relics—Enormous Booty for Europe—A Latin Emperor on the Greek Throne—Partition of the Empire Among its Conquerors—Emperor Baldwin—Rival

Kings and Kingdoms—Tyranny of the Latin Rulers—Evils of Feudalism—Corruption Among Crusaders—Tartar Invasion—Baldwin's Battles for Supremacy—Siege of Adrianople—Defeat and Retreat of the Crusaders—Loss of Cities and Provinces—Baldwin a Prisoner—The Victorious Bulgarians—Death of Old Dandolo—Henry, the New Byzantine Emperor—Greek and Roman Empire Compared—Results of the Fifth Crusade. - - - - - 279

PART VI.

SIXTH CRUSADE.

Famine in Egypt and Syria—Sufferings of Christians and Infidels—An Appeal to the West—Jerusalem Still an Object of Conquest—King John of Brienne—Religious Revolt in Europe—Birth of the Inquisition—Starting Point of the Reformation—Inducements for a New Crusade—Offers of the Pope—Great Victory Over the Saracens in Spain—Preaching to Children—An Army of Infatigable Fanatics—The March Toward Jerusalem—Swarming Toward the Ports—Infatuation Run Wild—Dying in Forests and on Mountains—Debauched by Men—Inhuman Zeal of Leaders and Clergy—Fifty Thousand Perish—End of the Infatuation—Another Call by the Pope—Need of a New Crusade—Powerful Preaching of the Clergy—King John, of England—French and German Princes—Grand Council at Rome—Signs and Prodigies—Death of Pope Innocent—Outpouring of Christian Warriors—The European Spectacle—Sailing for Palestine—A Mighty Army Lands at Ptolemais—Famine, Pillage and Robbery—Wood of the True Cross—Storming Mt. Tabor—Retreat of the Christians—Famine—Winter and Tempest—Desertion of Crusaders—Spring Reinforcements—Marching on Egypt—Arrival at Damietta—Battles Under the Walls—Attack of the Ramparts—Capture of the Nile Tower—Infidels to the Rescue—Christian Europe Turns Toward Damietta—Investment of the City—The Deadly Climate—Fire and Slaughter—Fresh Armies from Europe—Damietta Doomed—Final Assault and Victory—Pillage, Booty and Death—Despair Among the Infidels—Christians in Possession of Egypt—Grand March to Cairo—Terrible Sufferings of the Christian Army—Defeats and Desertions—Retreat to Damietta—Surrender of the City to the Infidels—Muslim Humanity—Sailing Back to Ptolemais—The Gloom in Europe—Despair in Palestine—A Cry for Reinforcements—The Pope and Frederick at War—Frederick Takes the Cross—Enters Syria With an Army—Recovers Jerusalem by Treaty—Enters the “Holy City”—Denounced by All Christians—Frederick's Tyranny—He Deserts Palestine and Returns Home—Excommunicated—Renewed Efforts to Sustain the Crusade—Fanatical Excesses—

Troubadour Songs—Thibault and His Knights—The Infidels Re-enter Jerusalem—Confusion in the East—Wars in Europe—Return of the Crusaders—Last of the Sixth Crusade—Its Barren Results. - - - - 310

PART VII.

SEVENTH CRUSADE.

Tartar Hordes—Christian and Infidel Shoulder to Shoulder—Tartar Victory at Gaza—The Terrible Slaughter—Egypt in Jerusalem—Exterminating the Tartars—Straits of the Christians—Prayers for European Aid—Condition of the West—Frederick and the Pope—Council of Lyons—A New Crusade Ordered—Louis IX—Frederick and His Wars—Thunders of the Pope—Louis and His Crusaders—The Embarcation—Arrival at Cyprus—Templar and Hospitaller—Infidel Preparations—Sailing for Egypt—At Damietta—Battle and Carnage—Damietta on Fire—Victory for the Crusaders—Europe Ablaze With Joy—Outpouring of Reinforcements—Christian Excesses—Mussulman Activity—The March on Cairo—Battle of Mansurah—The Mamelukes—Heroism of King Louis—Miserable Plight of the Crusaders—Retreat Down the Nile—Louis a Prisoner—Rejoicing in Islam—Surrender of Damietta—Ransom of the Christian Army—The Beaten Crusaders Sail for Ptolemais—Mourning in Europe—Death of Frederick—The Army of “Pastors”—Enmity of the Pope—Louis’ Efforts to Relieve Christian Princes—Louis Outwitted—His Return to Europe—End of the Seventh Crusade—State of Europe—Results of the Crusade. - 356

PART VIII.

EIGHTH CRUSADE.

Christians at War—Their Sad Life in the East—Growing Power of the Infidels—The Mogul Dynasty—Mameluke and Christian—The Latins Driven Out of Constantinople—Triumph of the Infidel Bibars—Fall of Christian Cities—Fall of Antioch—Nothing for Christ in the East Except Tripoli and Ptolemais—A New Crusade—Louis IX Again to the Rescue—Uprising of Knights and Nobles—The Rebellious Clergy—An Angry Pope—Eighth Crusade Under Way—A Divided Object—A Descent on Tunis—Trials of the Crusaders—Death of King

Louis—A Ten Year Truce—Tempest and Shipwreck—Laying Aside the Cross—Sad End of the Crusade—A Change in Crusading Sentiment—Gradual Extinction of Christian Colonies in the East—Triumphs of the Mussulmen—Disastrous Treaties—Fall of Tripoli—The Christians’ Last Hope—Appeals from Ptolemais—Siege of Ptolemais—Desperate Defence—Fire and Slaughter—Victory of the Infidels—Massacre of the Defenders—The Last of a Christian East—Mussulmen Triumph Complete. - - 397

PART IX.

Triumphant Mohammedanism—It Strikes Westward—Invasion of Europe—Attempts at New Crusades—The Tartar Invasion of Syria—Knights of St. John—Spirit of Chivalry—Isle of Rhodes—Order of Templars—Militant Mohammedanism—The Weakened Condition of Europe—Spasmodic Efforts to Re-conquer the East—The Turk Crosses the Bosphorus—Capture of the Isles of the Sea—Growth of a Turkish Navy—Islam at the Doors of Europe—An Organized Army, a Church Militant—The Star of Osman—Kingdom of Roum—Ottoman Armies and Fleets—Keys to Constantinople—Surrounding the Greek Empire—Europe Alarmed—Coalitions for Defence—Turkish Victories—Five Year Siege of Constantinople—Tartar and Turk—Conquests on the Danube—Defeat at Nissa—Byzantium’s Last Christian Emperor—Fall of Constantinople—Turkey in Europe—Celebrated Siege of Rhodes—Limit of Turkish Conquest by Land—The German Barrier—Conquest by Sea—The Combined Mediterranean Fleets—Battle of Lepanto—Check of the Turkish Career—Islam at a Stand. - - - - 426

PART X.

Review of the Crusades—Their Uses to Europe—Effects on the Feudal System—Bearing on Monarchy—Results to the Church—Commercial Aspects—The Inquisition—Order of Chivalry—Changes on Society—Growth of Navies—Effect on Trade and Mechanics—New Forms of Architecture—Orders of Painting and Statuary—Enlarged Geography—Better Knowledge of Medicine—Growth of Language—A New School for Historians—More Knowledge of Fruits and Agriculture—Sweeter Poetry and Song—The Chivalric Spirit—The Salvation of Political and Christian Europe. - - - - 454

INTRODUCTORY.

ORIGIN OF THE CRUSADES,

A. D. 300—1095.



FROM the time the Christian Church began to assume form, pious people went as pilgrims to Palestine and Jerusalem. A journey thence, to see the sacred sights and commune with God amid scenes hallowed by Christ, was regarded as a test of faith and a source of blessing. After the Emperor Constantine removed the capital from Rome to Constantinople, embraced the christian religion, and raised Jerusalem from its ruins, the way to the Holy City was made easier, and the spirit of pilgrimage became more resolute. The Holy Sepulchre was no longer an obscure cavern, but a temple decorated with pillars and paved with precious stones. The Church of the Resurrection took its place in the architecture of the city, and many chapels and monuments arose to mark historic spots in the land of the Saviour's birth and death. From western Europe to the furthest limit of Palestine, one could journey safely through Roman territory, and blend the enjoyment of intelligent travel with the fervor of spiritual devotion.

St. Jerome records the fact that, toward the end of the fourth century, pilgrims arrived in crowds in Judea, and that they represented nearly every christian country of Europe and Asia. It was no unusual thing to see them gathered in immense groups about the Holy Sepulchre and in the sacred places, and to hear their prayers and hymns voiced in many different languages. So common did pilgrimage become that it assumed the form of an abuse and danger, and many of the priesthood spoke against it, taking the ground that it was not necessary to salvation; that God was not confined to one city; that Christ was to be found in faith and good works without respect to place. But these warnings had little effect. Pilgrimage went on as before, and became more than ever an evidence of faith and zeal.

Those who had long ranked as the barbarians of western and northern Europe were fast becoming christianized. These people united the zeal of fresh conversion with the desire to see what was in the East. The forests of Germany, the depths of Gaul, and the coast lands of all Europe, gave forth bands of pious men and women who wound, almost continuously, their weary way to Constantinople, across the Bosphorus, through Asia Minor and down to the cradle of their faith

at Jerusalem. Maps of the countries and itineraries of the roads and stopping places served them as guides, and it was possible for one to go, without escort, from the Rhine to the Jordan, and find his way back by the shortest routes to any of the cities of Italy, Spain, France or Germany.

Even before the conversion of the Goth, Hun, Vandal and those Asiatic swarms which had spread over Europe and crushed the Roman Empire of the west, the spirit of Christian pilgrimage was respected and the way of the pilgrim was seldom interrupted. Indeed, barbarism was never so low among those fierce invaders as to cause them to withhold hospitality when the applicant was a pious wayfarer and his object a holy shrine. He was, rather, protected and encouraged, and it was not unusual for the pagan to accompany the pilgrim on his journey to Jerusalem, sharing his burden and, it may be, some of his respect for the Cross of Christ. The srip and staff of the pilgrim came to be a badge of safety, enabling him to travel unmolested through hostile countries (*See* Plate No. II) and even through the armed camps of those who threatened the empires of the East and West. These symbols were equally an invitation to succor and, however poverty stricken the land, their bearer seldom failed to find in them a charm which secured for him both food and shelter.

Thus much for that spirit of pilgrimage which was abroad from the time of Christ and in every Christian community—a spirit common to all great religions. Mecca is but the Jerusalem of the Mahomedan. The Parsee, Buddhist, Brahman and Confucian

are not without their shrines nor the spirit of worshipful and self-sacrificial visitation. One can see in this spirit the small beginning of that stupendous outburst which subsequently involved all Christendom. Each returning Christian told his story of strange sights and of the refreshment and inspiration of his visit. He had confirmed his baptism in the Jordan, tested his faith by exposure and hardship, warmed his emotions by prayer on Calvary, and song in the Church of the Resurrection, and was, therefore, in every sense a more ardent devotee, not to say a better trained soldier, of the cross. Whatever the spirit of pilgrimage embraced—curiosity, reverence, restlessness or fanaticism—was spread wider and wider by its modest indulgence, and needed but the spur of insult, the threat of hostility, or the encouragement of circumstances, to kindle it into a flame of religious enthusiasm or sacrificial folly.

Thus two or three centuries sped, when Persia, in the reign of Heraclius at Constantinople, (A. D. 610) fell upon the Asiatic provinces of the eastern, or Byzantine, empire, invaded Syria, Palestine and Egypt, and captured the Holy City, bearing away many Christian captives and profaning the sacred places. Word of this desecration excited all Christendom. The faithful flocked to the standard of Heraclius, and, after ten years of warfare, Jerusalem was recaptured. The exulting Emperor walked barefooted in the streets, bearing on his shoulders to the summit of Calvary the wood of the true cross, which he regarded as the most glorious trophy of his victory. There was an imposing ceremony and a festival, which the Christian



PLATE NO. II.—HOSPITALITY OF BARBARIANS TO PILGRIMS.

Church celebrated annually for centuries. Jerusalem, attacked, captured and desecrated, had suddenly tinged the sweet spirit of pilgrimage with holy resentment; and Jerusalem, rescued, had as suddenly taken a higher place in Christian esteem. Blood had been shed for the church, the sepulchre and the cross, and they became, more than ever, objects worthy of protection and reverence. Infamous hands should never be laid upon them. None but Christians were worthy to be their custodians.

Let it be understood that Christian communities existed in all the leading cities of Northern Africa, Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor. The extinct Roman Empire of the West was coming into significance as a hierarchy, through the abilities of its Popes and priesthood, and by its conversion of the barbarous tribes which had overthrown it politically. The Greek Empire, or more accurately, the Roman Empire of the East, was struggling to maintain both its political and ecclesiastical hold on its European, Asiatic and African provinces, amid internal corruption and outside jealousies. This was the situation when Mahomedanism loomed up in Arabia, toward the beginning of the seventh century. This new and militant religion swept Christianity out of all the African cities and, in less than a century, all was Mohammedan, from the Red Sea to the Pillars of Hercules. The Saracen warriors crossed into Spain, took possession of its fairest provinces, which they held for centuries, and would have overrun all western Europe but for their fortunate defeat by Charles Martel. This invasion was a direct threat

on Christendom, and served to admonish both the devout pilgrim and the church officials, of a danger which would prove recurrent unless the Christianity of the time ceased to waste itself in idle sacrifices and failed to take on a more militant form.

Already the Saracenic warriors, under the lead of able generals, had overrun Persia and Syria, and made themselves masters of Palestine and Jerusalem (A.D. 637). Their Caliph, Omar, received the keys and submission of a city which was the abode of numerous Christians, and which had been valiantly defended through a siege of four months. In many respects this was one of the most important of the Mohammedan conquests, for they regarded it as a "House of God" and a city of saints and miracles equally with the Christian, since Mohammed himself had visited it as a prophet and had set out thence to heaven in his nocturnal voyage.

Omar proved to be a politic conqueror, and during his life the Christians of Jerusalem escaped serious persecution. But they had to witness the profanation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the feet of the infidel. They could not indulge openly their old forms of worship, and became gradually crowded into a Christian quarter of the city, many of their favorite resorts abandoned, most of their churches deserted, themselves a spiritless and heart-broken minority amid proud and fanatical conquerors.

They had much more to suffer under the successors of Omar. Not that the Caliphs of Bagdad, known as the Abassides, were disposed to be intolerant, but because of the

rivalry which existed between them and the Caliphs of Damascus, known as the Ommiades, both of which were hated equally by a third order, known as the Alides. These rivalries ran into civil wars, amid which the Christians were frequently the worst sufferers. They were forbidden to carry arms, to ride on horse-back, to speak the Arabic tongue, to carry crosses and sacred books, to mention the name of Mohammed without permission. They were driven from their churches, in many instances from their homes, and more and more into quarters where their presence would not be offensive to their conquerors.

Amid all these persecutions, crowds of pilgrims repaired from the West to Jerusalem. There seemed to be no evils they could not support with resignation when they remembered that Christ had suffered on the spot they were about to visit, and that their brethren were undergoing the stripes of the Saracen. They could, at least, weep with the latter, and heighten their devotion by prayerfully kneeling on the sides of Calvary.

This situation continued till the reign of the Caliph, Haroun al Raschid, the greatest of the Abassides. He was a contemporary of Charlemagne, (A. D. 768-814), who founded the monarchy of the Franks in western Europe, and united for the first time the hitherto jarring German races. Haroun regarded himself as an eastern rival of the great western emperor, for whom he professed profound admiration. The two monarchs exchanged friendly embassies, established commercial intercourse, vied with each other in making handsome presents.

Out of respect for the religion of the West, the liberal Mohammedan ruler relaxed the laws imposed on the Christians of the East and granted them greater freedom of worship than they had enjoyed since the days of Omar. He even went so far as to present Charlemagne with the keys of the Holy City and Sepulchre, as a token of homage. While these marks of esteem were for the purpose of propitiating the new and powerful monarch of the West, and securing his help, or at least his neutrality, in the wars Haroun was contemplating upon the Empire of the East, whose capital was Constantinople, and whose religion was that of the Greek Catholic Church, they do not detract from his glory as a liberal and intelligent ruler, nor do they invalidate the fact that throughout his reign the Christian pilgrims from the West visited Jerusalem without molestation and prayed in peace within its walls.

All this served to increase the respect of the Christian for the Holy City and inflame the spirit of pilgrimage. Hospitals rose up in the Holy Land for the care and cure of sick pilgrims, A cemetery was laid out near the Fountain of Siloam, in which their dead could secure Christian burial. Pilgrims became animated with the spirit of traffic, which was encouraged by the rich and novel products of the East, and they actually pushed their way as far as Bagdad to trade and to learn the arts and sciences. And the Mohammedan found this intercourse profitable to themselves, for many pilgrims brought along money, which they spent freely in the purchase of relics, to be carried back to the

West as evidences of their faith and as sacred ornaments in their homes and churches.

But in time, the splendid religious empire of the Caliphs of Bagdad crumbled away through the indifference of the central rulers and the jealousies of the emirs, or lieutenants. Numerous dynasties sprang up in Asia to share the spoils of the sovereigns of Bagdad, and dissipate the dream of pushing the Mohammedan conquest to Constantinople and into Europe. During this confusion no less than five Caliphates divided, at one time, the spiritual power of Islam. The most powerful of these was the Fatimite family of Cairo, in Egypt.

Encouraged by the growing weakness of the Mohammedans in Asia, the Greek Emperors of Constantinople, who had been despoiled of Syria and their easterly provinces, plucked up courage and attempted to recover lost ground. Nicephorus re-captured Antioch, and desired to give further to wars against the Saracens the color of a religious conquest. But the patriarchs and priesthood of the Greek Church were against the introduction of fanaticism into warfare. The result was disastrous in every way. The re-capture of Antioch but served to inflame the Mohammedans against the Christians of Palestine, and excited them to renew their persecutions. On the other hand, a part of the Greek army, under Zimisce, which had pushed to the city of Amida, on the Tigris, sustained there a complete route and great loss of prisoners, at the hands of the Saracens. The Christian soldiers who fell into the clutches of their conquerors, sent out of the prison of Bagdad their plea for delivery through the agency of

their brotherhood everywhere, and their denunciation of Zimisce as an unfit representative of his church and his God if he failed to arouse Christianity for their rescue.

Stung by these complaints, Zimisce acquainted the Christians of Syria and Palestine with the situation, raised a fresh army which was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of religious conquest, secured the co-operation of Venice, and several of the Mediterranean towns of Europe, and delivered the cities of Palestine, including Jerusalem, from the control of the Saracens. This afforded evidence to the Christian world that the Saracen armies were no longer invincible, and that Christian armies when inspired by fanatical zeal could reach the height of really glorious achievement.

But the Fatimite Caliph of Cairo appeared in Palestine with a resolute army and reconquered Jerusalem, together with most of the Syrian possessions of the Greek Empire. These Caliphs were, at first, liberal toward the Christians. But they soon became cruel, and the third one, Hakim, made a crime of the Christian religion, and indulged in the harshest persecutions. His desecration of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Church of the Resurrection was heard of in the Latin Church and the western world, and excited an indignation which was the forerunner of that remarkable energy and tremendous outburst known as the first Crusade.

The death of Hakim and the return of his successors to a more tolerant policy, again opened the shores of Palestine to the pilgrims from Europe. Once more they



PLATE NO. III.—FOULQUE-NERRA ASSAILED BY THE PHANTOMS OF HIS VICTIMS.

could visit in comparative safety the restored Church of the Resurrection and they repaired Holy Sepulchre. Innumerable multitudes of people embracing counts, princes, prelates, women and the lowest and middle orders of society pressed onward to the Holy Land and its shrines. And pilgrimage now became more than a purely personal method of showing faith and reviving spiritual warmth. Under the encouragement of the Roman prelates it became a favorite way of doing penance and expiating sin. Centius, the Roman prefect, who had insulted the Pope by dragging him from the altar, was permitted to expiate the sacrilege by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Foulque—Nerra, Count of Anjou, (*See* Plate No. III) who was continually haunted by phantoms of his many murdered victims repaired to Jerusalem in the garb of a pilgrim and permitted himself to be scourged through the streets, by way of penance. He made a second and a third visit and was lauded by the Pope for his efforts to absolve himself from sin in this self-sacrificial manner. History narrates similar pilgrimages by other renowned princes of Europe, and it came to be regarded as one of the greatest blessings when, as a reward for their labors and fatigue, pilgrims could die, like Christ, in the Holy City.

During the remaining period of the Fatimite dominion in Palestine, these pious visitors continued to receive from the Mohammedan officials just enough protection to encourage their going, mingled with a sufficient injury to stimulate that desire for vengeance which they, on their return, communicated to the western world. At about the time

when christian resentment against the Mohammedan had, by reason of the condition of Europe, acquired full strength, it was forced into impetuous action by one of those sudden revolutions which had for centuries been peculiar to Asia. The Seljukian Turks had come down from the inner provinces of Asia in force, had embraced Mohammedanism with fiery zealotry and, under the banner of the Caliphs of Bagdad, had conquered Syria and Palestine, driving the Fatimite dynasty from Jerusalem and all the neighboring cities. They signalized their entry into Jerusalem by a terrible massacre of all opponents. The fanatical cruelty of these barbarians was untempered, like that of the more civilized Saracens, by any motives of toleration. The christian clergy in Jerusalem were imprisoned for the sake of extorting ransom, and the Latin pilgrims who dared the exposure of a journey to the Holy Land were subjected to every variety of insult and spoliation on their way thither. The reports they brought back served to agitate all Christendom with sentiments of horror and shame. Such profanation of the holy places, together with the disgrace of permitting the scenes of human redemption to remain in the hands of sacrilegious infidels, fostered the vengeful conviction that the punishment of the impious atrocities of the Turk was a duty enjoined alike by religion and honor.

Jerusalem was captured by the Turkish chieftain, Togrul Beg, grandson of Seljuk, the Turcoman, in A. D. 1076. Togrul's nephew, Alp Arslan, "the valiant lion," carried the Turkish conquests to the gates

of Constantinople, and caused the Greek Emperor, Michael VII, to tremble for his throne. In his extremity he appealed to the Latin church for help. Through his mission to Pope Gregory VII, he showed the common danger of Christendom from the new growth and vitality of the Mohammedan power in the East, and insisted that the time had come when the Greek and Latin churches should stand together for the protection of the Christian faith. Whatever his motives, Gregory accepted the overtures of his powerful ecclesiastical rival, and began to exhort the sovereigns of Europe to arm against the infidel. But he died ere he could shape an army of rescue. Michael VII also died and was succeeded by Alexius Comnenus, who found his empire assailed on the east by the Turks under the victorious Solyman, and at the same time by the Normans of southern

Italy, under Robert Guiscard, who had captured Durazzo. A domestic war recalled Robert, but Alexius was compelled to purchase peace with Solyman, by ceding Asia Minor, which became the Mohammedan kingdom of Roum, and limited the Greek Empire to the west side of the Bosphorus. Solyman established his capital at Nice, and at once began to build a fleet for the capture of Constantinople. Alexius was forced to imitate Michael VII, and appeal to Pope Urban for European help. Though the Turkish pressure was relieved somewhat, for a time, by internal dissensions, it was while the envoys of Alexius were still at the Papal Court, that an instrument, seemingly far less potential than commissioned legate, struck that spark of enthusiasm in Europe which threw all its combustible elements into the flame of religious warfare.

PART I. THE FIRST CRUSADE.

ARTICLE I.

THE PREACHING OF PETER.

A. D. 1095—1096.



NEITHER European sovereign, Roman prelate, Greek patriarch nor Byzantine emperor, had as yet been able to unite Christendom against the Turk, nor to convert the zeal of pilgrimage into the fanaticism of an armed crusade. The glory of delivering the Holy City from the infidel belonged to a poor pilgrim of Picardy, in France, who was ridiculed for his mean appearance, and who, disgusted with the world, found refuge in a cloister. There, amid silence, prayer, fasting and meditation, he grew to believe he was the agent of heaven for some great purpose. This man was Peter the Hermit.

He left his retreat to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. What he suffered on the way, the scenes he witnessed along the route and on his arrival at Jerusalem, excited new and confirmed old mental disturbances, while they gave to zeal fresh determination and to devotion indignant fervor. His simple piety was shocked at witnessing insults to Christians and profanations of the Holy Sepulchre by barbarians and infidels. Visions of his

earthly mission dawned upon him, and he felt inspired by heaven to deliver the Holy City from its Turkish and Mohammedan conquerors.

He visited Simeon, the white haired and venerable Patriarch of Jerusalem, whom he found in despair over the situation and ready to exclaim, "O, most faithful of Christians! Is it not plain that our iniquities have shut us out from all access to the mercy of the Lord!" Peter pointed out to him that the warriors of the West might one day become the liberators of the Holy City. The pilgrim and prelate then embraced and wept together, and their hearts expanded with the hope that at no distant day the Mussulman would be shorn of his power in the East and Christian believers be free in the city of their Spiritual King. The Patriarch resolved to implore the help of the Popes and princes of Europe, and the pilgrim swore to be the interpreter of the Christians of the East, and to rouse the West to take arms for their deliverance.

After this interview the enthusiasm of Peter knew no bounds. He was so transported in thought and vision as to hear, while prostrate before the Holy Sepulchre, the voice of Christ saying, "Peter, arise,



PLATE NO. IV.—PETER THE HERMIT PREACHING THE CRUSADE.

hasten to proclaim the tribulation of my people; it is time my servants should receive help, and that the holy places should be delivered." Filled with the spirit of these words and armed with numerous letters from the Patriarch, he hastened to Italy and threw himself at the feet of the Pope, Urban II.

Urban applauded his designs and bade him go forth as the preacher of an armed crusade. Peter traversed Italy, crossed the Alps and visited France, went into nearly every part of Christian Europe, inspiring all hearts with the zeal that consumed his own. In imitation of Christ, when he entered Jerusalem for the last time, Peter traveled on a mule, with a crucifix in his hand, his feet bare, his head uncovered, his body girded with a thick cord, his clothing a long frock, his head-dress a hermit's hood. His appearance was an awesome spectacle; his austerity of manner impressed every witness; his doctrines appealed to the taste, zealotry and resentment of the times; he came to be regarded as a saint, or as one bearing a direct and divine commission. (*See plate No. IV.*)

He went from city to city, province to province, working on the superstitions, the piety and the courage of his auditors, here in churches, there in village marts, again upon the public highways. He was animated, eloquent, impressive, filled with vehement apostrophes and catching descriptions. His exhortations threw his auditors into sobs, groans and frenzies. Whole congregations rose in response to his zeal, and volunteered to suffer death with him in re-

deeming the Holy City from the Infidel. When speech failed him, he resorted to tears and to laceration of his flesh, holding his crucifix before him and rejoicing in the suffering which had made it a perpetual glory and a sign of salvation. The people flocked about this Messenger of God. To touch his vestment became a sacred privilege, and even a hair from his mule became a holy relic. His sermons were repeated everywhere, his manners were imitated, feuds disappeared in families and neighborhoods, the poor became objects of solicitude, charity became a ruling passion, sympathy for the afflicted Christian took the form of furious fervor, natural bravery went out in an oath to redeem or to die, religious emotion ran wild in excesses, and swung like a pendulum from the lowest follies of superstition to the fiercest outbursts of fanaticism.

In this state of excitement, Alexius Comnena sent a message to the Pope, asking for the assistance of the Latin church against the Turks, who were threatening Constantinople. Pope Urban called a council at Plaisance, to discuss a union of the Latin and Greek powers for the purpose of protecting the Eastern Empire and delivering the Holy Land. But the council was a failure, chiefly because it was held on Italian soil where the spirit of commerce and liberty had begun to weaken the enthusiasm of religion. He called a second council at Clermont, in France, where the people were fresher converts and where Peter's preaching had proved most effective.

In order to make this council a success,

Urban attended it in person and acted as its presiding officer (Nov. 1095). It was composed of an immense number of clergy, princes and laity from France, Italy and Germany. Its early deliberations related to general subjects of church and state, but at its tenth session the Pope ascended a pulpit in the open air and preached the sacred duty of redeeming the sepulchre of Christ from the Infidels, announcing the certain propitiation for sin by devotion to this meritorious service.

This historic council was most ingeniously called and managed. The northern, or Germanic, peoples of Europe were new and enthusiastic converts to Christianity. They were yet warlike in disposition and patrons of the feudal estate, which last implied a host of petty princes, jealous of one another and mostly devoted to the business of settling difficulties by the sword. Whole families of those who assumed to be knights fell into feuds and wars which lasted for generations, and either impoverished or extinguished both sides. The laws were impotent, and it became a custom to ask the church to intervene for the settlement of disputes, a favor it cultivated willingly, and which greatly increased its power, at a time when there was no line of division between temporal and spiritual authority. Rather than be forever importuned to make settlements between innumerable petty knights, princes and warriors, the church had, in several councils, issued a general decree, prohibiting private wars for four days in each week. This Council of Clermont renewed in emphatic terms what had come to be called "The Truce of God,"

and threatened all who refused to comply with its anathemas. It resolved that those who had strength and means and will for a better cause should not perpetually scatter and destroy them in nursing feuds and fighting unnecessary battles. It placed all widows, orphans, merchants, artisans, laborers, and non-combatants generally, under the panoply of the church, declared that the churches should be as so many sanctuaries of escape, and that even the crosses, which were then common by the roadsides, should be refuges from violence.

All of these decrees, many of which were really salutary, considering the times, had for their object the fuller control of the church over the passions of the hour, and the enlistment of energies, which were running to rapid waste in local strifes, in a cause which would add to the strength and glory of Christendom. They struck into the midst of an assembly filled with enthusiasm and fanaticism. Such was the general infatuation, occasioned by the preaching of Peter, and by the presence of Pope Urban and his following of distinguished prelates, that the faithful saw nothing ahead but preparation for war against the Infidel, and the redress of the evils endured by the Christians in Palestine.

The proceedings of the Council of Clermont culminated on the date of its tenth session. The great square was filled with an immense crowd. The Pope ascended an improvised throne, followed by his cardinals. By his side was Peter the Hermit, clad in the homely garb which had attracted the attention and respect of multitudes everywhere.

Peter delivered the first address. It was an impassioned and masterly sketch of what he had witnessed in Jerusalem and Palestine—the outrages against the religion of Christ by the Infidels; the profanations and sacrileges of holy places, the persecutions of pilgrim visitors, whom he had seen loaded with irons, dragged into slavery and harnessed to the yoke like beasts; the insults to ministers by compelling them to buy the privilege of saluting the temple of their God; the danger to them, by dragging them from their sanctuaries, beating them with rods, and even condemning them to death. In these descriptions, Peter not only spoke but acted. His countenance wore a woe-begone expression, he shuddered with consternation and horror, he wept over his own words. He left no heart unmoved by the emotions which stirred his own.

He was followed by Pope Urban who ratified all that Peter had said, and enlarged upon it in such a way as to further excite the interest and inflame the passions of the vast assembly. He pictured the land consecrated by the presence of the Savior, the mountain on which he expiated our sins by his sufferings, the tomb in which he was inclosed, as having become the heritage of the impious, who had raised altars for their false prophets in the seats of the apostles, who had introduced sacrilegious pomps into the cradle of the Christian religion, who had spread darkness in the holy places of Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus and Nicea, and who had carried their ravages to the very gates of Constantinople, even threatening the entire West. Then, rising to the height of the

great occasion, and addressing himself to the nations assembled, particularly the French, who formed a majority, he said—“Nation beloved by God, it is in your courage that the Christian Church has placed its hope. It is because I am well acquainted with your piety and your bravery that I have crossed the Alps and have come to preach the word of God in these countries. You have not forgotten that the land you inhabit has been invaded by the Saracens, and that but for the exploits of Charles Martel and Charlemagne, France would have received the laws of Mahomet. Recall, without ceasing, to your minds the danger and the glory of your fathers, led by heroes whose names shall never die. They delivered your country. They saved the West from shameful slavery. More noble triumphs await you, under the guidance of the God of armies. You will deliver Europe and Asia. You will save the city of Jesus Christ—that Jerusalem which was chosen by the Lord, and from whence the law is come to us.”

Urban carried his audience entirely with him. It wept, when he pictured the misfortunes and captivity of Jerusalem. Warriors clutched their swords and swore vengeance against the Infidel, when he described the tyranny and perfidy of the Mussulman conquerors. The enthusiasm of his auditors rose to the highest pitch when he announced that God had chosen them to extirpate the Mohammedan, and exhorted them to turn against the common enemy the arms they had been using against one another. They were no longer to revenge the injuries of mere men, but the injuries offered to Di-

vinity. And amid his powerful appeals to patriotism and religion, he did not omit the promise of worldly gain, by possession of the riches of Asia, and the lands which, according to Scripture, “flowed streams of milk and honey.” He thus played on every passion and emotion—ambition, patriotism, love of glory and wealth, piety, power, religion. Summoning all his energies he concluded:—“Christian warriors, who seek without end for vain pretexts for war, rejoice, for you have to-day found true ones. You, who have been so often the terror of your fellow citizens, go and fight against the barbarians, go and fight for the deliverance of the holy places; you who sell for vile pay the strength of your arms to the vile fury of others, armed with the sword of the Machabees, go and merit an eternal reward. If you triumph over your enemies, the kingdoms of the east will be your heritage; if you are conquered, you will have the honor of dying in the very same place as Jesus Christ, and God will not forget that he shall have found you in the holy ranks. This is the moment to prove that you are animated by a true courage; this is the moment in which you may expiate so many violences committed in the bosom of peace, so many victories purchased at the expense of justice and humanity. If you must have blood, bathe your hands in the blood of the Infidels. I speak to you with harshness, because my ministry obliges me to do so; *soldiers of hell, become soldiers of the living God!* When Jesus Christ summons you to his defence, let no base affection detain you in your homes; see nothing but the shame and the evils of

Christians; listen to nothing but the groans of Jerusalem, and remember well what the Lord has said to you: “He who loves his father and his mother more than me, is not worthy of me; whosoever shall abandon his house, or his father, or his mother, or his wife, or his children, or his inheritance, for the sake of my name, shall be recompensed an hundred fold, and shall gain eternal life.”

At this grand outburst the audience rose as one man and broke into the unanimous cry—the war-cry of the crusader—“*It is the will of God! It is the will of God!*” (See plate No. V.) Taking up the wild refrain, Pope Urban repeated dramatically: “Yes, without doubt, it is the will of God!” and then continued;—“You see to-day the accomplishment of the word of our Saviour, who promised to be in the midst of the faithful when assembled in his name. It is He who has dictated to you the words that I have heard. Let them be your war-cry, and let them announce everywhere the presence of the armies of God.” On finishing, the Pope held up to the assemblage the sign of their redemption. “It is Christ himself,” said he, “who issues from the tomb and presents to you his cross; it will be the sign raised among the nations, which is to gather together again the dispersed of Israel. Wear it on your shoulders and on your breasts; let it shine on your arms and on your standards; it will be the surety of victory or the palm of martyrdom; it will unceasingly remind you that Christ died for you and that it is your duty to die for him.”

Again the multitude rose to weep, to

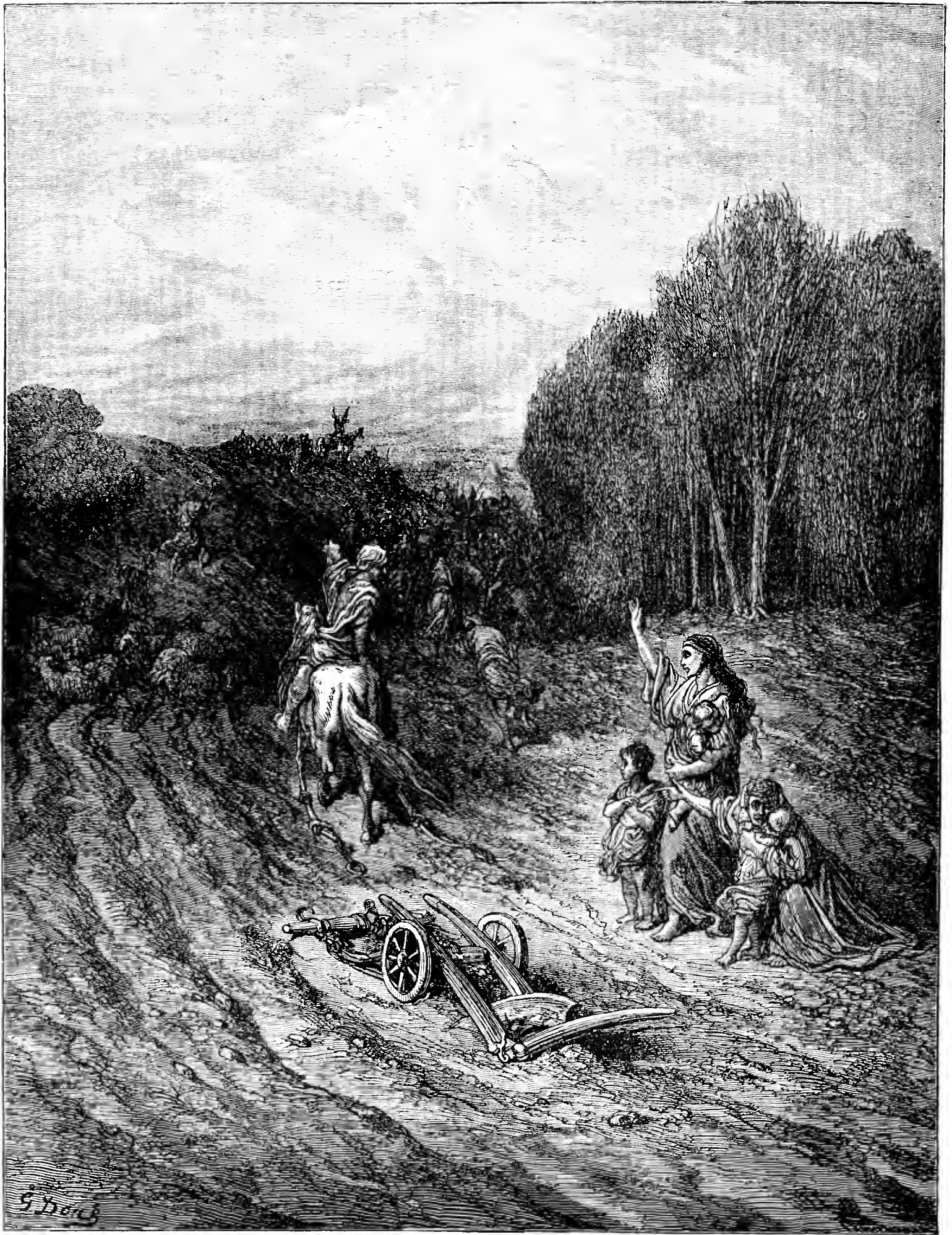


PLATE NO. V.—WAR CRY OF THE CRUSADERS.

cheer, to vow vengeance against the Mussulman. But on a signal from Cardinal Gregory, who afterwards became Pope Innocent II, silence fell, and the assemblage bowed to receive, at his hands, the general confession. The bishop of Puy took the cross from the hands of the Pope and demanded to be the first to enter the *way of God*. Other bishops followed his example. Then barons and knights came and took solemn oath to avenge the cause of Christ. They forgot private quarrels in their common hostility to the Mohammedan. All the faithful decorated themselves with the garments of the red cross and pledged faith to the decrees of the council. From that day on, all who engaged to combat the Infidel were termed "Bearers of the Cross," or "Crusaders." The assembly besought Pope Urban to be leader, but he could not afford to surrender his policy of antagonism to the anti-pope, Giubert, and so he nominated the bishop of Puy as apostolic legate with the army of Christians. He did, however, promise to all who assumed the cross the remission of their sins and the protection of the church and the apostles Paul and Peter. All violence to a soldier of Christ should be punished with anathema; every soldier should be watchful of bishops and priests; decrees regulating the discipline and departure of the cross-bearers were issued; those who did not fulfill their vows were threatened with excommunication.

War was thus declared against the Infidels, and the noise thereof was spread far and wide. The returning bishops continued to bestow blessings on those who took up the cross. Urban traversed several provinces

of France, on his way to Rome, and held councils in which he stimulated the enthusiasm engendered at Clermont. His success at stimulating the crusading fever was remarkable. France seemed to have no country but the Holy Land. Ease, property and life, were lavishly cast into the sacrificial cause. And France was but as a beacon light, reflected upon England, still disturbed by the Norman conquest; upon Germany, disturbed by the anathemas of Gregory and Urban; upon Italy, agitated by factions; upon Spain, fresh from combat with the Saracen on her own soil. In fact, all Christian nations seemed to forget their internal troubles and to plunge headlong into the excitement of the hour. Western Europe resounded with the Papal watchword, "He who will not take up his cross and come with me, is not worthy of me."

The cross which the faithful wore in this first crusade was of cloth or silk. It was at first red, but afterwards of various colors. After having been blessed by pope or bishop, it was pinned to the coat, mantel or helmet. On the return from the Holy Land it was worn on the back or shoulder. All the prior devotion for pilgrimages—the cultivation of centuries—now burst into inordinate passion. But to go armed, and not peacefully, was the dominant thought. The old errand of love and reverence was to be a march of vengeance and conquest. Aside from the impelling power of the church and the fanatical turn of mind, the political and physical condition of Europe contributed to the warlike conflagration. The people groaned under feudal servitude and violence.

Famine, for years, had contributed to brigandage and freebootery. Agriculture and commerce had sunk to insignificance. Villages and towns had fallen in ruins. Starvelings had abandoned their lands. The standard of the cross, flaunted suddenly into a despairing, superstitious and fanatical midst, with its promise of an asylum against misery and oppression, with its pledges of activity, conquest, glory and final exemption from the consequences of sin, could not but prove welcome. Everything that the church could do, was done to make its appeal popular and final. The Crusader was freed from all imposts and from pursuit by debts. The cross suspended all laws and all menaces. Tyranny could not seek a wearer of the emblem, nor could justice find the guilty. All former identity, all old association, were lost in the blazonry of christian enlistment and conquest. What wonder that an entire populace rushed to a cause that absolved them from a grinding past and pictured so glowing a future! What wonder that the inexorable wickedness of tyrannical baron and brutal knight sought expiation, or at least relief, in a desperate plunge into foreign martial excesses! What wonder that the mobile throngs, ripe for novelties and over-persuaded by religious passion, should agree to sacrifice an unpropitious existing estate for one flush with prospects and trimmed with the flowers of glory! As vassals sat out with their followers, the nobles followed, in order to preserve a semblance of their former authority. Again, barons and counts had no hesitation in seeking fields of valor and prowess beyond the confines of Europe, especially since the

“*Cross and arms*” afforded them the only expiation they could hope for from their many iniquities. Peace loving and peace pledged bishops and clergy put on arms, and led or followed their flocks to Jerusalem, not unmindful of the rich bishoprics of Asia and the enviable sees of the eastern church. The association of knights, which had risen since the days of Charlemagne, and which could find nothing to do but to roam the world in search of adventure, under the banner of “*Champions of God and Beauty,*” found ready outlet in the crusading spirit. Its warriors turned naturally to the fields of adventure opened by advance upon the east. Two or three hundred vigorous Normans had conquered Apulia and Sicily from the Saracens, what might not a formidable army of christian adventurers do in the lands beyond the Hellespont, where untold wealth existed, and where certain fortune awaited the humblest cross bearer? But over glory, patriotism, cupidity, escape from present tyranny and hardship, towered the sublime passion, the pervading emotion, of the hour. Religion dwarfed every other sentiment with her fervid heat, her intense zealotry, her ingenious quixotry. She subjected love of country, of family, of environment to her ends, and made moderation cowardice, indifference treason, and opposition sacrilege. Law was as nothing with men fighting for the cause of God. Princes were nothing, subjects were nothing, authority was nothing, when the soldier wore the sacred badge. Even duty was nothing, except as it went out armed and in defense of the overshadowing cause. The non-combatant—women,

children, servants, the helpless of every estate—espoused the cause of heaven and spoke aloud, “*It is the will of God,*” by imprinting crosses on their limbs. Monks deserted their cloisters, and anchorites left their forest and desert retreats to mingle with crusading throngs. Thieves and robbers quitted their cave retreats to confess their crimes and expiate their offences by assuming the badge of the cross and warring against the Infidel in Palestine. Indeed, it might be said that under the inspiration of the hour Europe had been found to be a good land to desert. Baron was willing to desert his domain, and lord his manor. Artisan deserted his shop, merchant his store, and laborer his job. Cities were depopulated, lands were mortgaged, castles were sold. Values were as nothing. The profligacy of spiritual enthusiasm was, as ever, inordinate. The accumulation of centuries went for a song. Even miracles entered into the furore. Stars fell; blood was seen in the heavens; cities, armies and knights were pictured in the clouds; saints issued from their tombs; the shade of Charlemagne came forth to exhort Christians to fight for the faith.

The Council of Clermont, held in Nov. 1095, fixed the departure of the Crusaders for the festival of the assumption of the following year. The subsequent months were months of suspense, peace and preparation. This was a benediction; and even if the council had accomplished nothing more, it deserves to live in history as having provided for factional Europe another motive than the cutting of neighborly throats. The Crusaders encouraged one another. The

benediction of heaven was apparent to him who should be first ready. It was a time when men could and should fulfill the scripture, to sell all that they had &c., but alas, all were selling and little was realized. The market was overstocked with lands and possessions, and material Europe was sacrificing itself to its passions.

When spring appeared, the impatient Crusaders flocked to the places they were to assemble in. They came afoot and on horseback, clad in every kind of costumes and armed with sword, lance, javelin, club, and all fantastic weapons. They were a confused mixture of ranks, professions and even sexes, for woman vied with men in fanatical exhibitions. Priest and layman, age and youth, wealth and poverty crowded to the meeting places, and psalm and song, trumpet and drum, were heard in camp, and pavilion upon every hillside. From the Rhine to the Pyrenees, and from Tiber to ocean, troops of men swarmed toward gathering spots chanting their songs of conquest, echoing their war cry;—“*It is the will of God!*” and swearing to exterminate the Saracens. Fathers made their children vow to conquer or die for Christ; warriors tore themselves from the bosom of their families; old men and women followed in the processions till they fell exhausted; none remained behind except to envy the departed. They left home, crowded together, and marched thence, without preparation or forethought, believing that He who nourished the sparrows would provide for them. Dense ignorance added to their illusions, and they caught on to signs and enchantments, thinking that

even distance would be annihilated by the holiness of their cause, and that hardship would be a joy. "Is this Jerusalem?" was asked by the least experienced, at every village they came to. The lords, as densely ignorant as their vassals, appointed themselves for a grand holiday and took along their hunting hawks and their fishing tackle. They expected to enjoy themselves on the road and to indulge the indolence of their castles in Asiatic lands. There was no voice

of reason amid all this clatter and surging, and no one seemed surprised at a spectacle which is without a parallel in history. The aggregate of the multitudes who assumed the cross and deserted present for prospective duty cannot be computed, but Carnot estimates that six million of enthusiasts were on the move in the spring of 1096. Exaggerated as this estimate is, it is hardly hyperbole to say that entire western Europe was feverishly directed toward Mohammedan Asia.

ARTICLE II.

THE CRUSADE OF THE MOB.

A. D. 1096—1097.



BY the spring of 1096 the Crusaders swarmed in large armies. It was seen that they were so numerous as to exhaust supplies on any one route, and so the more thoughtful of the leaders agreed to conduct their followers by different roads to Constantinople, which was to be a point of rendezvous. But the immediate followers of Peter the Great were too impetuous to await timely and regular movements. They chose Peter as their general, and this enthusiast, believing that zeal would overcome every obstacle, was foolish enough to assume generalship. In March, 1096, he found himself at the head of an immense mob of fanatics, with whom he started from the borders of France through Germany. They numbered from eighty to one hundred thousand, men and women, old and young, sick and maimed—pilgrims of the lowest order of mind and morals, but firm believers in all the miraculous promises of their teacher. Rivers would divide as the Red Sea, manna would fall as food, the enemy would vanish in the presence of the "Lord God of Hosts."

The mob of Peter was divided into two hosts. The vanguard marched under the

lead of Walter the Penniless, a knight of Burgundy, and a chief as ignorant of warfare as Peter himself. His magnificent army of twenty or thirty thousand beggars-by-the-way, was escorted by the enormous corps of eight horsemen, whose conduct was as reckless as their condition was deplorable. As long as this mob was on French soil, and even though it jammed the highways and carried devastation in its course, it could find subsistence through charity. Even when it entered Germany and thronged the channels of communication, it was not received adversely, but it rather served to impart a glow of enthusiasm to the sluggish German mind, which had not as yet become inflamed with the preachings of Peter. Happily for it, Hungary had recently embraced Christianity, and King Carloman gave it friendly passage through his domains. But when it struck Bulgaria, its trials began. The Bulgarians were Greek Christians, but they despised Constantinople, and were inimical to the thought which pervaded the mind of the West. The moment Peter's crusading mob entered Bulgaria, it became the victim of insult and persecution. Walter, with his vanguard, got along pretty well for a time by making humiliating concessions, but the withholding of supplies on the part of the Bulgarians and the constant obstacles they presented to peaceful advance, soon forced

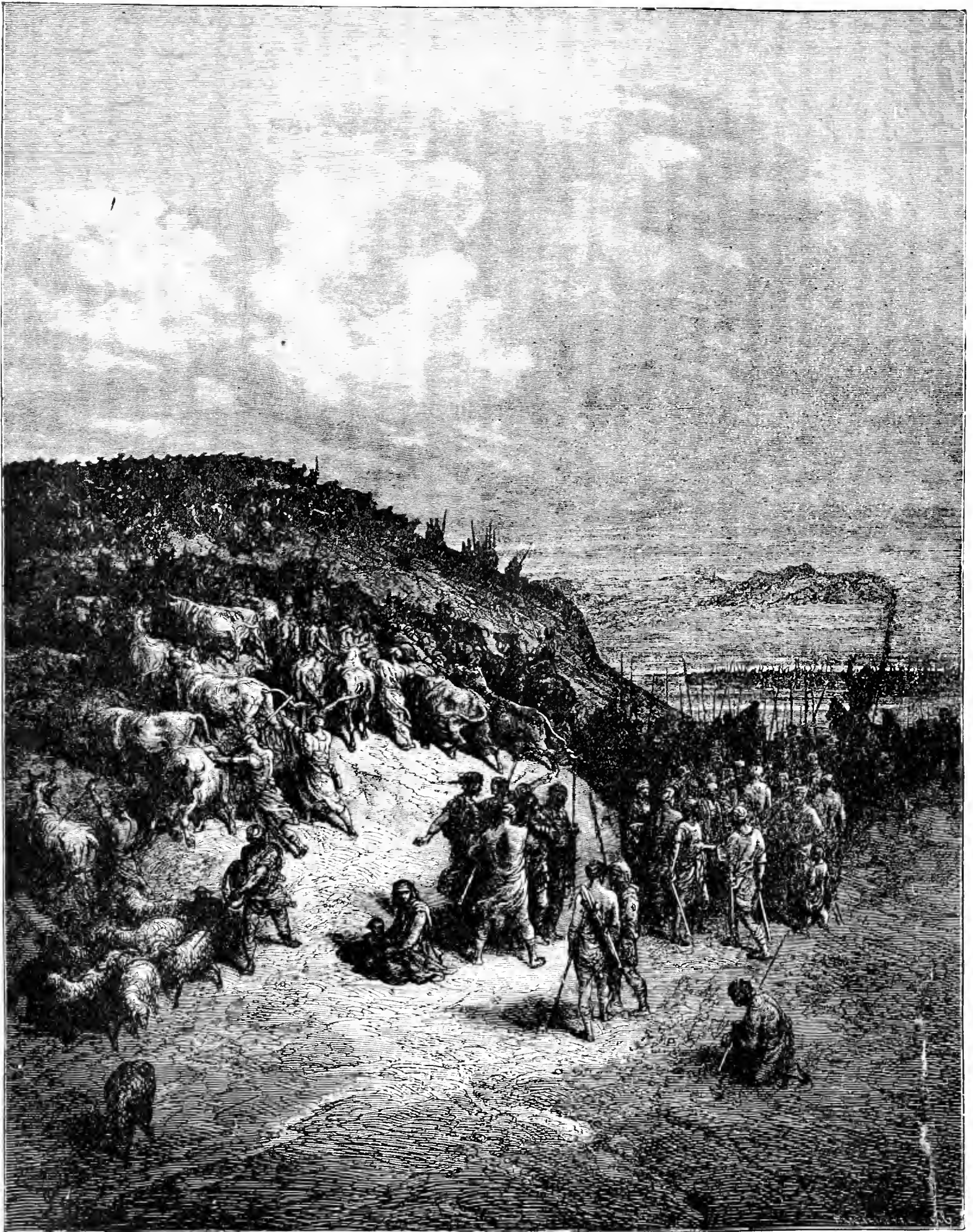


PLATE NO. VI.—WALTER THE PENNILESS IN HUNGARY.

the pilgrims to compel what was not volunteered. Religion was laid aside, and violence was substituted. (*See* Plate, No. VI.) The pilgrims spread themselves over the country, burned houses, massacred people, carried off flocks and provisions. The Bulgarians flew to arms, and slew a great number of Walter's followers. He could not avenge his loss, but pushed his way along through ravines and forests, losing hundreds daily, and leaving a trail of blood behind. His pitiable plight touched the governor of Nissa, who supplied the wreck of his army with provisions, clothing and arms. Taught by bitter experience, and again mindful of their mission, Walter's mob passed through Thrace without disorder, and arrived under the walls of Constantinople where the Emperor Alexius permitted them to await the arrival of the second division under Peter the Hermit.

Peter's army was then traversing Germany, under the lead of one who could excite an enthusiasm he could not control. Like Walter, he had no idea of the difficulties of the route, and unlike Walter, he lacked moderation and prudence. His mob comprised probably forty thousand men, women and children. On his arrival in Hungary he learned of the ill fortunes of his vanguard, but, favored by the Hungarian King, he marched with comparative peace till Semlin, on the southern confines was reached. Here, sight of the dead bodies of Crusaders hanging on the gates of the city, excited his ire, and he gave the signal for vengeance and war. Trumpets sounded, soldiers seized their arms, the ramparts of the city were

scaled, the citizens were driven out and forced to the woods and rocks along the Danube, with the loss of four thousand of innocents. Their dead bodies, floating down the Danube, carried word of the horrible victory of the Crusaders as far as Belgrade.

This ungenerous and unchristian conduct on the part of the Crusaders incensed both Hungarians and Bulgarians, and while the pious fanatics were revelling in their victory, a hostile army under Carloman approached. Peter knew that his infatuated mob could not venture on a battle with the disciplined Hungarians, and so he hastened to cross the Save. But, once on Bulgarian soil, an enemy hardly less formidable arose. There was a series of initial skirmishes, of doubtful result, but with great loss to the Crusaders. These over, there was nothing ahead but deserted villages and towns, great dearth of provisions, and hardly a guide to pilot the way. Again Peter's mob ran into excesses, and provoked a more open and fatal hostility. At Nissa, the Crusaders set fire to several mills, and at sight of the flames, the inhabitants rushed in armed mass on Peter's rear guard, killing and capturing a number estimated at ten thousand, besides taking great spoils. When Peter, who had already gotten beyond the territory of Nissa, heard of this disaster, he returned with his forces, to plead with the governor for the restoration of the captives and to impress on him the fact that his soldiers were engaged in the cause of Christ, and that their real mission lay beyond the Hellespont. His pleas were met with the answer that the Crusaders themselves had given the signal for war and

should put up with the consequences of their folly. The answer fired Peter's soldiers. He lost control of them. They even accused him of vacillation and cowardice. Directed only by their furious wills, they endeavored to scale the ramparts of Nissa, and a terrific battle ensued, in which the Crusaders were cut to pieces. The women, children, horses, camp utensils, and trophy chests of the defeated fell a prey to the infuriated enemy. Peter, with barely five hundred followers, sought refuge on a neighboring hill where his prayers of defeat were mingled with the blare of trumpets, calling together those who had escaped carnage or had lost themselves in flight. There was no safety for any Crusader save under his own standard. None, therefore, turned back, but all who could sought the banner of the cross on Peter's hill, and in two or three days he had about him some seven thousand people, utterly dispirited, and without the means of subsisting or fighting. But the fact that this miserable wreck of a clamorous swarm was powerless for harm saved it from annihilation. Its very helplessness excited sufficient sympathy to enable it to pass out of Bulgaria and through Thrace without further molestation. It joined the vanguard under Walter, and in front of Constantinople, in August, 1096. Here the combined forces rested for a while, and Peter held several conferences with the Emperor Alexius. While the Greek Christians bore no love for the Latins, and even secretly rejoiced over their humiliation by the Hungarians and Bulgarians, Alexius, who had really appealed to the Latin church for aid against the Mohammedan, thought it

the part of diplomacy to honor Peter with rich presents, to feed and comfort his jaded forces, and to kindly advise him to stay on the west of the Hellespont till his crude, unarmed forces could be augmented by the better disciplined and more illustrious throngs which were shortly to follow.

This was excellent advice on the part of the Emperor. But the knightly cohorts he anticipated were not yet ready to leave Europe. On the contrary, they were to be preceded by even a more defiant and dangerous mob than that which Peter had headed. The crusading spirit had taken hold of Germany under the preaching of Gotschalk, who was reckoned as the German Peter the Hermit. He assembled an army of from fifteen to twenty thousand followers, all impressed with the idea that it was the "will of God" to fight Mussulmen, and all bound with an oath to exterminate the Infidel. This army found ready transit through Germany at the end of harvest. But plenty led to extravagance and riot. Forgetting Constantinople, Jerusalem and Christ, it embarked on pillage, violation and even murder. By the time it reached Hungary, Carloman had a force assembled for the purpose of teaching it some of the rules of decency and moderation. Gotschalk's followers resisted with defiant spirit, and succeeded in alarming the Hungarians. The latter resolved to do by strategy what they could not effect by force. They pretended peace, entered the camps of the Crusaders, persuaded them to disarm, and then set upon them with barbaric fury. Neither the tears, prayers nor sacred signs of the Crusaders,

saved them from death at the hands of the perfidious enemy. Gotschalk's entire army met the fate it had courted by violation of the laws of humanity.

We naturally stand appalled at the excesses of those first Crusades. But it must be remembered they were of the lowest classes, blind to law and as ready to espouse as to abuse the holiest names and privileges. Civil wars had filled Europe with vagabonds and adventurers. Germany was cursed with men trained to brigandage. These readily enrolled themselves under the banner of the cross, as a means of expiating sin, yet without parting with their animating spirit of license and revolt.

On the heels of those motley mobs which had followed Peter to Constantinople, and which had met with extermination under Gotschalk arose a third or fourth swarm of adventurers, crying the same cries, pledged to the same ends. But, with the same words on its lips and the same signs on its breasts, it was more undisciplined, seditious and hellish than any which had preceded. It sprang from the banks of the Rhine and Moselle, and even from the British isles, and took for granted from the start that the promise of the remission of all sins gave it license to put to death whoever refused to join its standards. Thus, without going to Palestine, it found enemies worthy of its fanatical ire. A priest, named Volkmar, and a Count Emicio, who despaired of expiation for his many sins, except by the greater excesses of fanaticism, assumed to take leadership of this crusading throng, the fourth and last division of Peter's European rabble, and

the one before whose wickedness and licentiousness all former excesses were to appear as virtues. Under the lead of its vile volitions, of the teachings of its assumed leaders, and of such light as an inspired goat and goose afforded, this refuse of France, the Rhenish Provinces, Flanders and Britian, aggregating two hundred thousand men, astounded the world by its proclamation that it was useless to make war on Mussulmen who kept up under their own law the tomb of Christ, while they left in peace a nation which had crucified God. The purport of this was plain. The promise of expiation of sin for those who took up the Cross could be turned to any account. How much worse than a Mohammedan was he who had crucified Christ. How much more congenial to capture and kill at home than to march thousands of miles to indulge the grim pleasure. How much more profitable to confiscate certain wealth than to seek that which was foreign and uncertain. The promise of expiation amounted to a license. Why not kill the opulent and prosperous Jews at home, with the certainty of honor, enrichment and forgiveness, rather than take the risk of long marches and doubtful battles with the Mussulmen? It is impossible to ascertain at this age, as it is immaterial, whether this fourth rabble meant sheer freebootery, or whether it entertained the secondary intent of turning its robberies to the account of the cause it had espoused. The Jews were the commercial people of the time, and they held most of the gold which circulated in Europe. They were envied and despised, as they have been in all ages and

countries where profligacy exacts the results of thrift, indolence demands the rewards of industry, superstition usurps the domain of faith and bigotry masquerades as religion. Jewish wealth excited the cupidity of the would be Crusader, who was forced to rely on charity for his necessities, as much as Jewish serenity and freedom from fanaticism excited his animosity at an hour when, "he that is not for me is against me" was the dominant and intolerant idea. Once enlisted under the banner of Christ, once decorated with the badge of the cross, neither the world the flesh nor the devil should stand in the way of the Crusader, and the world the flesh and the devil could justify themselves no matter what the enormity of their excesses, provided they were cloaked by the sanctities of the new born cause and bore the impress of that pious zeal which the occasion demanded.

The fourth contingent of Peter's mob, obeying a natural thirst for pillage, opened the fires of persecution, and in this were encouraged by both Emicio and Volkmar. They spread through the cities of the Rhine and Moselle and began a pitiless massacre of the Jews, many of whom killed themselves in order to escape cruel death at the hands of these murderous zealots. Many Jews burned themselves in their houses with their treasures; others threw themselves into the Rhine and Moselle; mothers stifled their babes at their bosoms rather than have them die under Christian fury; old and young called on death to relieve them from a worse visitation. So outraged was the church, in certain sections, by the diabolism it had un-

wittingly invoked, that the bishops of Worms, Treves, Mayence and Spiers, threw open the gates of their palaces as asylums for Jews, that they might escape the persecutions of the villainous and murderous Crusaders.

Yet the soldiers of Emicio swept on, exulting in carnage and priding themselves on cruel exploits. They loaded themselves with booty, property of the Jews, loudly invoked the blessing of heaven on their dastardly achievements, and claimed a glory equal to triumph over the Saracen. Led by their divine goat and inspired goose, they carried consternation wherever they went, and frightened neighborhoods into applause over a zeal which the heart feared and condemned. Onward this mob swept toward Hungary, as ignorant of its way as of the fate of those which had preceded it. Mersbourg shut its gates against them and refused them provisions. At this, the unrestrained and licentious mob flew into a rage, surprised that so little respect should be shown to the soldiers of Christ, and refusing to see any difference between an Hungarian and a Jew. Mersbourg must be scourged for its impious refusal to encourage and protect the crusading throng. The river Leytha was crossed, the forest was cut down, a causeway was built across the swamps (*See Plate No. VII*), and the Crusaders swarmed under its ramparts. Ladders were raised, and on a given signal, the assault was begun. The battle waged fiercely and with doubtful result for a long time, when the ladders of the Crusaders began to give way, dragging down their occupants and the fragments of walls and towers.

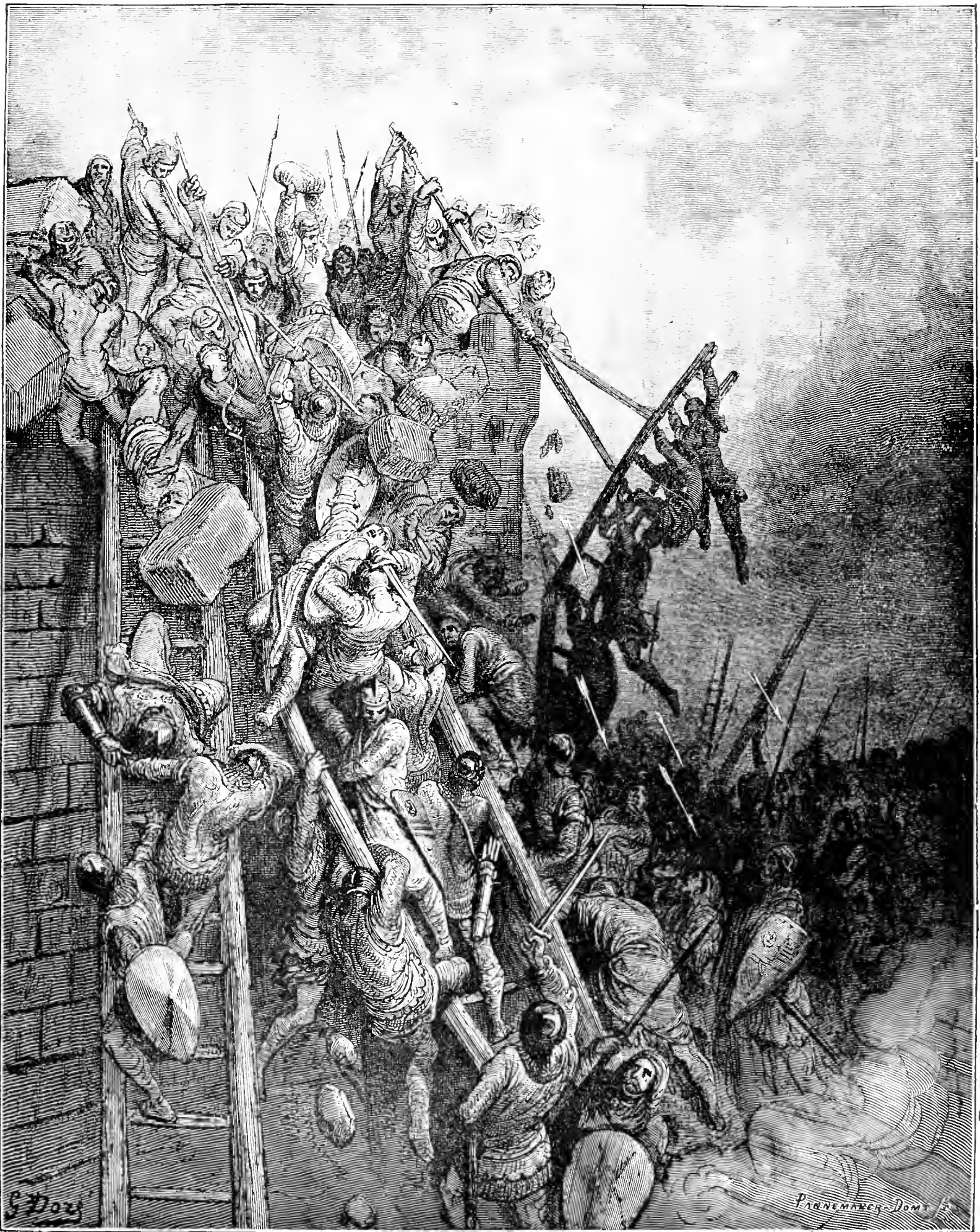


PLATE NO. VII.—THE ARMY OF PRIEST VOLKMAR AND COUNT EMICIO ATTACKS MERSBOURG.

killing those on whom they fell, and carrying panic into the ranks of the assailants. They broke in dismay and fled swiftly and confusedly from the bloody scene, leaving the defenders of the city to the enjoyment of a triumph which they attributed directly to the hand of God. "God himself," says William of Tyre, "spread terror through their ranks, to punish their crimes, and accomplish the word of the wise man:—'The impious man flies without being pursued.'"

When the inhabitants of Mersbourg recovered from surprise at the extent of their victory, they ventured beyond their ramparts, to find the plain filled with panic-stricken Crusaders, who permitted themselves to be slaughtered without resistance, and the swamps choked with the flying assailants. The waters of the Leytha and the Danube ran red with the blood of those whose bodies were borne along by their currents. A vanguard of the army which attacked Mersbourg, had already entered Bulgaria, to find the cities and plains blocked by men as ferocious and implacable as themselves, instruments of divine wrath in the way of those who boasted of divine protection. Battles were frequent and the carnage great. Few of the desperate and cruel adventurers escaped. Some made their way back to their own country to be met by the jeers of their compatriots; others escaped toward Constantinople and found safety with the armies of Peter and Walter.

The fanatical enthusiasm of Europe had thus far cost the lives of nearly a quarter of a million of her citizens. Not a victory had been gained over the Saracens. Their lands

had not as yet been reached. The crowd that had gotten as far as Constantinople, and which had been augmented by adventurous gangs from Italian cities—Venice, Genoa, and Pisa—probably numbered, in all, one hundred thousand. They were encamped in the suburbs of Constantinople and were the guests of the Emperor Alexius. For a time they respected the laws of hospitality, but as soon as memory of their hardships passed away, their camp became a scene of disorder. Idleness drove them into insubordination. Abundance excited their desires. The wealth of the eastern capital stimulated their cupidity. Impatient, ungrateful, thirsty for plunder, they pillaged house, church and palace in suburban Constantinople, and proved themselves such dangerous pests that Alexius gladly furnished them the means of transportation to the eastern side of the Bosphorus.

They were now on Asiatic soil, and on ground for whose possession there was fierce contention between the Greek and the Turk. Here the Crusaders regarded all they met as their enemies, and the subjects of Alexius suffered equally, at their hands, with the Turkish invaders. Their superstitions had now free play. The license they excused by their profession of the cross and by proffered expiation of sins took horrible forms. They plundered, burned, murdered, committed excesses which make humanity shudder. Their camp was in the fertile plain on the Gulf of Nicomedia. Every day freebooting parties ravaged the neighborhood and returned loaded with booty, whose division excited frequent quarrels. The French Crusaders assumed all the honors of having inaugurated

the Holy War, and they treated the Germans and Italians with contempt. Dissensions took national color, and the Italians withdrew, under the lead of one Rinaldo, and set up an advanced camp near the mountains which border Nicea. There they captured a fort from the Turks, whose garrison they massacred. The enemy, in turn, set upon them and put nearly all of them to the sword. Of the escapes, a few found their way back to the general camp and the rest bought immunity by professing the Moslem faith.

The news of this disaster healed the dissensions in the general camp, and French and Germans burned to revenge the death of the Italians. Walter endeavored to dissuade them, but he vainly pointed out that the disaster had been invited by the imprudence of the victims. Nothing could restrain the blind zeal of the soldier mob. They saw, in vision, the despicable Turk flying before their prowess. They accused Walter of lack of faith and courage. Murmurs rose into revolt, and Walter was forced to follow a headstrong horde, marching disorderly and boisterously toward Nicea. The sultan of Nicea, anticipating all their movements, waited for them in the plain at the foot of the mountains, with a showy fragment of his army, while the substantial part was concealed in the forests to the rear. The Crusaders marched exultingly forward through a country entirely unknown to them. The Turkish columns which they first struck beat a hasty retreat. Believing they were victors, they pressed hastily and confusedly forward, only to find themselves surrounded by the enemy, and easy victims. The carnage was

horrible. Walter fell, pierced by seven arrows. With the exception of three thousand, who found cover in a castle near the sea, the entire crusading army perished in this single battle, and there soon remained nothing but a pile of bones on the plains of Nicea, as a deplorable monument to point other Crusaders the way to the Holy Land (*See Plate No. VIII*).

Such was the fate of the western fanatical throng which threatened Asia. Their excesses had turned the Greek Church and Empire against the crusading enterprise, and their mob like progress had taught the Turk to despise them as an armed foe. Peter, who had returned to Constantinople before the battle of Nicea, deprecated his entire loss of control over them, and denounced them as brigands whom God had deemed unworthy to either appreciate or rescue the tomb of his Son. That peculiar energy which enabled Peter to excite the passions of a mob, counted for nothing in its control, and he sunk to a level with the results which fate had in store for those whom he had moved to war. Europe learned, with astonishment and horror, of the unhappy end of nearly three hundred thousand of her infatuated citizens, who had departed amid the promises and blessings of the church, and who believed that all the world would bend to their prowess. Their sad fate, however, did not deter others. On the contrary, their misfortunes seemed to inspire their followers with new resolution, and their disasters furnished a warning to the better regulated and more formidable hosts which were to pour into the East from the thoroughly aroused West.

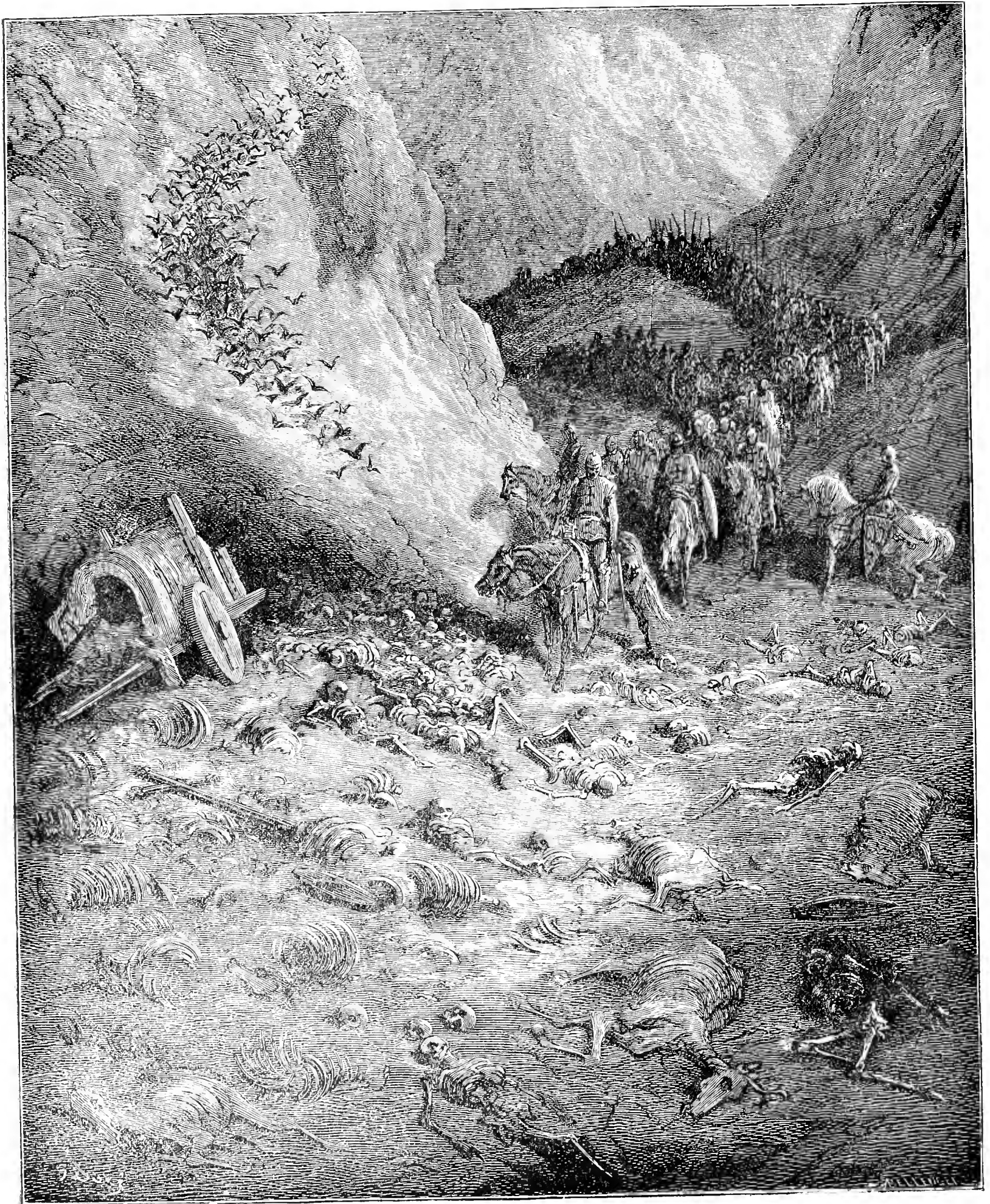


PLATE NO. VIII.—THE SECOND CRUSADE COMES UPON THE REMAINS OF THE FIRST.

ARTICLE III.
THE CRUSADE OF KINGS AND NOBLES.

A. D. 1097—1147.



THE fanatical enthusiasm of Europe had thus far skimmed it of a misguided mob. It seemed necessary that such should perish first in order to pave the way for a Holy War with some element of regularity and chivalry in it. All christian effort to redeem the Holy Sepulchre had, up to this time, only exalted the Infidel. The world had never witnessed a more pitiable exhibition of demoniacal fanaticism and flagrant licentiousness than was shown by Peter's and Walter's horde. The verdict of candid history is that they deserved the fate they invited. They embodied no lofty sentiment and achieved nothing heroic. They started as a rabble, in obedience to a popular ferment, and perished as a miserable crowd of crazed humanity, without knowledge of what was before them and with no just conception of their cause. They misrepresented in all respects the spirit of religion and of war which evolved more slowly and gave shape to what was to follow. Granted that what did follow was organized infatuation and mailed folly, it was none the less a splendid spectacle and interesting study. Its spiritual zeal gave a silver lining to its superstitions. Its martial

fame modified its brutality. Amid fanatical excesses there was a creditable show of prudence. The general madness of the age and the cause was mitigated by relatively sane counsels, rational expedients, patient courage, and genuine adventure. However much a calm reason may condemn the wildness of their enterprise, or the true principles of divine and human law may impeach the justice of their cause, their magnanimous devotion of spirit and fearless heroism in battle must ever command a large share of sympathy and admiration.

No European potentate of any account had mingled with Peter's mob. Pope Urban II had declined command of the expedition, and had conferred his authority over it to the bishop of Puy. Henry IV, of Germany, Urban's enemy, refused to recognize the authority which preached the crusade. Philip I, of France was given up to sensual indulgence and was suffering under excommunication hurled at him by the Council of Clermont. William II, of England, was irreligious, and was more inclined to speculate in the enthusiasm of his brother's (Duke Robert's) Norman estates than take stock in foreign adventures. Yet, while the monarchs held off, their principal feudal chiefs heartily enlisted. They naturally became leaders in a cause which gave them opportunity for daring and enrichment. They

loved adventures and war, and many of them were already famed for valor. History and poetry place Godfrey de Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine, at the head of these great captains. He was a descendant of the great Charlemagne, had espoused the cause of Henry IV. against the Popes, had entered Rome at the head of his victorious troops and, tired of a cause which Christendom condemned, had at last resolved to expiate his contumacy by posing as a liberator of Jerusalem. He was both hero and cenobite. To natural bravery he added herculean strength. He was devout, prudent and humane. All his vengeance was for the enemies of Christ. He was liberal, faithful to his word, affable—a model knight and soldier, under whose standard all were eager to fight, and to whose counsels all were willing to listen. When he gave the signal, the nobility of France and the Rhine borders opened their purses and flocked to his banners. War accoutrements leaped to fabulous prices. Women sold their precious ornaments to equip sons and husbands for service. Men sacrificed their domains for arms. Even the gold which had been hoarded came out of concealment and appeared along side of the weapons in the tents of the Crusaders. The faithful who did not, or who could not, take up the cross, gave liberally in charity. Many lords entirely ruined their vassals by exactions. Some even pillaged their burghs and villages in order to equip themselves and their following. Godfrey himself alienated his domains in order to arm his soldiers. This he did at an immense sacrifice, which the bishop of Verdun took advantage of, an

act which has given rise to the statement that the clergy were quite willing to profit by the fervor of the laity.

Within eight months after the Council of Clermont, Godfrey had gathered an army of eighty thousand footmen and ten thousand horsemen. In it were a great number of French and German nobles, among whom were his two brothers Eustace and Baldwin, and his cousin Baldwin de Bourg, the last two destined to become kings of Jerusalem, like Godfrey himself. Others of equal note were, Baldwin, count of Hainant; Garnier, count of Grai; Conon of Montaiger; Dudon, of Contz; Henry and Godfrey, of Hache; Gerard, of Cherisi; Rinaldo and Peter of Toul; Hugh of St. Paul, and his son Engelran. These knights, whether as simple servitors or as commanders of squadrons, brought with them other knights with their followers, and no less formidable for their valor. Whether actuated by piety or the hope of achieving fortune in Asia, they all quitted without regret their mean possessions and tame life in Europe. They formed an army of immense proportion and used to marches and battles. When they started, they presented to the German countries through which they passed a spectacle wholly different from Peter's mob. Their discipline and restraint re-established the honor of the Crusaders and drew allies and champions of the cross where Peter had met his worst enemies. The hostile Hungarians and Bulgarians forgot their hatred for Peter, Gotschalk and Emicio, in their admiration of Godfrey's forbearance.

While Godfrey was marching his army

toward Constantinople, France was undergoing political transformation, at least in sentiment. Philip I. had been excommunicated by the Pope for contumacy and general wickedness. He found most of his domains governed by vassals whose territory and power exceeded his own. In so far as the Crusade was an inspiration of the church it was a revolt against kingly supremacy. But in as much as it was sweeping out of the country the discontented elements it was working the safety of royalty. By reason of Henry's opposition to the Pope, Germany had fallen into sanguinary discords and civil wars. France would have shared the same fate, but for the diversion occasioned by the crusading fever. Philip took this matter into serious consideration and called a council of his nobles. He found the sentiment unanimous that the time had come for France to join her political fortunes with the crusading spirit, the better to relieve it of internal enemies. So, other armies were formed with the design of supporting Godfrey, and with the consent of the state, yet in ignorance of the misfortunes and calamities, which a near future was to reveal. We read with a smile of the omens which impelled these superstitious counsellors of royalty to take up arms. As they sat in council, the eclipsed moon took the color of blood. Soon the bloody disc turned to an atmosphere of splendor. Again, the northern horizon appeared as if on fire, sure sign that the abominable Turk was invading Europe with fire and sword, Stars were seen to crowd together in the form of a cross surrounded by wreathes of thorns, and the

whole to rise in conjunction with the crescent moon. (*See Plate No. IX.*) All of these were signs of the "Will of God," and of the wars which must be waged in his name. All of the enthusiasm of Peter's mob seemed now to infect those who remained behind, and the most indifferent partook of the general delirium. The most callous Frenchmen, and the very flower of French arms, resolved to take up the cross and fight the Infidel.

Philip's own brother, the Count Hugh, a proud prince, brave in battle, but susceptible to flattery, and lacking perseverance amid reverses, headed the columns from Vermandois, and the subjects of Philip in general. Robert, duke of Normandy, and eldest son of William the Conqueror, gathered a large following of Norman vassals to his banner, and sought an outlet for his inconstant yet chivalric disposition in Asiatic conquests; first however, pledging his domains to his crafty brother, William Rufus of England in order to raise money with which to equip his forces. Another Robert, the count of Flanders, raised a corps of Frisians and Flemings. His father had, sometime before, performed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in order to expiate the crime of usurping the principality of Flanders, and the tales which were told on his return, together with the fact that nearly all the males of the country had been under arms during the civil wars, made it easy for Count Robert to attract a large and resolute following. He exhausted the treasures of his father to equip his men for an expedition which was to earn for him the reputation of a bold

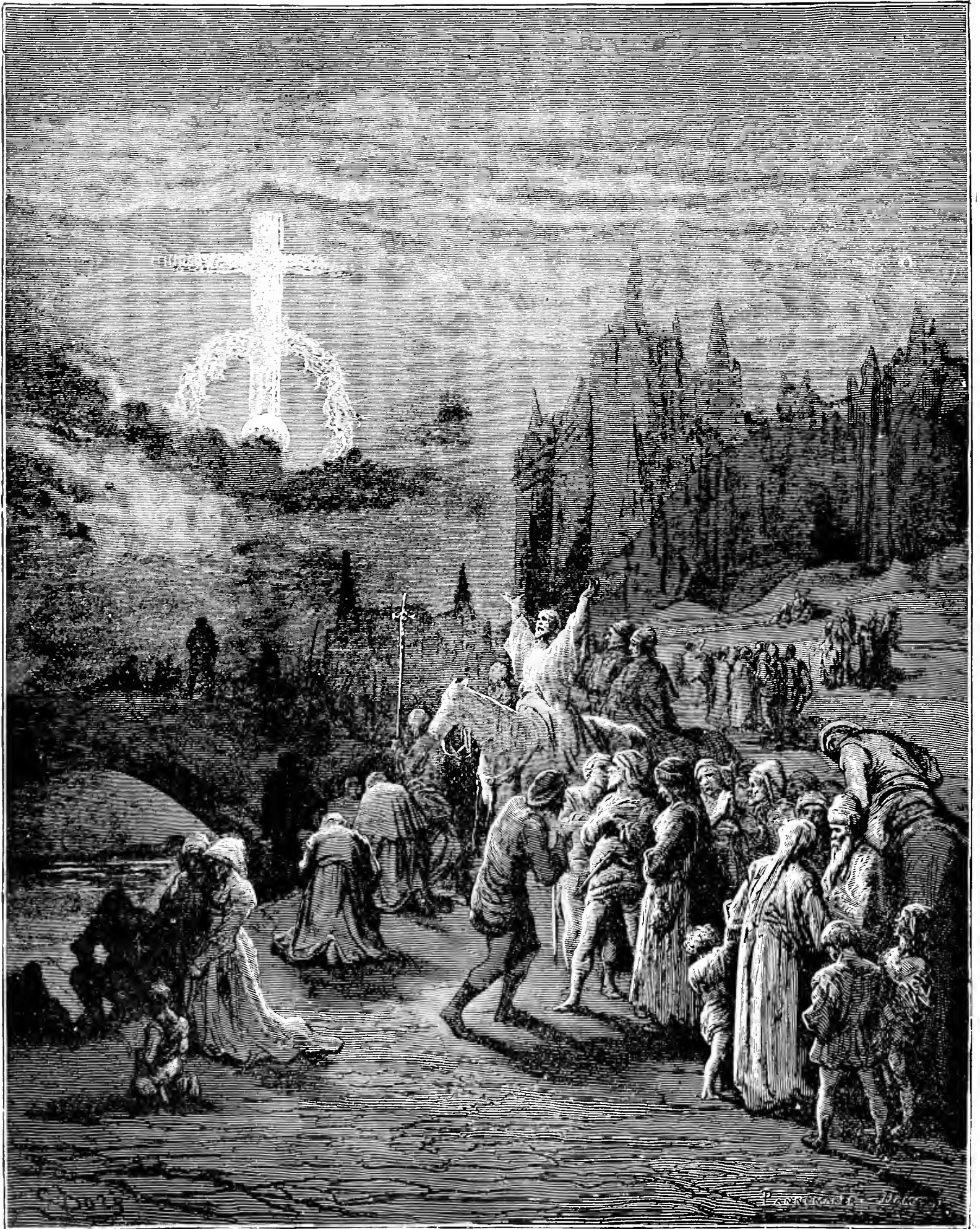


PLATE NO. IX.—SIGNS FROM HEAVEN.

knight, and the surname of "*Lance and Sword of the Christians.*" Five hundred of his men had already preceded him to Constantinople. Stephen, count of Blois and Chartres, whose castles numbered one for every day in the year, and who was reckoned the richest noble of his time, took up the cross and led a large body of his retainers. Though lacking in physical strength, and unable to bear for any length of time the fatigues of war, he was eloquent and wise in the councils of the leaders, and enjoyed the exceptional distinction of being a man of letters.

These four chiefs were accompanied by a throng of lesser knights and nobles, among whom were Robert of Paris, Everard of Prusaié, Achard of Montmerle, Isouard of Muson, Stephen, count of Albermarle, Walter of St. Valeroy, Roger of Barneville, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, with many others who became known to fame. For the most part, these men of rank took along their wives, children and camp equipments. They did not follow the regular land route to Constantinople, but crossed the Alps and marched toward the different coast cities of Italy, intending to embark for Greece by water. At Lucca, they met Pope Urban, who praised their zeal and gave them his benediction. He invested Count Hugh, of Vermandois, with the standard of the church, and he with other princes visited the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, for the purpose of freshening their inspiration. Rome was then in the midst of civil war. The Crusaders took no part between the papal and anti-papal forces, but sight of the violence which

prevailed in the capital of the church so cooled the enthusiasm of many of the knights that they returned home in disgust. Others pushed their way toward the port of Bari, where they were forced to remain for many weary months, till the dangers of winter navigation had passed.

This influx of French Crusaders awakened the zeal of the Italians. Bohemond, prince of Tarentum, resolved to participate in the glory of the holy expedition. He was the son of that gallant Robert Guiscard who fifty years before, had quitted Normandy with thirty-five soldiers, had contended for Apulia and Calabria with Greeks, Lombards and Turks, and who had succeeded in establishing in the extreme south of Italy the Norman kingdom of Naples and Sicily, which vied with both Rome and Constantinople in prominence. Bohemond was as brave and talented as his father, and was said to be a cubit taller than the tallest soldier in his army. The historian of Constantinople and the Empire of the East, Anna Comnena, says he was as astonishing to the eyes as his reputation was to the mind. He was eloquent in debate and skilled with sword and lance. Reared in the school of Norman heroes, he concealed deep policy beneath an exterior of violence. Proud and haughty, he sought not unprofitable vengeance. That was just which contributed to his designs. Those were enemies who interfered with what he coveted. Fear of God, the opinions of men, nor his own oaths, afforded him no restraint. He had followed his father in his expedition against the Emperor Alexius, and had distinguished himself at the battles of Durazzo and Lar-

issa, but had been disinherited by his warlike parent, had nothing at his death but the example of his family and memory of his own exploits. He had declared war against his brother, Roger, and had just compelled him to cede to him the principality of Tarentum, when the crusading spirit reached his section through the influx of his northern kinsmen. His enlistment under the banner of the cross was not for the purpose of delivering the tomb of Christ, but as he, like his father before him, had sworn eternal enmity against Alexius and the Empire of the East, he saw, in the privilege accorded to him of passing through hostile territory with his army, an opportunity of winning a kingdom long before reaching Jerusalem. Tarentum was too small to afford him an army, but in the name of religion he could recruit in any state and, taking advantage of the crusading enthusiasm, he soon had a respectable army at his back. Concealing his ambitions beneath the cloak of religious fanaticism, he went among his soldiers and in eloquent strains spoke of the religion which was to be defended and exalted and of the glories in store for those who strove for victory over the Infidel. He completely won the affections of his army, and his camp echoed with the cry "*It is the will of God!*" Pleased with success which even Peter the Hermit might have envied, he tore his coat-of-arms into shreds, made them into crosses, and distributed them to his soldiers. New Crusaders came rushing to his standard, all of whom cried for Bohemond to lead them. He hesitated sufficiently to make them all the more clamorous, and when at length he gave what seemed to be a

modest consent, the whole army rose in its enthusiasm and swore to follow him to the death. His brother Roger, found his own ranks decimated by the crowds which flocked to Bohemond's standard, and was forced to give up the siege of Amalfi. Bohemond now gave himself up entirely to preparation for his voyage.

In a surprisingly short time he embarked for the coasts of Greece with twenty thousand footmen and ten thousand horse, followed by every renowned knight of Apulia and Sicily—Richard, prince of Salerno, and his brother Randulf; Herman of Cani; Robert of Hause; Robert of Sourdeval; Robert son of Tristau; Boile of Chartres; and Humphrey of Montagu; but none of whom was so celebrated for exploit as the brave Tancred, who has found a place in history and poetry, and who seems to have been actuated by the loftiest sentiments of piety, chivalric honor, and friendship for his leader.

Meanwhile the southern provinces of France were aglow with enthusiasm—Gascony, Languedoc, Provence, the Limousin and Auvergne. These had formed and marched under the lead of Raymond, count of Toulouse, and Bishop Adhemar as spiritual chieftain. The latter appeared in the garb of a pontiff and armor of knight, and proved as valorous in the field as eloquent in prayer. The former, Raymond, had fought the Saracen in Spain by the side of the Cid and had married Elvira the daughter of Alphonso the Great. He was rich in castles and domains, haughty and imperious, brave to a fault, hated for his obstinacy and violence,

a mighty accession to the cause of Christ, yet soon to be the victim of a crusade against his own family. The numerous knights and followers of Raymond and Adhemar, among whom were several illustrious bishops—the whole estimated at one hundred thousand—marched eastward along the south side of the Alps and through northern Italy, by way of Dalmatia, to Constantinople.

And now that all Europe was pouring into the empire and capital of Alexius, that emperor began to be alarmed at the number of those who had responded to his call for help. He had not forgotten the excesses of the first mob which had come like a blight on his domains. He feared Bohemond whom he had met on the plains of Durazzo and Larissa. He repented of his invitation to the Latin princes, in the respect that it had exposed the weakness of his empire. Should such a swarm as was now streaming toward and through his domains choose to repeat the excess of Peter's crowd or to stop short of their designs on the Turk, they would literally swamp his sovereignty, and might find riches and dominion far easier than seeking it in remote and hostile Asia. His alarms were increased by the predictions of his astrologers and the sentiments of his people as the Crusaders clustered on his borders. We naturally wonder why he did not take advantage of this wonderful in-pouring of strength; why he did not control this storm he had invoked in his behalf; why he did not embrace the opportunity at his disposal, and march at the head of the Crusaders for the purpose of driving back the Turk who hung so threateningly on his

eastern borders. But he was as timid as he was vain-glorious. While he would profit by the victories of the Crusaders, he would assume not to fear them. While he complimented them he disposed of his own forces so as to harass them. His ambassadors sent out on errands of welcome were spies to penetrate and report intentions. When Hugh, count of Vermandois, was cast, with his forces, on the shores of Epirus by tempest and was well received by the governor of Durazzo, he was ordered to Constantinople as a prisoner by Alexius, and this with the mean thought that it might be a good thing to hold a brother of the King of France as a hostage for the good conduct of the Latin princes. This contemptible act awakened the suspicion and provoked the hatred of the leaders of the Crusade. Godfrey de Bouillon had arrived at Philippopolis when he heard of Hugh's captivity, and he immediately sent word to Alexius to repair the outrage. He received an indifferent reply, and forthwith let loose his forces in the plains of Thrace. The subjects of Alexius fled to Constantinople, to tell of the barbarism of the Latins. The terrified Alexius promised to restore Hugh as soon as his forces arrived at Constantinople, whereupon Godfrey suspended his warfare and agreed to treat the Greeks as friends and allies. But this did not dissuade Alexius from his attempts to secure such vows from Hugh as would reduce him to a vassal of the emperor, hoping by his example to readily establish a similar relationship with the other leaders of the Crusade, and thus hold their ambitious subject to his own. Flattered by rich presents and

cajoled by promises, Hugh yielded, and took all the vows required by Alexius. On the arrival of Godfrey at Constantinople, Hugh appeared in his camp to state what he had done and to persuade Godfrey to a like condescension. But, while he was received with rejoicing at his deliverance he was denounced for his submission to a foreign monarch, and those who had drawn swords to avenge the insult offered him were all the more incensed against the emperor of the Greeks.

The stubborn and impolitic Alexius thought to bring the followers of Godfrey, and the other Crusaders, to terms by refusing them provisions. But they had learned how to obtain what they wanted by violence. They dispersed over the country and by pillage secured abundance for their camps. They stayed their forays only when the festival of Christmas approached, whose solemnities demanded that the emperor should grant food on the condition that the Crusaders should sheath their swords. But no truce could last long between the conscious power and arrogant pretensions of the Crusaders and the conscious weakness and irreverent subtlety of the emperor. The former openly boasted that they had come to the rescue of a frightened and tottering empire, and they assumed the air of masters. On the soil of the eastern they raised the sceptre and asserted the independence which had perished with the western, or Latin, Empire. Perhaps they rejoiced secretly that the glory which had so long illumined the East was henceforth to shine by means of light borrowed from the West. At any rate,

it is certain that the barbarous courage and overbearing fanaticism of the Crusaders were displeasing to the more refined and thoughtful Greeks, and that enmity between the Greek and Roman churches served to increase the antipathies due to the difference between the manners and customs of the East and the West. The theology of Italy was more bitter against that of Greece than against that of Mohammed, and *vice versa*. Rome classed as martyrs those who died fighting Infidels. The Greek church admitted of no such *post mortem* distinction. It rather abhorred the martial ardor of the Latin priests, and boasted that as Constantinople was the capital of Christendom and contained all the relics of the further East there were no religious need of seeking them in the far away and subjugated Jerusalem. The natural retort of the Crusaders was that Alexius and his subjects were indifferent to the cause of God. The numerous motives for discord and hatred between the eastern and western Christians gave rise to frequent scenes of reprisal and bloodshed in which the Greeks, as a rule, disgraced their courage by double-dealing, and the Latins their valor by fanaticism. Alexius exerted all his arts to exact from Godfrey the same vows of obedience and fidelity he had obtained from Hugh. But Godfrey braved his wiles and menaces, and more than once the forces of each were called to arms, with the fate of Constantinople hanging in almost even balance.

There was one who was elated by these quarrels. That was Bohemond, who had landed his followers at Durazzo. Believing

that the time had come to seize and dismember the Greek empire, he sent word to Godfrey, asking him to capture Constantinople, and rely on him for assistance. Godfrey's reply was a reminder that both had taken arms for the defence of the Holy Sepulchre, and that their vows were to fight against Infidels. When Alexius learned of Bohemond's overture to Godfrey, he redoubled his efforts to secure the allegiance of Godfrey, and even sent his son as a hostage to the camp of the Crusaders. This signal mark of confidence, not to say confession of weakness, dissipated all mistrust, and the princes of the West swore to respect the laws of hospitality. They went in a body to the court of Alexius, where they bent the knee before his throne, and were magnificently received. After an imposing ceremony, in which the heavily mailed knights of the West compared roughly and barbarously with the splendors with which Alexius sought to conceal his weakness, the now graciously inclined emperor adopted Godfrey as a son and placed the empire under his protection. In turn, the Crusaders agreed to restore all the villages they had captured and looted to the emperor and to pay him homage for all the other harm they had done to his subjects and property. Encouraged by such exhibitions of fidelity, the weak and vacillating emperor actually rose with the occasion, and promised aid to the Crusaders by land and sea, provisions for their marches, and the countenance of his leadership in glory or defeat.

Alexius, priding himself on a victory over the contumacious knights, showered presents

and provisions in their camps. Godfrey proclaimed that henceforth the utmost respect should be shown for the emperor and his laws. The compact was sworn to in apparent good faith, but Alexius was as foolish to undertake to destroy the prejudices of the Greeks against the Latins, as Godfrey was weak to attempt to restrain the brutality of his soldiers. Moreover, Alexius feared the arrival of Bohemond, an ancient enemy whom he could not expect to conciliate, and the further concentration of crusading armies about his capital. He therefore prompted Godfrey to cross the Bosphorus and encamp on the Asiatic side, trusting on his further invention to secure similar allegiance from the leaders of other armies as they appeared respectively before Constantinople.

The much dreaded Bohemond, of Tarentum, was marching through Macedonia, one day listening to the deputies of Alexius, the next fighting his passage with the opposing Greeks. After ravaging several cities and provinces, Bohemond received a message from Alexius to hasten to Constantinople in advance of his army. Bohemond obeyed, and was magnificently received by the emperor. The mistrust of these two princes was mutual. Both were skilled in the art of deceiving. Concealment of their suspicions and intentions increased their protestations of friendship. They even congratulated each other over their respective victories. Neither cared a whit for an oath, yet Alexius pledged vast domains to Bohemond, and he in turn swore to be the most faithful of the emperor's vassals.

The same feudal solemnities were gone



PLATE NO. X.—ASTONISHMENT OF THE CRUSADERS AT THE WEALTH OF THE EAST.

through with upon the arrival at Constantinople of Robert, count of Flanders, the duke of Normany, and Stephen, count of Chartres and Blois. They each received, as a reward for their submission, the promises of bountiful help and vast empire, at the hands of the emperor. Raymond, Count of Toulouse arrived last with his followers. He hastily spurned the overtures of Alexius and made it known that he had not sought the East to find a master. But Alexius had condescension for the occasion. He flattered the avarice and vanity of Raymond and his Provençals, exhibited to them his treasures rather than his armies, and so imposed on them by a show of wealth which they mistook for power, and by gorgeous ceremonials which they accepted as real religion, that the strange spectacle was presented of doughty warriors who went out to conquer empires bowing submissive knees to one who trembled for the safety of his own.

Sincerity was not a part of these submissions. The price Alexius paid for them was inordinate, and contempt accompanied the humiliating transaction. Yet they answered a present purpose. They served to introduce the crudeness and barbarism of the martial West to the wealth and splendor of the enervated East. The urbanity of Alexius, the grace of his court, the profuseness of his liberality, the elegance of his city and surroundings, the pomp of his ceremonies, political and religious, the aspect of riches and plenty on every side, made a profound impression. (*See Plate No. X.*) Stephen of Blois wrote "Truly there is not at this time such a man under the heavens as Alexius." Bohemond,

struck with the riches of his apartments, exclaimed, "There is enough here to conquer kingdoms with!" and he made such excellent terms with the emperor as to secure the titles of grand domestic, or general, of the East, which had been regarded as the road to the throne. But while the policy of Alexius had its effect of humbling counts and barons, a few, such as Robert of Paris, treated him with disdain and counted him as a rich and ostentatious clown, lacking the true warlike propensity and relying on the accident of title and diplomatic deceit to hoodwink the rough and doughty chieftains of the West.

While Alexius thus secured, for a brief time, the respect of armed foreign adventurers for his laws, he created a spirit of jealousy among the leaders of the crusade which was a source of protection to one situated as he was. Raymond, of St. Gilles, turned against Bohemond, and kept Alexius informed of the designs of that ambitious prince. For this, Raymond received especial honors, and was reckoned by the Byzantine court as a chief who excelled all others "even as the sun excels the stars."

Again, the palaces, riches, beautiful women, and intrigues of a dissolute court had a corrupting effect on the Crusaders in general. This was especially true of the Franks, and one of their number, the renowned Tancred, deploring the weakness of his companions, and refusing to expose his virtue to the seductions of the Byzantine capital, quit Constantinople, without taking the oath of fealty to the emperor. This departure greatly disturbed Alexius and caused him to doubt the entire success of his policy. It was, at any

rate, a most artful and expensive one, for every day brought its host of Crusaders, whom he must seduce with presents and win with new devices. The very riches he displayed might awaken their stupidity and change their designs to hostility against himself. The only security he could find was in keeping the crusading armies in motion and in hurrying them to the opposite side of the Bosphorus. Once in Asia, their attention would be engrossed in preparations for meeting the Saracens, and the capital of the Eastern Empire would, for the time being, be free from insult.

And now the plains of Bythinia were fast filling with the fanatical swarms from Europe. As they swept along, finding out safe camping places, and living very unlike an organized army of christian soldiers, they came upon a ragged and miserable remnant of Peter's army, which had escaped the sword of the Saracens, and had eked out a starved existence, concealed by the forests and mountains. Amid tears and lamentations, they told of the disasters which had come upon the first army of the Christians. There was the fortress in which Rinaldo and his companions had been surrounded by the Turks and had been massacred, after being forced to surrender by hunger and thirst. Near by was the mountains, at whose foot Walter and his entire army perished in battle. On all sides, the Crusaders encountered the remains of these brethren, and everywhere they found reason to deplore the imprudence which led to these disasters of the first soldiers of the cross. The most pitiable sight of all was the camp in which

Walter had left his women and sick when forced by his soldiers to march upon Nicea. There the Christians had been surprised by the Mussulman forces while celebrating mass, and women, old men, children, the weak and sick, had been driven to the foot of the altar and killed or captured. (*See Plate No. XI.*)

The painful reminder of so great a calamity hushed discord, silenced ambition and inspired fresh zeal for the conquest of the holy places. The leaders laid down rigid codes of discipline for their disorderly followers, and learned not to despise the dangers ahead of them. From this time on, the march of the Crusaders through Bythinia was more like that of a conquering army, and by the following spring they were ready for something in the nature of concerted war upon the Infidel.

The kingdom through which the Crusaders were now marching was that of Erzeroum, or Roum, a corruption of Rome. It had been established by the Seljukian Turks as they drove back the christian subjects of Alexius and the emperors of Constantinople. It extended from the Orontes and Euphrates on the east, to the Bosphorus on the west, and embraced the richest provinces of Asia Minor, Bythinia being the western province. Although the empire of the Seljukian Turks had passed the zenith of its power at the time of the arrival of the Crusaders at Constantinople, it still presented a formidable barrier to their progress, lying, as it did, directly in their path to Jerusalem. The Turks were ardent Mohammedans, and as deeply imbued with religious passion and love of victory as the Christians. They had

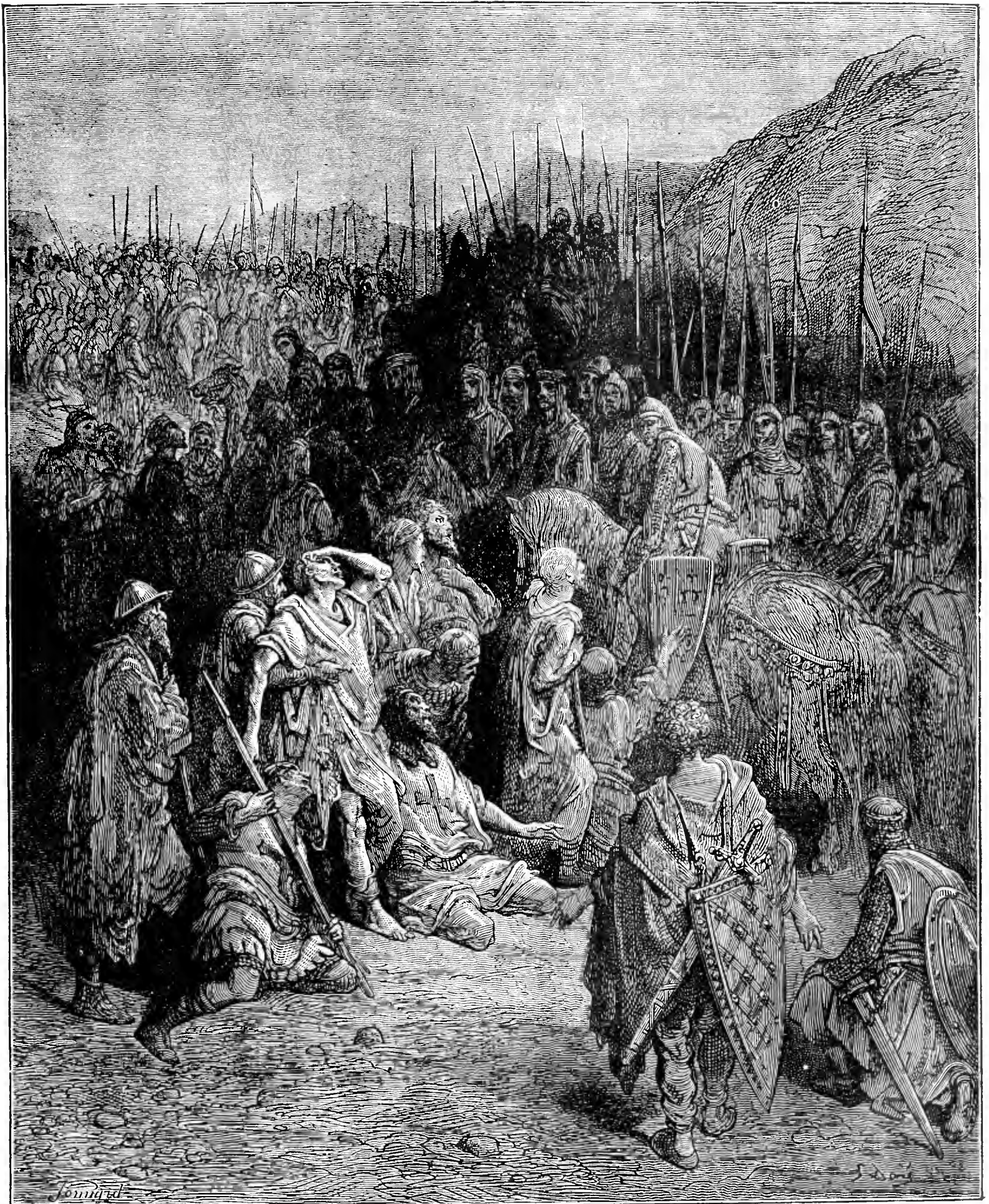


PLATE No. XI.—GODFREY MEETING THE REMNANT OF PETER THE HERMIT'S ARMY.

turned over the cares of commerce and agriculture to the Greeks whose lands and cities they had captured, and whom they regarded, under their laws of conquest, as slaves, and had turned their attention, very much like the knights of Europe, exclusively to arms. Finding their conquests valuable, as they pushed westward toward Europe, they hardly desired other wealth than that won from opulent enemies. Their chief (A. D., 1096-97) was the son of Soliman, surnamed "*The Sacred Champion*," by reason of his many victories over the Christians. His name was David, surnamed Kilidge Arslan, or "*The Sword of the Lion*." He had been brought up in war, had successfully stemmed the tide of several internal revolutions, and had finally reached the throne of his father, to maintain it with prudence and valor. In modern times he would be reckoned as a military genius, full of resource, and not cast down by reverses.

The invasion of his territories by the Crusaders, in sufficient numbers to awe a weak monarch, and under the inspiration of a passion which differed little from madness, led him to prepare for them a reception which comported with his own zeal and valor, and would tend to preserve his empire. He called upon the defenders of Islam to rally to his standard, and they came in troops from all the provinces of Roum and from remoter Persia. Out of these followers he composed a large army, but gave especial attention to the fortifying of Nicea (Nice), against which the Crusaders would first direct their attention. This city was the capital of Bythinia. It was celebrated in history as the seat of

two important Christian Councils. It was the advanced post of the Turks in Asia Minor, and it was there they would concentrate for their grand attack upon Europe. Its approaches were defended by high mountains. On the west and south a lake bathed its ramparts and gave an outlet to the sea. It was surrounded with large water-filled ditches. Its walls were wide enough for the passage of chariots, and were crowned by three hundred and seventy towers of brick. Its garrison was composed of the flower of the Turkish army. One hundred thousand men were encamped for its defence upon the neighboring mountains, under the lead of the Sultan of Roum.

In all probability the Crusaders were entirely ignorant of David's preparations to receive them. Infatuated with their cause, blind in their faith, contemptuous of the martial quality of the enemy, they moved in magnificently terrible swarms over the Bythinian plains toward Nice. Their numbers were uncountable, but have been estimated at one hundred thousand horse and five hundred thousand footmen, the latter, no doubt, comprising a large per cent. of women, children, and ineffectives. In those moving ranks were the chivalry of the various nations of warlike Europe, come out to dispute with the Infidel the possession of Asia. Sight of the immense throng, from the mountain tops occupied by the Turks, must have given them a new idea of the uprising in the West, even if it did not carry terror to their camps.

It was early learned that Nice must be captured by a siege, if at all. For this the



PLATE NO. XII.—PRIESTS EXHORTING CRUSADERS.

Crusaders began preparation, by distributing posts to various branches of the christian army. They stretched their camps of investment, so that they could secure water from the mountain rivulets. Fleets brought abundance of provisions from Greece and Italy. In general the sub-divisions and camps of the Crusaders showed their nationality, and there were nineteen of these, all differing in customs and speech. Each nation, or camp, surrounded itself with walls or palisades, and as both wood and stone were scarce, they used the bones of the first Crusaders which lay bleaching on the plains. Within their quarters they erected tents for chapels for religious exercises. Each nation had its war cry and bugle call, supplemented afterward by its drumbeat. Europe owed the drum to the Saracen warrior. Barons and knights wore coats of mail, over which floated a colored scarf. Every warrior wore a casque of silver, steel or iron. The knights bore round or square bucklers, and the foot-soldiers long shields. Their arms were the lance, the sword, the poignard, the club, the sling, the bow and cross bow. The coat of mail worn by the knights was at first composed of light rings. The heavier coat of mail, of the middle ages, was borrowed from the Saracens. The knights bore on their shields badges of different colors, corresponding to the corps badges or flags of modern times. These became the rallying point for their followers. They were of every fantastic design, and as they were supposed to stimulate the valor of warriors in battle, so they in after times became the insignia of rank—coats of arms—among the nations of the West.

There was no all-directing head nor hand, no general-in-chief, for this christian crowd. There were no corps, brigades, regiments nor companies. Each count or prince had his following of knights, and each knight his retinue. No count or prince deigned to receive orders from anyone. Achievement, under the circumstances, was largely due to personal prowess. Where it was not such, it was the achievement of a mob. The link which held all together was religious passion. The only code that mitigated the barbarism of war was the crude code of honor incident to the times. In the midst of a fiery and all pervading zeal chiefs performed menial service, and priests slew with the sword. The latter were always in the ranks, with their promises and exhortations (*See Plate No. XII*), and so great was their power that the commonest soldier gladly courted death for the sake of the rewards in store for all who perished in battle with the infidel.

The first days of the siege of Nice were signalized by several assaults on the part of the Christians, in which much rashness and valor passed as useless. David, or Kilidge Arslan, whose family and treasures were in Nice, animated his garrison by telling them of the discords and lack of organization in the christian army, and by recalling the many victories of the Turk over his enemies. "We," said he, "are going to fight for our wives, children and country. The religion of the prophet implores our help, and the richest booty will reward our exploits." As the Crusaders advanced their siege operations, animated by the boldness of their leaders, the Turks, similarly animated and as

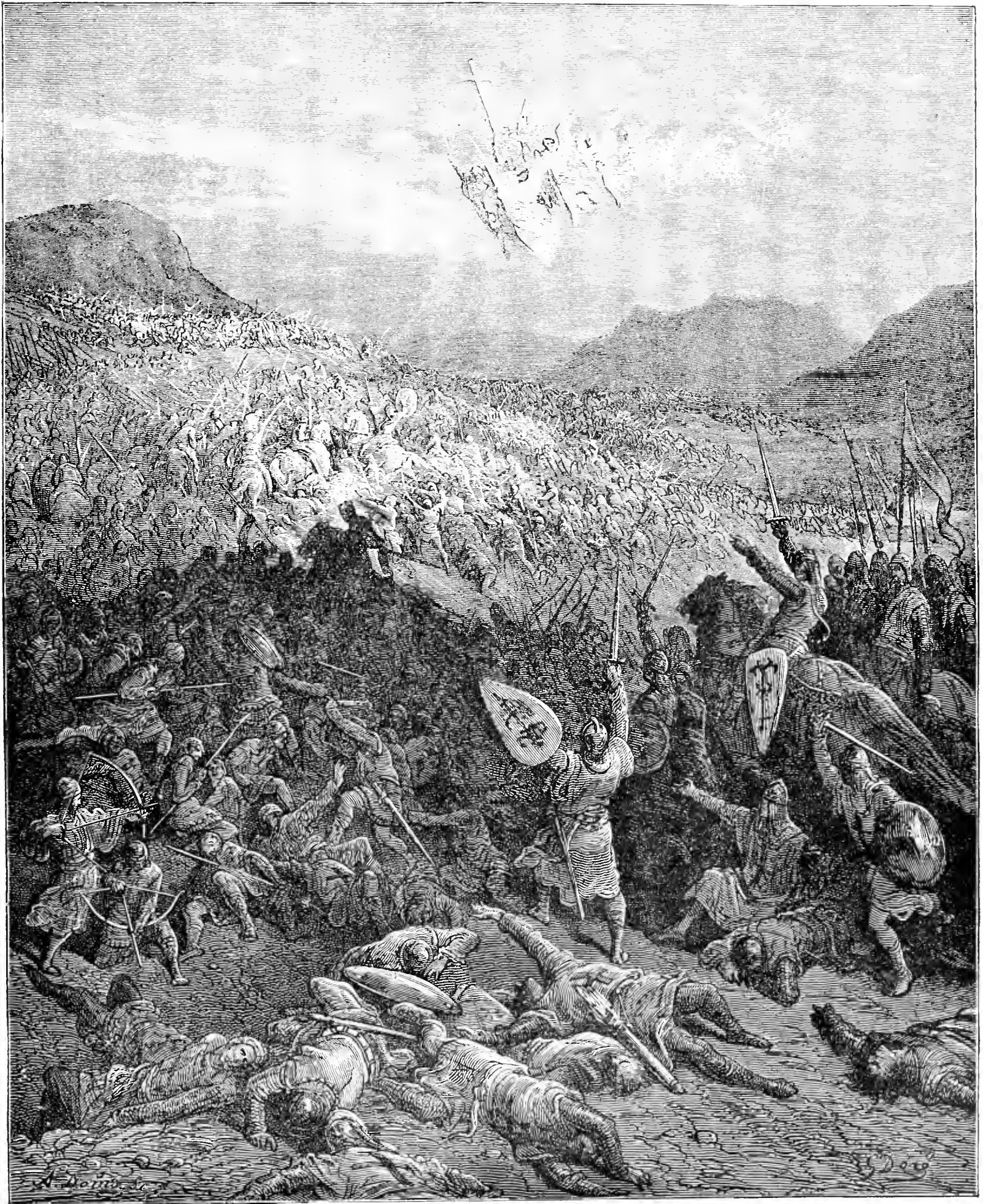


PLATE NO. XIII.—BATTLE OF NICEA (NICE).

bravely led, descended from their mountain camp and prepared for battle. Their army divided into two grand bodies as it struck the plains. One of these bodies fell upon the quarters of Godfrey of Bouillon, the other upon those of Raymond of Toulouse, who had just arrived with his Provençal following before Nice. The first shock was too much for the Provençals, who gave way in disorder. But they were soon rallied by the voices and bugles of Raymond and Adhemar, and, says Matthew of Edessa, "The two armies joined, mingled, and attacked each other with equal fury. Everywhere glittered casques and shields; lances rung against cuirasses; the air resounded with piercing cries; the terrified horses recoiled at the din of arms and hissing of arrows; the earth trembled beneath the tread of the combatants, and the plain was for a vast space bristling with javelins. The Crusaders were most valiantly led by Godfrey, Tancred and the two Roberts, whose steeds appeared to be everywhere at once, whose valor knew no abatement and whose vigorously wielded lances carried terror and death into the ranks of the Infidels. No knight nor column of defence could withstand their fierce onsets. The Turks began to yield, and were soon in confused retreat, followed by the victorious Crusaders to the mountains whence they had so courageously emerged in the morning. (*See Plate No. XIII.*)

It was a disastrous day for the Turkish forces. But the Sultan did not stop to deplore his defeat. He reassembled and reformed his broken forces during the night, determined on the morrow to avenge the dis-

grace to his arms. At break of day he led his troops again down the mountain slopes and once more began battle. His forces made their onset with loud cries, now dashing into the ranks of the Crusaders, and now pouring upon them showers of arrows from a safe distance or an advantageous spot. Then they would pretend to flee, and when pursued by the over-confident Christians would return to the attack with redoubled fury. They exhausted every stratagem of war known to their chiefs, and fought all day long with the courage of despair. And all day long the result of the battle hung in doubt. Not till night did the Turks confess their inability to crush the battle lines of the Christians by sullenly retiring from the scene of carnage, leaving four thousand of their warriors dead on the field, and as many prisoners in the hands of the victors. The lives of the latter were not spared. The heads of one thousand were cut off and sent as trophies to Alexius at Constantinople. The heads of the remainder were loaded into throwing machines and cast into the city of Nice to inform the Turkish garrison of the disaster which had overtaken their army on the second day's battle. (*See Plate No. XIV.*)

This day's fighting relieved the Crusaders of the presence of an enemy outside of the walls of Nice. They took advantage of this respite, and of Arslan's absence, to levy new forces, to push the siege. They approached the walls under improvised roofs of boards and bundles. They pushed forward towers on wheels, filled with arms and soldiers. They mounted balistas on favorable spots

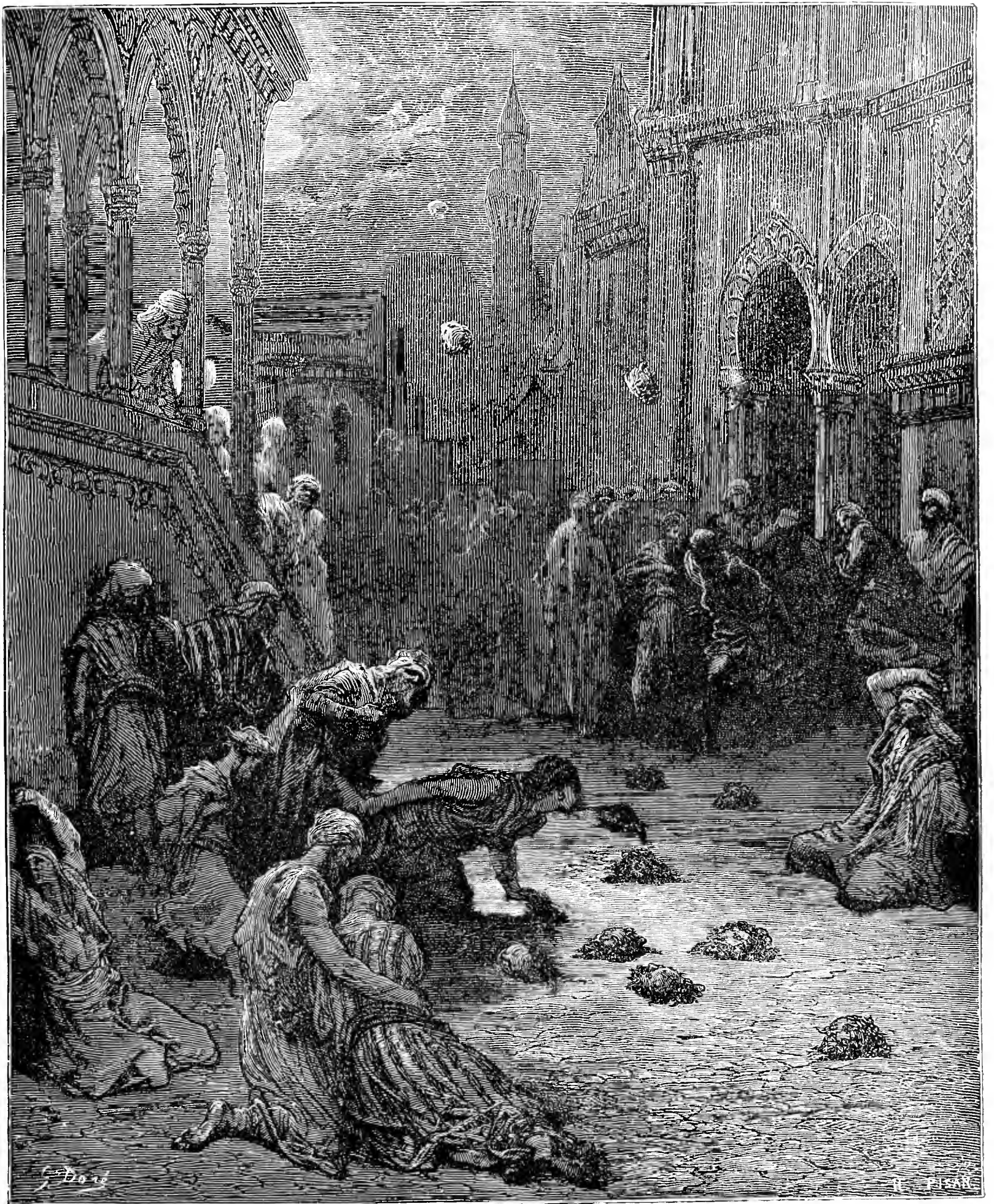


PLATE NO. XIV.—CRUSADERS THROWING HEADS INTO NICE.

which sent forth their beams of wood and showers of arrows. They battered the walls with heavy rams. Their catapults threw incessant charges of stones and combustible matter into the city. In short they employed every siege artifice known to the Romans, and directed them with the skill and energy of the Greeks. They allowed the Turkish garrison no rest, and the defence was as obstinate and furious as the attack. Perhaps there were as many Greeks, skilled in the management of machines, within the city as without. Under their instructions, the Turks covered their ramparts with formidable weapons which hurled destruction on their assailants. They shot forth darts, wooden beams and enormous stones which daily destroyed the labor of the Crusaders. When the Christians made a breach in the walls, another wall arose as if by magic, and presented a fresh barrier. The imprudence and rashness of the Crusaders cost them many lives unnecessarily. Many fell crushed by their own machines. Hundreds died from poisoned darts, against which they could have easily protected themselves. Others, venturing too near the walls, were caught with grappling hooks and dragged alive over the ramparts, to be shot back, stark naked, into the christian camps. The Turkish chiefs exploited equally with the christian knights, and for every tale of single-handed prowess on the part of the besiegers there is one to equal it in strength and courage on the part of the besieged.

The zeal of the Crusaders was unremitting, and it began to tell on the courage of the Turks. The latter received provisions and

reinforcements by means of the lakes which laved the walls on two sides. The Crusaders determined to destroy the communication. Their Greek allies built and launched boats in the lake in the night-time, and in the morning the waters were covered with barks each carrying fifty warriors. They were floated toward the city, amid vehement warcries, trumpet sounds and drum-beats. The manœuvre was a surprise to the besieged, whose terror was increased by the discovery that Raymond and his followers had, on the same night, succeeded in undermining one of the principal towers of the city, whose fall had been reckoned by both armies as the visitation of an earthquake. On the next day the wife of the Sultan was captured by the Christians, while endeavoring to escape with two children. This calamity increased the general consternation within the city. After a siege of seven weeks, whose results were loss of hope for defence on the part of the Turks, and confidence of final capture on the part of the Crusaders, the policy of the Emperor Alexius intervened to change the aspect of affairs, and deprive the crusading forces of the honor of a complete conquest.

That prince had followed the crusading army as far as Pelecania, and had sent to their aid two detachments of Greek troops, whose leaders were instructed to negotiate with, rather than fight, the Turk, and to achieve by strategy what might appear doubtful with arms. Accordingly, one of these officers, Butumitus by name, worked his way into Nice, where he created in the inhabitants a dread of the terrible vengeance likely to be visited on them by the Latins,

and advised them to escape it by a timely surrender to the more humane Emperor of Constantinople. His propositions were accepted, and while the Crusaders were preparing for what was intended to be their final assault, the standard of Alexius appeared of a sudden on the ramparts of the city. Surprise and indignation seized the Christian army. Many soldiers returned to their tents trembling with rage. Their fury was increased by the announcement that they could only enter by tens a city which had been conquered at the price of their blood and whose rich booty they had been promised. The Greeks vainly protested the treaties made by the Crusaders with Alexius and the aid they had furnished the besiegers. Nothing stopped the wrathful murmurs of the Latins except the distribution of largesses by the crafty Emperor, equal in extent to the booty expected from promiscuous entry into the captured city. Gathering the counts, princes and knights at Pelecania, he praised them for their valor, and won their confidence with the costliest presents. Foreigners had captured, or made it possible to capture, a city once his own, but he had possession of it, and had even captured the foreigners. His liberality and flattery proved too much for even the resolute and proud Tancred, and he took the oath of fidelity and obedience to him. But all this profuseness did not disarm suspicion of his double-dealing. When he treated the Turkish prisoners with a humane spirit, and restored the wife and children of the Sultan to their husband and father, the Latins could not refrain from saying that he wished to conciliate the ene-

mies of the Christians. They could not understand how an Emperor who had just cause to fear a neighbor so near and powerful as the Turk, should wish to act differently from those who had been taught to despise him as an enemy and had come from afar to conquer and exterminate him. They could not comprehend the fact that every city of Roum, or Asia Minor, was practically a Greek city filled with the former subjects of the Emperor, who yearned for a restored allegiance, and whose fate would be rendered tenfold more cruel by the practice of barbarities on conquered Turks. Nor could they consider intelligently how naturally jealous an Emperor, himself the head of a Church, might be of those who had come to make conquests under the inspiration of a rival Church, or how naturally afraid he might be to trust such conquests entirely to the keeping of those whose ambitions were as unbounded as their fanaticism. Alexius could be one with the Crusaders in the reconquest of his lost dominions in the name of Christ, but to permit them to hold and govern them as they might, was to introduce an enemy as formidable as the Turk, and quite as fully estrange his cherished cities and provinces and sap the strength and extent of his empire. None of these things could the Crusaders see or understand, and from the moment they found the Greek Emperor disposed to deal diplomatically with the Turk, as he had done with them, they regarded him with almost as much hatred as they did the Infidel, and this, notwithstanding their willingness to accept his largesses and extend their own vows of fealty.

It was now the spring of A. D. 1097. After a rest near Nice, the Crusaders began their march toward Syria and Palestine. They moved in two columns across the mountains of Lesser Phrygia, the better to procure food, but with greater danger to themselves in case of attack. All the provinces of Asia Minor, through which their route lay, were occupied by the Turks. Kilidge—Arslan had gathered a new army, estimated at two hundred thousand men, animated by fanaticism and despair. It was on its own ground, and ready to advance or retreat, attack or defend, with a facility foreign to the Crusaders. The latter advanced with their usual confidence and lack of precaution; likewise, with their ignorance of climate, topography and impediments incident long marches in an enemy's country. They fancied they had conquered Jerusalem at Nice. Godfrey, Raymond, Adhemar, Hugh the Great and the Count of Flanders led the main army to the right across the plains of Dorylæum. The other body was led to the left by Bohemond, Tancred and the Duke of Normandy. On the evening of June 30th, the latter encamped on a rich pasture plain in the valley of the Ozellis. They had intimations that the enemy was near, but believed they had nothing to fear. In the morning the heights above them were obscured by clouds of dust, indicating the rapid approach of the enemy. The camp was instantly aroused, and all flew to arms. On one side of the camp was the river, on the other a marsh. Bohemond hastened to dispose the army for defence. He barricaded the points of attack with chariots and tent-poles, arranged the

foot-soldiers so that the women and children could find protection in the centre of the columns, and sent the cavalry in three divisions so as to dispute the passage of the river by the Turks. Tancred led one of these divisions, the Duke of Normandy another, while Bohemond commanded the centre.

The Turks descended the mountain sides, uttering their war cries, and let fly a shower of arrows, which glanced from the armor of the Knights, but wounded many horses and threw the ranks into disorder. To meet this kind of an attack the arches, slingers and cross-bowmen of the Crusaders were called into requisition, but they were not equal to the emergency. The horsemen grew impatient and crossed the river only to be met with fresh showers of arrows. The enemy repeatedly opened and closed its ranks, retreated and rallied, and so rendered the first disposition of the Crusading forces useless. Each Knight and his squad fought confusedly and according to personal dictate. In such a battle the bravest leader ran the greatest risk. Robert of Paris fell mortally wounded in the midst of forty dead companions. William, Tancred's brother, went down pierced by arrows, Tancred, himself, broke his lance and was rescued from capture or death by Bohemond. If the Christian were stronger in battle, the Turk was more agile. But the Turk was being continually reinforced by fresh swarms pouring down the mountain sides. They formed for a fierce shock upon the cavalry of the Crusades, which was a cover for an attack on their camp under the direct lead of the Sultan of Nice. Followed by his choicest

soldiers, he crossed the river, and cut his way to the centre of the Christian encampment. All were massacred who came within reach of the Turkish swords, except the young women, who were captured for Seraglio uses. Bohemond, learning of this disaster, came promptly to the rescue and drove the Sultan and his forces back to the main body of his army. The conflict was renewed with increased fury on the opposite side of the river. The duke of Normandy rode afield bearing his white pennon, crying "It is the will of God!" and hewing his way through the ranks of the enemy. Other chiefs followed his example, slaying as they rode. Bohemond performed prodigies of valor, and in a single onset liberated many of the women who had been captured. But fatigue began to tell on the valorous Crusaders. Their fighting was ponderous beside that of the more nimble Turk. They lacked the support and rest which reinforcements could give, whereas the Turks were continually receiving fresh troops. The Christians were gradually surrounded and at length forced into retreat toward their camp, the enemy keeping even pace with them, and prepared to contend for this central position. Despair quickened the confusion in the ranks of the Crusaders. Women filled the air with their screams. Priests ran wildly about in prayers and exhortations. Soldiers fell panic stricken on their knees to procure absolution in expectation of death. The bravest knights were either so wounded or fatigued that they could not raise their voices of command above the din. The entire army awaited massacre at the hand of the Infidel,

when shouts were heard in the distance proclaiming the approach of Raymond and Godfrey with the main division of the army. (*See Plate No. XV.*)

This timely arrival was due to the precaution of Bohemond who, at the announcement of the battle, had sent word to the main body. It responded promptly, and gallantly came to the rescue. As they appeared on the mountain ridges to the east, sight of their standards and shields, sound of their drums and bugles, and flash of their swords and lances, revived the hopes of the defeated Crusaders and carried terror to the victorious Infidels. Godfrey, followed by fifty Knights, came like a whirlwind upon the scene. The Sultan ordered a hasty retreat up the heights, hoping that the Crusaders would not dare to follow. Other detachments followed Godfrey, and when they came upon the plain which reeked with the blood of their brothers, they became impatient to avenge their deaths. With loud cries, they demanded to be led against the enemy, and even those who had not recovered from the wounds and fatigues of the day clamored for further fight. Immediately a line of battle was formed, Bohemond, Tancred and the Duke of Normandy leading the left, while Godfrey and the Count of Blois headed the right. Raymond commanded the centre and Adhemar the reserves, or rear. Ere the leaders gave the word to advance, the priests moved through the ranks administering benedictions and exhortations. Soldiers and leaders became frenzied with enthusiasm. Drawing swords and crying with united voice, "It is the will of God!" they rushed forth over

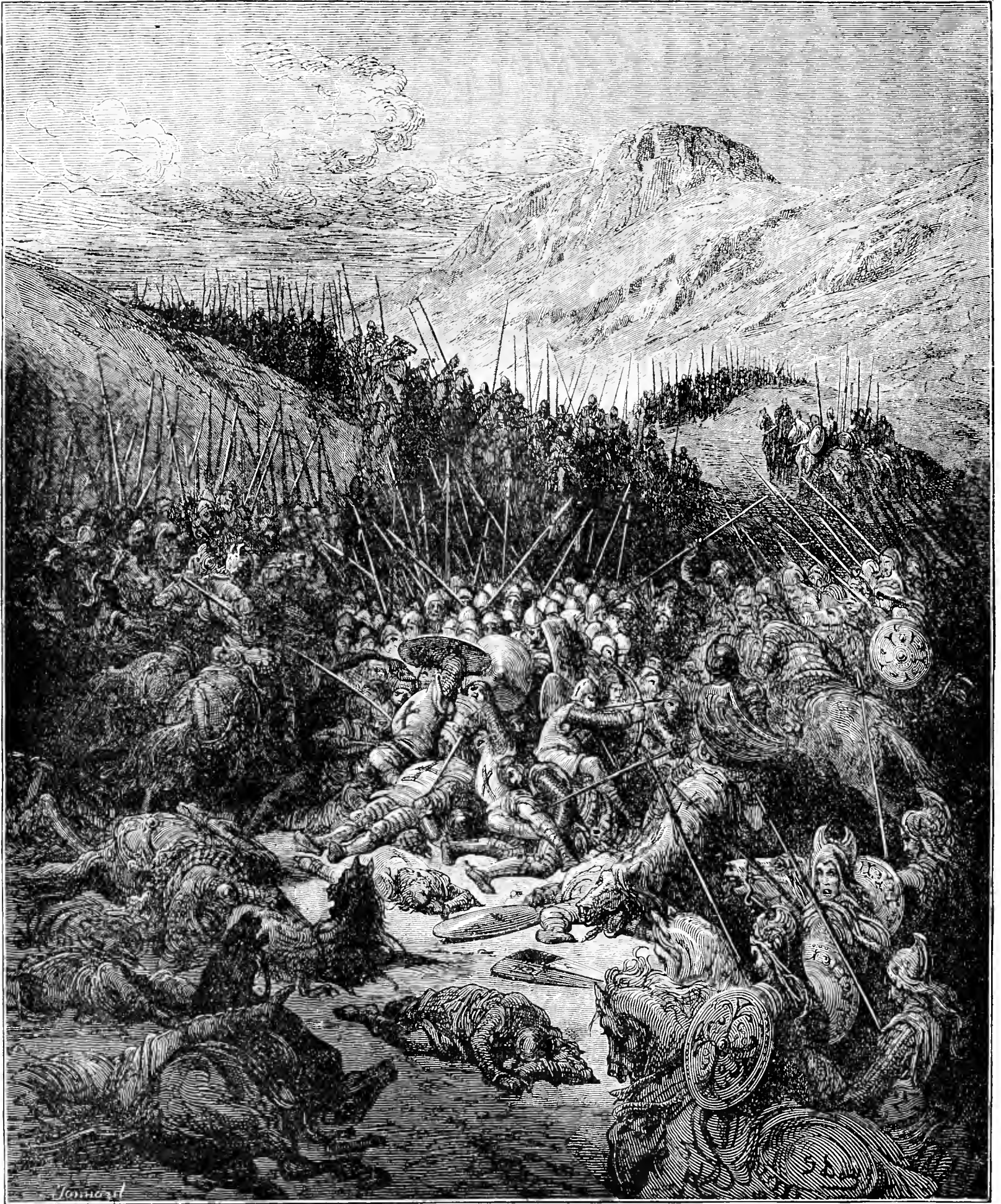


PLATE No. XV.—BATTLE OF DORYLÆUM.

rock, through ravine and up mountain side, confident of their ability to slaughter the Turk in his fastness.

The Turks had largely exhausted their arrows. They were on ground which did not permit of their usual rapid evolutions and tactics. Their victory had been costly, and they awaited with dread the attack of the reinforced Christians. The forces commanded by Raymond, Count of Thoulouse, struck their front first and, so impetuous was his attack, broke clear through their lines. Simultaneously, Tancred, Godfrey, Hugh and the two Roberts, attacked and drove in their flanks. Adhemar, who had swung around the mountain toward their rear, contributed to the disorder in their ranks by a vigorous onset. Surrounded by a wall of men and a forest of lances, the Turks broke for the woods, rocks and ravines in search of safety. They were cut down as they fled, and ere the bloody day closed, the bodies of twenty thousand of their soldiers, three thousand of their minor officers, and a great number of their emirs, lay dead on the steep slopes and in the deep gorges. Their entire camp fell into the hands of the Crusaders, who gloated over their capture of provisions, tents, treasures, horses, camels, and smaller trophies. Not yet satiated with victory, the conquerors mounted the horses of the Turks and pursued the fleeing remnants of their army till nightfall. They returned to camp loaded down with booty and, as it were, in a grand processional, led by their priests chanting songs of glory and shouting praises for victory. Leaders and soldiers covered themselves with honor in

this memorable conflict. History mentions a long list of leaders, besides those already named, who signalized themselves by their exploits during the fight.

The next day the Crusaders returned to the scene of strife to bury their dead, four thousand of whom represented the price of victory. They were given rank as martyrs, and were consigned to earth amid the tears of their companions and the prayers of their priests. (*See Plate No. XVI.*) But funeral ceremonies soon gave way to transcendent joy and brutal excesses. They quarreled over the blood-stained vestments stripped from the dead bodies of their enemies. Dressed in the flowing robes of the Mussulmen, and seated in their tents, they ridiculed the luxurious customs of their enemies, and their religion, by imitative gestures, harlequin postures and blasphemous expressions. Their soldiers brought away from the field an immense supply of the crooked Saracenic swords and arrows.

This battle of Dorylæum taught both Christian and Turk many valuable lessons. They no further despised the bravery of each other. The earnestness of each commanded a respect hitherto unknown. Historians of the epoch granted to the Turk all the redeeming attributes of the Crusader, except Christianity. The Crusaders themselves felt it necessary to invoke the intervention of miracle to account for their victory. For two whole days after the battle the Turks kept fleeing, shrieking in terror, "It is the will of God!" This myth was supplemented by the story that St. George and St. Demetrius were seen to fight in the ranks of the



PLATE NO. XVI.—BURVING THE DEAD AFTER DORYLÆUM.

Christians. So much use was made of this fable at the time, that a church was founded near Dorylaeum, whose worshippers were said to draw inspiration from actual sight of St. George on horseback, armed with sword and lance.

The Sultan of Nice now gave up the thought of obtaining victory over the Crusaders by direct battle. He, therefore, resolved to starve them by desolating a country he could not defend with arms. He gathered up the remnants of his army, reinforced it with ten thousand Arabs, and laid waste the provinces in advance of the Christians. Harvests were burned, cities were pillaged, the wives and children of all Greek and Christian residents were carried away and held as prisoners or hostages. This devastation extended through Cappadocia, Pisidia and Isuria to the mountains of Taurus. It so happened that the Crusaders added to the efficacy of desolation as a defensive measure, by marching in single rather than double column. They had entered Phrygia in two columns, the better to subsist. In the future they would march in single column, the better to fight. It was not long before they regretted their change of tactics. Marching always with the least amount of forethought and with provisions for but a few days, they soon began to suffer from lack of food. As they progressed they found only devastated fields, and they were forced to live on edible roots and the occasional ears of corn which had escaped the ravages of their enemies. Their horses and soldiers suffered and perished alike for want of water and proper food. The Knights were forced

to march as foot-soldiers, and they often sank under the weight of armor they bore. As expedients they mounted the asses and oxen, or threw the weight of their luggage on the sheep, goats, pigs or dogs, which accompanied the throng. The trail of the enemy was plainly outlined by useless baggage and impediments.

It was thus that the Crusaders crossed that part of the province called "Burning Phrygia." On reaching the borders of the still more arid Sauria, the lack of water made fearful inroads in their ranks. It is narrated that thirst killed five hundred in a single day; that women gave premature birth to children in open, burning fields; that mothers, unable longer to nourish their children, rolled naked on the scorching ground and implored death with frenzied shrieks. Loud calls were made for a repetition of the miracles which God had formerly wrought for his chosen people in the desert. But there was no answer. The dried fields and sterile valleys of Pisidia echoed with despairing plaints, piteous prayers, and demoniacal curses. In the midst of a suffering which invited death and made death inviting, a few despairing soldiers observed that the dogs which had deserted the camps came back with a satisfied air and with feet and hair covered with moist sand. They followed their tracks and discovered a river. The announcement of the fact caused the whole army to rush pell mell for the water, and such was their heat and thirst that thousands threw themselves into the welcome waters. It was as if they had encountered the enemy. Three hundred perished outright through

their imprudence, and many others were forced to discontinue their march through sickness.

At length the persevering Crusaders, overcoming obstacles which may well have deterred other than the most self-sacrificial enthusiasts, reached Antiochetta, the capital of Pisidia. The country was fertile and inviting, and the gates of the city were open to them. In the midst of plenty they rested, and soon forgot the hardships they had endured. Here too they were made aware of the fear they had inspired and the fame they had acquired by their arms. Neighboring, and even remote, cities sent them supplies, some through genuine sympathy, especially on the part of Christian residents, others as a price for leniency. Deputies, too, came ready to swear obedience. Thus the ignorant and astonished Crusaders found themselves masters of countries they had never heard tell of, and for whose geography and customs they did not care. They might have gloried in the fact that they were traversing soil once trodden by the hosts of Persia, the phalanxes of Alexander or the cohorts of Rome, had they known it, but their only evidence of sovereignty was embraced in orders to rebuild the Christian Churches, and the privilege of scouring the country for forage and provisions.

While at Antiochetta, Raymond fell sick and was restored to health by a miracle. Godfrey was torn by a bear in the forest and, as a miracle was withheld in his case, he was carried on a litter in the rear of the army till his wound was healed by nature. But these were trifling matters in comparison with the

fact that discords arose among the crusading forces, hitherto a unit as to fervor and ultimate design. Tancred and Baldwin, brother of Godfrey, were sent as an advance guard to disperse Turks, protect Christians and obtain provisions. They marched to Iconium in Lycaonia, and turned toward the coast through the mountains of Cilicia. Tancred arrived first before Tarsus the birthplace of Paul, which city displayed a Christian flag and agreed to surrender. Soon Baldwin came up with his forces, and was angered to see the colors of Tancred and Bohemond flying on the ramparts of a city which ought to belong to him by virtue of his more numerous forces. He proposed that they should, at least, enter the city together, and enjoy a joint pillage and spoils. As there were many Christians in the city, Tancred retorted that he had not taken arms for the purpose of pillaging Christian cities. At this, Baldwin opened the vials of his wrath on Tancred, Bohemond and all Norman adventurers. The dispute was finally referred to the inhabitants. The Christians inclined to Tancred, but the Turks, aware of the superiority of Baldwin's numbers and fearing his threats of vengeance, decided in his favor. Tancred's flag was thrown into the ditch, and replaced by Baldwin's. Battle between the rival Crusaders was prevented only by the moderation of Tancred, who withdrew to seek other conquests. Baldwin entered Tarsus in triumph, but found some of the towners still in possession of the Turks. Fearing that his conquest would be disputed, he closed the gates of the city and refused to open them to three hundred Crusaders whom

Bohemond had sent to reinforce Tancred, and who demanded a lodging place for the night. This body, being compelled to encamp without the walls, were surprised and massacred by the Turks. The next morning, sight of their prostrate and stripped bodies so incensed the Christian residents that Baldwin was compelled to flee to one of his towers and hold a parley. He excused himself by saying he had taken an oath to admit none but his own followers to the city, and pointed to the towers still occupied by the Turks as something too threatening to admit of divided sentiment among Christians, no matter what their nationality. Just then, some Christian women passed by, whose noses and ears had been mutilated by the Turks, whereupon Baldwin's soldiers raised the war cry of the Crusaders and rushed with fury upon the Turks, putting all who remained in the city to death without mercy.

In the midst of this violence a fleet was seen to approach Tarsus. Thinking it an enemy, Baldwin's soldiers rushed to the shore, to find that the sailors spoke French. They turned out to be pirates from Flanders and Holland. Their corsairs had scoured the Mediterranean for years, and on hearing of the crusading expedition to Palestine they had sailed eastward hoping to find easier and richer booty. They were welcomed to the harbor by Baldwin, promised to serve under him, placed on their bosoms the badge of the cross, and took the oath to share with him the perils and glory of the holy war. Aided by this unexpected reinforcement, and leaving a strong garrison in

Tarsus, Baldwin followed the route Tancred had taken, and came up with him just as he, with his Italian followers, had taken the city of Malmistra. The soldiers, thinking Baldwin had come to rob them of their conquest as he had done at Tarsus, prepared to resent his intrusion by force of arms. Tancred wished to appease them, but they turned on him and charged him with cowardice. Stung by so unfounded a charge, he flew into a rage and swore to wipe out the reproach in the blood of his rival. Heading his soldiers, he rushed upon the followers of Baldwin, and a fierce battle ensued, in which the forces of Baldwin had the advantage of numbers. Tancred was forced to retreat with heavy loss. He re-entered the city, cast down by his defeat. Night gave time for reflection. Tancred had removed the reproach cast on him by his Italians, while Baldwin, having established the superiority of his Flemings, graciously remembered that Tancred and his soldiers were Christians. The devilish passions of one day were drowned in the humanitarian and religious elixir of the next. Deputies became the spokesmen between the two haughty chiefs, who, that they might not lower their personal pride, kindly credited heaven with inspiring their overtures of peace. They swore to forget, lovingly embraced in the presence of the soldiers, and so affected their followers by their protestations of friendship, that the entire rank and file actually chided themselves for having fought together, and resolved to visit the blood of their brothers on the hateful Turk at the first opportunity.

Tancred, with his victorious followers, passed from Malmistra through Cilicia, and to Alexandretta, which he captured. Then he joined the main army of the Crusaders, loaded with booty, and praised for his moderation and valour. Baldwin had returned ahead of him, to be chided for his ambition and blamed for that cruelty which had caused the death of so many Christian soldiers. Even his brother, Godfrey, reproached him for his avarice and inhumanity. Baldwin, smarting under the enmity he had invoked, deserted the fortunes of the Crusaders, and started to carve out a principality for himself. In this he was singularly fortunate. He attached himself to an Armenian prince, Paneratius, who had been driven from his kingdom and had come to follow the Crusaders. This prince informed Baldwin of the rich provinces lying on the Euphrates, and inhabited largely by Christians, who would be sure to welcome a deliverer. The prince hoped to take advantage of Baldwin's ambition and well known courage to reinstate himself in lands from which he had been driven. Baldwin hastily embraced his ideas and started eastward with a troop of fifteen thousand foot and two hundred horse, all he could seduce to join him, so unpopular was he with the rank and file of the Crusaders. On hearing of his intended departure, a council of Chiefs was called, who resolved that no one should withdraw from the standards of the army. But Baldwin anticipated their action by a day, and started for Armenia with his little army. His renown carried consternation to the Turks, and induced the conquered Christians to join

his standard. He easily conquered Turbessel and Ravendel, but the division of spoils and authority in these cities brought about a separation between him and his Armenian friend, Paneratius. Baldwin opposed force to cunning, drove his rival from the scene of his victories, and readily pushed his campaign through countries whose inhabitants flocked to meet him. His fame spread in advance of him and extended to the countries on the Euphrates, and to the important city of Edessa.

Of all cities in the Mohammedan East, Edessa was then the most singularly situated. For centuries it had been a Christian strong-hold, and at the time of the Turkish invasion it had escaped capture by reason of its strong walls and the great number of Christians who flocked thither for its defence and their own protection. Its Grecian governor, Theodore, appointed by the Emperor of Constantinople, maintained his authority by paying tribute to the Turk. On hearing of Baldwin's successes and his movements eastward, the governor, bishops and citizens of Edessa solicited his intervention. Baldwin hastened thither with a meagre force of one hundred horse, and was met by the whole population bearing palms and singing hymns. The tens of thousands who lacked the heroism to strike for themselves fell prostrate at the feet of a single resolute spirit, whom they welcomed as a liberator. The governor of the city, who was not liked, and who feared for his place, offered Baldwin great riches if he would recognize and support his authority. But Baldwin saw greater wealth and power in the admiration of the

people for his prowess. He spurned the offers of the governor, and threatened to withdraw in disgust. The people protested against this, and there was nothing left for the governor but to help retain Baldwin and his followers and interest them in his cause. Being old and childless, he adopted Baldwin and nominated him as his successor.

Another Armenian prince, Constantine, came from the neighborhood of Mount Taurus, to help the inhabitants of Edessa. Baldwin joined forces with him, and together they attacked and captured the nearest Turkish cities. They drove the Turks to Samosata, but were in the end defeated and forced to retire to Edessa. This defeat brought about an estrangement between Baldwin and Theodore. The citizens sided with Baldwin, and charged their own governor with martial impotency and with having oppressed the Christian in order to raise import for the Turk. Theodore flew to the citadel and prepared to defend himself by force. The enraged citizens rose in arms, killed all who were supposed to sympathize with him, and forced him to surrender on the condition that he would leave the city. But ere he could escape, a second sedition arose on account of new accusations, and the mob penetrated the citadel, threw the body of the aged prince from the ramparts, and dragged it through the streets. The frenzy of these Christian people proved to be as violent and murderous as that of the Turk, and they prided themselves as much in the murder of their deerepid governor as in a victory over

the Infidel. The redoubtable Baldwin did not appear in defence of his adoptive father, but as soon as the mob had wreaked its vengeance on him, he made his appearance, was received with acclaim, and offered the governorship of the city. He hesitated at first, but finally yielded to entreaty, and was proclaimed liberator and master of Edessa. Seated on a blood-stained throne and amid a fickle, not to say treacherous, people, he soon inspired his subjects with as much fear as his enemies. He purchased Samosata with its treasures, conquered other adjacent cities and gradually extended his territories. Having lost his wife, he married the niece of an Armenian prince, and thus stretched his possessions to Mt. Taurus. Both shores of the Euphrates, with all Mesopotamia, acknowledged his sovereignty, and Asia witnessed the spectacle of a cruel and ambitious French Knight, whom fortune had singularly favored, reigning without dispute over the richest provinces of the old Assyrian Kingdom. Aspiring now only to the enlargement and perpetuity of his power, Baldwin forgot entirely about his former companions and the deliverance of Jerusalem. His wonderful successes and rapid fortune brought to his court and army many other adventurous Knights. Though founded on injustice and grown in violence, the new empire of Baldwin was not without its uses to the Crusaders. Edessa served to hold the Turk and Saracen in check for a long time, and throughout the first Crusade was a rallying point for Eastern Christians.

ARTICLE IV.

MARCH TO AND SIEGE OF ANTIOCH.

A. D. 1097—1099.



THE grand army of the Crusaders was now approaching the mountains of Taurus. It had thus far moved confidently and victoriously, fighting desperate battles, enduring privations, burning mosques or converting them into churches, but failing to fortify captured cities or establish colonial or military bases for future operations. This failure was particularly dangerous in a country where the Turks were able to rally quickly. Moreover, it lost to the Crusaders the means of communication with Europe, whence assistance might have been drawn.

Hitherto, the Crusaders had overcome the obstacles of heat, famine and bad roads. They were now in the midst of the mountains of Taurus, whose steep ascents, deep defiles and narrow paths, opened new terrors. Soldiers fell in scores by the way, exhausted by climbing or wounded by contact with rocky ledges. Horses tumbled in great numbers from the treacherous paths and dragged others into the abysses below. The army was compelled to sacrifice a great part

of its baggage in order to make progress. (*See Plate No. XVII.*) But at length the dangers and hardships of the passage were overcome, and the plains of Syria proved a welcome sight. They were now looking upon a country whose wealth and fertility of soil had for ages attracted the conquering armies of different nations. It was a country renowned for its cities as far back as the time of Solomon and David. Time had gone hard with it under countless invading feet, yet its fields, though ruin dotted and crudely cultivated, responded gladly to the efforts of the husbandman. It was, moreover, the country which contained the miniature province of Palestine, object of all the prayers, wishes and labors of the Crusaders.

As they descended the eastern slopes of Taurus the Crusaders entered the historic province of Antioch, whose capital was the famed city of the same name. Had they possessed sufficient vision, they might have seen from the heights of Taurus at least half a dozen of the cities mentioned in the Bible and whose fame contributed pages to ancient history. Off to the east lay the principalities of Aleppo and Mousoul. Still further, and at the foot of the Lebanon ranges, lay Damascus. On the coast stood Laodicea.



PLATE NO. XVII.—CRUSADERS CROSSING THE TAURUS MOUNTAINS.

Tripoli, Sidon and Tyre. The history of these cities had been dimmed and their splendor had largely passed away under Mohammedan rule. They had all been scenes of discord and revolution, amid the revolts which signalized the passage of power from the Sultan of Persia to the independent emirs.

The Crusaders advanced with joyful confidence into a country so prolific of material support and so filled with sacred associations. Their march was peaceful as far as Artesia—the ancient Chalcis—which city they captured without a struggle. Antioch now lay directly before them. But to arrive under its walls the Orontes had to be crossed. Its bridge was defended by two tall towers, covered with iron. Upon the bridge and towers, the Duke of Normandy made a furious attack, leading the van of the army. Nothing could resist his impetuosity. The defenders of bridge and tower were driven back, and the conquerors passed the river. The terror-stricken Mussulmen were unable to make another stand, and fled precipitately within the walls of the city. The entire crusading army marched toward Antioch, and encamped within a mile of its ramparts. (*See Plate No. XVIII.*) Their easy march thus far, and sight of a city so celebrated in Christian annals, filled them with enthusiasm and a burning desire to possess it. There the followers of Christ were first called Christians. There Peter was nominated as pastor of the new and rising church. There were enshrined an infinite number of martyrs, saints and doctors. There innumerable miracles had been wrought. What so calcu-

lated to inflame the zeal of the Crusaders as such a revival of holy histories and sacred traditions! It had shared with Jerusalem the honor of pilgrimage, and the oracles of Apollo had there been silenced by Julian in order that Christians might pray in peace at the tomb of St. Babylas. Antioch was for centuries regarded as the daughter of Zion, or Jerusalem, and it had borne the title of Theopholis, or “City of God.”

Its place in the Roman Empire, when at the height of its splendor and in the midst of its decay, was almost as conspicuous as that of Rome itself. Several Roman Emperors resided at Antioch, which fact, coupled with the magnificence of its edifices, gave it the name of “Queen of the East.” Situated amid a fertile country and smiling climate, it was a fashionable resort for strangers of all countries. Its lake, its fountain of Daphne, the mountain of Orontes, covered with gardens and villas, the forests and springs of the Black mountain, the meandering Orontes river, all these, and more, gave to Antioch beauties and associations unsurpassed by any other ancient city.

The ramparts of Antioch were as solid as rock and nine miles in extent. Within were four hills, and upon the western one was a citadel which dominated the city. On the ramparts were three hundred and sixty towers—“a terror to look upon,” says an old historian. Wide ditches without, the river Orontes, and soggy marshes, protected the approaches to the city. Yet with all these precautions, it is questionable whether Antioch was a strong city from a military point of view. It fell an easy prey to the Saracens.



PLATE NO. XVIII.—THE BATTLE OF ANTIOCH.

It was afterward captured by the Greeks. The Turks mastered it with comparative ease. When the Crusaders approached it, the majority of those professing the Mohammedan faith from the neighboring cities and provinces hastened within its walls with their families and treasures. Its ruler was Accien a grandson of Malek-Psha, who had shut himself up within it, with an army of twenty thousand foot and seven thousand horse.

It was now the autumn of A. D. 1097. The siege of Antioch suggested obstacles which made the boldest and wisest pause. A council was called. Many chiefs urged delay. They argued the imprudence of the undertaking at the beginning of winter. Rains, tempests and famine would be worse than the arms of the Turks. Alexius had promised reinforcements, and they would be on by Spring. But a majority favored prompt action. The terror of the enemy should be taken advantage of. Time should not be given him to rally and recover. The Saracen was already on his knees imploring the aid of Persia and Bagdad. Delay would only strengthen the Mussulmen armies and rob the Christian of the fruits of his former victories. It was not necessary to wait for the arrival of either the Greek forces of Alexius, or new Crusaders from the West. They had not shared the labors and dangers of the crusading army, neither should they share the glories of its conquests. It was an insult to the soldiers of Jesus Christ to intimate that they were incapable of enduring rain and cold. They were not birds of passage to fly away and hide themselves on the approach of winter. The siege could

not be a long one, conducted by an army ablaze with ardor and courage. Let Nice, Dorylæum and a thousand other exploits be remembered. Hitherto they had withstood famine. War should provide the resources of war. Victory had brought abundance. Abundance awaited them inside the gates of Antioch.

Nothing could withstand this heroic logic. The siege should begin, and at once. On that very day the Christian army advanced to the walls of the city. Bohemond and Tancred with their Italians, took position on the east opposite the gate of St. Paul. The two Roberts posted themselves on the right, with their Norman, Breton, Flemish and French followers. Hugh, Count of Vermandois, and Stephen, Count of Chartres and Blois, encamped to the north opposite the gate of the Dog. Raymond, Count of Toulouse, the Bishop of Puy, and the duke of Lorraine, held the space from the gate of the Dog to the Orontes. The Southern and Western sides of the city were not invested, a great military mistake, as the enemy were free to make sorties or receive support in those directions. The Turks were quiet within the walls, which fact encouraged the Crusaders. Thinking their investment secure, they spread themselves over the rich and delightful country, and forgot the cause of Christ in riotous living.

While thus indulging in intemperance and debauchery, and neglecting alike the discipline of war and precepts of Scripture, they were suddenly attacked by the garrison of Antioch, and driven from their loosely guarded camps. All who were practising

pillage in the villages and orchards of the Orontes, or who were luxuriating in the groves and gardens of the neighborhood, were put to death or led into slavery. Young Alberon, Archdeacon of Metz, had his head struck by a sabre blow while stretched on the grass playing dice with a Syrian courtesan. The heads of the slain Christians were cast into the camps of the Crusaders, who now deplored their demoralizing immoralities and swore to avenge their defeat. They rushed inconsiderately upon the walls of Antioch without scaling ladders or proper war machines. Vengeance and fanaticism animated them to furious assault. But the walls resisted their most determined efforts. Again and again they failed in their rash attempts. After repeated failures and great loss of life, they saw the folly of assault, and were driven to do what they should have done at first, make a complete investment of the city, so as to preclude future sorties by the enemy and cut him off from succor from without. They erected fortresses near the ramparts, piled beams and rocks against the gates, built a bridge across the Orontes, enfiladed the entire city, intrenched their own camps, and redoubled every effort to prevent surprises. The blockade of the city was now perfect, but the slowness of siege operations did not suit the impatience of these wild Western warriors. They dissipated in a few weeks the provisions of months. They had only thought of fighting the enemy in the open field and, such was their confidence in their cause, valor and numbers, they never dreamed of defeat or successful interruption. They had made

no provisions for winter, nor for the famine which now threatened them. Winter was at hand, and they were soon in the midst of direful calamities. Rain fell in torrents and drowned plains and camps. Tempests and floods carried away their tents; moisture relaxed their bows; rust ate sword and lance; worn-out garments afforded insufficient protection against cold; disease carried off men and animals. Distress was general.

Bohemond and Robert, Duke of Normandy, headed foraging expeditions. At first they brought back considerable provisions and booty, but as they were forced to go further they found the country of Upper Syria ravaged by both Turk and Christian. The Mediterranean fleets had ceased to coast Asia Minor, and they lost intercourse with home by sea. Their communications with Constantinople had been cut, or rather, had been entirely neglected. The army became a prey to despondency. Sweno, of Denmark, who was coming with fifteen hundred horsemen across Cappadocia, was cut to pieces by the Turks. His intended wife, Florine, daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, fought all day by his side, and fell with her lover pierced by seven arrows, after having seen all their best knights and warriors perish. (*See Plate No. XIX.*)

Famine and disease increased. The army was given up to lamentation and despair. Desertions became frequent. Hope of ever taking Antioch was abandoned by the greater part of the Crusaders. Some sought refuge from misery by fleeing to Edessa, where Baldwin governed. Others scattered to the Cities of Cilicia which had fallen into

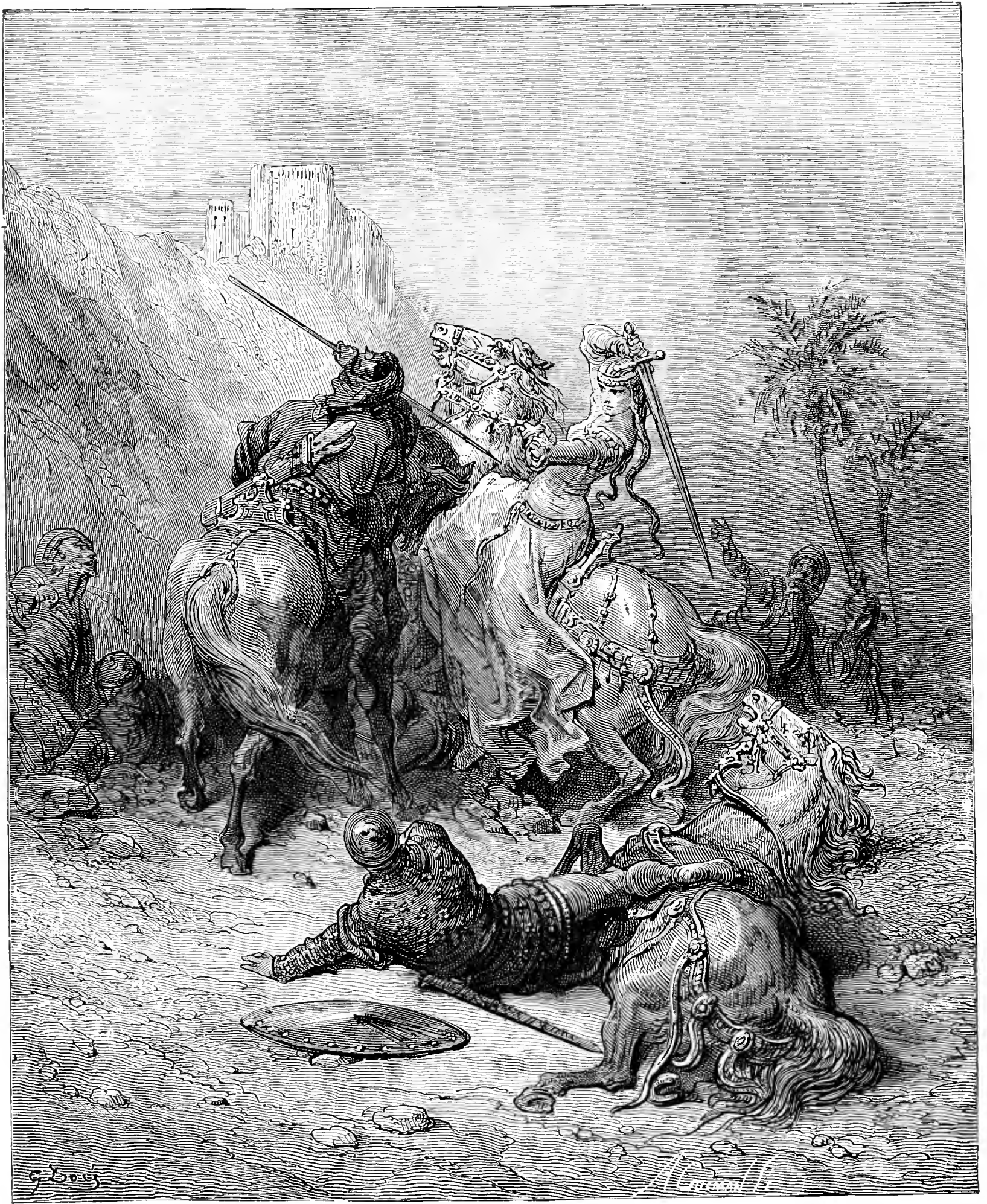


PLATE NO. XIX.—FLORINE OF BURGUNDY.

Christian hands. Even the valiant Robert, of Normandy, withdrew to Laodicea, and refused to return until he had received three summonses in the name of the religion of Jesus Christ. Tadius, the general of Alexius, quitted camp rather than perish for want of food. William, Viscount of Melun, deserted the standard of Christ. Peter the Hermit, preacher of the Crusade, whom the Crusaders now blamed for all their misfortunes, fled from the army secretly, unable to bear its reproaches and unwilling to support further a reputation for fasting where certain starvation impended. Both he and William were pursued by Tancred, overtaken in their flight and brought back to the camp in disgrace. Peter was made to swear that he would never again desert the cause he had preached. Death was threatened upon all who should offend by desertion. These misfortunes and miseries had no chastening effect on the liberators of Zion. The infamies of Babylon ran riot beneath their tents. Famine and voluptuousness formed hideous twins in all their camps. Passion for gambling and debauchery mingled with their groans of anguish and their sights of death. In their misfortunes they could not find, or wholly disdained, the consolations of that piety and virtue to which they stood pledged. The bishop of Puy, seconded by that portion of the clergy which had not fallen into the temptations of the hour, strove to reform the morals of the camps. They attributed the evils of the Crusaders to the debaucheries of the defenders of the Cross. A recent earthquake and aurora borealis were pointed out as signs of Heaven's resentment. Fasts and

prayers were ordered. Vast processions were ordered, whose hymns resounded in all parts. The wrath of the Church was re-invoked against all who should betray the cause of Christ by their sins. A tribunal was formed to spy out and punish intoxication, blasphemy, fornication and adultery. The number that suffered for these crimes, by having their hair shorn, and their bodies beaten and burned, was incredible. Yet they could not stop the general prostitution. As a last resort, a separate camp was established for the women, a measure which discriminated equally against virtue and vice, and led to a worse grade of enemies than ever.

Spies swarmed in the camps of the Crusaders, and bore to the enemy daily accounts of their degradation and despair. To punish them and deter the art of spying, Bohemond resorted to the cannibal means of spitting and roasting their bodies and serving them for supper to himself and troops, a means, says William of Tyre, which proved effective in the end. The bishop of Puy encouraged the Christian army to plough and sow as a preventive of famine, and he led the Turks to believe that, come what might, nothing could exhaust the patience and perseverance of the besiegers. Meanwhile winter was passing. Disease began to abate. The Christians of Armenia began to dispatch food. Famine relaxed its grip. The better condition was attributed to penitence and conversions, and thanks rose to heaven for protection and mercy.

An event now occurred which had a remarkable bearing on the fortunes of the Crusaders. Islamism in Asia Minor and Syria

was represented at the time by the Seljukian Turks. They had determined enemies in the house of Ali and the Egyptian Caliphs. Having learned of the victories of the Crusaders over the Turks, the Caliph of Egypt sent ambassadors to the Christian camp at Antioch. They were received with tournaments, dancing and feasting. They expressed frankly their aversion to an alliance between Mohammedans and Christians, but their enmity to the Turks was such that it seemed as if God had specially raised up the Crusaders to punish them. Therefore, they were disposed to help on what was so clearly God's will, and with a view to an alliance, the Caliph of Egypt was already preparing to invade Palestine and Syria. As the Caliph had learned that the Crusaders were actuated solely by a desire to behold Jerusalem, he promised to restore the Christian Churches, protect their worship and open the gates of the Holy City to pilgrims, on condition that they entered it without arms and remained only one month. If the Crusaders accepted these terms, all would be well; if they rejected them, the Mohammedan world from Ethiopia to Bagdad, Africa and Asia alike, would be called upon by the legitimate vicar of the prophet to rise in arms and repel the warriors of the West.

The voice of the Assembly which received the ambassadors was hostile to their proposition. It was made known that the Christians had come to re-establish the empire of their religion in the place it was born, and stood in no need of the concurrence of the powers of earth to accomplish their vows; that they had not come to receive laws or

benefits from Mussulmen and had not forgotten the outrages committed by Egyptians, under Caliph Hakem, upon pilgrims, nor that he razed the Holy Sepulchre to the ground; that they had the intention of visiting Jerusalem and had taken an oath to deliver it from the Infidel; that God had so willed it, and that they had resolved to be both its guardians and masters; that the Christians before Antioch feared neither the nations of Africa nor Asia and that they only allied themselves with the laws of justice and standards of Jesus Christ. Notwithstanding this robust sentiment, a deputation of Crusaders escorted the Egyptian ambassadors back to Cairo, and carried along definite propositions of peace.

Scarcely had these deputies left, when word came that the Sultans of Aleppo and Damascus, and the emirs of Cæsarea, Emessa and Hieropolis, had gathered an army of twenty thousand Turks, which was on its way to succor Antioch. It was met by the forces of Bohemond and the Count of St. Gilles, near the city of Harem and, after a fierce battle, the Turks were beaten with a loss of two thousand men and one thousand horses. The city of Harem fell into the hands of the Crusaders. The heads of two hundred Turks were sent to the Port of St. Simeon and shown to the Egyptian ambassadors who were about to embark, and the heads of the remainder were thrown into Antioch, or exposed upon the pikes around the walls.

Shortly after, a fleet from Genoa and Pisa entered the Port of St. Simeon. Thousands of Crusaders rushed to the Port to obtain

provisions and hear the news from Europe. On their return they were attacked by the Turks. Bohemond, the Count of St. Gilles and Bishop Adhemar flew to their aid with troops, but the Turks drove them into disorderly retreat. Alarm spread through the Christian camps. Godfrey called the remaining leaders and soldiers to battle. Accompanied by his brother Eustace, the two Roberts and Hugh, he crossed the Orontes and sought the victorious enemy. In order to avoid their arrows at a distance, he ordered his Knights to follow, and then rushed, sword in hand, into the thickest of their ranks. They could not resist the impetuosity of the encounter and broke in flight, some toward the mountains, some toward the city. Accien, who had seen this battle from the walls, sent a strong detachment to renew the attack, shutting the gate after them and telling them it would only be opened to them when they returned victorious. This detachment was soon beaten and put to flight toward the city. Godfrey intercepted them, and a frightful conflict ensued. It was a hand to hand fight, and in the confusion many fell by the swords of their friends. The contest lasted all day, and at nightfall Accien ordered the gate to be opened for the reception of what was left of his beaten army. The slaughter was great among the Turks, and more than two thousand, who sought safety in flight, were drowned in the Orontes. All the Christian leaders and Knights performed prodigies of valor—Bohemond, Tancred, Adhemar, Baldwin du Bourg, Eustace, the two Roberts, Godfrey—and were highly praised for their feats of

arms. History and poetry resound with the fame acquired by Godfrey and Tancred on that memorable day, when lances, helmets and cuirasses flew in showers beneath their strokes. With all their exploits, the Christian losses were heavy. The Turks passed the night in burying their dead, which they interred according to custom with their arms, vestments and ornaments. This was too tempting for the grosser crowd of Crusaders. They rallied out and rifled the fresh graves of the enemy, and returned to camp laden with their exhumed booty, which they joyfully exhibited. The next day, the camp of the Crusaders was enlivened by a parade bearing fifteen hundred heads of the enemy which had been severed from their bodies during the fight. After thus vividly recalling their victory, they threw the heads into the Orontes.

These victories and the barbarities with which they were accompanied, made the name of Christian and Crusader one of terror among the Mohammedans. And they took every advantage of the situation to spread this terror. They destroyed the Turkish Cemetery and Mosque on the outside of the walls of Antioch and built a fortress of the sacred stones opposite the gate of the bridge so as to prevent the sorties of the garrison. A second fortress followed this, erected under the supervision of Tancred. The enemy were now completely hemmed within the walls. The Syrian husbandmen and traders, who had been supplying Antioch, were now siezed and only given liberty on condition that they swore to supply the Christian army. They captured two

thousand horses and as many mules, sent out by the garrison to graze in an adjacent valley. The Genoese and Pisan fleets had brought a great number of laborers. These were employed in carrying on the work of the siege. In proportion to the despair within the city, the zeal without increased. These whom famine and fear had driven from the Christian army began to return, and sought to do penance for desertion by double duty. Women bore food and arms to the warriors at their ports. Children organized miniature battalions and went through mimic battles against the Turks. There was no repose anywhere, and life seemed to have no aim except to fight. The myriads of vagabonds who had followed the Crusading army were organized under a leader, called "King of the Beggars," and set to work. They were offered pay, and as soon as they responded to discipline, they were forced into the army. As they had been accused of violating trusts and eating human flesh, they proved to be valuable auxiliaries by the terror they inspired in the enemy.

Antioch was so closely pressed that Accien proposed to surrender, if not soon relieved. Full of blind confidence, the Crusaders accepted the truce, and immediately began to quarrel among themselves, as they generally did except when in the presence of danger. Baldwin, now prince of Edessa, and secure in his new acquisitions, sent fine presents to Godfrey, the two Roberts and Counts of Vermandios, Blois and Chartres, omitting Bohemond. While the soldiers of the former were celebrating Baldwin's lib-

erality, Bohemond and his followers murmured. Again Bohemond and Godfrey quarreled over the possession of a tent sent as a present by an Arminian prince. Christian blood was about to flow over so diminutive a pretext, when Bohemond, finding his soldiers cold toward him, yielded his claim with the hope that war would soon bring richer booty. These petty quarrels were taken advantage of by the enemy to introduce fresh troops into Antioch. Fresh provisions also followed. Reinforced, they broke the truce. For seven months the Christians had knocked in vain at its gates. Their patience and bravery had been circumvented by their own folly. Thus it would have ever gone, but for the ambitious and unprincipled Bohemond who sought empire as Baldwin had done. Phirous, an Arminian who had abjured Christianity, a maker of cuirasses and an engineering genius, had been promoted by Accien to the command of three towers. He repined his lack of opportunity and regretted his apostasy. He and Bohemond met and exchanged secret thoughts. Bohemond told Phirous that the fate of the Christians was in his hands and that he could gain gratitude and riches by betraying the garrison of Antioch. In order to assure Bohemond and cover his treason, Phirous had a convenient dream in which Christ appeared to him and advised him to give Antioch over to the Christians. Bohemond encouraged the invention and agreed with Phirous on the terms of betrayal. He then called a council of the Christian leaders in which he broached the matter of using stratagem to effect what they

did not seem able to do by arms, but he took care not to reveal his negotiations with Phirous. The leaders proved to be against him, notwithstanding the fact that the task before them seemed impossible and they were busy raising a new force with which to raise the siege. Bohemond retired to his tent, much vexed with his failure. But he immediately spread alarming rumors through the camps, which threw the Christians into consternation. The alarm spread to the leaders and they sent a delegation to ascertain their truth. They found that Kerbogha, Sultan of Mousoul was really advancing toward Antioch with an army of two hundred thousand Mussulmen from the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, that it had threatened Edessa, ravaged Mesopotamia, and was only seven days' march from Antioch.

Again the leaders assembled to deliberate. Bohemond passed through the ranks, exaggerating the danger and smiling at the thought that events were working in favor of his scheme. The council was divided in opinion. Some favored marching in all force against the Moslem, thus abandoning the siege, while others favored a division of the army into two parts, one of which should maintain the siege, while the other marched to attack Kerbogha. Bohemond showed up the impracticability of both plans. To raise the siege was to place the army between the garrison of Antioch and the approaching enemy. To divide the army and leave one half to conduct the siege while the other met the advancing enemy was to invite certain defeat. "The greatest perils surround us," said he. "Time presses. To-morrow may

be too late to act. By to-morrow we may have lost all the fruits of our labor and victories. But no, I cannot think so. God, who has led us hitherto by the hand, will not allow that we shall have fought for his cause in vain. He *will* save the Christian army. He *will* conduct us to the tomb of his Son. If you will accept this proposal I have made you, to-morrow the standard of the cross will float over the walls of Antioch, and we will march in triumph to Jerusalem."

When he had finished this speech, which of itself made a deep impression amid divided counsels and general consternation, he showed the letters of Phirous, offering to surrender the three towers. The letters further stated that he, Phirous, would deal with no one except Bohemond and that he should remain master of Antioch. So sure was Bohemond of his ground and such was his audacity, that he even made public the fact that he had already given Phirous large sums of money for his treason, that he alone had obtained his confidence, and that no one could command such reciprocal consequence as would guarantee the success of so hazardous an enterprise. And then, with an imprudence which approached the sublime, he concluded, "As for the rest, if a better means can be found of saving the army, I am ready to approve it, and to willingly renounce my share in a conquest upon which the safety of the Crusaders depends."

Danger pressed more closely every day. Fear silenced rivalry. The leaders who, at first, opposed Bohemond began to favor his plans. To divide or share Antioch might divide the army. It were better that one

man should profit by the labors of all than that all should perish in opposing the good fortunes of that one. At length, Raymond found himself alone among the leaders in his opposition to Bohemond's ambitious and reprehensible project. The latter immediately sent word to Phirous of the decision of the council. Phirous sent his own son as a hostage to Bohemond. The next day was fixed for the culmination of the conspiracy. As a diversion, the Crusaders were to march away toward the approaching enemy and at night return and encamp under the walls of Antioch. They marched out with a great display of standards and amid a blare of trumpets. At night they retraced their steps in quiet and halted in a valley opposite the towers of the Three Sisters which Phirous commanded. Here the leaders informed the rank and file of what was about to take place. But just as the Christian army was moving to carry out the plot, whispers of treason spread through Antioch. Suspicion fell upon the Christians and new converts to Mohammedanism. Even Phirous was ordered before Accien and questioned, but he escaped condemnation by shrewd answers, a bold front, and a show of interested loyalty in proposing that the traitors might be thwarted by changing the commanders of the towers, a proposition Accien determined to carry into effect the next day. Meanwhile, Accien gave orders that all the Christians in the city should be loaded with chains and put to death. That night Phirous approached a tower near his own, commanded by his brother. He spoke to him of the pity he felt for the poor Crusaders, especially those

whom Accien had condemned to death in the city, and reminded him that they professed the same religion as the Christians, at one time. The brother expressed surprise that he should pity men who ought to be objects of honor, and reminded him that they were loaded with benefits before the Christians arrived before Antioch, but had suffered with hardship and danger ever since; that the evils the Crusaders had brought ought to recoil on their heads; and that as to the Christians inside of Antioch they were all traitors and ready at any time to deliver the Mussulmen up the swords of the enemies. Phirous saw that he was suspected, and instantly silenced his brother by plunging a dagger into his heart.

Night favored the part in the plot which the Christian army was to play. The darkness was intense. A rising storm deepened the obscurity. The play of the wind upon the roofs and the constant peals of thunder drowned the noise of the approaching columns. All at once the western sky seemed to burst into a blaze and something resembling a comet sped along the horizon. The superstitious minds of the Crusaders seized on these sights as omens of victory. The garrison of Antioch was asleep. Phirous alone watched the workings of his foul conspiracy. At length a Lombard, sent by Bohemond, mounted the tower, commanded by Phirous, by means of a ladder of leather. (*See Plate No. XX.*) Phirous received him, and as an earnest that he was faithful and that all was ready, pointed to the dead body of his brother. While they conversed, the officer of the watch came along with a lantern,

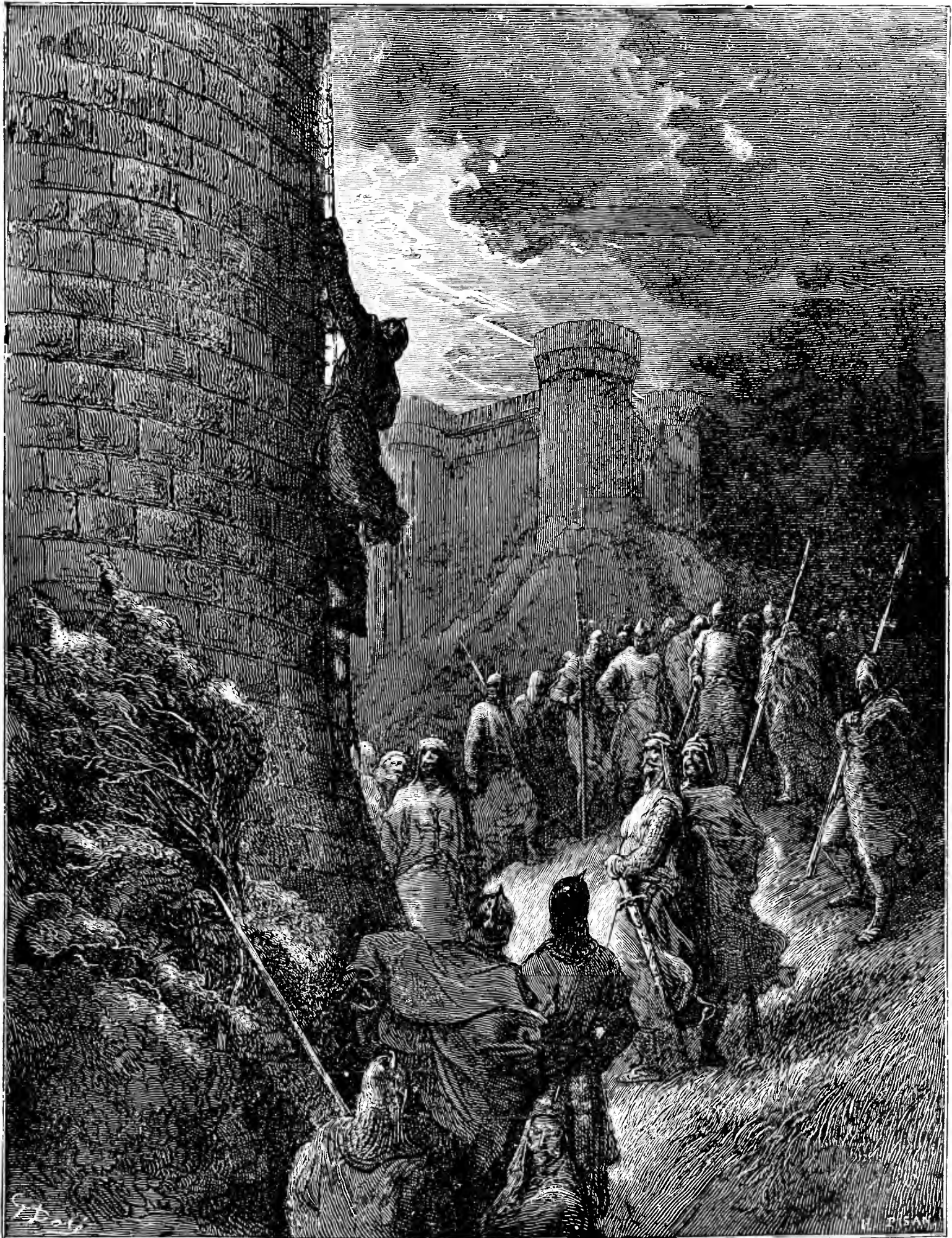


PLATE No. XX.—BOHEMOND MOUNTING THE RAMPARTS OF ANTIOCH.

Phirous concealed the Lombard and, turning to the watch, received his congratulations upon his sleepless vigilance. He then dismissed the Lombard, who hastened to Bohemond to inform him of what he had seen, and to admonish him that not a moment should be lost.

The command was given to advance, but indescribable panic seized the soldiers. In a twinkling a sense of their danger paralyzed them and no one put himself forward to mount the ramparts. Godfrey and Bohemond exhorted in vain. Bohemond climbed the ladder, in the hope that his bravery might inspire others; but no one responded. He reached the tower alone, to receive the reproaches of Phirous for his delay. He hastily descended the ladder to assure his soldiers that all was ready. After great persuasion he moved sixty of them to mount the ladder, led by Foulcher of Chartres. Among them were Robert, the Count of Flanders and several principal knights. Soon sixty more followed up the ladder. Then came others, so rash in their haste to ascend and so great in number, that the parapet, to which the ladder was fixed, broke and fell with a loud crash into the ditch, carrying down the foremost upon the swords and lances of their followers. The leaders restored order by their coolness, and soon the Crusaders began to swarm on the ramparts. Phirous received them with open arms, and yielded to them, as a first victim, a second brother who commanded one of the three towers entrusted to his keeping. In a very short time the Crusaders were in possession of seven other towers, and then Phirous

boldly made his appearance on the ramparts and loudly summoned the entire Christian army to his aid. Other ladders were mounted, and a gate was pointed out which might easily be broken open.

Soon Godfrey, Raymond, Robert, Duke of Normandy, and a host of chiefs were rushing through the streets of Antioch, with their desperate followers. Trumpets were sounded, drums beaten, and the walls and hills echoed with the terrible cry, "*It is the will of God!*" The Christians in Antioch thought, at first, that the tumult meant their own destruction at the hands of the Mussulmen. The latter rushed out of their houses, half asleep and thoroughly dazed, to meet instantaneous death. Thousands, upon whom their danger dawned, fled toward the hill on which the citadel stood. Other thousands rushed panic-stricken toward the gates. All who could not fly fell beneath the swords of the Christians. Confusion reigned supreme and death reaped a sickening harvest. Bohemond forgot not himself amid the carnage, but hoisted his standard on one of the highest towers, where daylight revealed its legends and folds. Sight of it, brought the legions of Crusaders, who remained in their camps, over the walls and through the gates, to join their brethren in the work of sack and slaughter. Mercy found no place in any Christian bosom. Right and left the Mussulmen went down before their vengeful blades. Success added to their fury. They were reinforced by the Christians within the city, who joined memory of recent hardships to their hatred of the Moslem religion, and proved more infuriate than even the Crusaders themselves. Every



PLATE NO. XXI.—MASSACRE AT ANTIOCH.

public place was piled up with dead Mussulmen, and the streets flowed with Infidel blood. Houses, sanctuaries, shops, public edifices, were ruthlessly entered, and every thing which did not bear the sign of the cross became an object of vengeance. The name of Christ became the only appeal for mercy, and those who refused to pronounce it were massacred in cold blood. (*See Plate No. XXI.*)

In a single night six thousand of the citizens of Antioch perished by the swords of the Christians. Countless numbers who fled were captured and turned over to slavery or death. Accien, finding he was betrayed and not daring to trust any of his officers, fled toward the approaching forces of Kerbogha. He fell in with some Armenian wood cutters, who identified him, and plunged his own sword into his body. They then returned his head to rejoice the heart of Phirous that the one who might have sentenced him to death for his treason was no more. He was now at liberty to enjoy the great reward he received for his perfidy, and accordingly embraced Christianity and marched with the Crusaders to Jerusalem. But even the largesses of the Christians failed to satisfy his rapacity or gratify his ambition and, two years afterward, he became a second time a pervert to Mohammedanism, and as a natural consequence died despised by both Christian and Mussulman.

After the Christian army had satisfied its desire for promiscuous slaughter, it prepared to attack the citadel. But as it was situated upon an inaccessible mountain, all their assaults were vain. It was then surrounded

with soldiers, while the rest of the army spread through the city, giving way to all the excesses of barbarous victors. They greedily appropriated the riches at their disposal, and fell into the grossest intemperance and debauchery. It was now June, 1098. The siege of Antioch had cost them, nearly nine months of endeavor. Three days of riotous rejoicing had to suffice for their treacherous victory, for on the fourth day all was fear and trembling over the report that the Mussulman army was approaching.

At the very beginning of the siege of Antioch, Accien, commander of its garrison, and the Sultan of Nice, which city the Crusaders had captured, had applied for help to all the Mussulman powers of the West. The Sultan of Persia, supreme head of the Seljukian house, solicited aid from Chorasán, Media, Babylon, Asia Minor, and the provinces on the coast as far as Arabia. There had been a general response, and Kerbogha, Sultan of Mousoul, a confident old warrior and a true model of the fierce Circassian, found himself at the head of a large army, making his way westward across Mesopotamia toward Antioch. Under him were the Sultans of Nice, Aleppo and Damascus with the governor of Jerusalem, and twenty-eight emirs from Persia, Palestine and Syria. His soldiers were fired with a spirit of vengeance and were sworn to exterminate all Christians. On the third day after the capture of Antioch by the Crusaders, he pitched his tents on the Orontes. On the fourth day a detachment from his army of three hundred horse advanced to the walls of the city. Their presence spread alarm among the vic-

torious Christians and put an end to their rejoicings.

The late besiegers were now besieged. They were in a plight, for they had no stores for a siege. They visited the port of St. Simeon and scoured the neighboring country for provisions, but there were no ships in, and the land had been shorn of its produce. The Turks attacked the city with vigor and promptitude, and the Crusaders had to lament the loss of several of their bravest warriors. Bohemond was wounded in a sortie, and Godfrey and Tancred performed their prodigies of valor in vain. The Christians were driven within the walls and as closely confined as the enemy had been. They were even worse off, for the citadel was still in Turkish hands, and they were between two fires. The Turks seized the port of St. Simeon and confiscated all vessels bringing supplies. Famine soon set in and ravaged the besieged forces. In the midst of the riches they had captured, they could not procure the wherewithal to subsist. They killed their horses for food, ate their buckles and shoes, and even exhumed the Saracen carcasses to satisfy appetite. Princes and counts went a begging, after having stripped themselves of their arms and appointments. Many fled from the prospect of death by starvation, some by sea and some by land, but nowhere without encountering a thousand dangers. Not a few deserted to the Mussulmen, and renounced their religion for the sake of bread. The Counts of Blois and Melun withdrew their forces in despair and marched toward Constantinople. These desertions added to the despair of the Chris-

tians. High and low ranks contributed to the number of deserters, and this notwithstanding the fact that they were denounced by the priests, as rope-dancers, dastards and traitors, and consigned to the fate of Judas. For the most part the curses upon those who fled were met, for they fell easy victims to Turkish vengeance or inexorable want. Stephen of Chartres and Blois managed to reach the camp of Alexius, who was advancing with an army toward Antioch. He excused his conduct with terrible tales of woe, at the recital of which the Crusaders which were making their way with the army of Alexius, broke into blasphemies and charged God with desertion of their cause. Such was the frenzy of their despair, that for days they suspended religious ceremonies and refused to pronounce the name of Christ.

Alexius was terrified by what he heard and discontinued his march toward Antioch. He reckoned upon the folly of attempting to rescue a city whose walls had been broken by protracted siege, and he was disgusted with the conduct of warriors who employed doubtful stratagem to obtain victory and then found themselves the worse off for having won it. Some thought he was not averse to seeing the Turks and Latins engaged in a contest which was likely to destroy both. At any rate he returned to Constantinople, and his return threw all the Christians of Phrygia and Bythinia into alarm. On his retreat he devastated the country, his plea being that it would soon be visited by the Turks, whom he thus wished to cripple. The Latins, who had used his army as an escort, witnessed all these things amid groans of despair and

gave over all thought of ever reseuing their brethren at Antioch or seeing Palestine.

Word of this retreat carried anguish to the Christians in Antioch. It swept away their hopes and augmented the horrors of famine and desertion. Their strongest Knights had hardly strength to lift their lances, while hundreds of the rank and file fell a daily prey to famine. No tears were shed, no sobs were heard; the silence of despairing misery reigned in Antioch. They feared to meet each other, but brooded their fate in the houses, which they regarded as their tombs.

Bohemond remained, almost alone, courageous. He walked the deserted ramparts and endeavored to inspire his soldiers by trumpet calls and exhortations. But the response was as though a grave spoke. The Turks attacked from the outside and made sorties from the citadel. In order to drive them from their foot-holds, Bohemond was compelled to burn several parts of the city. Before his torches went down churches and palaces in which appeared the Cedar of Lebanon, the marble of Atlas, the crystals of Tyre, the brass of Cyprus, the lead of Amanthontis, and the iron of England. Never such a curse had visited the rich and beautiful city as in the shape of its would be redeemers. Counts and barons lost all control of their forces and themselves, and bitterly remembered their families and castles in Europe, deserted for a cause whose failure they could not comprehend. It is narrated by Matthew of Edessa, that they proposed to surrender the city to Kerbogha, on condition that they should be allowed to

march in peace to Constantinople, but that he refused to grant terms. For two weeks the Christians swarm in a gulf of dark despair. At length the fanaticism and superstition to which their evils were due, came to their rescue. Prophecies, revelations and miracles siezed on their disordered minds and found root in their despairing souls. St. Ambrose prophesied the speedy advent of the Christians to Jerusalem. A Lombard priest had seen Christ and the virgin one night in a church of Antioch. Christ was maddened by the conduct of the Crusaders, but was appeased by the prayers of the Virgin. Christ relented and bade her to announce that the hour of deliverance was at hand for all who came back to him. That these prophecies, revelations and miracles might be believed, those who saw or invented them offered to attest their truth by leaping from the towers, walking through fire or submitting their necks to the executioner. But these proofs were not exacted. Danger and excess of misfortune had made the Crusaders sufficiently credulous to accept any prodigy as real. Any promise in the name of heaven captured their diseased imaginations. The most outlandish hope served to revive their courage. Tancred swore to go to Jerusalem even if he had only sixty Knights left. Godfrey, Hugh, Raymond, and the two Roberts joined him in the oath. The whole army responded, and agreed to fight and suffer till the hour of deliverance came.

Miracles and visions grew more frequent. Two deserters from the Christian army returned. The one had been stopped by Christ

who promised to deliver Antioch. The other had been stopped by the spirit of his dead brother who promised to lead an army of the slain to the rescue of the besieged. St. Andrew appeared to a priest, Peter Barthelemi, and told him to go to the church of his brother in Antioch, dig under the altar, and find there the head of the lance which had pierced the side of the Redeemer. That lance, borne at the head of the army, should pierce the hearts of the Infidels and deliver the Christians. The leaders encouraged this fable, and gave it forth that the lance had been found, after several futile attempts. It was exhibited to the credulous soldiers, to whom it appeared as a celestial weapon. Sight of it caused them to forget the horrors of famine, filled them with fresh reliance in Heaven and intensified them to thirst for the blood of the Infidel. The imposture of the priests and leaders was complete, and to take advantage of the enthusiasm it aroused, they deputed Peter the Hermit to the enemy's camp to propose a trial of strength either by single combat or general battle. Peter conveyed the proposition in a speech full of braggadocia and was told by Kerbogha that it was the part of the conquered to receive conditions and not dictate them. Peter wanted to reply, but was peremptorily ordered out of camp as a mendicant who united blindness with insolence. His return and the recital of his adventure were the signal for battle, and orders were given to be ready by the next day.

Meanwhile the priests and bishops were busy with exhortations. The night was spent in prayer ; injuries were forgiven ; sins

were remitted. Some extra provisions were found, which was regarded as a miracle. The remnants of a frugal meal for all were used in the sacrifice of a mass, in which a hundred thousand warriors participated

It so happened that the next day was the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul. The gates were opened and the Christian army marched forth in twelve divisions, corresponding to the twelve apostles, each headed by its chief, with Hugh the Great at the head of all bearing the standard of the Church. Raymond, of Toulouse, remained behind in charge of the garrison. A large part of the clergy formed a processional and advanced singing, "*Let the Lord arise, and let his enemies be dispersed.*" From the streets, the ramparts, the mountain sides and valleys, arose the cry "*It is the will of God !*" Amid prayers and acclamations, trumpet sounds and drum beats, the Crusaders marched into the plain, a woe-begone and almost naked army, the knights afoot or on camels, asses or borrowed horses, many of the rank and file so sick or attenuated that they tottered, but all aflame with the determination to conquer or die for Christ.

The Turks had divided their army into fifteen bodies, which were posted at all the points of vantage. Kerbogha had no idea of a battle, but thought the Christians were coming to implore mercy. But the black flag which appeared on the walls of Antioch, signal of attack, soon informed him that other than supplicants were in his front. Almost instantly two thousand of his men, who were guarding the bridge of Antioch, were cut to pieces by Hugh, Count of Vermandois.

The few who escaped bore the news to Kerbogha, who was found playing at chess in his tent. He immediately took charge of his army and prepared for battle. The general direction of the Christians had been westward into a plain washed by the Orontes and half surrounded by mountains. Their left wing was commanded by Hugh, the two Roberts, Count of Belesme and Count of Hainaut. Godfrey was on the right, supported by Eustace, Baldwin du Bourg, Tancred, Rinaldo and Erhard. Adhemar held the centre, assisted by Gaston de Bearn, Count of Die, Raimbert of Orange, William of Montpelier and Amanjeu d' Albret. Bohemond commanded a strong body of reserves ready to act where assistance was needed. Kerbogha saw this deployment and sent a strong force to interpose itself between the Christians and Antioch, while he disposed his main body partly on the mountain and partly in the plain to meet attack. His right was commanded by the emir of Jerusalem, his left by one of the sons of Accien, while he held a reserve on a high point overlooking the field.

As the Christians moved confidently to the attack, Kerbogha was smitten with fear and sent a proposal to try the issue by single combat in order to save bloodshed. As he had rejected a similar proposal only the day before, and as the Christians entertained no doubt that Heaven was about to favor them, his proposal was rejected. Moreover natural events were multiplying omens in their favor. A globe of fire had passed over them the night before and burst on the camps of the Turks. A shower had laid the dust and

refreshed the air for the day. A strong wind impeded the arrows of the Turks while it carried their own javelins full upon the enemy. Animated by these signs they marched rapidly, confidently and in order upon the enemy. They marched silently and persistently, amid the calm exhortations of the priests and the deliberate orders of their leaders.

Their advance was met by a cloud of Turkish arrows, and a grand rush, backed by barbarous cries. In spite of their shock, their right wing was soon broken and thrown into confusion. Their left held up a little longer against Godfrey, but it, too, was broken. While all was going well with the Christians, the forces which had been sent to their rear by Kerbogha, put in an appearance under the Sultan of Nice, and threatened destruction to Bohemond's reserves. Hugh the Great abandoned the pursuit of the fugitives and hastened to the relief of Bohemond. The battle was now general and furious. The standard of Hugh was captured and retaken, covered with the blood of Christian and Infidel. Godfrey and Tancred came to the rescue of Hugh and Bohemond, and signalized their strength and valor by the death of many Mussulmen. A body of three thousand Turkish cavalry, clad in mail, hewed their way repeatedly through the Christian ranks. The Sultan of Nice firmly withstood every attack made by the Christians. He set fire to the grass and bushes and enveloped the enemy in smoke. His stratagem confused the situation and was about to give him decisive victory. The Christian cause was

desperate. Nothing but a miracle could save it.

As was their wont, the historians of the time provided the right miracle at the right time. A celestial legion headed by three horsemen appeared on the mountain side. "Behold!" cried Bishop Adhemar, "Heaven declares for the Christians; the holy martyrs, George, Demetrius and Theodore, come to fight for you!" The vision re-animated the warriors. The cry of "*It is the will of God*" sounded in every rank. The priests redoubled their promises and exhortations. The women and children came out of Antioch to aid the wounded and encourage the despairing. Each Crusader suddenly became a heroic warrior and vengeful fiend, and nothing could stand before him. The energy of fatalism nerved his arm and gave direction and force to every blow. Everywhere the ranks of the enemy were broken and thrown into confused retreat. They repeatedly rallied, but only to be routed. At length flight became their only safety, and they escaped as best they could to the cover of mountain and wood, leaving behind arms and baggage. The victors pursued till nightfall, killing the helpless and gathering trophies. Death was on every hand. Some say one hundred thousand Turks fell on the battle field. The spirit that thus exaggerates exalts only four thousand dead Crusaders to the rank of martyrs. Abundance was found in the Turkish camps, among which were fifteen thousand camels and a great number of horses. It is safe to say the booty was immense and much of it of a kind the Crusaders had never seen before.

It took days to carry it all back to Antioch, and when it was divided there was hardly a Crusader that did not find himself richer than when he quitted Europe, and did not feel that his dream of oriental fortune was in great part realized. The great miracle which had led to this stupendous victory was despair and fanaticism which, for the moment, made the Christian army a unit against a set of raw and hastily gathered recruits under command of twenty-eight emirs who recognized no central authority and whose pastime had been making war upon each other. The dead of the battle were not buried before the "*holy lance*", which contributed to the victory, lost all its marvelous influence in jealousy as to who should possess it, and finally in doubt as to its sacred value and the manner of finding it.

One striking thing about this victory is the proof it affords of a spirit common to the two antagonistic religions. Every Crusader believed that God would render his cause invincible, and wherein it failed he was prepared to hold God, rather than himself, responsible. So the Mohammedan, surprised at a victory like that of Antioch, and unable to account for it except on the hypothesis that his God had proved false and that the Christian's God had proven true, deserted his faith, and came over to the Christian camp in great numbers. Out of the garrison of the citadel, all of whom surrendered, three hundred embraced the Christian religion, convinced that the only true God was one who could contribute to so unexpected and signal a victory.

The effect of this victory on the political fortunes of the Seljukian Turks was no less marked. The emirs of the Syrian provinces made sure of their dominions by proposing terms to the Christian invaders and recognizing them as conquerors. Thus the vast sovereignty of Togrul, Alp-Arslan and Malek Shah was crumbling to pieces, and the threat upon Constantinople was being removed. Almost instantaneously the Syrian capital had a new religion and Syria a new people. The Crusaders used their spoils in converting mosques into churches, and in substituting the religion of Christ for Mohammed. Greek and Latin Christians joined in the same hymns of thanksgiving, prayers for safe conduct to Jerusalem, and oaths of future fealty and vengeance. The leaders sent glowing accounts of their victories to the West, glossed their immense losses in the most artful way, and called for further aid. Those who had assumed the cross and yet delayed their departure for the East were visited with direful threats by the army and the priesthood. An embassy was sent to Constantinople to remind Alexius of his promises to accompany the Crusaders to Jerusalem. One of the embassy was Hugh of Vermandois who, upon his failure to get satisfaction from Alexius, and fearing loss of caste on his return to his army, returned to Europe, where his desertion caused him to be compared to the raven of the Ark.

A great majority of the Crusaders now besought their leaders to hasten forward to Jerusalem. But the leaders, full of blind security, and anxious to enlarge their conquests and power in Syria, invented reasons

for delay. The terror they had inspired would work as a leaven among their enemies. The glory of their victories would spread to the West and bring new recruits. The army was fatigued and needed rest. Time was required to gather a fresh supply of horses and arms. It was the height of Summer and there was no need of running risks on account of heat and scarcity of water. These reasons for delay held the army in and about Antioch, till epidemic ravaged it worse than defeat. The new recruits from Europe fell a victim to it upon arrival. In a single month fifty thousand perished, among them many distinguished leaders, as the bishop of Puy, who was buried in the excavation dug for the discovery of the holy lance. These calamities, discreditable as they were to the judgment of the leaders, did not dull their ambitions nor stop their jealous wranglings. Raymond, who had captured the citadel of Antioch and held it, was particularly bitter against Bohemond, and each sought to gain the upper hand by oaths upon the altar of Christ which were as false as though hell inspired. The pervading thought of the leaders was to gain power by unfurling their standards over conquered cities and provinces. Irresponsible bands wandered where they listed in search of booty, and quarreled over its distribution. Yet in the midst of discords, hunger, thirst, disease and fatigue, there was heroic bravery and resignation. Opportunity for showing valor was greedily sought, and many distinguished themselves in the chase of wild animals in the mountains. The rank and file spread about in the conquered cities, while waiting for the signal

to march to Jerusalem, and many found their way to Baldwin's empire at Edessa. Romantic stories are told of captured Christian women becoming the wives of distinguished Turks and dissuading their husbands from further hostilities. Among these was the emir of Hazart who became a firm ally of the Crusaders.

Thus the autumn passed. Of a sudden, activity was stirred by the appearance of a luminous mass of stars over Antioch. This prodigy was construed by the frightened beholders as indicating the will of heaven. The stars remained for a time in a circle and then dispersed. For some they were the Turks at Jerusalem, who would be dispersed on the appearance of the Christians. For others they were the Christian warriors united in a group and then scattered for the conquest of all the cities which had been severed from the empire of Christ. Again, others despairing of their fate and never expecting to see Jerusalem, saw in the sign only their own dispersion and extinguishment. The leaders, however they may have been effected by the sign, hurried back to Antioch and undertook several important expeditions into Syria. Maarah was besieged and captured, after a stout resistance by the Turks. The inhabitants were smoked out of the underground

retreats to which they had fled, and murdered or led captive, after which the city was razed to the ground. This conquest gave rise to jealousies between Bohemond and Raymond, which sundered the army into factions and came near ending in bloodshed.

While in the midst of these strifes, word reached the Crusaders that the Saracens of Egypt had captured Jerusalem. This information led to further discontent. The folly of having wasted so much time around Antioch was apparent to all, and Raymond was accused of a want of interest in the cause of God. The threat was made that other leaders would be chosen, who would conduct the Christian army to the Holy Land, and to show their hostility to Raymond, the soldiery demolished the ramparts of Maarah, the possession of which was the subject of contention between Raymond and Bohemond. At this juncture, Tancred managed to get possession of the citadel of Antioch, upon which he planted Bohemond's standard. Thus Raymond found himself thwarted in all his ambitions and quite deserted by his soldiers. In the midst of humiliation he found time to reflect, and soon renewed the oath, often taken and broken, to deliver the tomb of Christ.

ARTICLE V.

SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM.

A. D. 1099—1103.



IX months had been wasted since the capture of Antioch. Then Raymond gave the signal to his soldiers to march to Jerusalem. This revived their joy and enthusiasm. He was speedily followed by Tancred and Robert, Duke of Normandy. These three led their followers through Cæsarea, Hamath and Edessa, welcomed by Christians and Mussulmen, the one to beg for aid, the other to implore mercy. Emirs came to ask Raymond to plant his banners on their walls as a protection against the Crusaders marching in his wake. Such was the terrorism which the name of Christian had inspired, and such was the character of their excesses, that all enemies were glad to buy favor by giving. Hence, they marched amid plenty toward Jerusalem, and without serious opposition. This continued till they reached Archas, in the midst of a rich country near the sea coast. Here Raymond's ambition again got the better of him, and he resolved to besiege and conquer the place, promising his soldiers the booty they might find.

Godfrey, Eustace and Robert of Flanders did not begin their march from Antioch till the following spring. Bohemond saw them through Laodicea, and then returned to Antioch, promising to meet them before Jerusalem. At Laodicea the Crusaders liberated the Flemish pirates who had been captured by the Greek authorities, and received a large reinforcement of fresh Crusaders who had come by water from Holland, Flanders and England. Among the English recruits was Edgar Atheling who had disputed the crown with William the Conqueror. His enlistment was a search for forgetfulness of defeat and an escape from the tyranny of the conqueror of his country. These recruits were received with joy, and the augmented columns moved slowly toward Jerusalem.

The march to Jerusalem was a pitiable exhibition of ambition and insincerity on the part of the leaders. They longed to conquer and dominate the cities and provinces through which they passed. Each saw the nucleus of a kingdom in such town as he might reduce. Raymond frittered away his strength before Archas. Godfrey wasted much precious time before Gibel. Other leaders, of less boldness and strength, forgot all about the necessity for union against the

Saracen, and sold to the emirs their inaction and neutrality, by turns. The attack on Tortosa by Raymond of Turenne was the only one which added lustre to the Christian arms. His forces were few and were badly worsted at first, but on being driven to the mountains he caused a great number of camp-fires to be built, which led the enemy to believe they were surrounded by the entire Christian army. They hurriedly escaped and left their city to be ravaged and razed by Raymond's soldiers, who returned to the main army loaded down with booty.

The siege of Archas, conducted by Raymond of Toulouse, was amounting to a calamity equal to that of Antioch. Provisions ran short, and the soldiers were forced to dispute with the animals for roots and shrubs. The active soldiers became scavengers on the country, while the non-combatants would have starved but for the fact that those more fortunate in conquest made distribution of their booty on the principle of the tithe or tenth. A great number perished with fatigue, want and disease. Thus perished Pons de Balasu, the historian of the Crusade, thus far, and Anselm de Ribemont, who died in accordance with a miraculous presentiment. As always happened in the midst of distress and despondency, the Crusaders gave loose rein to their superstitions, and saw prodigy and miracle in the most natural and trifling circumstances. In this they were encouraged by both spiritual and martial leaders, who thus maintained a control sufficiently absolute for their purposes. When Arnold, chaplain to the Duke of Normandy, doubted the miraculous finding of

the holy lance at Antioch, and divided the Crusaders of northern and southern France into hostile factions by his doubts, Barthlemi of Marseilles taxed his ingenuity a second time, and made public the astounding fact that he had seen Jesus Christ on the cross, cursing all doubters and visiting the death of Judas on all skeptics. This apparition and these menaces told with wonderful effect on the imaginations of the Provençals, who believed them as implicitly as though they rested on the evidence of their saints and apostles. But Arnold and the Normans still doubted, whereupon the Provençals, who derived considerable revenue from offerings made to the depositaries of the holy lance, charged the sufferings at the siege of Archas to the incredulity of the Normans. Thus charges and reproaches were hurled back and forth, those of the Provençals being supported by a plentiful supply of new visions and wonders. St. Mark had been seen and consulted. The holy virgin had appeared to attest the truth of what Barthlemi had said, seen, and done. Bishop Adhemar had appeared, to narrate how he had been detained several days in hell for having doubted the story of the holy lance.

These contentions ran into violence and threatened to disrupt the crusading forces. So convinced was Barthlemi of the reality of his visions and the truth of his miracles, that he resolved to cut off further controversy by submitting to the ordeal of fire. (*See Plate No. XXII.*) On Good Friday a funeral pile was built and fired in the midst of the plain. Then Barthlemi appeared, bearing the holy lance decorated with stream-



PLATE NO. XXII. BARTHELEMI UNDERGOING THE ORDEAL OF FIRE.
98

ers, and accompanied by priests, clad in sacred robes and walking barefooted and in silence. When the procession reached the burning pile, a priest lifted his voice and said, "If this man has seen Jesus Christ and if the Apostle Andrew did reveal the divine lance to him, may he pass safe and sound through the flames; but if he is guilty of falsehood may he and the lance be burnt." The multitude exclaimed, "be the will of God accomplished!" Barthlemi threw himself on his knees, called on Heaven to witness the truth of all he had said, and then rushed through the burning pile at a part where an opening of two feet had been left for his passage. After a moment of suspense he appeared on the opposite side, where thousands rushed to him crying, "miracle!" But the brave fanatic was beyond their congratulations. Charred unto death, he was carried to the tent of Raymond, where in two or three days he expired in great agony, and still protesting his veracity. Though his followers regarded him as a martyr and apostle, the fiction of the holy lance lost much of its force, and in its stead the ring and cross of Adhemar became a popular object of conjuration.

While the siege of Archas was progressing, the Crusaders received an embassy from the Emperor Alexius, to complain of the violation of the treaties by which he was to be master of the cities and provinces captured from the Turks, and to promise the aid of his army for the conquest of Palestine, provided the conditions of the treaties and promises made at Constantinople were lived up to. But the leaders had no inten-

tion now, and probably never had, of fulfilling their pledges. They had tasted of empire in their own name, and retorted upon Alexius his own cowardice at Antioch, and his own disregard of oaths and promises. They had grown to hate and despise him, and even believed that he had a secret understanding with the Caliph of Egypt, by which he was to retard the march of the Christian army to Jerusalem. His embassy returned without accomplishing anything. It had scarcely gone, when an embassy arrived from the Caliph of Egypt.

The policy of Constantinople and Cairo, respecting Syria and the East, was similar. The Emperor Alexius had seen this portion of his Christian Empire wrested from his grasp by the Turk. It had been equally wrested from the ecclesiastical empire, or Caliphate, of Egypt. In the former instance the conqueror was a Moslem, and an enemy of the Christian faith. In the second, the Moslem conqueror was of the same faith as the Egyptian claimant, but as much despised as were the Christians. Alexius looked to a re-conquest of his Eastern possessions through the Crusaders, but since they had kept bad faith with him, he could only hope to profit indirectly by their further victories. It was something to have the Turk driven back and dispossessed, even if the Crusaders refused to make their conquests once more an integral part of the Byzantine Empire. Therefore it was good policy for him to keep on as good terms as possible with the Crusaders. It was equally good policy to keep up relations with the Caliph of Cairo, who was known to be bent on the expulsion of the Turk

from Syria, and the annexation of the East to the Caliphate of Egypt. If the Caliph succeeded in his ambitions, Alexius could not, of course, look for a restoration of his lost provinces, but he might, at least, find a less cruel and ambitious enemy at his door. He would far rather have the Egyptian Mohammedan as a neighbor than the Turkish Mohammedan.

The Caliph of Cairo had already captured Jerusalem from the Turks, and had begun the invasion of Syria in earnest. He found it advantageous to keep up relations with Alexius, whose neighbor he might become. He found it equally advantageous to be on good terms with the Crusaders, awe of whose arms served to demoralize the Turks, and whose presence served to keep them divided. As long as the Crusaders were present in Syria and in force, the Caliph could make easy conquests, and as long as he dealt generously with the Christians there could be no doubt that they would prefer the supremacy of the Saracen to that of the Turk. From the hatred of the Saracen toward the Turk, it is presumable that the former preferred a Christian conquest of the East, in case their own failed, to further Turkish supremacy there. If it be truthfully said, as was suspected, that Alexius preferred to see his Eastern provinces pass into the hands of the Caliph of Cairo and his Saracen followers, rather than into the hands of the treaty-breaking, faithless and ambitious Crusaders, as then seemed inevitable, the parallelism between the policy of Cairo and Constantinople is nearly complete.

But while the policies of fixed rulers were

identical, the roving Crusaders were the despair of all. They built so largely on the terrorism their arms had inspired, their fatuity was so conspicuous, their leaders were so ravenous for empire, wealth and glory, their hatred of the Infidel, whether Turk or Saracen, was so intense, their suspicion of and hostility to Alexius was so marked, their sense of independence was so overpowering, that they never could become safe and computable factors in any negotiations. The embassy they had sent to Cairo had been imprisoned by the Caliph, and had been released, on hearing of the triumphant march of the crusading army into Syria. Its members had now returned with the new embassy sent by the Caliph, and when they told of their captivity, the army gave vent to fierce indignation. The embassy had come loaded with presents—forty thousand pieces of gold, thirty mantles and several precious vases for Godfrey, sixty thousand pieces of gold, purple mantles, carpets and Arabian horses for Bohemond, and so on—, and was full of apologies for the conduct of the Caliph, yet its proffers of peace to the Christians, and its offer to open Jerusalem to all who entered it unarmed, only inflamed the general indignation. They saw in all these overtures only the folly of further delaying their march to Jerusalem, and they sent back the threat to Egypt that after the Holy City was in their possession their arms might be expected on the banks of the Nile. The Saracen, equally with the Turk, was henceforth their enemy.

The Crusaders now drew together their forces and began their march toward Jerusa-

lem. They were attacked determinedly by the Sultan of Tripoli, and forced to fight a bloody battle in which they were victorious. Their victory netted them large spoils, a valuable tribute, a full supply of provisions, and the promise that their flag should be displayed on the ramparts as soon as they sent word that they had captured Jerusalem. This victory greatly inspirited the Crusaders, and practically left their advance without an enemy. Raymond, who seemed loathe to give over the siege of Archas, was forced to abandon it by threats of his army to desert, and soon he was in line with the grand army.

It was now about the first of June. The harvests of Phœnicia were ripe, plenty of provisions were in sight, and the country was beautiful. To their left rose the mountains of Lebanon. Off to their right was the sea. Between all was valley and plain, filled with orchards of olive, pomegranate and orange. Among the plants which were a novelty was the sugar-cane of the Syrian low-lands, which furnished them with the sweet and nourishing *zucra* (*sugar*). Returning pilgrims brought this plant to Italy, while the Saracens introduced it into Grenada, whence it spread throughout all the Spanish colonial possessions, including America.

As the Crusaders made their easy marches amid plenty and under balmy skies, they had time to contemplate the immense cost of their expedition in human life. Battle, famine, disease and despair had cut off over two hundred thousand of their number. Tens of thousands had deserted and re-

turned to Europe. As many more had found permanent abodes in Antioch, Edessa and other cities and were mingling with the natives. While a great horde remained to pursue its way toward Jerusalem, those who could be depended on to fight did not exceed fifty thousand in number. Yet this army was stronger and more enthusiastic than ever before. It was more patient under trial. It marched better and lighter. Its victories had made it resolute and taught it the value of discipline. Its visitations by disease famine and fatigue had worked out for it the problem of the "survival of the fittest." It was full of the confidence inspired by the knowledge that the words Crusader and Christian carried terror whenever and wherever they were spoken in the Infidel camps or homes.

Among the leaders, Raymond, Count of Toulouse, remained the most opulent. The others had grown poor, and taken service under him for a consideration. This was humiliating to them, yet it was a source of safety as they approached the Holy City, for it served as a curb to their arrogance and as a break on their jealousies and quarrels. The nearer they came to their destination, the firmer they became united. One object commanded universal attention, one theme pervaded every mind. Neither mountain, ravine, river nor swamp cooled their ardor to see and possess Jerusalem. Often the weary columns declined to halt for the night, but kept up the march till forced to rest through sheer fatigue. These night marches were often carried on amid the ecstasy of miracle, in the shape of luminous



PLATE NO. XXIII.—THE WAY TO THE HOLY CITY.

angels who piloted the way. (*See* Plate No. XXIII.)

In their passage from the upper to the lower provinces of Syria, the Crusaders pursued a course as near to the sea as possible, in order to obtain provisions from the fleets of Pisa, Genoa and Holland which touched at the ports of the Eastern Mediterranean, and to keep up communication with Europe. They thus traversed the territories of Berytus, Sidon and Tyre, toiling painfully over rocky roads, but sure of a supply of food from the coast cities. When they arrived at the ancient Ptolemais and present Acre, they found it in the hands of an emir, commanding for the Caliph of Egypt. This emir sent them provisions and a promise to surrender the city as soon as they captured Jerusalem. Unfortunately the surrender was but a ruse to get them out of his territory quickly, and was accompanied by no promise not to raise up enemies to impede their further march. While encamped beyond the emir's territory, and near Cæsarea, a carrier dove, escaped from a bird of prey, fell lifeless in their camp. It was picked up by the bishop of Apt, who discovered under its wing a letter from the Emir of Ptolemais to the emir of Cæsarea, which read, "The cursed race of Christians have just passed through my territories and will soon cross yours. Let the chief of all Mussulman cities be warned of their march, and let them take measures to crush their enemies." That God should send the birds of heaven to reveal the secrets of their enemies was regarded by the Crusaders as a decided evidence of His favor.

They continued their march with renewed enthusiasm, bending now away from the sea, and taking possession of Lydda, celebrated as the birth and burial place of Samuel, and by the martyrdom of St. George. Here they were on the Heights of Ephraim and only sixteen miles from Jerusalem. The more ambitious leaders favored a march to Egypt, believing that a direct blow at the Caliphate, and the capture of Cairo and Alexandria, would render the conquest of Palestine and the rest of the East a matter of course. They pleaded that further advance on Jerusalem would lead to famine and distress, owing to the scarcity of water and provisions, and that after exhausting themselves by a siege which they might be compelled to raise, they would be unfit for further undertakings. They were met by the argument that an army of fifty thousand men was too small a body for the conquest of Egypt, that a march thither would not provide an escape from hunger and thirst, and that God would provide for their wants in case they surrounded Jerusalem.

The latter counsels prevailed and the Crusaders left Lydda for Jerusalem. They now approached the ranges of Judea on which Jerusalem is situated. These mountains are not distinct ranges like those of Taurus or Lybia, but a succession of dark, verdureless summits, between which are jagged ravines and lonesome valleys, fit dwellings for vultures and the few wild animals found therein. They are a sombre formation whose sight recalls the sadness and melancholy of the Hebrew prophets. The Crusaders entered these mountains through a narrow val-



PLATE NO. XXIV.—CRUSADERS IN THE MOUNTAINS OF JUDEA.

ley, scorched by the rays of a summer sun, riddled by gullies and choked by fragments of rocks loosened from the precipitous sides by the rains.

(See Plate No. XXIV.) Had they been attacked in such a position by even a few resolute Mussulmen, the slaughter must have been terrible. But the cities and occupied places along their line of march were found abandoned by the Infidels. This fact caused the more ambitious Crusaders to be ever struggling to keep in advance of the others in order to occupy the deserted places. It had become a common law with them that whoever planted his standard first in a captured or abandoned city or place should become the possessor of it. Even their near approach to Jerusalem and the greater necessity for harmony and unity did not prevent demoralizing exhibitions of ambition and covetousness on the part of common soldiers and barons. Some abandoned their colors and wandered over the country as far as the Jordan in the hope of picking up without cost the abandoned possessions of the enemy. The more faithful, advancing bare-footed and under the standard of the cross, lamented the errantry of their brethren.

When the main column arrived at Emmaus, or Nicopolis, they were met by a delegation of Bethlehem Christians, come to implore their assistance. Moved by their entreaties, Tancred set out in the night with three hundred horsemen and planted his banner on the walls of the city, at the very hour, as the legends go, that the shepherds of Judea announced the birth of Christ. And in order to round the circle of marvels, that same

night there came about a sudden eclipse of the moon, plunging the Christian camps into total darkness; and when the orb reappeared it was covered with a blood-red veil, a phenomenon which carried consternation to the ranks of the Crusaders, till assured by those used to turning superstition to practical account, that it was only heaven's way of foretelling the ultimate triumphs of the Christian and the utter destruction of the Infidel.

On June 10th 1099, the Crusaders marched up the gloomy steep to Emmaus and peered over its barren edges. Their eyes were greeted with a first view of the Holy City. The first who saw it exclaimed *Jerusalem! Jerusalem!* The ranks doubled over one another, and as the rear columns pressed forward to enjoy the sight, the shout of "*It is the will of God!*" resounded through the entire army and was echoed by the slopes of Mount Zion and Mount of Olives. Such was the common joy, that horsemen dismounted and walked barefooted, thousands bent their knees and kissed the earth, hallelujahs arose over the end of their labors, petitions went up for the remission of their sins, tears were shed over the death of Christ and the profanation of his tomb, oaths were re-sworn to redeem the sacred place from impious hands, speech ran into wild extravagance and conduct into hysterical exhibitions. (See Plate No. XXV.)

The Holy City was at last before them, object of their long search, point of supreme solicitude, end of their trials—city of the Jebusites and of the King of Salem, whence Jebus-Salem, or Jerusalem. It was the "admirable city" of Jeremiah, and the "most



PLATE NO. XXV.—ENTHUSIASM AT SIGHT OF JERUSALEM.

glorious and most illustrious city of the East" of David. In order to protect their exclusive religion and manners, the Hebrews had fortified it strongly. Titus destroyed it, and afterwards Adrian effaced it and built Aelia on its ruins, banishing both Christians and Jews. The Emperor Constantine restored its name and made it a Christian city. The Persians captured it, but it was afterwards re-taken by the Greeks. Then came the Mussulmen conquerors who disputed its possession for centuries. It had been governed from Bagdad, from Cairo, and by the Seljukian Turks. As already stated, the Caliph of Cairo had, just before the Crusaders appeared, captured it and included it in the Caliphate of Egypt. It formed then, as now, a rectangle extending over four hills. On the east was Mt. Moriah, where the mosque of Omar occupied the site of Solomon's Temple. On the south and west was the *Aera* occupying the whole width of the city. On the north was the new city. On the north-west was Golgotha, or Calvary, centre of the world for the Greek Christians, and marked by the Church of the Resurrection. It was neither so large nor strong as when under Jewish control. Mt. Zion was no longer within its walls. Its three valleys had been filled up by Adrian, rendering access to its walls less difficult than before. Still, its Mohammedan possessors had not been unmindful of its fortifications, and especially its new Saracen conquerors, who expected visits from Christians and Turks alike.

While the Crusaders were advancing slowly toward the city, the lieutenant of the Caliph,

in charge, Iftikhar-Eddanlah, ravaged the plains, burnt the villages, filled or poisoned the wells and cisterns, and plunged the Christians, as it were, into a desert. He provisioned the city for a long siege, raised the walls, constructed towers and machines of war, and called on all Mussulmen to come to his assistance. He had a garrison of forty thousand fighting men, aided by twenty thousand armed citizens. His first contact with the Christians was a skirmish outside of the walls, in which Baldwin and Tancred put to flight and drove within the gates a prospecting party of the Saracens. Tancred repaired to the Mount of Olives to indulge in pious reverie, when he was attacked by five Mussulmen, three of whom he killed outright. The other two escaped by flight. After these exploits, Tancred, who had come from Bethlehem to Jerusalem, went out to meet the main army, which he found descending the heights of Emmaus in the greatest confusion, owing to its exhilaration, and singing the words of Isaiah, "Jerusalem, lift up thine eyes, and behold the liberator who comes to break thy chains."

When the army was well in hand, the leaders prepared for the siege. Robert, Duke of Normandy, Robert, Count of Flanders, and Tancred, encamped with their forces on the north, from the gate of Herod to the gate of Cedar, or St. Stephen. Near to these were placed the English under Edgar Atheling, and the Bretons under duke Alain Fergent. Godfrey, Eustace and Baldwin du Bourg, took post on the West, around Calvary and from the Damascus to the Jaffa gate. Raymond, count of Toulouse, placed

his camp on Godfrey's right, extending to the South. His lines extended over Mt. Zion, and rested on the spot where Christ celebrated Easter. The South side of the city, defended by the valley of Gihon, and the east defended by the valley of Jehoshaphat, were left untouched by the Crusaders.

Now that the city was in full sight, and the Christian forces were disposed for a long siege, they naturally inspected everything very closely. The name, Jerusalem, was dear to them, and everything about was suggestive. All that they saw, the hills, valleys, rocks and pools, recalled what they had heard or learned. They fired their enthusiasm by lamentations over the debasement into which the sacred places had fallen. They had heard of it as beautiful, but saw for houses only rough masses of stones between rocks. A few clumps of trees inside the walls quite obscured the steeples of the Christian churches and the minarets of the Mohammedan mosques. The groves and gardens of which they had heard, were waste places, thinly clad with olive trees and stunted brush. Saddening ruin hung over and about the place and tinged their religious sentiments with deep melancholy. The desolation seemed to call aloud for redemption of the sacred place, and restoration of its historic greatness and splendor, at their hands. These reflections inflamed their zeal. They were encouraged by the arrival of many Christians from within the walls, who had been deprived of property and driven out by the Mussulmen. These told how Christian women, children and old men had been detained as hostages; how others had

been forced to bear arms against their will and to perform labor beyond their strength; how others had been cast into prison, and the churches had been pillaged to furnish support for the garrison; how Simeon had gone to Cyprus to secure money with which to pay the enormous tribute that had been levied on his flock; how outrages upon Christians had multiplied day by day; and how projects had been formed to burn both the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Resurrection. While these enormities were no more than the Christians had a right to expect, considering the age, and are tame in comparison with the barbarities visited on the Mussulmen whenever they were the conquered party, they served the purpose of stimulating the Crusaders to the highest pitch of resentment. A pious hermit from the Mount of Olives conjured them to an immediate assault, in the absence of ladders and machines of war, believing that naked sword and stubborn courage were sufficient to demolish walls and break down gates. The leaders believed him and, trusting to the exaltation of their followers and the interference of God by miracle, they ordered an assault.

At the signal, the entire Christian army moved courageously toward the ramparts, armed with pikes and hammers, and screening themselves with the shields. Some stopped within bow-shot and attempted to drive the enemy from the ramparts with their slings and cross-bows. As the advance columns clustered under the walls, oil, boiling pitch, stones and beams were cast upon them without dampening their ardor. The



PLATE NO. XXVI.—FAMISHED FOR WATER.

outer walls gave way under their blows, but the inner walls resisted their utmost efforts. There was no hope except to mount, and for this purpose only one ladder, sufficiently long, could be found. Up this the bravest mounted and engaged in hand to hand encounter with the Saracens, who were confounded with such rash courage. But the means of mounting were all too limited. Bravery was useless with the few who scaled the ramparts. Heaven refused its miraculous intervention. The Christians were driven back and forced to retreat. In camp they deplored their credulity and rashness, and learned that prodigies were a less favorable means of victory than goodly war machines. To construct machines was a difficult task. The country had been stripped of wood. They demolished houses and churches to find beams, and turned all the timber they could thus procure into weapons.

While in the midst of these preparations, their situation grew desperate. They were in the midst of a scorching heat and dry southerly winds laden with desert sands. Plants and animals perished. The brook of Kedron ran dry and all the wells had been poisoned. The army became a prey to consuming thirst. Water was carried in skin bags from a distance of nine miles and it cost its weight in silver. The soldiers sought moist places into which they dug, glad to moisten their lips with the upturned clay. (*See Plate No. XXVI.*) Every morning, scores were seen to lick the stones and marbles covered with the dews of night. The strongest languished in their tents during the intense heat of the day with hardly strength

enough left to implore heaven for aid. On account of the dearth of water, the baron and knight suffered more than the foot soldier, for he had both himself and horse to provide for. The horses strayed away and perished. Women and children were forced to drag their wasted bodies across fields and plains in search of springs, and many fell into the hands of the Saracens. Discovery of a spring was generally kept quiet, in order that the finder and his companions might enjoy it. On this account quarrels of a violent nature were of daily occurrence, and often swords were drawn to settle the right to a pool of muddy water. There was also a scarcity of food, but this was not noticed so much amid the horrors entailed by heat and lack of water. The old historians paint in most frightful colors the misery of the Crusaders at this juncture. Had the Mussulmen made a sortie at this time the entire army must have perished. They abstained from the aggressive, thinking that thirst and famine would soon achieve more for them than they could hope to do by the sword. Says Raymond d'Agiles, "amid such calamities many forgot God and thought no longer of gaining the city or obtaining divine mercy. Remembrance of their own country increased their sufferings, and so great was their discouragement that some deserted their standards and fled to the ports of Palestine and Syria to wait for an opportunity of returning to Europe."

The leaders saw that the only way out of the dilemma was to take Jerusalem, yet the work of machine making went on slowly. Word, too, came that the Caliph of Egypt

had sent a relieving army. This increased the common despair. But relief came in what was regarded as a miraculous way and changed the gloom into joy. A Genoese fleet arrived at Jaffa laden with provisions and arms. Instantly a body of three hundred horses was dispatched to Jaffa to act as a convoy. They escorted back to camp a great number of Genoese engineers and carpenters and a large lot of tools and supplies. Meanwhile a Syrian had pointed out to the two Roberts a mountain thirty miles from Jerusalem which was timber clad. The trees were felled and dragged over the long distance by oxen shod with iron. Drooping spirits revived everywhere. Raymond was lavish with his money, and all contributed of their spoils and stores. Barons and Knights labored as common workmen. Women and children shared the lot of soldiers. The stronger worked energetically on rams and catapults while the weaker brought water from a fountain on the Damascus road or all the way from Bethlehem. Each day now saw completed machines rearing their formidable frame work in close proximity to the walls. Three of a new kind were erected on wheels, each with three stages, the first for engineers, the other two for warriors. They were higher than the walls of the city and were provided with drawbridges which could be let down on the ramparts.

The priests gave powerful aid to these preparations by stirring religious enthusiasm in the camps. They exhorted to penitence and harmony. The hermit of the Mount of Olives added his appeals and prophecies. Whatever priestly genius could devise as a

stimulus to credulity and an adjunct to superstition, was employed. The hermit suggested a three days fast and prayer. It was kept. He then suggested a grand march around the city, bare-headed and bare-footed, the priests in the lead with images, psalms and songs, the soldiers in the rear with standards, cymbals and loud sounding trumpets, all in imitation of the Hebrew march around the walls of Jericho. The march was performed, a halt being made on the spot whence Christ ascended to Heaven, to hear the exhortations of priests and bishops. Turning toward Jerusalem, Arnold concluded his discourse thus:—"You see the heritage of Christ trampled under foot by the impious; here is at last the worthy reward of all your labors; here are the places in which God will pardon all your sins and bless all your victories." As he pointed out the Church of the Resurrection and the rock of Calvary ready to receive them, they all humbled themselves before God, while keeping their eyes on the holy objects. Tancred and Raymond, long enemies, embraced. The whole army followed their example. All forgot their discord and promised unity. The rich promised to support the orphans of those who fell bearing the cross. All renewed their oaths to remain faithful to the cause they had espoused.

While the Christians were thus piously demonstrating, the Saracens stood upon the ramparts and mockingly imitated their gestures and ceremonies. Sight of them drew an eloquent defiance from Peter. When he concluded, the Christians broke into transports. They embraced, shed tears and in-

dulged in personal exhortations. The priesthood had thoroughly infused them with their own ardor and their desire for vengeance on the head of the Infidel. On their descent from the Mount of Olives and their return to camp, the Christian army marched past and saluted the tomb of David, the pool of Siloam, Mount Zion, chanting, as they went, the words of the prophet:—"The nations of the West shall fear the Lord, and the nations of the East shall see his glory." The night was passed in prayer and in the confession of sins and the receiving of pardons.

Inside of the walls, the Mussulmen were crowding their temples to implore the protection of their God and prophet and to renew their oaths by the mysterious stone of Jacob to defend their city and "House of God." Their religious zeal and their ardor for fight were as much aglow as those of the Christians. The city was equally sacred to both. Between such enemies the shock must be terrible when it came. As the Saracens had raised a great number of machines at points most threatened by the Christians, the latter determined at a late hour to shift their mode of assault. Godfrey moved eastward near the gate of Cedar. The duke of Lorraine pushed his machine with incredible difficulty toward the portion of wall in his front. Tancred and the two Roberts pushed their machines between the Damascus gate and the tower, afterwards called the "Tower of Tancred." Sight of these changes, at day-break, filled the Saracens with dismay. But for the difficulty of the ground and the delay in getting the machines close to the walls, the Crusaders might have entered the city

during the panic that prevailed within. Raymond, in particular, on the southwest side, was behind with his machinery, owing to a ravine in his front. It had to be filled up, and he offered a denier to every person who would cast three stones into it. The response was such that the shower of arrows from the ramparts could not deter the workers. By the third day all the machines were in place and the order for assault was given.

The order was promptly responded to on the morning of July 14, 1099. All the Crusaders flew to arms at the sound of the trumpets in the camps. The machines of war were put in operation, and they threw their showers of stones upon the ramparts. Under cover of galleries, other machines filled with armed men pushed close under the walls. The archers and cross-bowmen kept up continual fire against the ramparts and towers. The braver rushed forward and planted their scaling-ladders against the walls. The three new and movable towers were advanced toward the walls, on the north, east and south of the city, amid the shouts of the workmen and the cheers of the soldiers. Godfrey appeared on the highest story of his tower, and in company with his brother Eustace and Baldwin du Bourg, animated his men by gesture and speech. Every javelin he hurled, say the historians, carried certain death to an Infidel. So, Raymond, Tancred and the two Roberts fought amid their followers, and cheered all by their example. Knights and men-at-arms, of every rank, flew from place to place, and were filled with the zeal and valor of their superiors.



PLATE No. XXVII.—REPULSE OF THE CRUSADERS AT JERUSALEM.

Considering the warfare of the time, nothing could have exceeded the impetuosity of this first assault of the Crusaders. Yet despite its dash and persistency, it was met everywhere with determined bravery. The Saracens used with telling effect their boiled oil and pitch, Greek fire, arrows and javelins. They had even shifted their fourteen war machines so as to meet the change of plan on the part of the Christians, and these proved powerfully repelling factors. While the battle raged furiously and doubtfully, the Saracens issued from a breach in the walls, and made an attempt to burn the machines of the Christians. The boldness of this attempt, together with the narrow escape from it, sent a thrill of fear through the ranks of the besiegers, accompanied by symptoms of panic. Later on, the towers of Godfrey and Tancred refused to respond to the engineers and workmen, while that of Raymond fell to pieces. For twelve long hours the Crusaders maintained their heroic struggle. They were everywhere resisted with a valor and strength equal to their own. Night put a temporary end to their efforts, and forced the confession that they had met with repulse. (*See Plate No. XXVII.*) They retired to their camps filled with mingled grief and rage. Leaders, martial and clerical, loudly yet diplomatically lamented the fact that "God had not yet thought them worthy of entering the holy city and adorning the tomb of His son."

The night was an anxious one for both sides. Each deplored its losses and trembled for those of the morrow. The Christians had most to dread the burning of their

machines of war, and the Saracens feared surprise. The former bent all their energies to repair of their broken machines, and the latter directed all their efforts to restoration of the breached walls. Morning brought a continuation of the combats and dangers of the preceding day. Chiefs went about among the Crusaders to raise their courage, and priests entered the tents to exhort and promise. Nothing was left undone to inspire confidence, and soon the army was under arms and on its way to the scene of conflict, while the priests marched around the city in inspiring processional.

The assault of the Christian army was, if anything, more furious and resistant than before. It had all the impetuosity of fanatical passion blended with indignation at the resistance of the previous day. The Saracens had their machines in more available positions and fought under the encouragement afforded by news of the speedy approach of the Egyptian army. The air resounded with the hissing of javelins and arrows. Stones and beams, hurled from the machines, met in the air and descended in showers of fragments. From every Mussulman tower fell lighted torches and deadly fire pots, which set fire to the approaching machines of the Christians and greatly retarded their motion. Godfrey's wooden tower, upon which shone a cross of gold, was an object of concerted and furious attack by the Saracens. The progress of the Duke of Lorraine was almost stopped by the multitude of dead soldiers about him, yet he fought on with the desperation of a madman, and exhorted the survivors to follow his he-

roic example. On the south side, Raymond had all his machines well in hand, and had to contend with the emir of Jerusalem, at the head of the flower of the Egyptian soldiery. On the north, Tancred and the two Roberts stood motionless and impatient awaiting the approach of their cumbersome machines toward the ramparts. Their rams were in the advance and were already making inroads upon the walls, which required a concentration of the Saracen forces to repair and hold. In the midst of the conflict, two female magicians appeared on the ramparts to invoke the aid of the supernatural in behalf of the Saracens. The Christians speedily shot them to death with arrows. The Egyptian deputation, sent in advance to notify the besieged of the coming of the Caliph's army, and to exhort them to persist in the defense of the city, was captured by the Crusaders. One was killed outright and the other was hurled from a machine upon the ramparts and into the midst of the Saracen warriors.

The battle was carried on with demoniac obstinacy for half a day. The Crusaders were making no encouraging impression on the enemy. Their machines were nearly all on fire, and they were without water or vinegar to extinguish the flames. The bravest were compelled to expose themselves to secure the machines, and exposure meant almost certain death. The leaders began to lose courage and remit effort. This was the signal for triumphant cheers on the part of the Saracens, and they hurled blasphemous reproaches on the heads of those who professed a God who was unable to defend them. Despondency crushed

the Crusaders, and many ceased battle in order to deplore their desertion by Christ and the powers that contribute to victory.

While the battle was in this desperate shape, a knight mysteriously appeared on the Mount of Olives, waving his buckler and making signs equivalent to a signal to enter the city. (*See Plate No. XXVIII.*) Godfrey and Raymond, glad of any portent in an hour of despair, and aware of the value of imposition at a critical moment, shouted to the army that St. George had come to help the Crusaders. The shout was taken up and echoed through all the camps. The eyes of those who could see were turned toward the spot, where the spectacles of superstition magnified an earthly horseman into a celestial knight. Such was the effect of this miraculous intervention, that the most despondent rushed again to the conflict, without caring to reflect or inquire into the nature of the apparition. Women and children rushed along with the re-animated soldiery, as bearers of water, food and arms, and even as helpers to move the ponderous machinery. In spite of the terrible shower of missiles of which it was the centre, Godfrey succeeded in getting his wooden tower sufficiently near the ramparts to admit of the lowering of the drawbridge upon the ramparts. This was the signal for a shower of flaming darts upon the contiguous towers of the enemy and upon the sacks of wool and bales of hay which they had placed as a protection for their inner walls. They were all soon on fire, and the wind favored the flames, driving in the smoke and heat upon the Saracens. The Christians began to land from



PLATE NO. XXVIII.—APPARITION OF ST. GEORGE ON MOUNT OF OLIVES.
116

their tower, and to attack with lance and spear the blinded and retreating enemy. Godfrey, Baldwin, Eustace, and the entire host of valiant leaders rushed upon the shrinking Saracen columns, dealing murderous blows and never for a moment permitting a rally. Following the wake of the receding foe, they soon found themselves over all intervening obstacles and fully within the hallowed walls of Jerusalem. (See Plate No. XXIX.) Godfrey's tower was speedily emptied of its soldiers, who followed their intrepid leaders into the streets and joined in the massacre of all they met.

With advent, desperate in all respects, the report went forth that the spirit of the holy pontiff Adhemar, and the spirits of several Crusaders who had fallen during the siege, had auspiciously appeared upon the ramparts of Jerusalem, where they had unfurled the banner of the cross: This timely miracle inspired the army with fresh courage. Tancred, the two Roberts, Hugh and a host of others drove their way toward the point of entrance, followed by a shouting crowd of followers. Some leaped from the tops of the wooden towers upon the ramparts, others scaled the walls by means of ladders, while still others swarmed around the half opened breach, clamorous for entrance. The Saracens fell into panic and fled in all directions, while the streets of the Holy City resounded with the cry, "It is the will of God!"

Godfrey and Tancred beat the gate of Cedar to pieces with their axes, and thus opened the way to the throng of Crusaders, who eagerly rushed in and through the streets shouting their battle-cry and dealing

death to the fleeing Infidel. Raynmond was still meeting with obstinate resistance, though doing all he could to encourage his men. At length, hearing of the success of their companions, and being impatient to join them in the fray, they abandoned their towers which they could no longer move, and mounted the walls by means of ladders and swords. Once up, and with Raymond in the lead, they dispersed the Saracens opposed to them and drove them into the fortress of David. Then, pushing their way along the streets, amid slaughter of the panic-stricken foe, they joined their forces with those who had entered from the north. Thus the victorious stood united in the very heart of the Holy City. They wept for joy, frantically embraced each other, and then went about the bloody work of completing their victory.

In their despair the Saracens made a vigorous rally, and charged desperately on the Christians, who were now beginning to pilage. The latter quailed before the onslaught, and would have been driven from the city, but for the thoughtfulness and bravery of Everard, who reorganized the broken forces and, with himself at their head, turned the tide of battle in favor of the Christians. Such was the ferocity of his attack that the Saracens had no further heart for resistance, and the Christians felt assured of their victory. The wonder worker places the entry of the Crusaders into Jerusalem at the very hour of Friday 3 p. m.—at which Christ expired on the Cross. Such a coincidence was calculated to move the flintiest heart to mercy. But exasperation dominated the Christian conquerors, and they cried

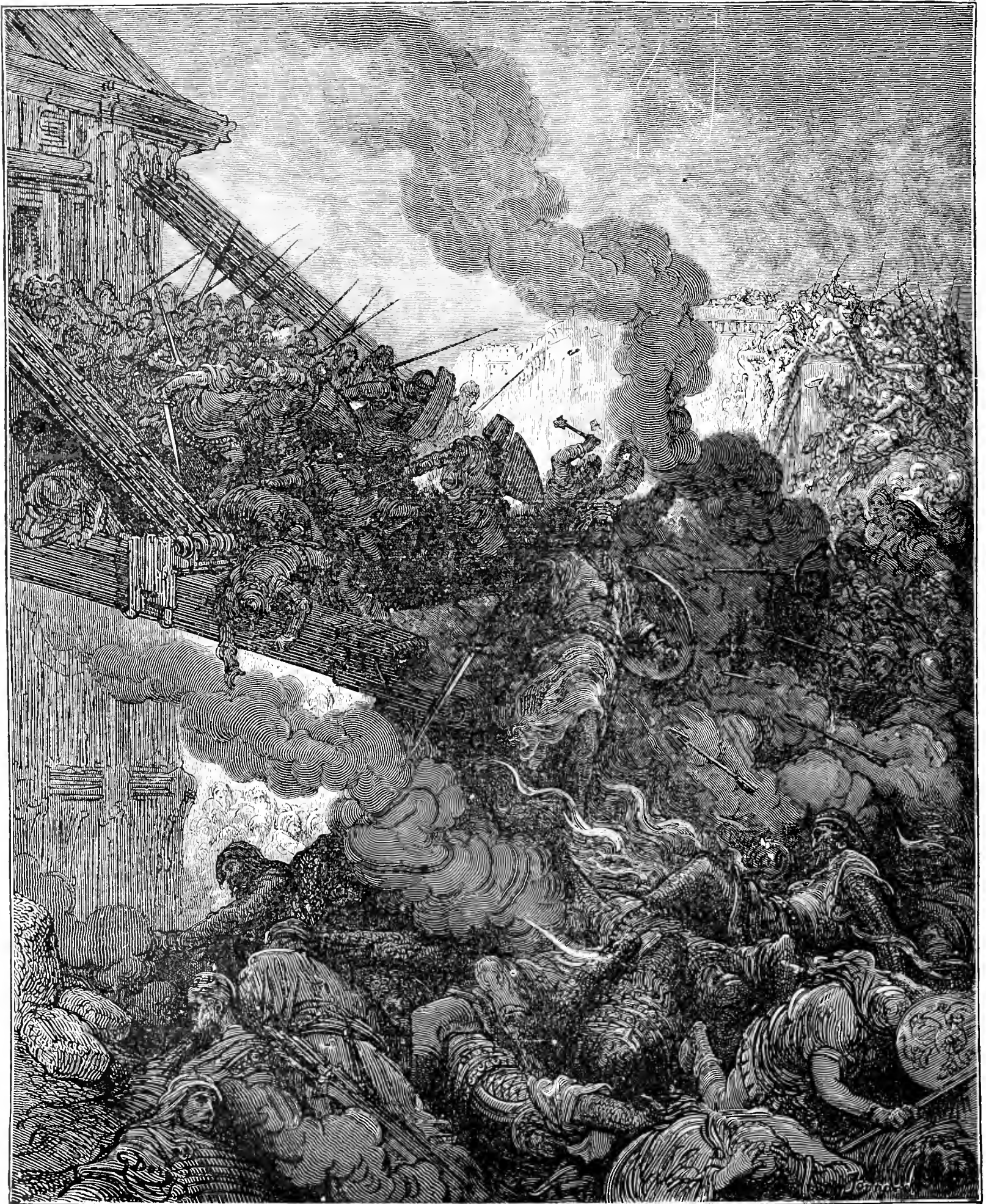


PLATE NO. XXIX.—GODFREY ENTERS JERUSALEM.

for vengeance and blood. Once assured of triumph, they drenched the city they had come to save with the blood of the conquered. Massacre became general in street and home. There was no rock of refuge for any Saracen in Jerusalem. Many jumped from the ramparts, thousands crowded the mosques, but everywhere the avenging lance of the Crusader appeared, and there was no escape. The Christians, in their hour of triumph, far more than duplicated the horrors visited on the pilgrim by the cruel Turk. When Titus conquered Jerusalem he gained an unenviable reputation by his massacre of the Jews. When the Crusaders captured the Mosque of Omar they repeated the story of Titus by rushing in, horse and foot, and trampling to death the crowds which sought safety in the holy place. Raymond says that in the porch of the mosque, the blood rose to the knees of his horse. Josephus says of the massacre by Titus that, "the slain exceeded in number their slayers, and the mountains near Jordan re-echoed in moans the frightful sounds that issued from the temple." The Christian conquest of the Saracen in the Holy City paraphrases the heathen conquest of the Jew in the same place.

The imagination which turns with disgust from these horrible pictures finds something consoling in the relief afforded by the conquest to the Christian residents in Jerusalem. They came with food and prayers to congratulate their brethren on their triumph. It was an hour of ecstasy for Peter the Hermit, who, five years before, had left his promise to deliver the city by means of the

armed power of the West. The delivered Christian residents saw not Godfrey, Tancred, Raymond and the host of barons and knights who had decided the battle; they saw only Peter, recalled only his vows, sung praises only to him, proclaimed him their liberator, expressed astonishment that God should have chosen a single man to stir up the nations and work prodigies in his name.

Sight of the brethren they had delivered, their liberality, joy, humility and steadfastness, operated as a reminder to the vengeful and arrogant conquerors that their mission was, after all, to adore the tomb of Christ. Godfrey, whose piety had really kept him aloof from indiscriminate carnage, threw aside his arms and walked barefooted to the church of the Holy Sepulchre. His example proved contagious. The army put an end to its vengeance and fury, cast off its bloody vestments, gave vent to contrition in groans and sobs, and marched, barefooted and with uncovered heads, after the priests to the Church of the Resurrection. It was night-fall when the assembled multitude crowned the height of Calvary. Silence reigned on the ramparts and in the public places. Nothing was heard but penitential hymns and the chant from Isaiah, "You who love Jerusalem, rejoice with her." The devotion of the Crusaders was so profoundly tender, that one historian wonders how men who had just taken a city by assault and had been guilty of such horrible carnage could have been so suddenly transformed.

But the transformation was only a temporary suspension of the inherent savagery and unchristian christianity of the then half bar-

barous West. The universal policy of the leaders of the Crusade, was to inspire Mussulmen with dread of the Christians. To this pretext, and as situated at Jerusalem, they gladly added the thought that to liberate prisoners was but to fight them over again, and to hold them was to subtract a guard equal to their entire army. This settled their fate, and the wisdom of the judgment was clinched by the approach of the Egyptian army. Mercy was not a factor of the verdict which the council solemnly agreed upon, to wit:—that sentence of death should be decreed against all Mussulmen who remained in the Holy City. Fanaticism permitted no question of this barbarous decree. Whom the fatigue of massacre, or revulsion at carnage, had at first spared, even whom cupidity, crowned with hope of ransom, had saved, were mercilessly slaughtered. The Christian judges and executioners compelled the captured Saracens to jump to death from the tops of the towers and houses; they drove them to death through flames; they dragged them from cellars of concealment and immolated them on piles of their own dead. Their hearts were not softened by the appeals of women, the cries of children nor sight of the spot where Christ had said of his executioners, “Pardon them, for they know not what they do.” Such was the carnage, says Albert of Aix, that dead bodies were heaped up in palaces, temples, streets and solitary places; and, such was the delirium of vengeance and fanaticism that hardly an eye revolted at the cruel scenes. No contemporary historian excuses them nor expresses horror or pity as he re-

ords their disgusting details. The few nobler Crusaders who must have preserved some feelings of humanity seemed helpless to check the fury which thus sought to avenge an outraged religion. In spite of the prayers of Tancred, three hundred Saracens, who had sought sanctuary on the platform of the Mosque of Omar, were immolated on the day after the capture, and this in violation of all the laws of honor and chivalry, because he had sent his standard to them as a pledge of safety. Raymond, alone of the leaders, succeeded in saving the prisoners in the fortress of David, but his humanity met with the unqualified contempt of the Crusaders.

This carnival of vengeance and blood lasted for an entire week, during which time seventy thousand Mussulmen perished. The Jews were treated as Infidels along with the Saracens. The Synagogue in which they took refuge was burned, and all perished in the flames. Fear, at length, arose lest the high piled carcasses should breed pestilence. Orders were given to rid the city of the cursed flesh. That Christian malignity might be borne home to the Saracens, the captured and enslaved were assigned to the revolting task of bearing away and burying any disfigured bodies of their friends and brothers. In this they received no assistance save from the soldiers of Raymond who, not having participated so largely as others in plunder, helped to bury that they might have opportunity to rob the corpses.

Thus in a few days Jerusalem changed its rulers, laws, religion, and inhabitants. According to agreement, every warrior re-

mained master of the house he captured and marked as his own. A cross, buckler or any other sign was respected as evidence of ownership. In this way the army was soon distributed, and found itself peaceful possessors of the captured property. Victory enriched them all, and there was plenty to spare for the poor, the orphans, and the triumphal orgies. Tancred took as his share the wealth of the mosque of Omar—six chariot loads, embracing twenty golden and one hundred and twenty silver candelabra. Most of this wealth and ornament he gave to the poor, and to the clergy for the decoration of their Western churches.

After the division of spoils, there came rest from the excesses of victory. Time was given for contemplation of their mission and revival of the emotions that had drawn them hither. There was visitation of the holy places, and wonderful play of the imagination. Relics turned up everywhere, and the commonest thing was wrapped in a halo of fiction. Thus was discovered the wood of the true cross, which had been carried away by Cosroes and returned by Heraclius. It had, of course, been carefully concealed from the Saracens, during the siege, by the Christian inhabitants. Its discovery filled the Crusaders with the liveliest emotions. They were as much moved as if they had seen the body of Christ upon it. It was borne through the streets in a triumphal procession and replaced in the Church of the Resurrection. However sacredly it may have been guarded, pieces from it found their way into the markets of the West, and such was the estimation in which

they were held as relics, that in succeeding centuries enough of the sacred wood found its way to Europe to construct a fleet or build a city. (*See Plate No. XXX.*)

It now became necessary to make victory secure by some kind of a government. Nothing less than a king would suffice, and no other throne than that of David and Solomon. This throne was restored, and a council was called to select a King. When it convened a dispute arose between the barons and clergy, the former insisting that the selection of a King was in order, the latter that a patriarch should be first chosen. For prudential reasons, the clergy yielded, and the council proceeded to the choice of a King. It was found that sentiment was so diversified as to make a satisfactory choice impossible. The Council acted with great prudence, and the leaders spoke their sentiments candidly and with moderation. Robert of Flanders made an impassioned speech, depicting the dangers of the situation, counseling wisdom, pointing out the qualities essential to a safe ruler, and finally declining to have his name considered, as a candidate, because he designed to return to his own country, and enjoy the title he had earned of "The Son of St. George." Tancred was spoken of, but he held the title of Knight superior to that of King. Robert, duke of Normandy, had declined the throne of England, and was not to be tempted with a less glittering title in a foreign land, without geographic limits, and surrounded by enemies. Raymond, count of Toulouse, declined, it is said, on account of his age. It is also said, that the Christians feared to have him for



PLATE NO. XXX.—DISCOVERY OF THE TRUE CROSS.
122

King on account of his intolerable obstinacy and ambition. Finally the matter was referred to a committee of ten of the wisest who were given time for further deliberation.

This committee went about its work amid fasting, prayers and oaths to discard all favoritism. They canvassed the army to ascertain sentiment deep down in the ranks. It was not long till they discovered that Godfrey, of Buillon and Duke of Lorraine possessed the strongest hold on the popular mind. He had become noted for his mildness and humanity. At Nice he had killed the most redoubtable of the Turks. At Antioch he had cleft the head of a Goliath. In Asia Minor he had rescued a soldier from a bear. Besides, God himself had declared in his favor. Years before the Crusade, a soldier had fallen asleep in a forest and had seen Godfrey, in a dream, upon Sinai between two spirits, who announced to him that God had chosen him, as he had Moses, to be a leader of the people. Then Godfrey took his seat on a throne, as it were the sun, and birds came trooping to him from every zone. The Crusaders saw in the sun, their own Jerusalem, and in the birds, themselves, come from all countries to do honor to the glorious reign of King Godfrey. The vision practically settled the fate of Godfrey, and the committee proclaimed him King, a decision which filled the Crusaders with joy, and was regarded as inspired of heaven. He was made the depository of the dearest interests of the Christians and was conducted in triumph to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre where he took the oath of office. He refused

the diadem and insignia of royalty, saying he could not accept a crown of gold in a city in which the Savior of the world had been crowned with thorns. His title became, "Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre," which title fitted in with feudal usages, though history persists in calling him "King."

To make temporal conquest was not a primary object of the Crusade, nor to organize political dominion. These were after thoughts due to ambition. The primary object was the triumph of a religion. To meet this, the clergy now busied themselves in naming bishops, consecrating churches and sending priests to all the cities that had fallen into Christian hands. Jerusalem was to be a Christian capital, an eastern wing of Rome, and a rival of Constantinople. In this sacred work of re-ordaining the city of David and re-establishing Christ in his own Zion, we naturally look for exhibitions of piety and disinterestedness among his chosen. But if victory had disposed the martial leaders to ambition and cruelty, it had no less estranged the clergy from the humility and candor of their profession. Remarkable as it may seem, the wisely religious spirit which in the hands of laymen, had just chosen a capable king, of a sudden turned into address and intrigue, in the hands of the priesthood, when they came to select prelates for the new realm. Neither wisdom nor virtue characterized their appointees. The intrigues by which they had attempted to disturb the popular choice of a king, and the pretensions by which they claimed the sovereignty of the city and the lion's share of the spoils,

influenced their distribution of the ecclesiastical favors and corrupted the channels which led from the altar to the devotee. In spite of the inherent rights of the Greek priests in a restored dominion, they were unceremoniously set aside in obedience to the ambitions of the Roman clergy, as they had been at Antioch. The audacious chaplain of Robert, Duke of Normandy, arrogated, without popular voice, the patriarchy of Jerusalem, thus dispossessing the virtuous and venerable Simeon, whose voice had been almost as potential as that of Peter, in summoning the warriors of the West, and who had inspired Peter to action. The death of the renowned patriarch Simeon, on the Isle of Cyprus, whither he had gone to implore aid for his parishioners in Jerusalem, and almost at the time his place was usurped, helped to gloss the ingratitude of those who had conspired against him. Arnold, the most worldly and immoral of all the Latin priesthood, was honored with the pastorate of the church of Jerusalem. Fortunately for them, the clergy monopolized the literature of the times, and they not only spread abroad the exalted nature of the victory at Jerusalem, but shaped a consensus of rejoicing in all the churches of Asia, then under Christian influence. They gave it out that the laws and religion of Christ were established in the East, and as a consequence crowds of pilgrims came rushing to Jerusalem from all provinces and cities of Asia Minor and Syria.

The effect of the capture of Jerusalem was appalling among Mussulmen. The few who escaped the sword of the Christians told

their sad tales and breathed consternation everywhere. At Damascus and Bagdad, cadhis tore their beards in the presence of the Caliph, and divans shed tears, while listening to the recital of the woes of Jerusalem. Fasts and prayers were ordered to mitigate the anger of heaven. Imans and poets deplored in oration and verse the fate of the Mussulmen who had met slavery, which was worse than death, at the hands of the Christians. The fall of Jerusalem had virtually stripped the Caliph of Bagdad of authority and had sounded the knell of the Seljukian dynasty. The Sultan of Persia was so engrossed with civil wars that he hardly had time to notice the disaffections of his emirs and their willingness to curry favor with the victorious Crusaders. The fall of dynasties had sown jealousies and troubles everywhere among the Infidels. But the crash at Jerusalem called them to their senses. The Turk of Syria, the believer of Damascus and Bagdad, saw hope in the standard of Cairo, and rushed to augment the Egyptian army then advancing toward Ascalon.

Word reached Jerusalem of the arrival of the Egyptian army at Gaza, in the ancient Philistine country. Godfrey immediately informed Tancred and Eustace, who had gone to take Naplouse, of the fact. He ordered the other leaders to join him in attack. Robert of Normandy refused, his vows having been fulfilled. Raymond haughtily declined, because Godfrey had robbed him of the fortress of David which he had captured. This did not deter Godfrey who started for Gaza, followed by Tancred and several other leaders. On the way they learned that Emir

Afdhal, who had conquered Jerusalem from the Turks, was at the head of the Egyptian army, which was numerous, and well supported by fleets laden with provisions and machines for a siege. Moreover, it was an army whose co-operation the Crusaders might have had against the Turks, but which, upon refusal, was full of resentments and determined to annihilate the Christians in Asia, and destroy Calvary, the tomb of Christ and all their monuments. The terror of the Saracen approach soon reached Jerusalem. Raymond and Robert were solicited to join the Christian army again. They were moved by the appeals of women, old men and priests and marched to the aid of Godfrey. The new Patriarch desired to follow as bearer of the word of the true cross, thinking sight of it would prove more inspiring than the holy lance. All who could quitted the city and marched to Godfrey's help. There only remained the women, the sick, and a part of the clergy who, with Peter at their head, prayed incessantly to Heaven for victory.

The Christian army assembled at Ramla and then marched to the torrent of Sorex, between Jaffa and Ascalon. On the plain there, they saw what they supposed was the enemy. A reconnoissance proved it to be a drove of camels and cattle. The Christians, eager for booty, set forth to capture. Godfrey, who saw in it a ruse to scatter his forces, recalled his forces and kept them in line. It was learned from captured prisoners that the enemy were nine miles away and preparing for battle. Godfrey formed his army into nine divisions and posted them so as to meet every possible approach of the enemy. The

night was passed under arms. At break of day the patriarch of Jerusalem carried the wood of the true cross through the ranks, with the assurance that it would give victory, at the same time dispensing his benefactions. The trumpets sounded, signals and ensigns were unfurled, and the army marched forth to meet the Saracens. They marched confidently amid the sound of drums and cymbals, and the strains of hymns and war songs. Their hasty march soon brought them into the plain of Ascalon, bounded on the east and south by mountains and extending on the west to the sea. Here they confronted the Egyptian army with mountains on its right and the sea behind. The Crusaders advanced in two columns, Raymond commanding the right, and Tancred with the two Roberts, the left. Godfrey commanded a reserve, which was to hold the garrison of Ascalon in check. The Mussulmen also disposed their forces in two columns, the Turks of Syria and Bagdad being on the right, the Moors and Egyptians on the left. The Emir Afdhal commanded the centre, composed of Egyptians.

As the contending forces approached each other, the herd of cattle which had threatened to demoralize the Christian army wheeled and marched after them, seeming to augment their numbers. The Mussulmen saw millions of enemies where only thousands existed. Their columns were suddenly paralyzed with fear. They forgot their oaths and only remembered the fate of their brethren at Jerusalem. In vain their emirs attempted to rally them. The Crusaders fell for a moment on their knees to

implore the aid of Heaven, and then arose to press forward with renewed hope and courage. They numbered, if the historians are correct, not more than fifteen thousand foot and five thousand horse. Pressing the charge, the foot soldiers discharged their javelins and the cavalry forced forward on the enemy. The two Roberts and Tancred broke the Egyptian centre, and got possession of the Infidel standard. The foot soldiers pressed to the front using their swords and lances. On all sides the Saracens were thrown into disorder, and an invincible terror seemed to paralyze their arms. The Ethiopians and Moors fled to the mountains pursued by Godfrey. The Syrians and Arabs on the left were broken by Raymond and pressed back into the sea, where great numbers were drowned. A frantic crowd rushed into Ascalon as a refuge, and two thousand were crushed to death on the drawbridge. The emir Afdhal barely escaped within the walls, upon which he shed tears over the destruction of his army, cursed Jerusalem as the cause of his woes and blasphemed Mohammed for desertion of his disciples. It was truly a day of carnage and death for the Mussulmen. They fell down in mortal terror and suffered death without resistance, or if they stood, they were mown down like grass. Some sought retreat in caverns and trees where they were shot like birds. Afdhal did not regard himself as safe in Ascalon, and retreated to the fleet, which spread its sails and departed. From that moment there was no hope of escape for the multitudinous army which had been gathered from Egypt and the East and

North to recapture Jerusalem. Poetry has thrown a gorgeous coloring around the battle of Ascalon, but it was in reality an easy victory, won in advance by the terrorism which the Christian arms had inspired, and over a foe combining many different Mohammedan nations and discordant sects. It was a battle so free from perils to the Crusaders that the aid of St. George's, St. Demetrius and celestial legions do not seem to have been required. Measured by modern standards, it was simply a battle of long tried veterans against hastily levied and raw recruits, and no other issue was possible. In choosing to fight it at a distance from Jerusalem and in the open country, Godfrey displayed wise generalship. The ground gave free play to his forces. It saved the city from the horrors of a siege. The boldness of his manœuvre raised the confidence of his own soldiers and awed the enemy.

After the defeat of the enemy, Raymond demanded the surrender of Ascalon. He wished to plant his standard on its walls and hold it as his own conquest. Godfrey demurred and claimed it as a part of his kingdom of Jerusalem. The leaders fell to wrangling, when Raymond, in a fit of rage, advised the garrison to defend themselves, and withdrew his forces. Godfrey attempted in vain to besiege the city. Most of his army, impatient to return to their own country, deserted him and made their way back to Jerusalem, whither he soon followed. The quarrel between Godfrey and Raymond was renewed, a few days after, before Arsouf, near the sea, which place Raymond had undertaken to besiege. It had agreed to cast

its destiny in with the new empire of Jerusalem, but when Godfrey arrived to take possession he found the Saracen garrison determined on resistance. This change he attributed to intrigue on the part of Raymond, and he determined to be avenged on him. They prepared their forces for fraternal battle, which was only averted by the prayers and remonstrances of the other chiefs. The rivals became reconciled, and as soon as the garrison of Arsouf learned that they could expect nothing more from division in the Christian ranks, they agreed to pay tribute to Godfrey and to give hostages to guarantee their pledges.

The Crusaders returned to Jerusalem with immense booty. Their return was signalized by processions and hymns and the sound of instruments. They entered the city in triumph amid the chant, "The mountains and the hills shall sing before you the praises of the Lord." The standard and sword of the Egyptian leader were hung on a column in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. All the pilgrims assembled in solemn meeting and joined in thanksgiving for a victory which had so signally crowned all their labors. The victory of Ascalon was the last one of this Crusade. Clinching that of Jerusalem, it liberated the Crusaders from their vows and there was a general return of leaders and soldiers to Europe. The mighty army, satiated with victory and gratified as to curiosity, melted to a few hundred knights, and Jerusalem was left to the wisdom of Godfrey and the sword of Tancred, who had resolved to spend his days in Asia.

Some of the returning pilgrims sought

ships, and came back by water. Others traversed Syria and Asia Minor by the routes they had trodden on their eastward march. Their arrival in Europe was in the nature of a glorification. They entered their native cities and provinces bearing palms and singing hymns. Nothing but miracle had ever brought them back, and their presence was a source of exaltation to every eye witness of what ranked as a resurrection. They were a ruined body financially, but they bore precious relics which proved to be treasures to those who had remained at home. A Crusader was sure of an audience everywhere, and listeners never tired of the recital of oriental scenes, labors and exploits. The tales that excited admiration and joy were sure to bring tears, for there was hardly a family that did not have to weep over a defender of the cross, martyred now and sure occupant of heaven.

Raymond, Count of Toulouse, who had sworn he would never return to Europe, went to Constantinople where Alexius received him with honors and complimented him with the city of Laodicea. Raymond of Orange determined to share the fortunes of the Count of Toulouse in Asia. The twin brothers, Stephen and Peter de Salviac, found their way home to Le Quercy where they died in the same week and were buried in the same grave. They had fought side by side at Nice, Antioch and Jerusalem. Peter the Hermit, on his return to his country, avoided the eager gaze of the faithful, and shut himself up in a monastery of his own founding at Huy, where he ended his life as a cenobite. Eustace, the brother of God-

frey, returned to his family estate, to enjoy in peace the fame of his exploits. Alain Fergent and Robert of Flanders came back to repair their broken fortunes and restore the disorders occasioned by their absence. Robert, Duke of Normandy, came leisurely back, and while wending his way through Italy, fell in love with Sibylla, daughter of the Count of Conversana. This dalliance kept him away from his duchy for over a year and lost him the opportunity of ascending the throne of England upon the death of his brother William Rufus. When he did reach Normandy he was received with applause, but on resuming power, he fell into debauchery and surrounded himself with dissipated courtiers who drew on him the hatred of his subjects. Henry I, who had succeeded William Rufus, in England, attempted to take Normandy from Robert. A fierce battle ensued, in which Robert's forces were beaten, and he was captured. He was taken to England by Henry and confined in the Castle of Cardiff, where he died after an imprisonment of twenty-eight years.

As was natural, the return of the first Crusaders, the stories they told, and the honors they received, renewed in Europe the desire for Crusades and pilgrimages. There was no longer an appeal to passion for delivering the holy places, but for visiting and defending them. Once more the scenes which followed the Council of Clermont, were repeated in the West. Pulpits and marts rang with appeals, and stories of miracles excited imaginations. Again men rushed into market with lands, castles and cities, in order to raise money for equipments.

The Church thundered its anathemas on those who had deserted the first Crusade and promised everything to those who now took up its standard. The brother of the King of France was placed beyond pardon for having quitted the Christian army without seeing Jerusalem. Stephen, of Blois, was not allowed to remain in peace in his State and family. His wife and people regarded his conduct as a shameful desertion. Such was the sentiment against these princes that they were forced to quit France and again march toward Jerusalem. Many barons and Knights accused themselves of indifference to the first Crusade, and now sought to do penance by embarking in the movement of the hour. Among these were William IX, Count of Poitiers, and the first known troubadour, a relation of the German Emperor and most powerful vassal of the King of France; William, Count of Nevers; Orpin, Count of Bourges, and Eude, duke of Burgundy, who sought to recover the remains of his daughter Florine, killed with Sweno in Asia Minor. Italy witnessed the departure of Albert, Count of Blandras, and Anselm, archbishop of Milan, at the head of an immense body of pilgrims. Conrad, Marshal of the Emperor Henry, Wolf IX, duke of Bavaria, Ida, margravine of Austria, and a great number of lords and Knights went out from Germany.

The prevailing sentiment of these new recruits was adventure, curiosity and ambition. They had been dazzled by reports and spurred by the brilliant success of Baldwin, Bohemond and Godfrey in establishing empires and making themselves opulent and

powerful rulers. As a consequence they had no hesitation in sacrificing present wealth for that greater wealth they hoped to acquire. Humbert II, Count of Savoy, enriched the monks of Bourget in order to obtain their prayers. Many other princes founded churches and monasteries with the hope that God would bless their arms and endow them with the greater wealth and power in the East.

These new Crusaders crossed Hungary and Bulgaria in several groups and united under the walls of Constantinople, there to repeat the excesses of those who had preceded them. Alexius opposed craft to force; flattered their vanity and bought their homage. Fortunately, Raymond of Toulouse was present. He helped to check their excesses, and was appointed to lead them across Asia Minor. The crowd was a confused one, embracing many monks, old men, women, and young girls. As to discipline it was nothing better than a mob. It moved without precaution or order, yet boastfully confident of its ability to march to Bagdad, and to wrest all Asia from the Infidel. It is said to have numbered two hundred thousand people, and for marching purposes they were divided into three columns, headed by Raymond, who bore the holy lance found at Antioch, from which he expected fresh miracles, the archbishop of Milan who carried an arm of St. Ambrose for superstitious uses, and the duke of Burgundy. The first column took the city of Ancyra by assault, and laid siege to Gangras, whose garrison forced them to retire. While in the midst of despair over defeat and dearth of

provisions, they suddenly found themselves confronted by a Turkish army under the lead of Kilidge Arslan, who had recruited his strength at Iconium. He had been joined by the Sultan of Mossoul, Kerbogha, who had lost Antioch. These two leaders had harassed the Crusaders greatly while crossing Paphlagonia. Sometimes they appeared in their front, laying the country waste, at others they appeared on their flanks, cutting off foraging parties. Having fatigued them by attacks and distressed them by hunger and thirst, they at last determined to attack them direct on the bank of the Halys.

Seeing that an engagement was inevitable, Raymond caused the miraculous lance to be passed through the army, while the archbishop of Milan exhibited the arm of St. Ambrose. Prayers were offered and all the familiar tactics of conjuration were resorted to. But the throng was irresponsive. They could not resist the Turkish attack and, after a sanguinary conflict, were driven from the field with immense loss. The Turks did not follow up their victory, but contented themselves with robbing the dead and gathering booty. Terrified by their overwhelming defeat and great loss, Raymond and the other leaders sought safety in flight. The army, thus deserted, fell into panic, abandoned its camp, baggage, sick and wounded, and flew in all directions, leaving in its wake a mass of straggling soldiers, helpless women, children and paraphernalia. They were followed remorselessly by the Turks who killed and captured the hapless stragglers as they willed. In the midst of panic and carnage,

thousands rushed into the midst of the death they wished to avoid, while others dropped, exhausted by fight and fatigue, and courted an end to their sufferings. The next morning showed the country covered with the dead and plundered bodies of the Christians. Raymond, the duke of Burgundy, and several other leaders, who had fled, met at Sinope, where they could gather around them but a few thousand out of the enormous crowd of pilgrims who had stood battle. This as to the first column.

The second column led by the Counts of Nevers and Bourges, marched through Ansyra toward Heraclea. Instead of finding traces of the first column, as expected, it met the victorious army of the Turks, and was as badly defeated as the first. The Count of Nevers escaped to Antioch, leaving his command to suffer annihilation. The third column was more of a mob than either of the others. It was led by the Count of Poitiers, the duke of Bavaria and Hugh of Vermandois. They marched to Stankton, where they expected to meet the second column. Hearing of the defeat of their brethren, they started for Heraclea, and on the way met the Turkish forces, strongly posted. Battle was joined, and the Christian lines were broken in all parts and driven from the field. The carnage was fearful, and hardly a thousand of the Crusaders escaped. The Margravine of Austria, and the whole retinue of women and young girls, perished, or were led captive, to become inmates of the harems. The count of Vermandois fled to Tarsus where he died of arrow wounds. The duke of Bavaria and

Count of Poitiers wandered back to Antioch, which had become the rendezvous of those who escaped from the battle fields.

Out of this immense body of pilgrims, variously estimated at from two to three hundred thousand, the leaders were able to gather together a force of barely ten thousand men, who had escaped the sword of the Turks. With these they started for Jerusalem, taking on their way the city of Tortosa, which they gave to Raymond, though he had been openly charged with all their disasters. At Ramla, they fought a battle with the Saracens, in which the duke of Burgundy was killed. The other leaders managed to reach Jerusalem with greatly decimated forces, most of which never returned to Europe.

This ending of the first Crusade was as disastrous as its beginning. It had covered a period of seven years, during which Europe had been deprived of a million people, six hundred thousand of whom were able bodied soldiers. The army of Alexander the Great did not exceed thirty thousand Greeks, yet his phalanxes invaded the Entire east and Egypt, and established an empire which lasted till the coming of the Romans. The ranks of the Roman conquerors of the East seldom reached one hundred thousand, before which Jerusalem and all the strong cities fell. But both Greek and Roman sought empire without radical change in the laws, customs and religion of the conquered. The Crusaders, on the contrary, found a mortal enemy in the Mussulmen, on account of their religion; and the well understood terms of the respective antagonists were perversion

or annihilation. Fanaticism intensified hatreds and forbade assimilations. All Christians, who could, fled from the standard of Mohammed; all Mussulmen, who could, fled from the standard of the Cross; as soon as either was raised over a conquered city. As the greater part of the cities captured by the Christians were either deserted by the Mussulmen in advance, or depopulated by massacres, they were forced to deplete their armies in order to furnish garrisons and establish safe colonies. Thus they proved, as they advanced, that no wars are so sanguinary and cruel as religious wars, and also that they are the most difficult of all for a conqueror to extend and preserve his conquests.

This Crusade proved that the Christians were capable of victory only when they recognized the necessity for discipline and unity. As a mob, which for the most part they were; as a heterogenous mass of enthusiasts, not only as to nationality but as to age, sex and condition; they furnished only victims for climate, famine, disease, and the sword or the prison of the enemy. Measured by its cost in human life, and by its loss of earning power to Europe, history hardly records a greater calamity than the first Crusade. Alexander's phalanxes conquered fourfold as many nations in less time. But his was the mastery of discipline and the direction of a single will. The Crusaders were never harmonious, except in the presence of appalling danger or when awed by the miraculous. The distracting spirit of feudalism followed the leaders in all their marches and adventures. The opportunities opened in Asia for the play of their ambi-

tions completely turned their heads, revived the jealousies and discords of their home existences, and entailed calamities from which a less hardy and fanatical people would have shrunk. While humanity must ever deplore the disorder, excess and delirium of these Crusaders, there is that about our natures which cannot but admire their persistency under the greatest of difficulties, and that bravery and ability for exploit, which enabled forty thousand of them to wrest Jerusalem from a garrison of sixty thousand of the enemy, and an army of twenty thousand to overthrow the combined armies of Egypt and the East on the plains of Ascalon.

Passing from the general to the particular, this and all the crusades abound in instances of individual heroism which have shed imperishable lustre on the actors and proven a source of pride to families and nations. As Greece precipitated itself on Asia, to find its heroes celebrated in the "Iliad" of Homer, so the conquest of the Holy Land by the Crusaders, called forth that set of exploits and heroes which illuminate the pages of "Jerusalem Delivered." Though these grand epics overflow with fables, wonders and prodigies, they embalm events, real or fanciful, which call for the exercise of the noblest qualities of manhood. It may be that Christendom finds less sympathy with the cause which moved the heathen Greeks to invade Asia, yet both wars furnish the same lessons of policy and models of valor; both resulted in new colonies and relations between distant nations; both sensibly influenced the civilization of subsequent ages. The crowning difference between the

hero of the Trojan war and that of the Crusades was that the prowess and love of glory of the first stood out in undisguised colors, while that of the latter was cloaked by the demands of his religion. The proudest and bravest Knights marched and fought wearing the sack of penitence. The priests who exhorted them to do or die never ceased to reproach them for their sins. Reverses were never due to their own weakness nor to the number and valor of their enemies, but were chastisements for their own misconduct. Victories were not won by sword and lance but were given as favors by God, for which no mortal should claim the glory. In this respect the hero of the "Iliad" answers the purpose of a purer and nobler epic than that of the "Jerusalem Delivered." His heroism is unclouded by superstitions and unaccounted for by magic, as is that of Rinaldo, Godfrey and others.

While in this first, and all subsequent Crusades, Europe lost the flower of its population and was thereby subjected to unmeasured disaster, the Greek empire was enabled, by the victories of the Crusaders, to extend its limits eastward. The terror inspired among Mussulmen by the Christian arms, stopped, for the time, Turkish and Saracenic encroachment on the West, and saved Constantinople as a Christian capital for centuries. Moreover, Europe was exempt from conflict. Asia was the scene of a strife in which provinces and cities were ravaged and destroyed and life counted as nothing. Europe had been indulging feudal spites and ambitions till all her fields were bathed in the blood of her own citizens

Now all was changed. It was a crime for any one to take up arms except for the cause of Christ. Brigandage disappeared. The "Truce of God" commanded a respect equal to the name of Jehovah in the armies of Joshua. Whatever may have been the follies, fatigues, mistortunes and losses of the Crusades, these were hardly to be compared with the deplorable results of feudal anarchy which preceded them in Europe.

Prior to the first Crusade Europe had been ignorant of Asia, the West of the East. Now the Eastern country and its resources became, in some sort, known. The Mediterranean bore freely the fleets of Pisa, Genoa and Holland, to the ports which provisioned the crusading columns and fed the new kingdom of Jerusalem. True, millions of European gold had been carried to Asia and squandered by the Crusaders, but as all gold and silver had long been hoarded through avarice or fear, what was left had permission to circulate, so that Europe seemed to be richer than before. While it is hardly probable that the first Crusade, which was chiefly a contact with the Turks, contributed much to a knowledge of the arts and sciences on the part of the Crusaders, those which came afterwards, and into contact with the Saracens, opened to Europe many new ideas. Still, the very fact and the stirring events of this Crusade gave an impetus to thought in the West. Several writers sprang up who undertook to trace the causes and narrate the events of so remarkable a movement. While most of these give highly colored accounts, they do not compare unfavorably with those written by the Greek and Arab

historians. Several spies appeared at the same time, most of which have perished; but enough remain to show that an era of thought expansion began with the Crusades.

Save where the Teutonic conquerors of Rome had encouraged the laws of the conquered, there was little known, or practiced, of the science of legislation in Europe, at the time of the Crusades. The regime of the old Germanic clans had given way to the tyranny of the feudal lord. But the departure of the barons for the Holy Land made it necessary to leave instructions behind. These exhibit the feeble beginnings of legislation. They incorporated their wishes at length and left them as codes of laws during their absence. Some called their vassals together in council, and the laws they propagated, breathing charity and chivalry, proved to be quite safe constitutions for the regulation of affairs while the masters were absent. Again, many princes of the Crusades signalized their return by new and wise regulations based on what they had learned, and calculated to modify the violences of the feudal estate. In France these reforms were quite noticeable. Many nobles liberated the serfs who had accompanied them in the Crusades. To others they granted fiefs as compensation. A larger liberty, in general, awaited those who survived the hardships of a Crusade. While this lib-

erality diminished the power of the nobility it added to their dignity and increased their respect among the people. The Crusades undoubtedly threw great wealth into the clutches of the clergy, but as these constituted the best informed of a community, their disposition of it, even if selfish in appearance, contributed to an increase of prosperity. It is certain that the clergy learned quite as many valuable lessons from the Crusades as the knights and barons, and were instrumental in consecrating many of their salutary results to civilization. If they abused the thought that consideration and riches took the direction of intelligence, they found out that power was gradually passing toward those who patronized and protected liberty. Those who did not find this out, soon found themselves in the way of civilization, and stripped of their wealth. However far some of the Italian cities may have progressed in civilization before the Crusades, it was the civilization of isolation, and was essentially barbaric. The Crusades brought the nations of Europe together, caused them to intermingle, polished their deformities, gave them a common cause in place of petty rivalries and jealousies, disciplined them in fires of adversity, taught them that real advance and the true civilization must blend knowledge, laws, morals and power in order to become substantial.

ARTICLE VI.

THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.

A. D. 1099—1148.



AS has been seen, the first Crusade with its adventures and prodigies, its immense sacrifices of life and treasure, resulted in the capture of Jerusalem and the establishment of a Christian kingdom under the rule of Godfrey

de Bouillon. Countless as were the numbers which set out to deliver the Holy Land, and marvelous as were their exploits, they create no surprise equal to the defence of their conquests by the few hundred knights who constituted the glorious remnant of the crusading army. The country in which this new people found themselves was one from which the arms, religion and customs of the surrounding nations were unceasingly employed to expel them. It was a county commensurate with the old Jewish kingdoms of Israel and Judah, to which the Romans had given the name of Palestine, and was bounded on the west by the Mediterranean, on the south and east by the deserts of Arabia and Idumea, and on the north by the Libanus range. It was no more a land of milk and honey than now. This land of God's elect had several

times changed rules and inhabitants. From the time of the Saracen conquest, all the Mussulmen sects had disputed possession of it, and its capital, Jerusalem, along with its principal cities, were filled with traditions, relics and ruins. The religions of Moham- medan and Christian threw around it a glamour, and attached to its conquest an importance, far in excess of its material or strategic advantages.

The conquest by the Crusaders was neither methodical nor perfect. The Christian flag waved only over Jerusalem and some twenty adjacent towns, many of which were separated by fortresses garrisoned by Mussulmen. The Turk, Arab and Egyptian were united in their hostility to the subjects of Godfrey. The walls and ramparts of the cities held by the Christians were in bad condition for defensive operations. The lands were uncultivated, and communications were interrupted. Many Crusaders became dissatisfied with the possessions that fell to them by conquest, and were only induced to remain by an absolute gift of such lands as they might select and hold to for the space of a year.

Godfrey's first measure of Government was to repel all attacks by the Saracens and extend the boundaries of his dominions. Tancred marched into Galilee and took pos-

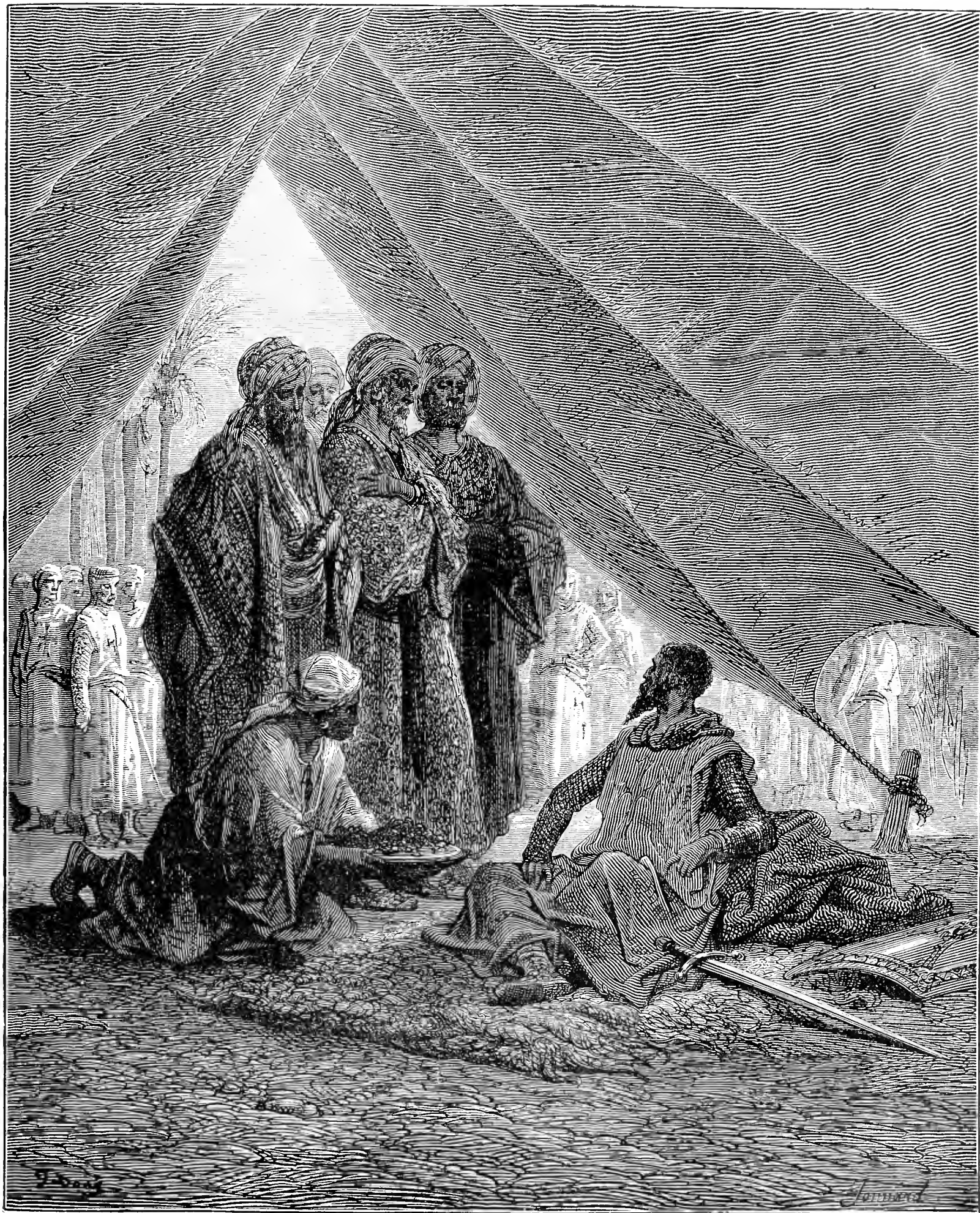


PLATE No. XXXI.—GODFREY IMPOSING TRIBUTE ON THE EMIRS.
135

session of Tiberius and other cities bordering on the Lake of Genesareth, or sea of Galilee. He was given sovereignty over this conquest, and it subsequently became a principality of the new kingdom. This gave Tancred a fairly rich province, a strong city, and vantage ground for further operations. He pushed his way to Damascus and annexed its territories. Godfrey made two fortunate excursions, in one of which he succeeded in collecting tribute from the emirs of Cæsarea, Ptolemais and Ascalon. (*See Plate No. XXXI.*), and in the other drove the Turks from the east banks of the Jordan.

When on his way back to Jerusalem, the city of Arsur, which had surrendered after the battle of Ascalon, threw off the Christian yoke and refused to pay tribute. Godfrey determined to besiege it, and with this view marched his troops thither. He erected his towers and rams, made his approaches and was about to assault, when the garrison resorted to a most barbarous means of defence. Gerard of Avesnes had been left with them as a hostage. His body was fastened to the top of a high pole which was erected close to the very wall against which the Christians were directing their operations. In that position death was inevitable from the missiles of the besiegers. He called to Godfrey to spare his life by giving over the siege. The heart of the latter was pierced by the cruel spectacle, but his courage remained unshaken. The capture of the place was of more importance than the life of a friend. "It is not in my power to save you," he replied. "Even if my brother Eustace were in your place, I could not deliver him from death. Die, then,

illustrious and brave knight, with the courage of a Christian hero. Die for the safety of your brethren, and the glory of Jesus Christ." These words of Godfrey gave Gerard the courage to die. Begging his old companions in arms to offer his horse and arms at the Holy Sepulchre to procure prayers for the repose of his soul, he perished under a shower of arrows and darts shot by Christian hands. (*See Plate No. XXXII.*)

On witnessing the death of Gerard, the soldiers of Godfrey burned to avenge it. They redoubled every efforts to capture the city. The besieged reproached the Christians for their wanton cruelty, and everywhere made a stout resistance. They showered Greek fire on the towers and rams of the Christians, which consumed them. Godfrey, whose losses had been heavy, was forced to raise the siege and return to Jerusalem, where he bitterly lamented the death of Gerard, without advantage to the Christian cause. Pending the siege of Arsur, several emirs came from Samaria to visit Godfrey. They were struck with his simplicity of manner, his habit of sleeping on a straw pallet along with the common soldiers, and with his enormous strength, which he exhibited by cutting off the head of a camel at a single blow. Recital of what they had seen increased the fame of the King of Jerusalem among the Mussulmen of Samaria.

Winter was now approaching. Godfrey learned of the approach of a great number of pilgrims, coming to Jerusalem to celebrate the birth of Christ and visit the holy places. Among those from Asia were Bohemond, prince of Antioch, Raymond, count of Tou-

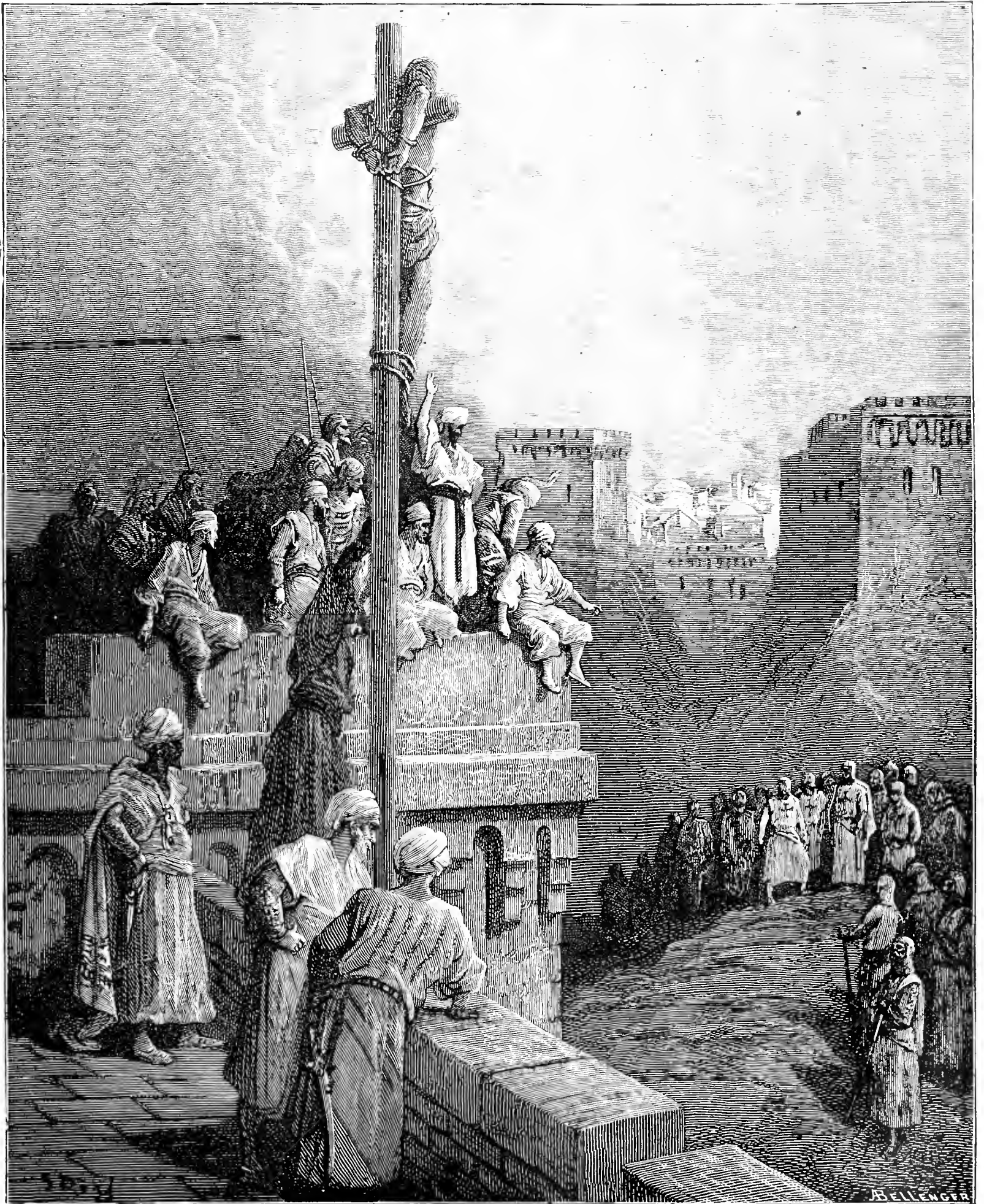


PLATE NO. XXXII.—GERARD EXPOSED ON THE RAMPARTS OF ARSUR.

louse, and Baldwin, count of Edessa. The bishop of Ariana led a large crowd of Genoese directly from Europe, and the archbishop of Pisa a flock of Pisans. Godfrey was particularly delighted with the visit of his brother Baldwin, and he entertained all the pilgrims during the winter. The Archbishop of Pisa, Daimbert, bore a commission from the Holy See, and by means of presents and promises got himself appointed Patriarch of Jerusalem in place of Arnold. He belonged to the school of Pope Gregory VII, and warmly advocated the pretensions of the Holy See. His ambitions soon introduced trouble among the Christian subjects of Godfrey. As Christ's vicar, he demanded to reign with Godfrey, and designated Jaffa and that part of Jerusalem in which was situated the Church of the Resurrection as portions of the new empire in which his sovereignty should be absolute. Godfrey yielded, but his concession so assured the ascendancy of the Church and clergy that he was soon after compelled to sign a treaty to the effect that the kingdom should belong to the Patriarch, in case he, Godfrey, should die without children. Thus, the once proud and triumphant Godfrey acknowledged himself a vassal of the Roman pontiff, and received from his legate permission to rule over a country conquered by his own arms. Bohemond and Baldwin made similar concessions and became vassals of Rome. Jerusalem, Edessa and Antioch, representing three centres of Christian conquest in the East, passed thus easily under Latin dominion, spiritual and temporal.

Godfrey had extended his territory and

freed his boundaries from incursions. But he saw that something more than victories over the Infidels must be gained in order to found and preserve his state. The sword of the Crusaders had well nigh depopulated Jerusalem and the captured cities. His subjects numbered Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Arabs, renegades from all religious and adventurers from all countries. His Kingdom was an object of curiosity to travelers and strangers, and a rendezvous for sinners and criminals who had come to mitigate the anger of God. All the elements were uncertain and dangerous. Even the new feudal lords of Jaffa, Ramla, Tiberias and Naplouse had forgotten their master. The clergy and bishops, encouraged by the Patriarch, exercised a temporal power equal to the barons. With all these sources of tumult and danger in view, Godfrey called together the best men of his Kingdom. The assembly agreed upon a code, which was, for the most part, a repetition of the feudal usages of Europe. The King was to maintain the laws, defend the Church, protect widows and orphans, watch over the safety of the lords and people and lead in war. The lords were the King's lieutenants and were to guarantee the vassals against insult, and protect their property, honor and rights. All counts and barons were to serve the King in council and battle. The vassal was to defend his prince or lord, protect the honor of his family, follow him in all perils. All were bound by a sense of honor to revenge the injury inflicted on a single one, and all who were capable of bearing arms were included in the new legislation, except the clergy, whose privileges

came by divine right, and the humbler classes who were reckoned as villains, slaves, peasants and captives, and therefore the property of their possessors, whose price ranked as half that of a war-horse.

Three courts were instituted, one the King's court, presided over by the King, and composed of his nobles. Its business was to decide disputes among the greater vassals. A second, presided over by the viscount of Jerusalem, and formed of leading men in each city, regulated the interests of the common people. A third was formed for the trial of cases among Eastern Christians. It was presided over by a native born Syrian, who spoke the language and was acquainted with local customs and usages.

While Godfrey thus made it possible for his subjects to be judged by peers and to enjoy the benefit of institutions which assured a show of justice, the warlike Franks clung to their ordeal by fire or iron, and their trial by single combat. Even the most Christian of Knights was hard to persuade that God would allow innocence to suffer in unequal combat, and victory was the triumph of both law and justice. They disdained the slow forms of justice under a written code. Godfrey's code reproduced much of the feudal system, yet removed many of its worst features. In Palestine was begun the revival of wise laws which Europe had forgotten amid anarchy and civil wars, but which were again to ameliorate the condition of her people. Godfrey's code was deposited with great pomp in the church of the Resurrection, and took the name of the Assizes of Jerusalem, or Letters of the Holy Sepulchre. It was

amplified under succeeding reigns, and remained as fair a monument of the lawgiving spirit of the times as circumstances would permit.

After the assizes adjourned, the Latin princes returned to their respective principalities—Baldwin to Edessa, Bohemond to Antioch, and Raymond to Laodicea, which he held in the name of the Emperor of Constantinople. Scarcely had Tancred reached Tiberias when he was attacked by an army under the Sultan of Damascus. Godfrey headed a body of pilgrims and marched to his rescue. The Saracens were defeated and driven into the mountains of Libanus. When Godfrey was returning, he was met by the emir of Cæsarea, who made him an offering of the fruits of Palestine. He accepted only a cedar apple, and upon eating it fell suddenly ill. His illness was attributed to poison, and it caused the greatest consternation among his followers. He reached Jaffa with great difficulty and was borne thence to Jerusalem, where he died, after committing to his companions the charge of the glory of his religion and Kingdom. His remains were deposited in the inclosure of Calvary near the tomb of Christ, which his valor had delivered. He was mourned alike by Christians and Mussulmen, the former for his protection, the latter for his justice and clemency. He stood at the head of the chieftains of his time, and his Kingdom became a model for princes and warriors of the age.

His death was the signal for bitter disputes. Daimbert, the Patriarch, claimed the throne, under the concession made by Godfrey. The

barons would submit to no ruler who was not a companion in arms. Garnier, the count of Gray, took possession of the fortresses of Jerusalem in the name of Baldwin, count of Edessa, and brother of Godfrey. The patriarch appealed to the Church. Garnier died suddenly, and the clergy attributed his death to divine wrath. The Patriarch further wrote to Bohemond, at Antioch to come and defend the Church and God. Jerusalem was in sore trouble. While the disputes were going on, word came from Antioch that Bohemond had been defeated and captured by the Turks. This carried consternation to the Christians and quite turned them in favor of Baldwin, whom they knew to be valorous. Though prince of a larger country than the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and one at peace, he willingly exchanged his princely robes for kingly honors. Leaving his cousin, Baldwin du Bourg in charge of Edessa, he started for Jerusalem with four hundred horsemen and a thousand foot. The emirs of Emessa and Damascus prepared to intercept him in the passes of the coast near the sea of Phœnicia. He fled before them till he drew them into a plain and then turned on them, routing them completely and capturing a great many prisoners, which he led to Jerusalem. He was met by a procession of Knights and some of the clergy and entered the city amid the acclaim of its Christian population. The Patriarch and his clerical followers protested against his election and sullenly retired to Mount Zion, so as to be within the protection afforded by the tomb of Christ. Baldwin did not seek to conciliate him, but headed an army of Knights and marched them to

Ascalon, determined to signalize his assumption of the crown by new victories.

The season was too far advanced for a siege, so he turned his expedition into a raid, in which he penetrated the mountains of Engaddi, passed along the shores of the Dead Sea, visited the valley famed as the burial place of the ancestor of Israel, and also that in which Moses produced living water from the smitten rock. Sight of all these hallowed places filled his soldiers with abiding joy. He returned to Jerusalem loaded with booty, and such was his hold on the populace that the Patriarch ceased all pretensions to the throne and crowned him with his own hands. Tancred had not forgotten his quarrel with Baldwin, and refused to do him homage. Baldwin disputed his right to the principality of Galilee, and summoned him before him as a contumacious vassal. His reply to the messenger was, "I do not know that your master is King of Jerusalem." He refused to reply to a second message, when friends interfered and brought about an interview. While they were debating over respective rights, Tancred was summoned to Antioch to act as governor in place of the captured Bohemond. Leaving to Hugh of St. Omer the city of Tiberias and the principality of Galilee, he set out for Antioch. This difference with so powerful a vassal as Tancred did not impair Baldwin's activity. With a small body of Knights, supported by an army of badly armed pilgrims, he kept the armies of Persia, Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia at bay and greatly strengthened his empire. Taking advantage of the arrival of a Genoese fleet, he laid siege to the



PLATE NO. XXXIII.—CRUSADERS MASSACRING THE INHABITANTS OF CÆSAREA.

rebellious city of Arsur and captured it. Soon after, he laid siege to Caesarea, built by Herod in honor of Caesar. On the fifteenth day he was ready for an assault. The soldiers all received absolution for their sins and were led to the ramparts by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The assault was determined and successful, and the inhabitants were put to the sword. The Christian victors, particularly the Genoese, were guilty of the most horrible cruelties. Those who escaped massacre spread the terror inspired by Christian arms to Ptolemais, Ascalon and all the places held by the Egyptians. (*See Plate No. XXXIII.*)

In order to avenge the cruel death of so many of the faithful, the Caliph of Egypt assembled an army in the neighborhood of Ramla. Baldwin boldly marched against it with only three hundred knights and a thousand foot. When before it, and perceiving the great odds with which he would have to contend, he harangued his soldiers thus:—“You are going to fight for the glory of Christianity. If you fall, Heaven will be open to you. If you triumph, the fame of your victory will be spread throughout the Christian world. There can be no safety in flight. Your home is beyond the seas. In the East there is no asylum for the conquered.” He divided his troops into six battalions and began the attack. Four of these were overwhelmed by the enemy. The bishops called on him to implore the aid of Heaven. Springing from his horse, he fell on his knees, confessed and received absolution. Re-mounting and heading his two remaining battalions, he charged the enemy

afresh, animating his soldiers by the cry of “Victory or death!” He rode with a white handkerchief tied to his lance, thus indicating the road to carnage. Victory hung for some time in the balance. At length the scale turned in favor of the Christians. The Egyptian leader fell. Their army broke into rout, and abandoned tents and baggage. Five thousand of the Infidels perished on the field of battle. The Christians maintained a hot pursuit, killing and capturing the panic-stricken Mussulmen. While thus engaged, Baldwin heard a woman’s cry of agony. Checking his steed, he saw a Mussulman woman in the pangs of child-birth. He threw his mantle over her, ordered her to be placed on a carpet, and detached a slave to care for her and afterward conduct her to her husband who, as it happened, proved to be high up in the Saracen ranks. He ever remembered the generous conduct of Baldwin.

Baldwin rested his fatigued army at Jaffa. Here he learned that the Egyptian army had rallied and was approaching him. His confidence had made him rash. Without calling together his full strength, he marched against the enemy with only two hundred knights and a body of pilgrims freshly arrived from Europe. Nothing daunted by the number of the Saracens, he gave indiscreet battle, and the first charge found his forces entirely surrounded. They all fought to the death by the side of their leader. Baldwin managed to escape into the brush which covered the plain. This was set fire to, and after a narrow escape from the flames he found refuge in Ramla. (*See Plate No. XXXIV.*) Night checked the pursuit of the



PLATE NO. XXXIV.—TWO HUNDRED KNIGHTS ATTACK TWENTY THOUSAND SARACENS.

enemy, but morning brought them in force around the place. Baldwin had no means of defence and saw nothing ahead but death. When in the midst of distressing anxiety as to his fate, a stranger appeared who wished to speak to the King of Jerusalem. He was granted an interview and said:—"Gratitude brings me here. Thou hast been generous toward my dear wife and hast restored her to her family after saving her life. I brave a thousand dangers to pay a sacred debt. The Saracens surround the city. To-morrow it will be taken. None of its inhabitants will escape death. I offer thee safety. I know a path which is not guarded. Follow me, and before dawn thou wilt be among thy people." Baldwin hesitated, burst into tears at the fate in store for his companions, but at length consented to follow his benefactor, who conducted him and a small escort to a point whence they reached the city of Arsur in safety.

The next day the Saracens assaulted the city, and made an easy capture. They massacred all they could find within it. Those who escaped carried the sad news to neighboring cities. This first decided defeat of the Christians since their arrival in Palestine carried consternation far and wide. The report that Baldwin had perished in Ramla had a most distressing effect. The priests moved about Jerusalem barefooted and clad in sackcloth. Women and children repaired to the churches to weep and implore Heaven. The bravest despaired for the safety of the Kingdom. All at once Baldwin appeared like a morning star, and hope came to the rescue of the most despondent.

Baldwin lost no time in assembling the wreck of his army at Jaffa. He called on all the Christian cities for their contingents. The new arrivals from Europe—they were constantly coming—joined him.

With greatly augmented and perfectly confident forces, he marched forth to meet the Mussulmen, the Patriarch at the head of the column, bearing the word of the true cross. The Christian war cry was, "Christ lives; Christ reigns; Christ commands!" The armies met on the plain of Jaffa and immediately joined battle. The onset was furious on both sides, and both fought with determined courage. The Christian ranks were pressed together and victory seemed to favor the Mussulmen, when Baldwin snatched a white flag from the hands of his squire and rode with it into the thickest of the enemy, followed by one hundred and sixty Knights. The Christians regained their courage and strove heroically throughout the day. As night approached the Mussulmen columns began to waver. Finally they broke into route, leaving on the field the dead body of the emir of Ascalon and the corpses of four thousand soldiers. The victors secured immense spoils which they bestowed on the hospitallers of St. John, a charity which had grown out of the Crusade, and whose mission was to entertain and relieve the poor and all pilgrims. Thus, as the chronicles narrate, "The spoils of the Saracens were shared with God."

Baldwin, lifted, as it were, from the grave, entered Jerusalem in triumph. The churches met and thanked God for the deliverance of the Kingdom. The tears

shed over the former defeat were now dried in the songs of victory. This campaigning of Baldwin had been particularly disastrous to the Knights who had left Europe after the first Crusade began. Stephen of Blois and Stephen of Burgundy were killed at Ramla. They had led the remains of the army, dispersed in Asia Minor, to Jerusalem. As the full magnitude of that disaster dawned on the Latin Christians in Palestine, they charged Alexius and the Greeks with having prepared their ruin. To offset this impression, Alexius sent congratulations to Baldwin over his victories, and exerted himself to procure the liberty of the Christians who had fallen into the hands of the Saracens and Turks. After receiving at Constantinople all whom he could deliver or ransom, he sent them to their own country, loaded with presents.

It must, long ere this, have occurred to the reader, that there was no intention on the part of the leaders of the Crusades to keep their pledges to Alexius. Their personal ambitions, even if they had not subscribed to the influence of the Roman Pontiff, impelled them to conquer cities and provinces for themselves rather than for the Byzantine Emperor. Alexius saw too plainly that conquest from the Mussulmen by the Crusaders was no conquest for him. Therefore, while he could not afford to regard them as open enemies, and all his efforts to win them having failed, he could at least follow on their track and assert his rights as opportunity might offer. He therefore began preparations to attack Antioch and other cities in Syria which the Latins had conquered, hop-

ing thereby to set Bohemond free and attach his principality to Constantinople. But Bohemond saw through his designs and, sinking the cause of Christ in his personalism, he made terms with the emir who held him prisoner, and obtained freedom at half the ransom which Alexius had been asked to pay. After four years captivity he returned to Antioch, where he carried on war against Alexius, having for his auxiliaries the fleets of the Pisans and Genoese. In this hostility to the Christian church of Constantinople he proved quite as formidable as the Turks.

While Bohemond was thus fighting Alexius, the Franks were busy fighting the Infidels. Bohemond himself, Baldwin du Bourg, count of Edessa, and Josselin de Courtenay, had made themselves masters of several cities on the Euphrates, and they now united their forces to attack Charan, an important city in Mesopotamia. After a siege which bade fair to be successful, Baldwin and Bohemond quarrelled as to the ownership of the city. While they were wrangling, the Saracens of Mossoul and Aleppo came to the rescue of the besieged and gave battle. They attacked with such fury that the besiegers were routed and a great number slain. In the midst of their victory, the Mussulmen so railed on the Christians that one brave Knight rode into their midst with the exclamation, "Let all who are willing to sup with me in Paradise, follow me." His foolish valor invited a multitude of wounds, of which he quickly perished. The victors captured the archbishop of Edessa, Baldwin du Bourg and Josselin de Courtenay, whom they led in irons to Mossoul. Bohemond and Tancred

made their escape with a small body of soldiers. This defeat spread terror among all the Christians of the East. Bohemond, on his arrival at Antioch, found himself the subject of attack by Mussulmen and the Greek Christians, and in this dilemma, he hastened to Europe to seek reinforcements. In order to penetrate the Greek fleets, he caused a report of his death to be spread abroad, and then, concealed in a coffin, his body was passed, amid rejoicings and curses, toward its final rest in Europe. When he arrived in Europe, he threw himself at the feet of the Pontiff, exaggerated his trials and misfortunes, and denounced Alexius as a greater scourge of the Christians than the Turks themselves. The Pope welcomed him as a hero and martyr and intrusted to him the standard of St. Peter, which meant that he was at liberty to use the name of the Church to raise an army in Europe to avenge the cause of God.

Thus commissioned, Bohemond went to France where he was kindly received by Philip I, who gave him his daughter in marriage. At court he made a most decided impression by the brillianey of his tournaments, and among the people he created a furore by the plausibility of his arguments. Knights and soldiers flocked to his standard. Crossing into Spain, he fired the popular heart, so that volunteers crowded upon him. Returning to Italy, he prepared to sail from Bari with an immense army. He arrived at Antioch with a following that appalled Alexius and awed the Turks. Eloquent in speech as audacious in plan, he animated his army by representing Alexius as in league with the

Mussulmen, and by promising them the riches of Constantinople as well as the spoils of the Infidel camps and cities.

With an eager and enthusiastic army he surrounded Durazzo, and attempted to take it by siege. But it proved invincible. Diseases broke out in his ranks. Thousands deserted his standard. Alexius forced him to a disgraceful peace. The ambitious and misguided Bohemond was forced to hide his despair by retiraey to the little Italian principality of Tarentum, where he died the victim of disappointment. His Crusade, directed solely against the Greek Christians and the Byzantine empire, proved fatal to the Christians in Syria. Tancred, who succeeded Bohemond as prince of Antioch, was repeatedly attacked by the Turks, and only succeeded in holding the city by repeated prodigies. Josselin and Baldwin du Bourg were held captives for five years. At Edessa and Antioch the utmost poverty prevailed. Tancred and Baldwin became envious of each other. In their disputes, each appealed several times to the aid of the Mussulmen. The Christian idea was sunk in the midst of their conflicts. Confusion reigned supreme on the Orontes and Euphrates.

Jerusalem was very little better off. Baldwin could not pay his soldiers and demanded help of the Patriarch. Diambert refused. Baldwin threatened to take the treasures of the Church. Diambert, frightened by his threats, gave up part of his treasures, but charged Baldwin with profaning and plundering the sanctuary. Each year they renewed their quarrels, and each in turn appealed to the Holy See, only to be

temporized with. All in all, Baldwin had the best of the argument, for in the midst of the quarrels he could provide answers in fresh conquests from the Infidels. His policy was to reduce all the commercial cities of Palestine, both as a means of communication with Jerusalem and as an inducement to the rapidly expanding commerce of the Mediterranean, which now had a decided trend eastward. This commerce was unemotional and business like. The fleets of the Pisans and Genoese had aided the Christians in several sieges. They now aided Baldwin in the siege of Ptolemais, but on the condition that they should share a third of the booty, have a church for themselves, and a national factory and tribunal. This understood, the siege progressed till the inhabitants surrendered to Baldwin on condition that they be allowed to depart with their property. Sight of their peaceful leaving loaded with valuables was too much for the cupidity of the Genoese. They set upon the defenceless people and massacred them without pity, under the eyes of Baldwin. This outrage incensed the Mussulmen more than ever against the Christians.

At each new victory achieved by Baldwin, the Caliph of Egypt sent new armies into Palestine. But they were raw recruits and easily overcome by a few trained and valorous Knights. Moreover they could never obtain hearty corporation from the Mussulmen of Syria who, being Turks, and of the Seljukian family, were as jealous of the Saracens of the Fatimite family, as they were of the Christians. Bertrand, son of Raymond, had led a fresh army from Europe for

the purpose of capturing the city of Tripoli, which had fallen into the hands of the Egyptians, then into the hands of the Turks, and back again into the hands of the Egyptians. But the latter thought more of punishing the rebellious Turks than of defending the city. As a consequence, the inhabitants rose in their indignation against the Caliph and turned the city over to the Christians. The territory of Tripoli was created a county and became an inheritance in the family of Raymond. It was a fertile and valuable acquisition, Tripoli being noted for its wheat, vine and olive plantations and for the manufacture of woollens, silks and linens. It contained also the richest library of the East, employing a hundred copyists, and embracing the lore of Persia, Arabia, Egypt and Greece. When the city fell into the hands of the Christians, one of Bertrand's priests ordered the library to be burned as containing only Infidel literature. The loss of the hundred thousand volumes in this library has been greatly lamented by scholars, for it was the accumulation of ages, and represented a vast sum of money. Bibles, Sarepta and Berytus shared the fate of Tripoli, and became the baronies of Christian Knights.

After these conquests, the Pisans and Genoese withdrew to Europe and Baldwin was obliged to rely on his own forces to repel the Saracens. The latter grew bolder and even penetrated as far as Mount Zion, compelling Baldwin to give up his idea of reducing the maritime cities of his Kingdom. At this juncture he was joined by Sigur, son of the King of Norway, who had arrived with a

force of ten thousand Norwegians. Sigur responded to Baldwin's appeal to aid him, and asked as recompense only a piece of the wood of the true cross. The Patriarch of Jerusalem at first stood aloof, but finally made terms sufficient to show his importance. Then the Norwegians entered Jerusalem in triumph, and their lofty statue, flaxen hair and immense battle axes led the other pilgrims to believe that the Infidels must inevitably succumb. Siege was at once laid to Sidon, which Sigur attacked with his fleet by sea and Baldwin and Bertrand by land. The siege lasted for six weeks when the city fell. As in all instances of successful siege, as the narratives run, the Christian soldiers performed prodigies, but in this they failed to mar victory by exhibitions of inhumanity. After this conquest Sigur returned to Norway with his followers. Sight of the Holy City had gratified their zeal for pilgrimage, and the fragment of the true cross which they carried home furnished them with an object of veneration without further danger from sea or hostile armies.

On the return of Baldwin to Jerusalem, after having seen his Norwegian friends off, he learned that Gervias, count of Tiberias, had been captured by the Turks, and was held for ransom at Damascus. The ransom asked was Ptolemais, Jaffa and some other cities. Baldwin offered money but refused surrender of the cities, whereupon Gervias and his attendant Knights were shot to death by arrows in Damascus. This sad loss was soon followed by a sadder. Tancred, governor of Antioch, died while heading an expedition against the Infidels. He was the

bravest, least ambitious, most pious and honorable, most beloved, and most celebrated in prose and poetry, of all the Christian leaders. He held Antioch in a grip of steel against Alexius and the Turks, and he ruled so as to win the respect of all its inhabitants. His death was a source of unfeigned grief throughout the East, the beginning of confusion in his principality, and the signal for future Christian reverses.

Up to this time, the Kingdom of Jerusalem has had to contend chiefly with the armies sent out from Egypt in the interest of Caliphs, or Fatimite rulers of the Mohammedan church. The Turks of Syria had never united their forces to attack Jerusalem. They had been distracted by the advent of the Christians in Asia, and as members of the Seljukian family, they had jealously opposed, or at least refused to support, the ambitions of the Egyptians. They were really far more resolute and formidable than the Egyptians, whom they had once conquered, and lacked but the spur of unity among themselves to prove a deadly menace to the Christians. Now the Sultans of Damascus and Mossoul congregated an army of thirty thousand warriors, passed the Libanus mountains and penetrated Galilee. They ravaged the towns around Lake Genesareth and the country on both banks of the Jordan. They were met by the King of Jerusalem on the plains near Mount Tabor, and a fierce battle ensued in which the Christian army was disastrously beaten. Roger, governor of Antioch since the death of Tancred, and the counts of Edessa and Tripoli came to the assistance of Baldwin. Their united armies,

containing over eleven thousand combatants, entrenched on the heights of Tabor, were afraid to risk battle, and were forced to witness the destruction of cities and crops about them. The Saracens sallied out from Ascalon, Tyre and other cities in their possession and laid waste other provinces in Palestine. They invaded Sechem and captured and pillaged Naplouse. Jerusalem closed its gates and trembled lest it should be captured.

Fearing the arrival of fresh pilgrims from the West, the Turks at length withdrew from Galilee. But now came a plague of Arabian locusts which completed the devastation of the fields of Palestine. Famine set in and visited with its horrors Edessa, Antioch, Jerusalem and every Christian city and province. An earthquake came upon the land, destroying several important cities, especially Cilicia. The towers of Edessa fell. The citadel of Aleppo was destroyed. Towers, gates and churches were shaken to pieces in Antioch. Mussulmen and Christian inhabitants alike fled from so terrible a visitation. Crowds of Christians sought their churches and sacred places and besought their priests to forgive their sins and appease the anger of Heaven. Nevertheless the earthquake shocks lasted for a period of five months, during which time most of the people left the cities and sought the protection of fields, woods and mountains. Those who remained gave themselves up to prayers and processions, and all pleasure and business came to a stand-still. The final cessation of the shocks was celebrated by a solemn festival.

The Mussulmen had sought their mosques and joined as fervently in prayers to Heaven as the Christians, for relief from calamity. As Maudond, Sultan of Mossoul, was coming out of a mosque, he was assassinated, and his murder was charged to the Franks acting in concert with the Sultan of Damascus. He was regarded as a brave warrior and an able exponent of Islamism, and was given a place as martyr by the caliphs of Bagdad and Cairo. They resolved to avenge his death. Raising a large army on the banks of the Tigris, they invaded Syria, resolved to punish both Christian and Mussulmen Infidels. Their approach to Aleppo, carrying destruction and death wherever they went, forced the King of Jerusalem and the governors of Antioch and Tripoli, to unite their armies with those of the Turks. But the joint forces were jealous of each other. The Turks feared the results of a victory which they might help the Christians to gain. The consequence was the warriors of the far East ravaged the country as they pleased and returned without have been called upon to measure strength with the combined foe. One benefit, however, occurred to the Christians from this invasion of the soldiers of Bagdad. It served to place a wider gap between the Mussulmen adherents of the family of Seljukians and Abassides, and left Baldwin free to operate against the Fatimites of Egypt. In a spirit of bravado, he crossed the desert of Arabia and carried the terror of his arms to within three days march of Cairo. When returning with rich booty and encouraged by the hope that he would one day be able to add Egypt to his Kingdom, he

fell sick and died. In his last hours he exhorted his followers to sustain the heritage of Christ, to keep his death a secret from the enemy, to take his body to Jerusalem and bury it by the side of his brother, Godfrey, and to obey Baldwin du Bourg, whom he chose as his successor. Thus died one of the most remarkable characters of the Crusade, after a reign of eighteen years in Jerusalem. He came to the throne the best hated of all the leaders, because he was the most ambitious and haughty of all, and because his withdrawal to found a principality for himself at Edessa was regarded as a desertion of the cause of Christ. But when he came to the throne of Jerusalem he proved to be generous and kind. His strength was prodigious and his bravery unquestioned. Ever active and daring, he kept his limited forces engaged in almost perpetual expeditions and battles, many of which were failures, owing to their desperation. Yet, he managed to support his Kingdom by means of booty and ransoms obtained from his enemies, there being very little else to depend on. He knew how to turn the visits of pilgrims, traders and adventurers to account, and by their aid he won some of his most distinguished victories. His diplomacy was masterly, in that he kept the three great families, or sects, of Mussulmen—the Seljukians, Abassides and Fatimites, representing, respectively, Syria, Bagdad and Egypt—at swords points, and prevented a consolidation of forces which must have speedily overwhelmed his own little, central and remote Kingdom. He was always under the censure of the clergy for the freedom of his intercourse

with women, but this offence and all others he freely expiated by the endowment of churches—particularly one at Bethlehem—and other religious establishments. He added several important clauses to the “Assizes of Jerusalem”, or the code of Godfrey, and in his anxiety to repeople Jerusalem, opened the city as an asylum to all persecuted Christians in Arabia, Syria and Egypt. His last wishes as to his burial were strictly fulfilled, and his remains were deposited by the side of his brother Godfrey, amid universal lamentation.

Baldwin du Bourg was of the same family as Baldwin and Godfrey. Therefore Baldwin’s nomination of him was equivalent to an election by the assembled barons and prelates at Jerusalem. He soon had a war on his hands. The Turks of Persia, Mesopotamia and Syria formed under Ylgazy, prince of Aleppo, one of the bravest warriors of Islam, and marched toward the Orontes. This was a direct threat upon Roger, of Antioch, who called to his assistance the new King of Jerusalem and the counts of Edessa and Tripoli. Before they arrived, Roger had the hardihood to offer battle. He fought desperately for a long time, but his soldiers became demoralized in the midst of a tornado which darkened the sky with black, sulphurous clouds. The Mussulmen took advantage of the panic and pressed hard upon the broken ranks. The Christians fled, and Roger fell mortally wounded. The Mussulmen pursued, killing and capturing indiscriminately. This disastrous battle, which imperilled all the Christian colonies of the East, took place on “The Field of

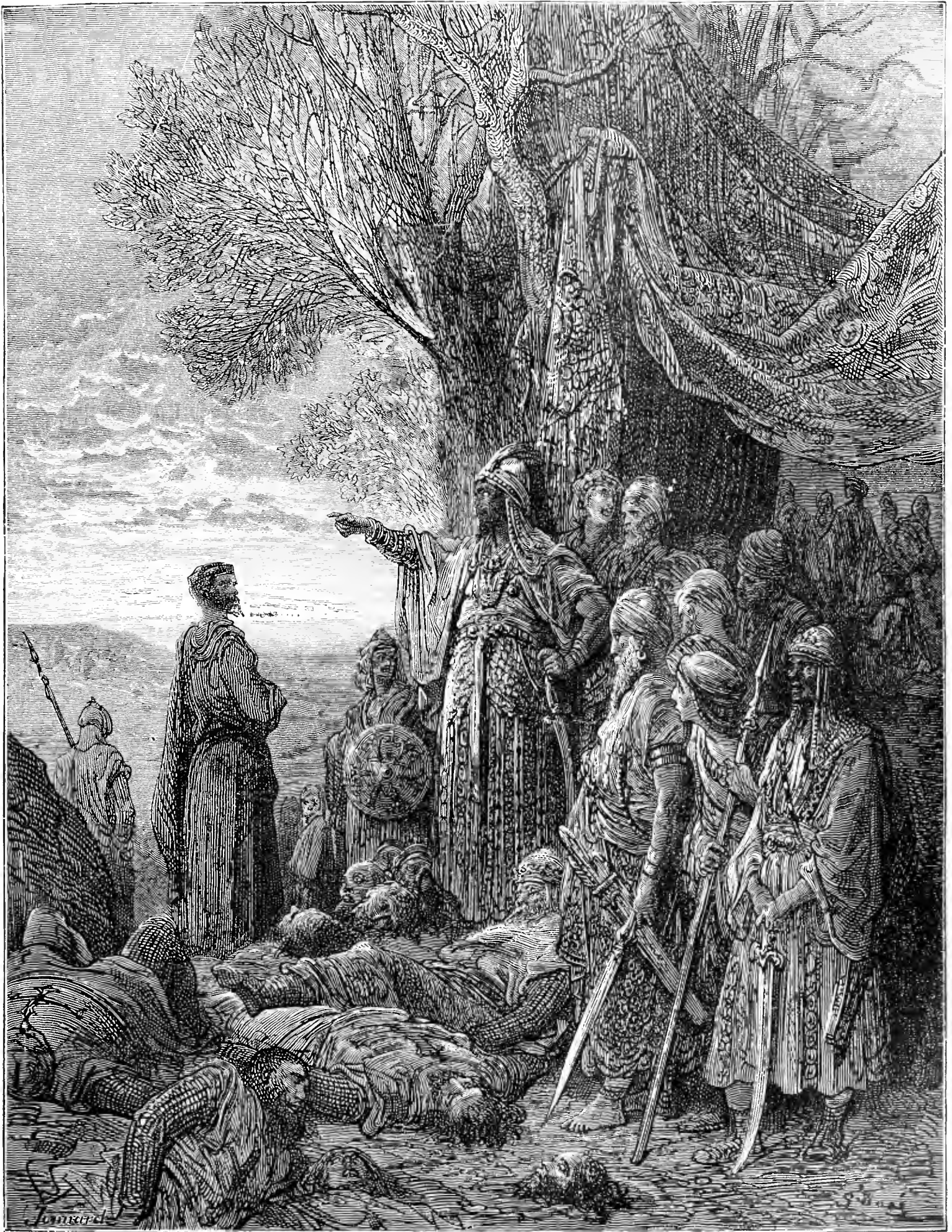


PLATE NO. XXXV.—GAUTHEIR SPARED BY YLAGAZY.

Blood," near Arteria, whose chancellor was Gauthier. Ylgazy called him into his presence and massacred his prisoners before him, bidding him to go, his life being spared for the purpose, of telling to the Christians of Palestine the fate which awaited them. (*See* Plate No. XXXV.) Fortunately for the Christian cause, Baldwin and the count of Tripoli arrived soon after this battle, and by a prompt attack upon the victorious Mussulmen were enabled to retrieve the disaster to the army of Roger, by dispersing the foe.

On Baldwin's return to Jerusalem, he learned that Josselin, prince of Edessa, had been captured by the Turks. He flew to the rescue of Edessa, which was threatened with invasion, and was himself captured by the enemy. Fifty Armenians swore to rescue the two princes whose captivity was so much lamented. They succeeded in breaking the chains of Josselin, who found his way to Jerusalem, but they all perished without affecting the rescue of Baldwin. Josselin deposited in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre the chains with which the Turks had bound him, and entreated assistance for the delivery of Baldwin. Having heard of Baldwin's captivity, the Saracens of Egypt had assembled in the plains of Ascalon, prepared for a general attack on Palestine. Nothing, therefore, could be thought of by the Christians but the defense of their kingdom. They fasted, prayed and exhorted. War was proclaimed by the sound of the great bell in Jerusalem. In the absence of Baldwin, Eustache Grenier took command of the little army of three thousand warriors. His mainstays were Pontius, abbot of Cluni, who

bore the lance which pierced the side of the Saviour, and the Bishop of Bethlehem who held the vase which contained the milk of the virgin mother of God.

The Christian and Mussulmen forces met on the plains of Ascalon, the latter estimated at forty thousand. At once the Christians were surrounded and annihilation seemed certain, when, of a sudden, a thunderbolt passed from heaven upon the Mussulmen. The superstition which threw the one side into rout, inspired the other to fresh rally and attack. The Christians charged on their terror-stricken enemies, slew seven thousand of them and drove five thousand into the sea. They then returned victoriously to Jerusalem, their way being a grand processional of shouts and songs of praises. This victory reconciled the Christians somewhat to the captivity of their King, but it was seen that further offensive measures could not be initiated, the forces of every Christian city being required for its own protection.

At this critical juncture, a Venetian fleet arrived off the coast of Syria. The Venetians had for centuries been chief commercial traders in the Eastern Mediterranean, their customers being the Turkish conquerors of the coast cities. Afraid of losing their patronage, they had kept aloof from the Crusaders, but seeing that the Genoese and Pisans were reaping a rich harvest from traffic with the Christians, they, at length, prepared an expedition by sea, intending to co-operate with the Christians. That the expedition was not without piratical instincts may be inferred from the fact that it

attacked the returning Genoese fleet which it dispersed. It next met with the Egyptian fleet, near the coast of Palestine, which it destroyed. On entering the port of Ptolemais, the Dodge of Venice, who was in command, was conducted in triumph to Jerusalem, where he joined in the celebration of his own victories and that just gained on land over the Mussulmen at Jaffa. As he was out on an expedition for profit, he readily joined his forces with those of Jerusalem for an attack upon Tyre, the conditions before starting being, that the Venetians should own a third of every conquered city and have a church, street, common oven and national tribunal in each, the interest of commerce rather than the cause of Christ being their object. So important did the conquest of Tyre appear to the Christians, that they even agreed to repudiate their own King should he, on his return from captivity, fail to satisfy the contract made with the Venetians.

When the Christian army set out from Jerusalem for Tyre, the Venetian fleet moved from Ptolemais for the same place. Tyre was one of the strongest and most renowned of ancient cities. True, it was no longer the city mentioned in Isaiah and Virgil, the city of Hiram and Origen, the city of dyes, vases, sugar cane and commerce, yet it still had two extensive moles making a safe harbor, a magnificent beach, walls upon three sides, surrounding mountains and a rich territory.

It had taken Alexander the Great seven months and a half to reduce it. The Dodge of Venice closed its port and besieged its sea side. The Christian army, led by the Regent of Jerusalem, the Patriarch, and Pon-

tius, Count of Tripoli, surrounded it by land. The besieged Mussulmen comprised nearly equal parts of Saracens and Turks, the latter under command of the Sultan of Damascus. During the early days of the siege, Christian and Mussulman fought with equal bravery and success. But the Turks and Saracens fell to disputing among themselves, and amid their divisions the Christians were busy battering down the walls. Hunger and discord forced the besieged to think of capitulation. They were on the eve of giving up when the Christian army became nearly as discordant as that of the Mussulmen. The Franks on land complained that the Venetians on the water were not bearing their share of the burdens of war, and they threatened to remain idle in their tents. The Dodge of Venice came upon land with his sailors, armed with their oars, and declared his readiness to mount the ramparts. This hushed the clamors of the land forces, and from that time on there was perfect co-operation. After a siege of five and a half months the city was forced to surrender, the besieged having the privilege of marching out in safety with their wives and children.

When word reached Jerusalem that the flags of the Kingdom and the Dodge of Venice were jointly waving on the ramparts of Tyre, the entire population united in a festival. The city was decorated with flowers, the houses ornamented with rich stuffs, bells were rung, the churches were thrown open, processions marched from place to place, hosannas and Te Deums were sung, prayers were offered, shouts echoed through all the streets. On the return of the Dodge

of Venice to the Holy City, he was saluted by the acclamation of the people and clergy. The barons and inhabitants did all they could to detain him. They even offered him the crown of the Kingdom, in their excess of gratitude and in the prevailing belief that Baldwin had perished in captivity. The wise Dodge refused the crown, but accepted the title of prince of Jerusalem, and then sailed back to Italy with his richly laden fleet.

Meanwhile, Baldwin's captivity was drawing to an end. The Emir of Balac, whose prisoner he was, having captured Josselin's army of ten thousand Christians, was on his way to succour Tyre when he died from the effect of an arrow wound. His death enabled Baldwin to purchase his release and, after a captivity of eighteen months, he appeared in Jerusalem. The price he had agreed to pay for his freedom was regarded as too high and, taking advantage of the ill treatment of some hostages by the Mussulmen, he repudiated his contract and resolved upon war. The Knights flocked to his banner as of old.

As to the enemies of the Christians, the situation had shifted considerably since the establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Egyptians had been defeated in nearly all their efforts to get a foothold in Palestine. After the fall of Tyre, Ascalon remained the only city in which they held full sway. But they still held the mastery of the sea, and their fleets controlled the coasts, in the absence of the stronger fleets of Italy. The Turks had been made to feel their loss of power, and in the midst of dissensions were no longer equal to the task of forming

large armies or carrying on protracted campaigns. Yet they retained their fanaticism, were dogged in their patience, acquainted with the country, used to its climate, and enduring under hunger, thirst and fatigue. They were superior to the Franks in horsemanship and the use of the bow and javelin. In fact they were still finished marauders full of stratagems, desirous of plunder, but weak in the respect that they would sooner entrap and destroy an enemy than fight persistently for victory. They believed in the wearing out tactics, whereas once they favored the policy of concentration and bold aggression.

We have seen that the Christian occupancy of the East invited hosts of pilgrims by land and the fleets of different nations by Sea to join in both the glory and profit of conquest. So the hope of booty attracted hordes to the scene of strife from the ranges of Caucasus and Taurus and the banks of the Tigris. These served to fill the depleted armies of the Mussulmen, just as the constantly arriving pilgrims and adventurers served to recruit the Christian armies. Among the most remarkable of these Mussulmen tribes or hordes were the Assassins, or Ismalians, of Persia. Just before the first Crusade, they founded a colony in the Libanus mountains and were ruled by "The Old Man of the Mountains." By converting absolute despotism into a species of worship, he had drawn around him some sixty thousand devotees, and gained control, directly and indirectly, of several cities. He alone was the depository of the will of Mohammed and could distribute the pleasures

of Paradise as he pleased. His followers were of three classes, people, soldiers and guards. The people cultivated the land and carried on the commerce. They were noted for their docility, industry, sobriety, patience and piety. The soldiers were noted for their skill, strength and courage, and were in constant demand among Mussulmen princes, whom they served for pay. The guards were highly educated and trained with the greatest physical care. They were taught the languages and customs of Asia and Europe, that their master might send them into any country. Every art was employed to stimulate their imaginations and courage, and the value of perfect obedience. Their wills became identical with that of the "Old Man of the Mountains," so that neither danger, disease nor death turned them aside when on a mission for their chief. Through them the "Old Man" made the most powerful leaders his tributaries, and by means of them he heaped up treasures. He sent them out as spies, hired them for assassinations and all occult purposes, and inspired dread everywhere.

These Ismalians hated the Turks. While they sold themselves to the emirs and sultans, they always exacted a very high price, and often stirred up the revolutions which cost their employers their places and heads. They hated the Christians less, because they fought the Turks, and when Baldwin du Bourg was liberated, they contracted to surrender Damascus to him, a great number of their warriors being in the city at the time. But their plot was discovered and six thousand of their number were massacred by the Turks. For

this the "Old Man of the Mountain" demanded the murder of the Sultan of Damascus. It was quickly brought about, and all Syria was thrown into trouble. Out of the confusion sprang a new dynasty, called the dynasty of the Atabecks, or governors of the prince, founded by Zengui, a skillful captain. He got possession of Mossoul, Emessa and Aleppo, together with several other cities, and was soon destined to become a formidable opponent of the Christians.

While this new dynasty was forming, the Christian power in the East attained its zenith. Edessa embraced many provinces in Mesopotamia, and was closely allied with Armenia. Antioch embraced in its principality several cities in Cœlo Syria, Cilicia and Lower Armenia. Tripoli comprised several cities and provinces on the Sea of Phœnicia, and extended to the river Adonis, which formed the northern boundary of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Jerusalem took in very nearly the present limits of Palestine. These four States, of which Antioch was the most flourishing, formed the Christian confederacy of the East. Europe looked upon them with pride, because they represented her blood and treasure, and her faith in Christ. Her bravest were ever ready to devote themselves to this Oriental heritage. Religion had no promise like that extended to their valor. Love, charity, all the humanities, became warlike when the call for their exercise came from the East. From an hospital consecrated to poor pilgrims sprang the Knights of St. John. Following their example, a band of Knights, standing on the site of Solomon's Temple, took an

oath to protect and defend all pilgrims who visited Jerusalem. This was the Order of Templars, whose statutes were framed by St. Bernard. The Knights of these two orders united the military with the religious spirit. They were as one house with one inmate. They lived severely and shared all the glories and dangers of war and pilgrimage. Arms were their only ornaments. Filled with faith and covered with steel they feared not the Infidel, but rejoiced at opportunity to conquer or die for Christ. What was true of these Orders was true of every monastery in Palestine. Prayer mingled with the clangor of arms. Cenobites forgot humility in the excitement of battle, and ignoring the sacred canons instituted by Godfrey, distinguished themselves as Knights of the Holy Sepulchre among the soldiers of Christ.

Very soon the glory of these military orders spread to the West. They served as so many invitations to those who had sins to expiate to join the armies of the East. Crowds who had devastated their own country and had no further ambitions to gratify hastened to share the dangers of those who confronted the Infidel. Hardly a family in Europe failed to send at least one knight to assume the red coat of the Hospitallers of St. John, or the white mantle of the Templars. In all the nations of Europe castles and cities were bestowed on them, which offered an asylum for pilgrims, and became recruiting stations for the armies in the East. As soldiers of Christ, as monks, as heroes, they were remembered in the wills of the rich, and often became heirs to childless princes and mon-

archs. The result of the long continued favoritism was corruption of these orders. Their success and wealth led them to disturb and destroy what they were sworn to protect. Yet, as they failed they were renewed, and like the Crusade itself, they continued to feed and inspire the Christian armies.

Among the illustrious princes who visited Palestine at this time was Foulque, count of Anjou. He was stepson to Philip I, of France. Grief for the loss of his wife led him to Jerusalem with an hundred knights. His piety and valor attracted the attention of Baldwin, who gave him his daughter in marriage and promised to leave him his throne. These two powerful princes strove hard to fortify and extend the kingdom. Their union served as a model for other Christian princes, and their co-operation lasted till Baldwin felt that death was about to end it. Feeling that his hour had come, Baldwin ordered himself to be carried to the spot where Christ had risen again and, commending his daughter and son-in-law to the Christians of the East, he died in their arms. (*See Plate No. XXXVI.*) His death was the occasion of profound grief among his followers, who looked upon him as the last of the companions of the beloved Godfrey. He had reigned eighteen years at Edessa and twelve at Jerusalem. Seven of these years had been passed in captivity among the Infidels. Of a lofty spirit, he was yet too mild and piously inclined to suit the times. The greatest victories of his reign were won by others. Public manners began to decline under his regime. His efforts to stop corruption availed nothing. He did succeed, however, in his efforts



PLATE NO. XXXVI.—DEATH OF BALDWIN.

to re-populate Jerusalem and to establish agriculture and trade in his provinces.

His son-in-law, Foulque, succeeded to the throne to find the Christian states discordant. A son of Bohemond, who had come to the governorship of Antioch, had been killed by the Turks. Bohemond's daughter succeeded him, but the warlike spirit of the time could not tolerate her sex. Her mother, Alise, called in the aid of the Turks and sought to supplant her daughter. Roger, of Sicily, a relative of Bohemond, put in his claim. Over these rivals the clergy and nobility broke into bitter factions. Foulque, king of Jerusalem, claimed the right to intercede as protector of the Frankish confederacy in Asia. He started for the scene of strife with an army of barons, Hospitallers and Templars. On his way he met the count of Tripoli, who had espoused the cause of Alise. A bloody battle ensued between these Christian forces, in which those of the count of Tripoli were beaten. Foulque then pushed toward Antioch, silenced the factions and established peace. To perfect his work he resolved to bestow Bohemond's daughter on one who could protect the territory and inspire respect. He could find none in Syria worthy of his choice. Turning to Europe, he nominated Raymond, of Poitiers, as husband of Bohemond's daughter, and as governor of Antioch. Raymond assumed the garb of a pilgrim and wended his way to Syria to wed the daughter of Bohemond and reign on the banks of the Orontes.

This attempt to govern Antioch from Jerusalem excited the wrath of the Emperor of Constantinople, John Comnenus, son and

successor of Alexius. He headed an army and marched to Antioch, capturing several cities on the way. After several conflicts and a siege of Antioch, Raymond agreed to a treaty with the Greek Emperor and took the oath of allegiance to him. They then agreed to unite their arms against the Mussulmen. Jointly they attacked several cities, but want of understanding between them brought their efforts to nothing. The Emperor then retired and attempted to take Antioch. In this he failed, owing to sedition. He then resolved to march to Jerusalem, but Foulque warned him to desist. After an exhaustive campaign, with nothing to show for it except the homage of Raymond of Antioch, he withdrew to Constantinople.

On the return of Foulque to Jerusalem he found his household in an uproar. Walter, Count of Cæsarea, had accused Hugh, count of Jaffa, of treason and guilty connection with queen Melisende. Trial by single battle was ordered. Hugh, who had not been informed of it, failed to appear, and was adjudged guilty. On learning that he had not been condemned without being heard, he hastened to Ascalon to implore the aid of the Saracens against the Christians. The delighted Mussulmen rushed to his standard, and they ravaged the country as far as Asur and then shut themselves up in Jaffa, which Foulque besieged. Both sides were animated by intense hatreds and the conflict would have been bitter, but for the interposition of the Patriarch, and the desertion of Hugh by some of his most trusted followers. He finally proved amenable to persuasion and agreed to quit the Kingdom for three years.

On his departure he was wounded by the sword of a fanatic and, though he reached Cicily, he died before his term of exile expired. Some historians attribute the attempted assassination of Hugh to Foulque. The Queen seemed to take this view of it, and for a long time she resented his cruelty by placing the person of his favorites, and even of himself, in danger. Not until the King repented of his jealousy and the rigors he had employed, did she become reconciled to the situation.

Fortunately, while these dissensions among the Christians were going on, the Mussulmen had withheld attack. The prince of Mossoul, who had prepared to capture some Christian fortresses, was diverted from his object by an attempt to unite Damascus to his province. This attempt induced the prince of Damascus to call on the Christians for aid. Foulque received hostages and bounty, and marched to the rescue of a Mussulmen city. Zengui, of Mossoul, feared to attack, and withdrew from Damascus. The united Christian and Mussulmen forces then marched to Cæsarea of Philippi, which city was to be given to Foulque if captured. They besieged it for several days when it fell, and was attached to the kingdom of Jerusalem, according to contract. It was not long after this that Foulque met his death by a fall from his horse while hunting near Ptolemais. He left two very young children. Being old when he ascended the throne, he failed rapidly, and had no head for the government of a Kingdom founded in arms and surrounded by enemies. His reign marked the beginning of decline in the

Christian States of the East. His subjects lost their military ardor, and when that was gone there was nothing left as a proof against internal disorders. He was succeeded by his son, Baldwin III, a boy of thirteen years, with his mother as regent. Thus the most dangerous throne in the world passed from a decrepit old man to a woman and child. Parties sprang up and factions multiplied. Clergy, barons, Knights and people interfered with the affairs of State, and the authority which none but a vigorous general could uphold was speedily shorn of its efficacy by the demon of weakness and confusion. In order to eliminate the female factor, which was altogether at odds with blood and prowess, however much it may have favored intrigue, young Baldwin was declared King at the age of fourteen. Having received the sword as defender of the faith; the ring as symbol of faith; the sceptre and crown as signs of power; the globe as typical of the earth and his Kingdom; he displayed his boyish courage by marching beyond Jordan and capturing the Valley of Moses from the enemy. Elated by his successes, illy advised, not knowing whom to attack, but full of the spirit of the age which cried war! war! war! blood! blood! blood! he plunged into a second project which presaged a sad future for him and his Kingdom.

As has just been seen, his father had made a treaty with the Sultan of Damascus. An Armenian who governed Bosra in the name of the Sultan of Damascus came to Jerusalem with an offer to deliver Bosra to the Christians. All the wiser heads rejected his

proposition, but the more turbulent and ambitious favored an expedition to take the city. The Christian army was soon under way. When it crossed the Libanus ranges and entered the territory of Damascus it encountered the Mussulmen forces. After several severe conflicts, the Christians succeeded in reaching Traconite, a country of scorched plains, difficult roads and poisoned waters. The Turkish archers shot arrows from hill tops and ambushes. Still, the Christian army pressed on amid all these difficulties, and when it arrived in sight of Bosra it found the garrison, led by the wife of the prince who had agreed to surrender the city, in arms for its defence. Consternation at once spread through the Christian forces. The leaders, mindful of the difficulties with which they were surrounded, urged the young King to make his escape, but he rejected their propositions. An order for retreat was given. The Mussulmen engaged in pursuit. The Christians kept close ranks, and bore their dead and wounded along. The Mussulmen, finding no traces of carnage and being unable to break the solid ranks, believed they were fighting men of iron. The way was covered with dried thistles and other plants. The enemy fired these, and the Christians were forced to march through smoke and cinders, looking like smiths or chimney sweeps. Crowds gathered around the bishop of Nazareth, who bore the wood of the true cross, and implored him to end their woes. Upon raising the cross to Heaven and uttering a prayer, the wind changed and bore the smoke and flame which had been afflicting

the Christians directly against the Mussulmen. Rejoiced at this miracle, the Christians marched steadily forward, preceded by a ghostly Knight, mounted on a white horse and bearing a red standard, who piloted them out of danger. Following the lead of this equestrian angel, the starved, fatigued and miserable army found its way back to Jerusalem, where it was received by the people, singing, "Let us give ourselves up to joy, for that people that was dead is resuscitated, it was lost, and behold here it is found again."

While thus the Christians were rejoicing, Zengui, Sultan of Mossoul, was pushing a series of victories toward Damascus. He united a skillful policy with great bravery, and quite deceived the Christians as to the importance of his operations. Knowing that nothing was so fatal to them as repose, since in times of peace they generally fell out among themselves, he pursued his conquests quietly till ready to strike a fatal blow. Antioch and Edessa were the barriers of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Antioch and the line of the Orontes were ably defended by Raymond of Poitiers. Edessa and the line of the Euphrates had been firmly held by old Josselin de Courtenay. But while the latter was besieging a castle near Aleppo, a tower fell on him, and he was borne in a dying condition to Edessa. While awaiting death word came that the Turks had attacked one of his cities. He bade his son, young Josselin, to go promptly and meet the enemy. The young prince, both dissolute and cowardly, represented to his father that he had not forces sufficient to meet the enemy.

The father at once caused himself to be borne on a litter at the head of his soldiers, and thus approached the besieged city. The Turks fled without a battle. The old man raised his eyes thankfully to Heaven and expired in the midst of his faithful warriors. His death occasioned great grief at Edessa, whose fate he lamented, since it was about to pass into the hands of so unworthy a son. Young Josselin did not even abide in Edessa but withdrew to Turbessel, a pleasant retreat on the Euphrates, and gave himself up to riotous living, forgetting all about the cares of state and the dangers which menaced his principality.

Zengui had long coveted Edessa. He now saw his chance in the weakness of young Josselin. Not to disturb his fancied security, Zengui pretended to make war upon the Saracens, and when it was supposed he was engaged in attacking Mussulmen cities in Mesopotamia, he suddenly appeared before Edessa with a powerful army. Josselin seemed to awaken from his stupor and his soldiers made a brave resistance. He summoned Raymond to his aid, but the prince of Antioch hated him and refused assistance. He also called on the queen regent of Jerusalem, but her forces could not reach him in time. Zengui had completely surrounded the city and pushed his towers close in upon the ramparts. The walls were yielding to his battering rams. His army was ready for final assault, when he summoned the Christians to surrender. Though defeat and death stared them in the face, they refused all terms, still hoping for the arrival of the forces from Jerusalem. On the twenty-

eighth day of the siege several of the Christian towers fell, being undermined, and Zengui ordered a general assault. It was easy to pass through the breaches in the walls, which the Turkish forces did with demoniac shouts. The boldest warriors met them with resolution only to perish, while the greater part, terror-stricken by the fall of the towers, rushed madly about and became a quick prey to the Mussulmen sabres. The Turks, in their excess of rage, spared no one. Men, women and children fell before their merciless swords. No home nor sanctuary sufficed to save them from massacre.

The soldiers who defended the citadel offered so heroic a resistance that they made terms of surrender, yet many of them were afterward massacred. Many priests who survived the carnage were sold into slavery. An Armenian patriarch was dragged through the streets and beaten with rods. Matthew of Edessa, the most celebrated historian of Armenia, perished by the sword. Hugh, a Latin archbishop, was slaughtered, with all his clergy, while endeavoring to escape with his great treasures. After the citadel fell and the triumph of Zengui and his army was complete, the city was given over to indiscriminate pillage. The dead were mutilated and robbed. The living were sold like animals. The churches were plundered. Those who relied on their religion were mocked, till many fell dead through sheer despair. From all the steeples and towers Zengui caused the proclamation to be made, "Oh Mohammed! prophet of Heaven, we have gained a great victory in thy name. We have destroyed the people that worshipped

stone, and torrents of blood have been shed to make thy laws triumph."

Thus fell back into the hands of the Mussulmen one of the strongest cities in Asia, and to both Christian and Turk the most important, strategically speaking. It had been the bulwark of Jerusalem on the north, a protection to the Christians of Armenia, and an asylum for discontented Crusaders. Its capture greatly elated the Mussulmen, and the Caliph of Bagdad ordered that the name of Zengui should be mentioned in Friday's public prayers. Zengui garrisoned the city and pushed on for further conquests. But his career was soon to end. While besieging Schabar in Mesopotamia, he was assassinated by some of his slaves. His death was a great loss to the Mussulmen armies and polity, and a source of joy to the Christians, who not only found consolation in it for their defeats but accepted it as a sure sign of the downfall of the Infidel power. But they were little aware of the number and resources of their enemies.

Josselin undertook to regain Edessa. While besieging it, he was suddenly surrounded by a Turkish army under Nouredin, second son of Zengui, who inherited much of his father's ability, had received Aleppo as his share of the paternal estate, and was anxious to prove his faith by victories over the Christians. The Christian army succeeded in entering the city but could not capture the citadel. It therefore found itself between two fires. The only way of escape which opened was to silently decamp in the night and work a passage

through the Mussulmen camps and into the plains beyond. Before the city could be thus emptied, the garrison in the citadel gave the alarm and rushed to get control of the gates. There were many severe conflicts, whose horrors were increased by the darkness, but the Christians forced an exit and spread about in groups so as to cut their way through the outside camps. Here again all the horrors of midnight battle and carnage were renewed. In and out of the city nothing was heard but shrieks of death. "Oh disastrous night!" exclaims William of Tyre: "Dawn of hell, day without pity, day of misfortune which arose upon the children of a city formerly worthy of envy!" The warriors who succeeded in piercing the Mussulmen lines were pursued to the banks of the Euphrates, leaving in their track arms, baggage, wounded and dead. Barely a thousand managed to escape, and these shut themselves up in Samosata to deplore the direful calamities they could not avenge. It is estimated by historians of the times that the campaigns of Zengui and Nouredin had, up to this date, cost the lives of thirty thousand Christians, besides sixteen thousand sold into slavery. Nouredin destroyed the ramparts, towers, citadel and churches of Edessa, banished all the Christians who were spared, and left it a ruin in the keeping of a few beggars. The victorious son now stood equal with the father in the estimation of all good Mohammedans, and the prophets predicted in his name the re-conquest of the Holy City.

All was now darkly ominous for the Christian cause in the East. Every city was filled

with grief and despair over the fall of Edessa and the mournful fate of her citizens. The terror inspired by events on the Euphrates was increased by signs and omens which took a deep hold on the palsied and superstitious occupants of Jerusalem. Thunder smote upon the churches of Mount Zion and the Holy Sepulchre. A hairy comet sped through the heavens leaving consternation in its wake. Countless other signs contributed to the doleful impressions that the future would reveal nothing but disasters. Rodelphe, the Chancellor of Jerusalem, was taken away by force to the siege of Tyre. The clergy were discordant and rumors of scandal in the sanctuary were rife. Christians throughout the entire East were persuaded that Heaven had turned against them, and that they were to become the subjects of horrible visitation.

PART II.

THE SECOND CRUSADE.

ARTICLE I.

PREACHING OF ST. BERNARD.

A. D. 1145—1147.



FORTY-FIVE years had elapsed since the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre by the first Crusaders. The capture of Edessa by the forces of Zengui and Nouredin awakened the Christians to the discovery of an alarming renovation of the Turkish power on their frontiers and in their very midst. It was the unanimous voice of the Christian cities and provinces that a call for help must be issued to Europe in order to save the Holy City and the cause in the East. Accordingly an immense delegation of priests and Knights under the lead of the bishop of Gaballa in Syria, repaired to Viterbo, the then residence of the Pope of Rome. They recited with much feeling the misfortunes of Edessa and the danger which menaced Jerusalem. There had been many changes in Europe since the preaching of Peter and the Council of Clermont, yet the political condition and the religious infatua-

tion still favored an uprising not unlike that of a half a century before.

The eloquent Peter the Hermit was no more, but the still more eloquent, scholarly and powerful St. Bernard raised his voice to spread the alarm and excite the nations and rulers of Christendom to rally to the banners of the cross. Born in Burgundy, he had in early manhood shut himself up in the monastery of Citteaux. Afterwards he became a recluse at Clairvaux, where he grew to distinction as abbot of its famed monastery. Councils and popes bowed to his eloquence and wisdom, and prelates and monarchs came to believe that God spoke by his mouth. The placing of Innocent II in the papal chair was due to his influence, and Innocent III and Abbot Suger were his disciples.

At this time (A. D. 1145) Louis VII was on the throne of France. Most of the great vassals, who at first opposed him, had laid down their arms. He had added the duchy of Aquitaine to his Kingdom by a marriage with the daughter of William IX. Thus enlarged, France had nothing to fear from

her neighbors, and was at peace while civil wars disturbed both Germany and England. Louis' worst enemy was the Pope who urged upon him his pretensions, and who, moreover, favored the intrigues of Thibaut, one of the most powerful vassals of the King. Louis determined to avenge the situation. He devastated the states of Thibaut, captured Vitri, murdered its inhabitants, and burned a church over the heads of some thirteen hundred citizens who had sought sanctuary therein. This barbarous conduct threw a cloud upon what was the beginning of a prosperous reign. His ministers looked upon his deeds with regret, and St. Bernard boldly drove his inhuman conduct home upon him in an eloquent letter. The King fell into depression, became thoroughly penitent and, according to the custom of his age, determined to expiate his murders at Vitri by going to combat the Infidels.

He called a council at Bourges in order to make his determination known to the nobility and clergy. Godfrey, bishop of Laugres, applauded the King's resolution, but the more politic St. Bernard advised him to consult the Pope before he took final action. The then Pope was Eugenius III, who had already been impressed by the story of the Christian delegation from the East, and who found strong motives for the preaching of a crusade in Europe in the fact that there was a seditious spirit abroad which endangered the power of the Holy See and the doctrines of the Church. A new crusade would prove an escape for the spirit of unrest, and would draw attention more closely to the sanctuary and the cross. Defence of Jerusalem against

the Infidel meant, as things stood, the best possible defence of the Church against home heretics. Therefore Eugenius fell readily to the plans of Louis, congratulated him on his pious determination and promised him the same expiations and awards Pope Urban II had extended to the first Crusaders. Regretting that he could not cross the Alps and visit France, as Urban had done, he commissioned St. Bernard to preach the crusade in France and Germany.

After receiving the approval of the Pope, Louis called another assembly at Verzei in Burgundy. The reputation of St. Bernard and the circular letters of the Pope to all Christendom brought thither a vast concourse of barons, knights, prelates and common people. The King in royal robes and St. Bernard clad as a Cenobite appeared on a platform upon the hill-side and received the acclamations of the populace. On this occasion St. Bernard was impressively eloquent. After reading the letters from the Pope he dilated upon the fate of Edessa and the desolation of the holy places. Zion implored succor, Christ was ready to immolate himself a second time, Jerusalem was ready to open her gates to receive the martyrs of the faith, the universe was in terror at the thought that God had deserted his beloved land. The period was one of chastisement and ruin. In the name of the enemy of mankind corruption brooded over all regions. Unpunished wickedness was in full play. Neither religion nor law served to check depravity of manners or the triumphs of the wicked. Heresy had usurped the chair of truth. God had sent forth his maledictions on the sanc-

tuary. It was time to appease the anger of Heaven. Goodness could not be implored further by vain complaint, nor by sackcloth, but by bucklers. The penances which God imposed were the din of arms and the dangers and fatigues of war. "Hasten then," he ejaculated, "to expiate your sins by victories over the Infidels. Let the delivery of the holy places be the reward of your repentance."

All through his masterly exhortation he was interrupted by the cry of, "It is the will of God!" Inspired by the enthusiasm of his auditors he continued, "If it were announced to you that the enemy had invaded your cities, castles and lands, and had ravished your wives and daughters and profaned your temples, which of you would not fly to arms? Well then, these and greater calamities have fallen upon the family of Christ, which is your family. Why do you hesitate to repair so many evils and revenge so many outrages? Will you allow the Infidels to contemplate in peace the ravages they have committed on Christian people? Their triumph will be a subject of grief for all ages, and an eternal opprobrium upon the generation that has endured it. The living God has charged me to announce that he will punish them who do not defend him against his enemies. Fly to arms! Let a holy rage animate you in the fight. Let the Christian world resound with the words of the prophet, "Cursed be he who does not stain his sword with blood!" If the Lord calls you to the defence of his heritage, think not his hand has lost its power. He could send twelve legion of angels or breathe one word,

and all his enemies would crumble into dust. But he has considered the sons of men and caused for you a day of safety by calling on you to avenge his glory and name. Christian warriors, he who gave you your lives, today demands yours in turn. These combats are worthy of you. They are combats in which it is glorious to conquer and advantageous to die. Illustrious Knights, generous defenders of the cross, remember the example of your fathers who conquered at Jerusalem and whose names are inscribed in Heaven. Abandon then the things that perish to gather eternal palms, to conquer a Kingdom without end."

Never was assembly so moved by eloquence. Barons, Knights and the crowd burst into applause and were persuaded that his words were those of God. Louis VII was so moved that he cast himself at the feet of the orator and demanded the cross. Clothed with the sacred emblem, he himself addressed the audience and exhorted them to follow his example. (*See Plate No. XXXVII.*) His discourse melted his hearers to tears and persuaded all who remained untouched by the eloquence of St. Bernard. The hill occupied by the throng resounded with the cries of, "It is the will of God!" Eleanor, the King's wife, received the cross from St. Bernard. Alphonso, count of Toulouse; Henry, son of Thibaut; Thieri, count of Flanders; William of Nevers; Renaud, count of Tenniere; and a host of illustrious barons and knights followed the example of Louis and Eleanor. A great number of bishops threw themselves at the feet of St. Bernard and begged to take the oath to



PLATE No. XXXVII.—LOUIS VII. RECEIVING THE CROSS FROM ST. BERNARD.

fight against the Infidel. Such was the number seeking to enlist that the clergy ran out of crosses with which to decorate them, and were forced to tear their clothes into shreds in order to supply the holy emblem to impatient recruits. A church was founded upon the spot where St. Bernard preached, and for centuries it remained an object of veneration.

After this celebrated assembly at Verzelai, St. Bernard carried his preaching into surrounding cities and countries. France was ablaze with his words and miracles. He ranked as a messenger of Heaven and another Moses, especially commissioned to lead the people of God. All Christians felt that the success of the Crusade depended on St. Bernard. At Chartres, where a second assembly met, the barons and knights voted that he should command the armies destined for the holy war. But St. Bernard was far different from Peter the Hermit, whose sad experience he fully remembered. He declined the proffered honor and, on being importuned to accept, appealed to the Pope to protect him from the snares of men. The Pope wrote that he need only arm himself with the sword of the word of God, and should content himself with sounding the trumpet of war. He afterward pursued only his mission, and with such effect that, in a letter to the Pope, he said, "The villages and castles are deserted, and there are none left but widows and orphans, whose husbands and parents are still living." He blighted Europe to save Asia and devastated home to crown a foreign triumph.

While St. Bernard was inflaming France,

a German monk, Rodolphe by name, was inciting the people on the Rhine to massacre the Jews, as worse enemies of the Christians than the Infidels themselves. St. Bernard hastened to counteract the effect of Rodolphe's preaching, and succeeded in sending him back to his monastery, silenced by the argument that a monk's duty was to weep and not to preach, and that they ought to consider cities as their prisons and solitude as their paradise. How he reconciled this with his own fiery zeal and warlike eloquence has never been fully explained. Once on German soil, he continued his preaching among the German people. The new Emperor, Conrad III, had just called together the diet of Spire. St. Bernard exhorted him to take up the cross, but Conrad had his hands full of the trouble which grew out of the election of Lothaire. The more Conrad hesitated the more St. Bernard urged. "The Holy See," said he, "has placed you upon the throne, and the Church will support its work." These exhortations were in private; but one day St. Bernard took advantage of a mass before the King and barons to preach war against the Infidels. Conrad was so much affected by his eloquence that he burst into tears and exclaimed, "I know what I owe to Jesus Christ, and I swear to go wherever he calls me." The assembled nobles and people, believing they had witnessed a miracle, threw themselves upon their knees and thanked God for his blessed manifestations. Conrad received from St. Bernard the emblem of the Crusaders and the flag which Heaven had blessed. A great number of barons and knights took the oath to de-

feud the cross, and the diet of Spire which had been called to deliberate on the affairs of the Kingdom gave itself entirely up to devising ways and means for the safety of the Christian colonies in the East.

At another diet convened in Bavaria, the same scenes were enacted. St. Bernard was present, and by his eloquence he induced a great number of the nobility and clergy to take up the banner of the Cross—Ladislas, duke of Bohemia; Odoacer, marquis of Syria; Bernard, count of Carinthia; Amadeus, duke of Turin; the duke of Passau; the bishop of Ratisbon; Otho, of Frisingen. No home interests, no dear affections, were sufficient to detain knights and adventurers in their birthplaces. From the Rhine to the Danube the war cry resounded, and warriors sprang up full of fanatical zeal and determined to risk life and fortune in maintaining the conquests of their Christian brethren. Men of all conditions assumed the Cross. Thieves and robbers professed penitence and swore to shed their blood for the sake of Christ. Their change of heart was regarded as a work of God, and created no astonishment.

The success of St. Bernard among the Germans was marvellous in the respects that as a people they were just issuing from sore internal troubles, and because they could not understand his language. His reverend appearance, reports of his miracles, his fame as an orator, sufficed to impress all with the importance of his mission, and to persuade all. Shepherds and laborers abandoned their fields to follow him to the cities. When he was announced to preach, a holiday was pro-

claimed. War against the Infidels and the prodigies by which God supported Christian arms and achieved Christian victories absorbed the thoughts of all classes. St. Bernard thus visited all the cities of the Rhine, preaching and exhorting, restoring sight to the blind, curing the halt and sick, making the deaf to hear. Thirty-six miracles were attributed to him in one day, and each one drew from the multitude the shout "Jesus Christ have mercy on us! All the saints succour us!" Every day an increasing crowd pressed around him, anxious to witness his miracles and to touch the hem of his garment. What mars the story of his powers is the announcement that one day he would have been stifled by the multitude had not the German emperor taken him in his arms and borne him beyond range of the mob.

While setting Germany ablaze, St. Bernard was exciting Italy by his letters. Returning to France, he found that neither King nor nobles had taken steps to organize an army. Taking matters in hand, and discoursing eloquently on his successes in Germany and other countries, he re-inspired the French, had a council called at Etampes, and so perfected operations as to insure the co-operations of the provinces of France. While the assembly was in session, Roger, King of Apulia and Sicily, sent an embassy to the King of France, offering to transport his army to Palestine by sea, and reminding him of the perfidious conduct of the Greek emperor toward the first Crusaders when they reached Constantinople. The leaders preferred the excitement of the land route to

the monotony of a sea voyage. Besides, they could not bring themselves to doubt the faith of the Greek emperor. Again, the Italian fleets were all too small to accommodate the great numbers who had enlisted for the Crusade.

It became the duty of the assembly of Etampes to nominate a person to take charge of the kingdom during the absence of Louis VII. While the barons were debating the momentous question, St. Bernard addressed the King and, pointing to Abbot Suger and Count de Nevers, said, "Sire, there are two weapons and they are enough." They were both importuned to accept the honor, but both declined. Abbot Suger, who was opposed to the Crusade, and who yet, strange to say, preserved his reputation, advised the King to stay at home, assuring him that his errors would be more speedily atoned by a wise administration than by conquests in the East. Count de Nevers had made a vow to enter the order of St. Bruno. The Pope, who had come into France during the debates, ordered Abbot Suger to accept and, as a prelude to his assumption of the dangerous charge, he threatened with the thunders of the Church all who should make any attempt against the regal authority during the absence of the King. Thus was presented the anomaly of a monk leaving his cloister to govern a kingdom and of a secular prince bidding the world good-bye and burying himself in a monastery.

France and Germany were now in motion. Their armies were coming together for the second Crusade, inspired by the same motives which had fired the zeal and courage

of the followers of Godfrey. The East offered to their ambitions the same hopes and advantages. Memory of the conquest of Jerusalem and the new relations between Syria and Europe, further fired the zeal of the soldiers of the Cross. Nearly every family in Europe had furnished a defender of the holy places or an occupant of the captured cities. The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the principalities of Edessa and Antioch, owed their rescue from the Mussulmen and their glory to French valor. It was therefore like France of the West marching to protect France of the East. As at the time of the first Crusade, the nobles and Knights found enlistment a favorite way of relieving their consciences from sins. The spirit of chivalry was making rapid progress, and thousands were attracted by its alluring codes. A great crowd of women took up the lance and cross, after the example of Eleanor. This attracted a host of Knightly followers, sworn to protect the honor of the sex. Indeed, any full grown male who did not enlist to fight the Infidel was reproached and insulted. He was presented with a distaff or spindle as a suggestion of grand-motherly conduct and downright cowardice. It was also the era of the troubadours, whose songs of the exploits of Knights in Palestine were very popular. These now joined the Crusaders and accompanied the heroes and dames they mentioned in their verses. Queen Eleanor took several troubadours and minstrels in her suite to relieve the monotony of the journey.

But, with all this, there were manifest shades of difference between the enthusiasm

of the second and first Crusaders. The signs and tokens, phenomena celestial and terrestrial, which Peter employed so effectively to excite the imagination of the first Crusaders, were not used to the same extent by St. Bernard. The prodigies which had signified the special will of Heaven to the first Crusaders, were now looked for in the personal eloquence and miracles of St. Bernard, who seemed to embody both the voice and power of God. While the preaching and departure of both Crusades implied the cessation of civil wars and public outrages in semi-civilized Europe, the gathering and departure of the second was less mob-like and far more orderly than the first. Better counsels prevailed, more deliberation was shown in the choice of leaders. Neither France nor Germany had to suffer at the start the ravages of a locust like multitude. Princes, Knights, monks and adventurers, often as characterless as their followers, led the tumultuous and unlicensed squads of the first Crusade. In the second, the smaller vassals gathered round their lords according to feudal usages, and the lords gathered around Louis VII, of France and Conrad III of Germany, the two secular princes who, by common consent, assured military control.

Metz became the rallying point of the French Crusaders, and Ratisbon of the German. All the roads leading to these two cities were alive with enthusiastic pilgrims. Great numbers also repaired to the ports of England, Flanders and Italy, to take passage in the fleets designed to carry arms and provisions to Asia. By advice of the Pope, the leaders were requested to leave their dogs

and hunting hawks behind and not to introduce into their marches and camps the sports and luxuries of their castles and estates. This valuable advice contributed to more seriousness on the part of the leaders and to better discipline among their followers. The routes were better known than before, and the Crusaders, especially those of Germany, prepared themselves for such difficulties as they could anticipate by taking along tools for making roads, clearing forests and constructing bridges. So many fortunes had been sacrificed in order to raise money for the first crusade, and the examples of foolish prodigality had been so frequent, that the dearth of money was experienced with which to defray the expenses of the second. Still, the order of thought and the devotional usage was for all who could not go to Jerusalem to give directly or by will to the support of those who could go. Louis VII made loans for payment of which he levied taxes, with the Pope's sanction. Though St. Bernard and Peter the Venerable had taken a stand against persecution of the Jews, the abbot of Cluny advised Louis to take from them the money necessary to make war upon the Infidel, his reasoning being that "they ought to be punished because they held dearest the wealth amassed by usury and sacrilege." The clergy, who had derived inordinate riches from the first crusade, contributed liberally to the second. Many of the lords and barons sold or mortgaged their castles and estates, but the greater part made their vassals contribute the means for pilgrimage. The despoiling of the churches and the imposition of new and heavy taxes began to produce

discontent and to cool the ardor of the Crusade. An historian of the time writes, "There was neither state, condition, age nor sex, which was not forced to contribute to the equipment of the King and the princes going with him; whence followed the discontent of every one, and innumerable maledictions against both the King and his troops."

Louis continued his preparation by visiting the hospitals and inviting the prayers of the churches for his success. He went to St. Denis to receive the Oriflamme which was borne by the Kings of France in battle. There also he gazed upon the portraits of Godfrey, Tancred and Raymond, and the paintings of the battles of Dorylæum, Antioch and Ascalon. He fell upon the tomb of the holy apostle of France and implored his protection, and that of his pious ancestors buried there. The Pope arrived at St. Denis while Louis was there. He pledged the Kingdom of France anew to religion, and presented the King with his scrip staff as emblems of his pilgrimage. These devotional preparations over, Louis was ready to start. He left Metz at the head of a hundred thousand Crusaders, passed through Germany, and wended his way to Constantinople, where he had arranged to meet the German Emperor.

The German Emperor, Conrad III, had started from Ratisbon in advance of Louis, after having crowned his son Henry in his stead. His following was so large that, in the language of Otho, "waves were not sufficient to transport it, nor the fields spacious enough to contain all his battalions."

He had notified the Greek Emperor, Manuel Comnenus, grand-son of and successor to Alexius, of his coming, and had received the promise of a safe passage through Bulgaria and Thrace. But he was not long in finding out that these promises were only of the lips. Matters had changed at Constantinople since the first Crusade. Then, fear of the Turk had proved of advantage to the Franks. Since the Christian conquests in the East, Constantinople had ceased to fear the Mussulmen. Moreover, since the warriors of the West had failed to keep their compacts with Alexius, and had set up independent Kingdoms on his soil, contrary to their pledges of allegiance, the opinion was abroad in the Greek Empire that the coming Crusaders intended to capture Constantinople. This opinion was strengthened by the boasts of the Crusaders themselves. Such an impression was not conducive to peace between Greek and Latin religions, nor between empires and peoples who cordially despised each other and indulged in mutual charges of broken pledges.

Manuel Comnenus was abler and more artful than his illustrious grandfather. Faithful to the policy of his ancestor, and influenced by the changed situation, he sought to annoy and ruin the approaching German army, whose warriors were painted as men of iron, with eyes darting flames, and hands ready to shed blood as water. While he sent them an embassy and provisions, he fortified his capital and made an alliance with the Turks. As the Germans approached, they were often secretly attacked by the Greeks, and the latter had as often to

complain of the violence of the Crusaders. The soldiers of Manuel slew a relation of Conrad, who was left behind sick in the monastery of Adrianople. The Germans burned the monastery and shed torrents of blood in the streets in search of vengeance.

On the arrival of Conrad at Constantinople, there was presented the strange sight of two Emperors, each of whom had inherited the wreck of the Roman Empire, and called himself successor to Cæsar and Constantine. He of the West had a large and fanatical army at his back. He of the East did not dare to insist too openly on his claims. But the boastful strength of the one was overmatched by the artful diplomacy of the other. As soon as the German Crusaders crossed the Bosphorus and had taken their course through Asia Minor, they began to experience the treacherous hatred of Manuel Comnenus. His soldiers cut off the stragglers from their ranks. They found the cities closed, and were forced to buy provisions, which were lowered in baskets from the walls. Flour sold to them was often adulterated with lime. They could seldom sell anything to the natives, and when they did, false coins were palmed off on them. Ambuscades were laid for them, and false guides were provided who led them into passes where they became the victims of the Turks. Easy as it might have been for the Germans to revenge themselves, they bore this treachery with patience, and passed doggedly along on their mission.

When the French Crusaders came along, their impatience commanded a respect not shown to the Germans. Comnenus and

Louis had an interview, in which they embraced and sought to rival each other in display. The former feasted the Crusaders, and his lords bowed before the French King. As the banqueters grew hilarious and confidential, Louis learned with surprise that his plans were fully known to the Turks, and that the Greek Emperor was in close alliance with the Sultan of Iconium. This duplicity angered the French lords, and when the Emperor came to require such homage of Louis as the leaders of the first Crusade had rendered, there was a warm dispute in the councils of Louis, as to whether it would not be justifiable to capture Constantinople before proceeding further. The bishop of Langres made a fiery speech in which he advocated the taking of the Greek capital, the demolition of the Greek Empire and the opening of a free route for the Christians of the West to Jerusalem. The more discreet of the lords, angered though they were, claimed that they had come to Asia to expiate their sins and not to punish the crimes of the Greeks; that they had taken arms to defend Jerusalem and not to destroy Constantinople; that the Greeks were heretics but no more worthy of massacre than the Jews; that when Christian warriors assumed the cross God did not put in their hands the sword of justice. These angered but wise lords saw much more policy than religion in the speech of the Latin prelate, and refused to run counter to their principles of honor. The misfortunes which the bishop had pictured as in store for them, if they failed to reduce the capital of the Greek Church and Empire, did not serve to weaken their faith in Provi-

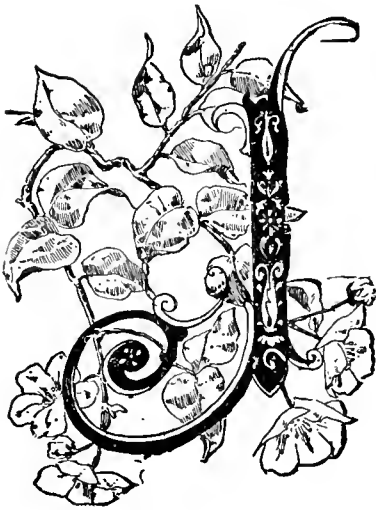
dence and their own valor for the overthrow of all obstacles. Besides, delay was dangerous not only to themselves but to those they had started out to succor. Moderation triumphed in the end. The leaders paid the usual homage to Comnenus and received in turn his richest presents and most lavish promises. But the Greek Emperor was in

no way assured of the good faith of the Crusaders. In order to hasten their departure from Constantinople he gave it out that the Germans had won victories over the Turks and had captured Iconium. This joyful news acted like a charm, and soon the entire French army was on its way from Constantinople across the Bosphorous and into Asia.

ARTICLE II.

LOUIS AND CONRAD IN PALESTINE.

A. D. 1147.



JUST as the French Crusaders were beginning their march through Asia Minor, they were startled by an eclipse of the sun. The superstitious throng saw in it an omen of disaster. And soon their worst fears were to be realized. When encamped on the shores of Lake Ascanius, near Nice, Louis received word of the overwhelming defeat of Conrad and his Germans. The sad word taught him how to appreciate the story given out by the Greek Emperor, also some of the results of over-confidence and reliance on the supernatural. On the approach of Conrad, the Sultan of Iconium had fully prepared himself. Conrad proved, according to William of Tyre, a *vir simplex*, that is, entirely too full of faith for his own good and that of his army, and too anxious to keep ahead of the French and crown himself and nationality with independent laurels. Ignorant of the way, illy provisioned, trusting to inimical guides, he marched directly into the teeth of the enemy, who occupied mountain sides and passes, and rode light

armed over the plains. The Germans found themselves surrounded by a nimble and audacious enemy, who took every advantage of their crowded ranks and heavily armored warriors. Day after day the enemy skirmished with the hungry and fatigued Crusaders, and seldom with disadvantage. They harrassed them with quick sallies and retreats, showered arrows on them from points of vantage, and terrorized them so that progress was next to impossible. The pilgrims who had nothing but scrip and staff became so confused as to be a positive drawback to the fighting forces. The Mussulmen took advantage of this, and kept the unarmed in a constant furore of excitement and dread. By and by the Crusaders began to despair of their situation and all discipline ceased. The orders of leaders were disobeyed, and the least hopeful broke ranks and sought safety as best they might. This soon led to panic and rout. The vigilant enemy pressed hard on all sides and slaughtered and captured pretty much as they pleased. The country was filled with fugitives who became easy victims. Thousands perished with want. As many fell under the sword. Women and children were run off as prisoners in droves. Thus perished nine-tenths of Conrad's great

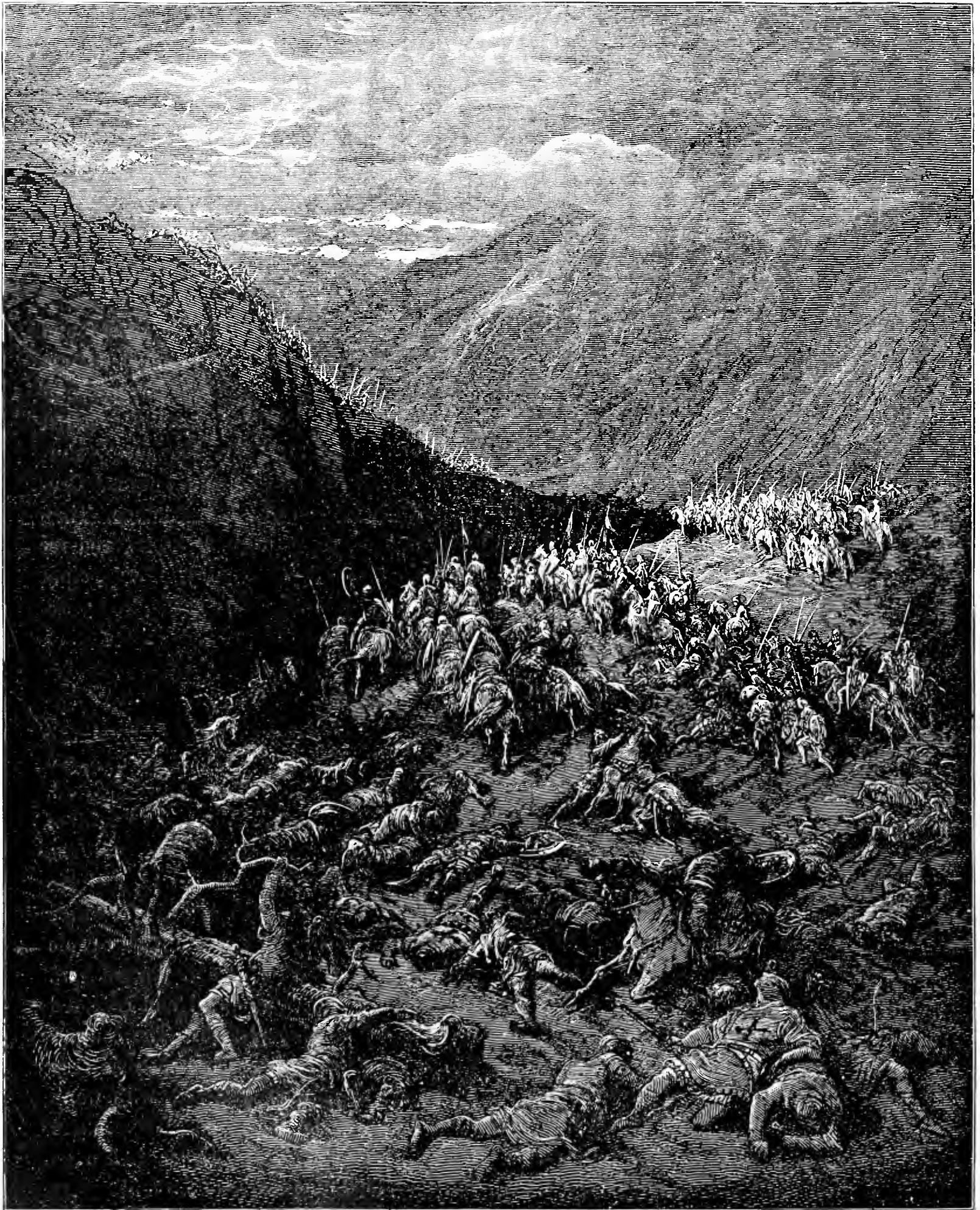


PLATE No. XXXVIII.—DESTRUCTION OF CONRAD'S ARMY.

army, and he, himself, barely escaped, wounded twice by arrows, with the remaining tenth. (*See Plate No. XXXVIII.*)

When Louis learned of this disastrous defeat, his army was stricken with consternation. Yet he hastened to Conrad's assistance. Conrad met Louis with tears and excused his own imprudence by bitter denunciation of Manuel's perfidy. Louis and Conrad swore new oaths to cut their way together to Palestine. Conrad backed away from his, finding himself too much humiliated by being without an army, and too proud to bear the reproaches of the haughty French. He went back to Constantinople with his remnant, where Manuel, who no longer feared him, received him most graciously. The French army passed on through Phrygia, marching by Pergamus, Ephesus and other ancient cities which the Greeks had permitted to fall into ruin. Winter came on. Overflowing streams and impassible roads choked their progress. The rural people fled their approach and ran into the mountains with their flocks and stores. The cities shut their gates and refused provisions to all who could not pay excessive prices. Manuel, taking advantage of the straits of the French, and judiciously magnifying the difficulties with which they were surrounded, offered them an asylum in the depopulated cities of Phrygia. Louis took no stock in his proffers, but preferred to risk the enmity of the Turks. Completing his marching through Phrygia he, at length, reached the Meander. The Turks had prepared to dispute with him the passage of this river, which was now greatly swollen. They posted themselves upon the

mountains and upon either bank. Louis had excellent control of his warriors, whom he animated by brave speech and braver example. Though subjected to clouds of death dealing arrows, he broke the enemy's lines, drove them entirely away from the banks of the river and pursued them into the mountains. In this battle the slaughter of the Turks was terrible, and for years their piled up bones might have been seen on both sides of the stream.

This signal victory inspired the Crusaders with greater confidence. Some, who had seen a knight, clothed in white, giving victorious signals, attributed it to miraculous intervention, but the less superstitious looked no further than their own skill and bravery. The Turks quickly rallied, and were on the alert to take advantage of a foe they dared not attack openly. The leader of the French van guard soon gave them the opportunity they sought. After leaving Laodicea, the army had to pass the mountains which divide Phrygia from Pisidia. The defiles are deep and narrow. For the purposes of passage, Louis divided his army into two bodies, commanded every day by new leaders. The route of the next day was fully mapped and approved the night before. On a certain day the van, under Godfrey de Rancon, who bore the Oriflamme, was to gain the heights of a steep mountain, and encamp till the rest arrived, when the whole was to descend into the plain beyond in order of battle. He arrived on the heights, which were rocky and barren. Queen Eleanor and her suite were so put out with the surroundings and so pleased with the beautiful valley beyond,



PLATE NO. XXXIX.—CRUSADERS SURPRISED BY THE TURKS.

that they importuned Godfrey to descend into it at once. He indiscreetly complied, but had hardly made the descent before the Turks took possession of the heights he had abandoned, thus cutting the Christian army in two. Louis advanced confidently with the rear and, on seeing the rocks and woods full of what he supposed was his van guard, saluted them with joy. His followers marched without order, their arms being with the baggage, and the beasts of burden being mixed with the battalions. The Turks offered no obstacles to the onward march, but quietly spread themselves upon the flanks, till in time they had Louis' columns enfiladed and surrounded. Then they rushed forward with fearful war cries and began the work of slaughter. (*See Plate No. XXXIX.*)

Instantly the French army was thrown into confusion. The surprise was complete and fatal. On the one side were steep rocks rising to the clouds and alive with the enemy. On the other were deep ravines whose edges invited to sure death. The Crusaders were crowded into a narrow path which forbade the formation of battle lines and prevented either advance or retreat. The enemy showered arrows upon the confused columns. They detached rocks and sent them rolling through the clustered ranks carrying horses, chariots and warriors into the ravines. The crashing of boulders, the roar of the mountain torrents, the shrieks of the panic-stricken, wounded and dying, made the scene indescribably horrible. The voice of leaders was silenced amid the tumult. The soldiers could neither fight nor fly. Louis with his

body-guard pushed heroically toward the top of the mountain. Thirty of his bravest knights fell and he was left almost alone. Determined to die like a monarch, he mounted a rock and, with his back to a tree, resisted single handed the utmost efforts of the Turks to kill or capture him. They at length left him to engage in the work of gathering booty. Before their return night came on, and under cover of the darkness the king mounted a stray horse and made his way to the camp of the vanguard. (*See Plate No. XL.*)

After this destructive defeat and the narrow escape of the King, word of his death reached both Europe and the East, causing profound sorrow. Pious people everywhere expressed astonishment that God should have permitted so many valiant warriors of the cross to perish so miserably. The Crusaders of the vanguard demanded that Godfrey should be punished for a violation of orders which resulted in drawing down upon the rear so terrible a visitation. The King was, however, too heart-broken to be severe, and he merely substituted Gilbert, a skilled leader, for the imprudent Godfrey. About this time, the remainder of the Christian army was met by Everard, grand master of the Templars, who had come with a great number of Knights to welcome the Crusaders and act as their escort. King Louis gave to Everard and Gilbert joint command of his forces, and under their lead it gained several important victories over the Turks.

On their arrival in Pisidia, the French found the Turks more active than ever, and the intrigues of the Greeks more subtle and

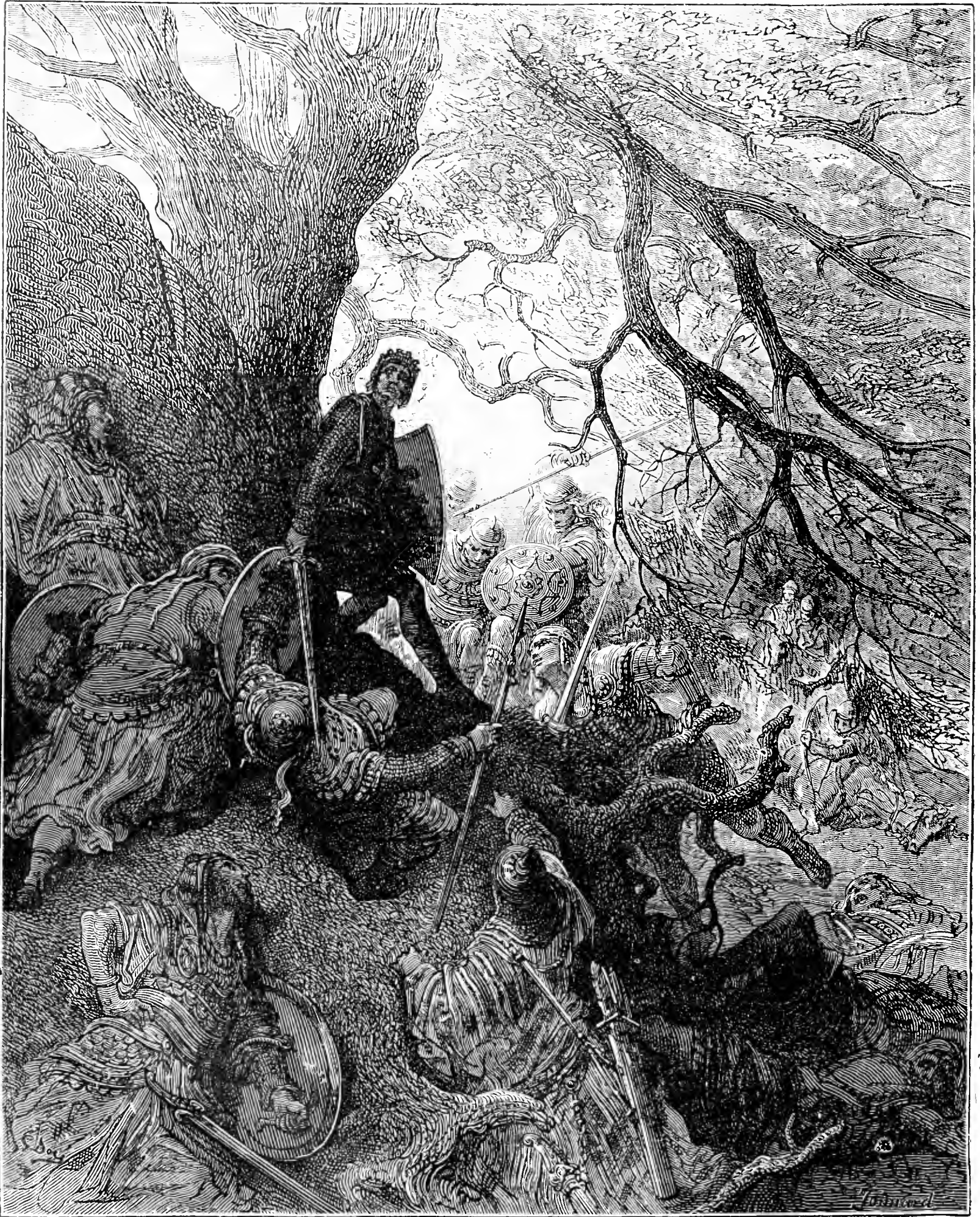


PLATE NO. XL.—KING LOUIS VII.
180

dangerous. Besides, winter came on with its cold rains, impassable roads, and scarcity of provisions. Thousands of horses perished for lack of forage and their carcasses were eaten by the soldiers. The clothing of the Crusaders hung in tatters about them. Arms were sold or thrown away. Tents and baggage were abandoned. A long and daily lengthening train of sick and impoverished had to be dragged along in the wake of the main army. To these King Louis was most liberal, and every day he comforted them by gifts and exhortations. After enduring these hardships the Crusaders at length reached Attalia, on the coast of Pamphylia, a Greek city, and still governed from Constantinople. Its inhabitants mistrusted the Christian army. The gates were closed, and the pilgrims were forced to encamp on the plain, exposed to the rigors of the season. The surrounding country was poor and had, moreover, been frequently ravaged by the Turks. Here famine set in again. The Greeks refused to sell food except at exorbitant prices. The Crusaders found themselves without horses and arms, and so reduced in physical strength as to be unable to stand a long march. In their despair they proposed to Louis that the land route be abandoned and that all should dare the perils of the sea. Louis dissented, but agreed that the sick, aged and all who embarrassed the progress of the army might take ship. At this, the barons showered reproaches on Louis for not having taken the advice of the bishops of Langres and captured Constantinople. They also threatened the Greeks of Attalia. The governor got frightened and offered to find

vessels for Louis and his entire army. After a long delay, during which many Crusaders perished from hunger and exposure, the vessels arrived at the port of Attalia. But they proved too small to carry the entire army.

There was nothing to do but to divide the army, place on board as many as the ships would carry, and give to the remainder leaders and directions for the land route. Louis placed the latter under Thierrri, Count of Flanders, and Archambaud de Bourbon, and embarked with Queen Eleanor, his court nobles and cavalry. It was a sad parting for all concerned, and those who remained returned to their camps amid deep gloom. On the very next day, and while the Crusaders were waiting in their camp for the guides and escort which the governor of Attalia had promised them, they saw the Turks moving down upon them in line of battle and eager for slaughter and plunder. Archambaud and Thierrri formed defensive lines and animated their soldiers, who repulsed several attacks. But the Turks, well aware of their diminished numbers and helpless condition, kept up their attacks daily, determined to wear the Crusaders out. At length, seeing that further resistance was hopeless, they applied to be admitted to the city. Admission was refused. Then utter despair set in. The soldiers refused to listen to their leaders or assist one another. The leaders failed to respond to either the spirit of religion or the love of glory. In order to avoid the desolation, and the sure death which awaited them, Archambaud and Thierrri escaped and boarded a vessel which was sailing to meet the fleet of Louis. No language can describe

the horrible demoralization which prevailed in the remains of the Christian army and among the sick who had found asylum within the walls of Attalia.

Two troops, one of three, the other of four, thousand took their lives in their hands and, in sheer desperation, resolved to march toward Cilicia. Unarmed and without the means of crossing rivers, they nearly all perished. All who followed shared the same fate, and the sick in Attalia were massacred. As an old chronicle has it, "God alone knows the number of the martyrs whose blood flowed beneath the blade of the Turks, and even under the sword of the Greeks." Three thousand Christians, believing that the God who thus deserted them could not be the true God, joined the Mussulmen faith. The Greeks of Attalia were soon punished for their perfidy. A pestilence broke out in the city, and swept away nearly every inhabitant.

The fleet which bore away King Louis and his immediate followers sailed back to the port of Antioch. Here Louis landed on March 19th, 1148, having lost three-fourths of his army. He was warmly received by Raymond of Poitiers, and his depressed followers soon forgot their own misfortunes and the deplorable death of their brethren. Raymond boasted the richest and most elegant court in the East. It was graced by many distinguished and most beautiful women, for whom pilgrimage had had a charm. It received additional splendor by the arrival of Queen Eleanor, daughter of William IX, and niece of Raymond. Like most beautiful women of the time, she preferred admiration

to piety. Penitence, trial, misfortune, thought of the holy places, all of the things which animated the true pilgrims, had not served to modify her desire for pleasure or chasten her spirit of vanity.

Amid the fetes in honor of the French Queen, Raymond urged upon Louis the propriety of a joint attack upon the cities of Aleppo and Cæsarea, in order to weaken the rapidly growing power of Nouredin in Syria. Louis declined out of a spirit of devotion, saying he could engage in no war till he had visited the holy places. Rebuffed in this direction, Raymond resolved to touch the heart of Queen Eleanor. He persuaded her to remain as long as possible at his court. Infatuated by her surroundings and by the homage paid to her beauty and brilliancy, she solicited the King to delay his departure for the Holy City. The King was of a jealous disposition, and saw in her reasons for remaining additional reasons for his going. Raymond felt disappointed, and being choleric as well as indisposed to reason, he determined to revenge himself on Louis. Having gained unlimited control over the Queen, through her vanity and fondness for gallantry, he persuaded her to dissolve her marriage with the King, on the plea of relationship, and attempted to detain her by force in his principality. Louis felt outraged both as husband and sovereign, seized his wife and bore her to his camp by night, and made haste to depart. This conduct of the Queen scandalized the Christians of the East and produced a demoralizing effect in an army which contained so many women as Louis' and in a capital so

gay and licentious as that of Raymond. She was alike partial to Mussulmen and Christians, and received praise and presents from the princes of both religions. King Louis VII could not forget the disgrace she brought on him, and in a few years repudiated her altogether, when she married Henry II of England, thus bestowing the duchy of Guienne upon that country, one of the most deplorable consequences of this second Crusade.

The King and barons at Jerusalem, dreading the effects of King Louis' stay in Antioch, sent word for him to hasten to the Holy City. As the request suited his desires, he hastened through Syria and Phœnicia, and arrived in due time in Jerusalem to be received in state by the princes and prelates. Conrad, the German Emperor, who had left Europe with a countless army, arrived at Jerusalem in the character of a simple pilgrim, just before Louis. The two unfortunate monarchs met, embraced, wept, and then retired to the Church of the Resurrection to reconcile themselves to the decrees of a Providence which had worked so inscrutably with them. The young prince, Baldwin III, was now on the throne of Jerusalem. He inherited the zeal of his ancestors and was full of schemes to obtain the confidence of arriving Crusaders and stay the rising tide of Islamism. He, therefore, called a council at Ptolemais, to which he invited Louis, Conrad and the heads of all the Christian principalities in the East. He had hoped, by means of such a general council, to unite the jealous and discordant Christian states of the East into an alliance, offensive and

defensive, so as to make them more secure against the assaults of the Turks and secure for them greater respect in the West. But while his council was honored by the attendance of two European monarchs, many distinguished prelates, and not a few of the German and French ladies of distinction who had followed the Crusade into Asia, the counts of Edessa and Tripoli, Raymond of Antioch, and Queen Eleanor were conspicuously absent. The name of the unfortunate Josselin was, therefore, not mentioned in the deliberations of the council. Nothing at all was said of Edessa, whose sad fate had aroused the nations of the West to the second Crusade. Raymond's former proposition to capture Aleppo was not mentioned. Indeed, debate was limited almost solely to the project of extending the limits of the Kingdom of Jerusalem northward so as to embrace the Libanus ranges and take in the desirable territory of Damascus. The hope of driving the Mussulmen from a province whose delightful climate, pleasant habitations and fertile fields contrasted so favorably with the barren stretches of Judea, made the proposition for an immediate attack upon Damascus very acceptable to the warriors and clergy of Jerusalem, even if it did not render them forgetful of the growing power of Nouredin.

Accordingly it was resolved that in the spring the troops should gather in Galilee and about the sources of the Jordan, under the joint command of Louis, Conrad and Baldwin, and preceded by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, bearing the true cross. Early in June, the Christian army, to which were

attached the Knights of St. John and of the Temple, set forth from Melchisapar, the city in which Paul was converted, crossed the ranges of Libanus, and encamped near Dary, in full sight of Damascus. Before them lay the object of their ambitions, the beautiful, the rich, the ancient city of Damascus, which had seen the rise and fall of Palmyra, whose mines, workshops and fabrics had delighted Ezekiel, and the report of whose high piled edifices, magnificent gardens and voluptuous life had found a place in both sacred and profane history. Of old, it had been conquered by the Hebrews, then by the Assyrians, then by the Greek successors to Alexander the Great, then by the Romans. Paul's preachings had filled it with Christian converts. During the Saracen sweep northward, it fell early into the hands of the Mohammedan leaders, who drove out or massacred the Christian inhabitants. Situated amid fertile surroundings, and the capital of a fertile province, it had been coveted by all sects of Mussulmen and by the Christians, and had been repeatedly attacked by each. Lately it had been shorn of its areas, but the capital remained intact under a Mussulman prince, who had as much to fear from the ambitions and conspiracies of the emirs as from the attacks by foreign enemies. Noureddin had made several attempts to take it, and was on the eve of another trial when the Christians appeared before it.

It was defended on the east and south by high walls. On the other two sides were the extensive gardens, in the midst of which were clumps of trees, palisades, earthworks and towers, from which archers could oper-

ate effectively. These gardens became the first object of Christian attack, for they would afford, if captured, a safe camping place, with an abundance of water and fruit. They found them less pregnable than they expected. The forest trees, extending clear back to the foot of the Anti-Libanus, were dense, the paths were narrow, the intrenchments frequent. Still the Christian army pushed on with ardent bravery, amid showers of arrows from bush, earthwork and tower. At every turn in the tortuous paths were fierce combats, in which the enemy could scarcely be discovered. At length the unremitting attacks and dogged persistency of the Christians began to exhaust the enemy. The King of Jerusalem, Baldwin III, pushed his army of eastern Christians, headed by the knights of St. John and of the Temple, far through the intricate gardens and well toward the city proper. He was followed by the French Crusaders, led by King Louis VII. Conrad, Emperor of Germany, formed a body of reserve around the poor remains of his army, and stationed himself so as to prevent surprises.

When the enemy once began to recoil and break, the young king of Jerusalem pursued with vengeful ardor, followed by his enthusiastic warriors. They kept up the pursuit till the banks of the stream were reached, which flowed under the walls of the city. Here the Mussulmen made a stand. Baldwin threw his forces against them several times, but all in vain. The too confident Christians were beginning to repent of that pertinacious bravery which had carried them to doubtful victory in a most disadvantageous

place, when Conrad suddenly put in an appearance at the head of a forlorn hope of his trustiest warriors. Being fresh, and as yet without a taste of blood, he rushed with furious impetuosity on the close ranks of the Turks, and mowed them down as stalks before the sickle. A gigantic Mussulman came to the fore and offered single combat. Conrad accepted the challenge and, with a single blow of his sword, cleft his foe in twain. The Christians, who had stood aloof till the combat was decided, accepted this prodigy of valor and strength as decisive, and rushed upon the foe with redoubled fury. In a short time the enemy were driven within the walls, and the Christians controlled the banks of the river for which they had so long and so valiantly contended.

Once driven within the walls, the Mussulmen resorted to despairing appeals to God and the Prophet for help. They gathered their women, children and riches together and stood ready to escape should the affliction of Christian victory be visited further upon them. So confident were the Christians that they would soon be masters of the city, that they fell into dispute as to whom it should belong. A faction favored its possession by the two monarchs, Louis and Conrad, but Thierrri of Alsace, who had been twice in Palestine before the Crusade and who had sold all his European possessions in his zeal for the cross, persuaded his followers and rivals to recompense him with a gift of the city. This decision bred discontent among some of the leaders, who showed their opposition by declining to further participate in an enterprise which did

not enure to their personal advantage. The Turks took advantage of this want of unanimity among the Christians and opened negotiations with them. By means of threats, promises and presents, they quite destroyed the zeal and enthusiasm of the Christians. They warned the Christian barons of Syria against the ambitions of the newly arrived cohorts from the West, who had come with no other object than to rescue and take possession of the Christian cities and principalities of the East. They threatened that if the Christians persisted in their siege, they would surrender the city to Nouredin who, once in possession of it, would soon extinguish the kingdom of Jerusalem. Whether moved more by these arguments than by innate jealousy, or not, it came to pass that the Syrian barons, that is, those Christians who had gotten a foothold by means of, and during, the first Crusade, pretended to dread the presence of their countrymen who had come to their rescue, and ceased to co-operate in the siege they had suggested and carried on thus far successfully.

Their coldness rendered a council necessary. The result of it was, that siege operations from the garden side of the city were decided to be impracticable, owing to the closeness of the river and walls and the impossibility of operating machinery. Moreover the danger of surprise and of being surrounded was imminent. It was therefore determined to shift the point of attack and to move by regular approaches upon the south and east sides of the city. Most of the leaders, without any mistrust of their Eastern brethren and with a confidence of victory



PLATE NO. XLI.—SALADIN.

that argued more for their valor than prudence, acquiesced heartily in this change of plan. It bade fair, on the surface, to shorten operations. But the moment the change was made, the Christian army saw nothing before it but frowning walls, high raised battlements and threatening towers. Then, as if Heaven had decreed their discomfiture, the garrison within received a reinforcement of twenty thousand Curds and Turcomans, fresh from the steppes of Central Asia. Encouraged by these arrivals, the besieged made several sorties, in which they gained decisive advantages over the Christians. In turn, the Crusaders made several assaults on the city, in which they were invariably repulsed. Moreover, they were face to face with a worse enemy. All the products of the plain in which they were encamped had been gathered or destroyed. Drought occasioned a scarcity of water. Famine set in. Discord ruled the camps. The leaders charged perfidy and treason upon one another. The gap grew wider and wider between the Christians of the East and West. By and by a report reached the wranglers that the Sultans of Aleppo and Mossoul were approaching with a large army. This settled the question of further operations. The siege was raised in time for the Christian army to make its escape. Thus ended an enterprise which had cost Europe two immense armies and countless millions of wealth. It is worthy of note that among the younger defenders of Damascus was Saladin, son of Ayoub, who afterwards rendered himself so formidable to the Christians, and finally became master of Jerusalem. (*See Plate No. XLI.*)

Hardly two of the ancient historians agree as to the failure of the Christians to capture Damascus. Some say the King of Jerusalem was bought off. Some, chiefly Latins, say that the Templars proved so covetous that they would listen to no ownership of the capture which did not enure to their own benefit. Some saw the hand of Raymond of Antioch in the disaster, burning to revenge himself on Louis VII. William of Tyre accuses the barons of Syria solely, whose jealousy of the newly arrived barons of Europe prevented that truly Christian co-operation they had a right to expect. The whole truth is the enterprise was illy conceived and badly managed. The Christian minds of the East had already lost their balance, and were no match for the diplomacy of the Mussulmen. So the Christian forces of the East had lost their power, while those of the Mussulmen were gradually cohering and growing stronger. Possession of the Holy places had dissipated the glory of redeeming them. The glamors of pilgrimage, the prodigies, miracles and superstitions, the expiations, threats and promises, all the arguments which were operative on semi-civilized Europe to produce a Crusade, were weakened after a residence in Asia. Even those terrible energies which made the name of Christian a terror among the Mussulmen became enervated under Asiatic skies. Sovereignty, too, had bred its jealousies and discords. It is very probable that the worst enemies—if not the most inveterate, at least, the meanest—of the Christians in the East were the Christians themselves.

After the failure at Damascus, the Chris-

tians failed to see how the second Crusade could be turned to further account. The siege of Ascalon was proposed, but there was no unanimity of sentiment respecting it. Louis VII thought of returning to Europe, barren of glory save that of having defended himself on a lonely rock and against a tree in the mountains of Pamphylia. Conrad thought of returning, having achieved the regal distinction of splitting a Mussulmen Goliath from head to foot at Damascus. The fright which the Christians had visited on the Mussulmen during the first Crusade, and which had served them such good purpose in all their battles, was evidently over. In proportion as the Infidels regained their daring and pride, and converted defensive into offensive operations, the Christians grew discouraged. Speaking of the disaster at Damascus, William of Tyre says:—"From that day the condition and state of the Oriental Christians began continually to proceed from bad to worse. The Franks who returned to Europe could not forget the perfidies of the Oriental princes, and not only showed themselves more careless and tardy concerning the affairs of the kingdom of Jerusalem, but discouraged all those who had not been on the voyage with them, so that they who heard speak of this Crusade never after undertook the road of this pilgrimage with so much good will or fervor."

No glorious results repaid the Christians of the second Crusade for their disasters. It repeated the folly of the first Crusade, in not conquering or establishing a line of cities or ports through Asia Minor, by means of which pilgrims and provisions might be

passed to and fro between Syria and Constantinople. It rushed on blindly, as the first Crusade did, to its fate in an enemy's country, though the first by sheer persistence managed to place victories to its credit. A grave fault of both Crusades was loss of head in the exaggerated belief that God would permit defeat, and loss of organized strength in a low estimate of the valor and skill of the Turks. Dread of Christian arms served to counteract for the first Crusaders many of the evils which would undoubtedly have fallen on them by reason of their contemptuous opinion of the enemy, but the Infidels had fully recovered from their terrorism, and the second Crusaders had to meet a foe quite worthy of their mettle. Of this the Germans seem to have been the least aware. So blind was their confidence, so contemptuous their notions of the foe, that, in the language of Nicetas, "they would rather have thought of taking shovels and pick along than swords and lances, believing that they would have nothing to do but to cut a road through Asia Minor." Another fatality attending the second Crusade was failure to use the cross bow, which weapon had been condemned by the council of the Lateran, as too murderous. This left the infantry but poorly armed, and when the Crusaders had lost their cavalry the whole army was practically defenseless. In both Crusades the Christian armies dragged after them a retinue of women, children, old men and non-combatants, who were always a source of anxiety and demoralization. But what was worst of all the depravity of manners and morals caused by the presence of

these female adventurers. Another source of dissoluteness was in the recruiting of vicious men, even malefactors, for the Crusade. St. Bernard urged the greatest sinners to enter the Crusade, and rejoiced that they thus found the road to eternal life. In the Council of Rheims it was decreed that incendiaries should be punished by serving God one year either in Jerusalem or Spain. Thus the clergy, who never thought of instructing a soldier how to fight, nor of the necessity of relying on other than God for victory, urged the very worst characters to quit Europe, unmindful of the fact that they would be just as likely to corrupt their companions as to correct their own ways. The leaders themselves were never safe from temptations afforded by a free and easy march through countries whose peoples were lawful sacrifices and whose cities and accumulations were legitimate booty. They trusted to Heaven to visit on their offending followers the penalty for their crimes, and so encouraged, rather than checked, the spirit which mocked at subordination and discipline. While the King of France and many other distinguished leaders in the second Crusade observed their morals and religion, there was universal neglect of the rational means of self preservation and material conquest. Where piety was extreme, everything was left to Providence. This fatuous departure from the ways of prudence and reason was as fatal to success as the demoralization attending bad morals and corrupting influences.

Piety and heroism characterized the first Crusade. The second lacked the heroic ele-

ment. Both were preached by monks and savored of the cloister, but the first shook itself sufficiently free from clerical domination to achieve victories and establish a policy and a state. The second always suffered from priestly interference with temporal affairs. It never rose above the grade of a mistaken notion as to martial qualities, never developed into that sublime frenzy, which the age was warranted in calling the heroic and the chivalric. Of course there were individual and isolated instances of great forethought and bravery, but the above applies to the Crusade as a whole. The honors of the Crusade, strange to say, fell chiefly to those who escaped its vicissitudes, namely to the eloquent St. Bernard who preached it, and to the able minister of Louis VII, who repaired for him the damages it had occasioned his kingdom.

Thus far the reader can have no other conception of a Crusade, than that it was a Christian movement for the recovery of the Holy City and the protection of Christians therein. The departures from this in the name of ambition and by force of circumstances, do not change or cloud the initial idea. But once, and that was when the prelates urged on Louis to capture Constantinople, do we see that the Holy See designed to use a Crusade as an instrument of propagandism pure and simple. But the necessity for a second Crusade and the excitement occasioned by the preaching of St. Bernard, led to the preachment of a Crusade by priests commissioned by the Holy See, in Saxony and Denmark, and against some of the Baltic nations who still refused to ac-

cept Christianity. It was simply a declaration of war against them in the name of the Church, and Henry of Saxony, with other princes and a great number of bishops, led an army of a hundred and fifty thousand Crusaders against these pagan people, who were deemed as much worthy of death as the Infidels. The badge of these Christian warriors was the cross upon a circle, the latter meaning that the whole round earth ought to be obedient to the cause of Christ. Preachers exhorted these warriors to take advantage of the excitement and extend Christian Europe by their exploits. They captured several Slavic cities, burned temples and treated their pagan opponents just as Charlemagne had treated their Saxon ancestors a few centuries before; but, after a three years' war, the utmost they could achieve was a compromise in which the Slaves promised to embrace Christianity if the Saxons would go home and let them alone. This promise was made merely to get rid of their invaders, and as soon as they were gone, the pagans returned to their idols and piracies on the Baltic.

At the same time another Crusade was organized against the Saracens in Spain and Portugal. It was led by Alphonso, a prince of Burgundy, who besieged Lisbon. In four months he captured the place and put the Moorish occupants to the sword. He afterwards captured other cities, and finally Portugal submitted to his authority, when he assumed the title of King. Thus was founded near home and upon Mussulmen ruins, a little Kingdom which was to outlive by centuries that of Jerusalem.

All these simultaneous movements show that the principle of holy wars assumed a new character at the time of the second Crusade. The Crusade meant now not a war for the holy sepulchre but for the propagation of a religion. Hence arose a diversity of interests, divided forces, a weakening of enthusiasm. France had been quite cured of her desire to deliver the holy places and demanded the return of her unfortunate King. When he came back, he and Suger embraced and wept. To the question as to what Suger had to show for his administration of affairs during the King's absence, the faithful vice-regent said, "A Kingdom at peace and a flourishing people." Notwithstanding the fact that his courtiers were striving to undermine Suger, the King praised him and bestowed on him the title of *Father of his Country*. This was a wonderful triumph for Suger, for he was the only man of consequence in Europe who had dared to oppose the Crusade. And to show that nothing succeeds like success, as praise was bestowed on Suger complaint was showered on St. Bernard. He was accused of having sent Christians to die in the East, as if Europe could not have provided sepulchres. Every family in France and Germany was in mourning. The glory of martyrdom, promised to all, dried no tears; and the very ones who had seen his mission attested by miracles, stood aghast at the sacrifices they had encouraged. They said, "God has neither spared his people nor his name. The children of the Church have been given over to massacre, or death by hunger and fatigue. The contempt of the

Lord has fallen even on the princes." The evils flowing from a war in the name of God, confounded the Christians, and even St. Bernard expressed astonishment that God should have been willing to judge the world before the time and without mercy. "All the world," said he, "knows that the judgments of God are regarded as just, but this one is so profound an abyss that he may be called happy who is not disgraced by it." In his apology to the Pope he congratulated himself that the maledictions of the surviving Christians fell on him, and he attributed the failure of the Crusade to the disorders and crimes of the participants. He compared them to the Hebrews, to whom Moses had promised a goodly land, but who perished on their journey because they had done a thousand things against God. Had he foreseen, as one less fanatical must have seen, the necessary disorders and excesses of a promiscuous and undisciplined multitude; and had he known, as one less bigoted must have known, that the brigands and free-booters who were encouraged to take up the cross were by no means the people of God, he would have found not only other justification for the holy war but other excuse for its failure.

The second Crusade, disastrous as it was from a military and religious stand-point, was not without its compensations. It left Europe in peace and gave her time to recuperate. The kingdoms left in charge of viceroys were well cared for, and both Louis and Conrad were stronger on their return than when they went away. The disgraceful conduct of Queen Eleanor, a direct out-

crop of the Crusade, proved a heavy blow to France. Her divorce, and marriage to an English monarch, lost the province of Aquitaine to Louis, and the succeeding age saw her children, by the second marriage, crowned Kings of France and England, while the successors of Louis were forced to seek an asylum in foreign lands.

King Louis was so flattered on his return by medals and promises that he promised the Pope to place himself at the head of a new Crusade. And never would assistance have been more welcome to the Christians of the East, for since the remains of the second Crusade had left the Holy Land for home, misfortunes fell thick and fast on Syria and Jerusalem. Raymond, of Poitiers, lost his life in battle, and his head was sent to the Caliph of Bagdad. Josselin, after losing Edessa, was captured and died in the prisons of Aleppo. The emissaries of the Old Man of the Mountain assassinated Raymond II, count of Tripoli. A Mussulmen army encamped on the Mount of Olives, and Jerusalem escaped capture only by the bravery of a few knights who inspired the people to action. Nouredin reconquered all the Christian cities of Mesopotamia and many about Antioch. He then made Damascus capital of his new dominion and hung as a perpetual threat upon Jerusalem.

When news of all these disasters reached Europe, it occasioned great sorrow, and the Pope exhorted the faithful to begin a new Crusade. But Christendom had had enough of Holy wars for the time being. Louis VII found his determination balked by public sentiment and was obliged to renounce his

intentions. Strange to say, Suger who had opposed the second Crusade, appeared in favor of a third. He was so humiliated with his want of success that he resolved to form an army at his own expense and lead it into Palestine. He actually succeeded in securing ten thousand followers, but died before he could organize them for the march. St.

Bernard died shortly after Suger. In a single year France lost two of her most remarkable and useful men in the persons of Abbot Suger and St. Bernard, both highly religious, both skilled in state-craft, both warmly attached to the Holy See, yet not unmindful of the laws of prosperity and happiness for the common people.

PART III.

THE THIRD CRUSADE.

ARTICLE I.

THE FALL OF JERUSALEM.

A. D. 1150—1187.



After the Christian conquests in the East, the respective dynasties of the Turks, who represented the sect or family of the Seljuide, and of the Saracens who represented the Fatimite sect, or family, of Egypt, were broken into fragments, and the Caliphs of Bagdad, representing the sect or family of the Abbasides, came to be the recognized depositaries of the Mohammedan religion. Had the Christians been aware of the confusion which reigned among the Mussulmen, or sufficiently wise to take advantage of it, they might have perpetuated their empire. But they disagreed among themselves, lost the power of organized conquest, and fell into confusion, like their enemies. This condition offered encouragement to their foes, and out of the chaos into which the Christian advent had plunged the East, arose a conquering and destroying force.

This force took shape and direction under

Zengui. It was strengthened and accelerated by his son Nouredin, who captured Edessa, inherited the conquests of his father and enlarged them by his valor. He was a born warrior, and, as a monarch, ruled after the simple and austere fashion of the early Caliphs. He encouraged the arts and sciences, and administered impartial justice in his provinces. His own people admired his moderation, and Christians praised his heroism. His soldiers loved him; the emirs obeyed him; his victories and virtues drew to him the attention of the entire East and led all true Mussulmen to believe that he was the avenger of the Prophet, and that the period of their deliverance had arrived.

After the failure of the second Crusade, Baldwin III, undertook to check Nouredin's victorious career. He entered upon several campaigns and fought many battles with great bravery and varying results. At length he besieged Ascalon, always formidably garrisoned and hitherto impregnable. After a siege of several months, in which the Knights of the Temple distinguished themselves by persistency and valor, the

garrison capitulated (A. D. 1153) and were permitted to return to Egypt. Encouraged by this signal victory, Baldwin turned again upon Nouredin and compelled him to raise the sieges of Paneas and Sidon. He then gave assistance to Antioch, always threatened by the Mussulmen, when he was poisoned by a Syrian physician. His death occasioned profound sorrow and despondency, and it is said that Nouredin was so much affected by it that he refused to follow the advice of his Emirs to enter Palestine at once, saying, "God forbid that I should disturb the proper grief of a people who are weeping for the loss of a good King, or fix upon an opportunity to attack a Kingdom which I have no reason to fear."

Baldwin's death gave rise to factional disputes over the choice of a successor. The more warlike of the barons favored his brother Amaury, count of Jaffa and Ascalon. The clergy and populace opposed him. The debates waxed so hot that there was danger of an appeals to arms. At length, an eloquent speech from the grandmaster of the Hospitallers and sight of the troops which Amaury had collected to defend his claim, determined the choice in his favor. Once on the throne, he determined to follow up the victory at Ascalon and crush the Egyptians. He placed himself at the head of an army, traversed the desert, and carried consternation to the banks of the Nile, forcing the Caliph to terms of peace. But this conquest was of no consequence to the Christians. They not only failed to profit by their advantage but actually favored the triumph of a rival power. The Caliphs of

Cairo, like those of Bagdad, had grown effeminate, and had long since ceased to be the formidable warriors who had shed lustre on their ancestry. They presided only in the mosques, leaving the home government to their slaves, and their armies to their viziers, who were always quarrelling among themselves and usurping each others rights. Egypt was thus torn by jealousies, dissensions and revolutions, and was equally a victim to her enemies, her allies and her own people. Chaver, a vizier who had been obliged to flee from his rival, Dargan, sought an asylum in Damascus. He importuned Nouredin for help, promising him tribute. Nouredin sent an army, led by Chirkon, one of his bravest emirs. On hearing of its approach, Dargan appealed to the Christians for aid, promising them all his treasures if successful.

The King of Jerusalem began to raise an army for his assistance, but while engaged in the work the troops of Nouredin approached the Nile. Dargan gave them battle and was signally defeated. The gates of Cairo were opened to the conquerors, and Chaver assumed the reins of government. A quarrel arose between him and Chirkon. The latter refused to withdraw his Syrian troops, and actually besieged Chaver in his capital. The vizier saw no hope except in the Christian army which was now approaching. He made it the same promise he had offered to Nouredin. King Amaury accepted, not caring which party prevailed in Egypt, so that he got the spoils. On his approach, Chirkon retired to Bilbeis. King Amaury joined the army, raised to defeat Chaver, to

that of Chaver, and together they besieged Bilbeis. Chirkon resisted their efforts for a period of three months, when King Amaury, tired of the siege, proposed peace. Chirkon refused to negotiate except on condition that he should be paid the expenses of the war. Having made his own terms, and still threatening the Christians, he marched back to Damascus greatly enriched by his campaign.

Having seen the riches of Egypt and become acquainted with its weakness, Chirkon advised Nouredin to unite it with his own empire. To give religious color to the enterprise, the Sultan of Syria sent to ask permission and aid of the Caliph of Bagdad. In the mosques of Bagdad they cursed the Caliphs of Egypt. In the mosques of Cairo they denounced the Caliphs of Bagdad. It was easy therefore to secure the compliance of the Caliph of Bagdad with the wishes of Nouredin. The ambition of the latter to extend his empire equalled that of the former to preside alone over the Mohammedan religion. Imitating the zeal and method of the Holy See, he commanded the Imans to preach a crusade against the Fatimites, and promised the delights of Paradise to all who took up arms in the holy expedition. Faithful Mussulmen flocked to the standard of Nouredin, and soon his general, Chirkon, was at the head of a powerful army for the reduction of Egypt.

The reports of these preparations spread consternation in Christian Jerusalem and Mohammedan Egypt. Chaver again appealed to King Amaury for aid. The King called a council at Naplouse, in which it was decided that the best policy of the Christians

was to help Chaver, and very soon an army set out from Gaza to contend with Nouredin on the banks of the Nile. Combined Christian and Saracen were to meet Turk, far from the central scene of contention. The combined armies first met the Syrian forces in the isle of Maale and gained a decided victory. But Chirkon gathered and reanimated his forces and made a stand at Baben, opposite ancient Memphis. There, battle was joined and the combined Christian and Saracen forces were defeated. Chirkon pressed his victory, passed as a conqueror along the lower Nile, garrisoned Alexandria, and returned to lay siege to Koutz, the capital of the Thebiad. His energy and tactics were perfect, and stood out as a warning to the Christians of the prowess they might expect to meet in the future. After gathering trophies and booty sufficient to pay for his expedition, Chirkon withdrew his victorious army to Damascus. Chaver was left with his Christian allies on his hands. Fearing their presence, he offered them heavy tribute to withdraw, and loaded them with presents. Thus, the aid he had called in cost him more than the victories of the enemy. The Christian army returned to Jerusalem loaded with such surprising wealth that it indulged quite other thoughts than those making for the defence of Christ's heritage. Sight of the barren mountains, sterile provinces and poverty-stricken subjects of Judea, filled King Amaury with envy, and caused him to regret that he had not fixed his abode permanently in the rich valley of the Nile.

After King Amaury's return to Jerusalem he married, in a spirit of diplomacy, the

daughter of Manuel, Emperor of Constantinople. In the midst of his nuptial ceremonies, he could not forget the wealth of the Caliphs of Cairo, the populousness and fertility of Egypt, its large fleets and commodious forts. He asked his father-in-law, Manuel, to share with him the advantages of an Egyptian conquest. Assent was given, and Amaury called a council to decide on a plan of operations. The oldest and wisest barons, among whom was the grand master of the Templars, opposed his designs. They argued that while it might be easy to conquer Egypt, it would be difficult to hold it; that their conquest of Egypt would only invite Nouredin there, and would open the doors to him, just as had been done at Damascus; that to go off so far after conquests would sacrifice every city in Palestine and Jerusalem itself, for Nouredin had already taken advantage of the absence of the Christian forces from Palestine to capture several important cities and add them to his empire. But other barons, and chiefly the grand master of the Hospitallers, who had impoverished themselves in vain expeditions, sided with the King, in spite of the solemn treaties which had been made between the Christians and the Saracens.

The King of Jerusalem and the Sultan of Damascus entertained similar views as to Egypt. The able Chirkon, diplomatist as well as warrior, had said to Nouredin that the government of Egypt wanted both officers and soldiers; that internal revolutions, the cupidity of the Christians and the presence of the Syrians, had ruined the empire of the Fatimites. The people were not sin-

cerely attached to their Caliphs or viziers, but were willing to embrace a chief who could protect them against enemies and the scourge of civil war. All this, said the wise Chirkon, is known to the Christians, and it was to be dreaded lest they should be the first to acquire Egypt. Nouredin was open to this counsel, and he kept even pace with the Christians in preparations for Egyptian conquest. For every prayer that ascended in a Christian church, one went up in a Mohammedan mosque; for every exhortation and promise that fell from the Christian clergy,—similar ones issued from the priests of Islam. At Damascus it was charged that the Egyptian Caliph had made impious treaty with the Christians. At Jerusalem it was charged that the vizier, Chaver, had violated his treaties and was coquetting with Nouredin.

By starting on their hostile expedition, the Christians were the first to violate their treaties. King Amaury pushed his army to Belbeis on the Nile, which place he promised to the Hospitallers. It was besieged, captured, pillaged and burned. The rapacity and cruelty of the Christians incensed the Egyptians. Chaver gathered his forces and drove the Christian garrison out of Cairo. He set fire to Fostat, arrayed himself against the Christians, and sent word to Nouredin, imploring aid. This was just what Nouredin wanted. His army being ready, he ordered it to proceed to the Nile under the lead of the faithful Chirkon. In order to stay the devastation of the Christians, while aid was coming from Syria, Chaver offered the King of Jerusalem two million crowns of gold to

suspend operations. Seduced by so glittering a promise, and hourly expecting the fleets which the Emperor Manuel had promised to send in aid of the enterprise, King Amaury stayed his conquests. Chaver took advantage of the situation to re-fortify his cities. The truce gave Chirkon time to complete his march. The fleets of Manuel never put in an appearance. King Amaury saw, at too late an hour, that he was deceived by those he had attempted to deceive. Not being able to withstand the combined armies of Syria and Egypt, he beat a hasty retreat and was pursued by the troops of Noureddin to the verge of the Arabian desert.

The failure of this enterprise brought the Christians to see the injustice and impolicy of it. Even those who had most encouraged it became aware of the evils with which Jerusalem was menaced, and they reproached their King with inability to preserve peace and ignorance of the art of making war. It seemed as if the Christian army had only invited Noureddin into Egypt, and that ruler, through his leader, Chirkon, marched triumphantly into Cairo, where he was hailed as master. Chaver soon lost his head, and the Caliph appointed Chirkon as his successor, styling him "The Victorious Prince." In a little while the Caliph was deposed by Noureddin, and the black flag of the Abbasides of Bagdad took the place of the green standard of the Fatimites of Egypt. The latter had reigned for two centuries, often liberally and vigorously. They were extinguished in a day, and without even so much as a defender. The rise of the Mussulmen power in the East under Zengui and his son,

Noureddin, had all along been at the expense of the Turkish, or Seljukian family or sect, and in the interest of the Abbasides, or Caliphs of Bagdad. With the extinction of the Fatimites of Egypt, the Mussulmen had, therefore, practically only one religion to defend. Egypt and Syria obeyed the same chief, and the richest provinces of the East were united in the Kingdom ruled by Noureddin. He had spread the terror of his arms from the Euphrates and Tigris to the Nile. In every province he had trusty generals and well equipped armies. Trained pigeons carried his orders through all the cities of Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia. His victories over the Christians and the justice of his administration endeared him to his subjects. Zealous for his religion, he aimed at the destruction of all the Christian colonies. Knowing that their extinction was only a question of time, he devoted his leisure to the framing of a pulpit which was to ornament the principal mosque in Jerusalem.

Noureddin began preparations for a holy war, whose object was the final conquest of all the Christian cities of the East and the extermination of all the Christian colonies. But the completion of his work was reserved for another, whose name had, as yet, not been heard of in the East. The Chirkon, of whom we have just read, and his brother Ayoub had, in early life, left the mountains of Kurdistan to serve in the armies of the Caliph of Bagdad. Here they gained distinction, but were compelled to flee, on account of the murder of an officer of justice by Chirkon. They joined the forces of Noureddin at Damascus. Ayoub had a son,

Saladin, a dissolute youth, given to neither politics nor war, but watched over anxiously by an ambitious father and trained in the school of the court. He had followed his uncle Chirkon to Egypt, and had distinguished himself by the defence of Alexandria. When Chirkon died, the Caliph of Egypt, trembling for his power, chose Saladin for the post of vizier. The young, dissipated and unambitious soldier immediately changed his life. His gravity won the respect of the emirs. His liberality secured the suffrages of the army. His devotion endeared him to all the faithful. He had completed a religious revolution almost without bloodshed. The Caliph of Bagdad gave him a vest of honor for extinguishing the Fatimites. Poets and orators mentioned his name in connection with Mohammed and the great Nouredin. Saladin sent for his father, Ayoub, to come to Cairo to share the burden of government. The two were compared to Joseph and Jacob, and very soon they had the plotting and ambitious emirs under discipline. About this time Nouredin died. His death was the signal for confusion in Syria, and the emirs began to divide his kingdom according to their ambitions. The Mussulman nations looked on this disruption with regret, and naturally turned to Saladin as a master capable of defending their religion and dominions. They could not have turned to a more hopeful source, for Saladin had not only the power of Nouredin, but was familiar with his projects and anxious to carry them out.

King Amaury of Jerusalem, instead of

taking advantage of the tumult in Syria, following Nouredin's death, turned his attention once more to Egypt, having secured the aid of a fleet and troops from the Emperor of Constantinople. Siege was laid to Damietta, but it failed on account of dissensions between the Latin and Greek Christians. Amaury then sent deputies to Europe to seek aid, thinking that the prospect of conquering Egypt would cause another Crusade of Knights to pour into the East. They returned disappointed. He then repaired to Constantinople to personally solicit the Emperor's aid. The latter made grand promises, which were never realized on account of King Amaury's death. He had well nigh exhausted the resources of his Kingdom in futile efforts to possess Egypt, and he left behind a distressed people, with a leprous son of thirteen years to govern them. Raymond, Count of Tripoli, and Milo of Plansy, disputed for the regency during the minority of the young Baldwin. Milo obtained it through intrigue, and was promptly murdered, so that Raymond gained his point after all. Raymond possessed the bravery, activity, ambition and stubbornness of his illustrious family, but he was more anxious to reign than to conquer Infidels. Instead of fomenting the discords in Syria and allying himself with the respective parties who opposed Saladin, he renewed Amaury's unfortunate policy of attacking Egypt. With the aid of a Sicilian fleet he laid siege to Alexandria, where a combination of miseries nearly destroyed his army. This, and other, reverses did not teach him how to make war on a general so able as Saladin. As he was

returning with his discomfited army, the emirs of Emessa, which city was then besieged by the new Sultan of Damascus, implored their aid. They put so high a price on their services that the emir could not afford to pay it, whereupon they entered on a promiscuous campaign, threatening those they pretended to defend, and ravaging alike the territories of their friends and enemies. Their presence in Syria alarmed Saladin, who was besieging the son of Nouredin in Aleppo. Saladin resolved to keep them at a distance from his scene of operations. He sent rich presents to them and secured a truce, which he took advantage of to extend the limits of his empire. The Christians returned to Jerusalem to rejoice over the fact that they had compelled Saladin to ask for peace. Indeed, so elated were they with the treaty, that they immediately proceeded to break it by a raid into the territories of Damascus, ravaging the country, and pillaging the cities and villages they found without defence. All the while Saladin was making useful conquests in Syria, and laying the foundations of solid Empire.

Saladin, now Sultan of Cairo and Damascus, soon assembled a formidable army and marched toward Palestine. On his approach the Christians destroyed everything in his way, and deserted their cities and towns, taking refuge in mountains and caverns. Baldwin IV, who had lately reached his majority and assumed the throne of Jerusalem, placed himself at the head of his Christian army, but fearing to measure strength with Saladin, shut himself up in Ascalon, where he contemplated with dread the destruction

of his provinces. At length despair gave courage to the Christian forces. Baldwin led them forth from Ascalon, and attacked the army of Saladin with such fury as to completely defeat and destroy it. With a remnant of his body-guard, composed of Egyptian Mamelukes, Saladin fled across the desert and reached Egypt, where he soon raised another army, and returned to threaten Jerusalem. The Christians did not profit by their victory, but laid vain siege to one or two unimportant cities. Still, they were sufficiently elated to make them rash, while, on the other hand, Saladin approached cautiously, employed all the strategy of war, and surprised and defeated Baldwin several times on the banks of the Jordan. Again rendered desperate by repeated defeats, Baldwin gathered all his forces for a supreme effort. He could gain no advantage over Saladin, and was obliged to sue for peace.

The leprosy from which Baldwin suffered caused him to lose his eyesight, and impaired his ability to govern. As he mistrusted his barons, he offered the government to Philip, Count of Flanders, who declined it, preferring the field to the court. Raymond was pointed out as the only person capable of governing. But Baldwin had learned to mistrust him during his minority, and chose in preference Guy of Lusignan, whose only merit was that he had married Sibylla, daughter of King Amaury. Guy soon distinguished himself by excess of pride and consummate mismanagement of affairs. While now the salvation of Jerusalem depended on the strict observance of the truce made with Saladin, the folly of one ambitious knight

brought down upon Palestine the whole of the Egyptian forces. Renaud, of Chatillon, had married Constance, widow of Raymond, prince of Antioch. He engaged in war with the Emperor of Constantinople, in which he was defeated. Turning his arms against Nouredin, he was captured. Before he was released, the son of Raymond reached maturity and assumed the government of Antioch. Renaud then made his way to Jerusalem, where he associated a great number of Templars with him, who became masters of Carac and the castle on the boundary between Arabia and Palestine. Here they had begun to ravage the frontiers when Baldwin concluded his truce with Saladin. In spite of this truce, Renaud and his free-booting Templars made fresh forays and robbed the Mussulman caravans on their way to Mecca. Heedless of the rights of nations and humanity, he captured women and children and massacred unarmed men.

Saladin complained to Baldwin of these infractions of the treaty. But there was no power in Jerusalem to stop them. In revenge, Saladin seized fifteen hundred Christian pilgrims, shipwrecked on the shores of Egypt, and threatened to detain them till the Mussulman pilgrims were set at liberty. Neither the demands of Saladin, the pleas of Baldwin, nor the fate of the Christian captives could move Renaud and his Templars, who thought it creditable rather than otherwise to make light of all treaties with Mussulmen. Saladin determined on war, and set out for the third time to invade Palestine. His approach united the Christians, and after a trial of strength with them, Saladin de-

flected his army, ravaged Galilee, and went to attack the Mussulman cities of Mesopotamia. Taking advantage of this diversion, the Christians ravaged Damascus, while Renaud conceived the bold idea of marching to Medina and Mecca. When within ten leagues of Medina, he was attacked and defeated by a Mussulman army, and barely escaped with his life. The prisoners taken in this battle were led into Egypt, condemned and executed. Renaud managed to reach the castle of Carac. Saladin, already called by the Christians, *The Scourge of God*, swore to revenge the insult offered by Renaud to the Mussulman religion. He re-entered Galilee with fire and sword, marched to Carac, which he would have taken but for the swift approach of a rescuing army, ravaged the banks of the Jordan, destroyed Naplouse, Sebosto and several other cities, and finally made a truce, under cover of which he withdrew into Mesopotamia.

Saladin employed the period of this truce to good effect in settling domestic troubles and in pushing his conquests in Syria. Every truce gave him a new city or province, and therefore a new and determined foe of the Christians. On the contrary, the Christians, during peace, fell into factional disputes and raised up enemies in their household more dangerous than those without. Thus, the barons, on their return from Carac, reproached Guy for failing to capture Saladin, and for permitting the ravages in Palestine. Baldwin, listened to their complaint, revoked the commission to Guy, and hastened to reascend his toppling throne. He undertook to rescind the marriage between

Guy and Sibylla and cited the husband to appear before the nobles and the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Guy did not appear, but fled to Antioch. Baldwin went thither, to find the gates shut in his face. He then determined to avenge the insult by war, and Guy took up arms to meet him. But Baldwin, thoroughly incapacitated for rule or war by disease, determined to oppose Guy by a new regent. He chose the five year old son of Sibylla by her first husband, as King Baldwin V, and made Raymond, Count of Tripoli, whom he now hated less than Guy, the regent.

Ever since the reign of Baldwin III, the Kingdom of Jerusalem had been going to rapid decay. The passions engendered by feudal government had sapped the central authority. Royalty had been reduced to an empty name by factional quarrels. The King could neither revenge his own injuries nor those of the Church. Barons in their castles and fortresses made war at pleasure. The military orders, upon whom the safety of the kingdom now depended, were belligerent among themselves, and they scandalized Christianity by their frequent and bloody quarrels. They were exempt from the jurisdiction of the clergy, and, therefore, both Templars and Hospitallers were cordially hated by ecclesiastics who claimed the right to dictate to kings. In their disdain of clerical authority, the Hospitallers raised headquarters opposite the Church of the Resurrection and drowned the voices of the priests at worship. They even shot arrows after them while on the way to church, which the priests gathered and placed on the Mount of

Olives as witnesses of the sacrileges. These daily contentions were the subject of frequent appeals to the Pope, whose decisions only served as fresh coals of discord. Harmony between the Christian occupants of Palestine and the new arrivals, constantly coming, from Europe had become nearly impossible. The barons employed the unsophisticated recruits to carry out their own ambitions, and every fresh arrival became the signal for the violation of a treaty and renewed war. As soon as these dupes were undeceived, they either put up the price for their services or refused further co-operation, and thus many abandoned Palestine to the perils of a war their arrival had caused, without ever seeing the enemy. In the maritime cities, nearly all the nations of Europe disputed sovereignty at the sword's point. As the cause of Christ was lost sight of, these nations fostered the prejudices of their native county. At Ascalon, Tyre, Ptolemais and other coast cities, there was far more thought of Pisa, Genoa and Venice than of the glory of the cross and the safety of Jerusalem. Neither barons nor knights displayed the heroic resignation of the early soldiers of the cross. After Jerusalem took on herself to reduce and annex Egypt, war was no longer holy, but a means of acquiring wealth. Desire for booty destroyed the principle of honor, the love of glory and regard for the cause of Christ. What city or province would yield the easiest and greatest plunder, became a question paramount to that of what enemy should be attacked or what ally defended. Disorder reigned in the camps. Even where warriors retained their

natural bravery, they knew not how to command or obey. Anarchy characterized the army as much as the state. Many leaders abandoned their standards and received a price for their neutrality. Others, like the Templar Meslier, ravaged Christian provinces. Still others, apostatized entirely and joined the Infidel service. As there could be but little patriotism in a new and remote land, except that patriotism which religion inspired, there was almost an utter loss of the noble sentiment when religion lost hold of mind and soul. Religion was mocked by declaring wars in her name and violating all her sacred laws in carrying them on. The few really pious men of the time grew heart sick at the terrible depravity of manners and the fearful progress of corruption. "There is scarcely one chaste woman to be found in Jerusalem," was the lament of the venerable Archbishop of Tyre. Heads of the Church seemed to be as shameless in their examples of licentiousness as the leaders of the Christian colonies. Bohemond of Antioch discarded his wife to marry a strumpet. The Patriarch excommunicated Bohemond, and thus great trouble came upon his provinces through his guilty amours. The Patriarch, Heraclius, lavished the pence collected for pilgrims upon prostitutes, and the notorious Pagne de Rivery displayed in the sanctuary ornaments bought with the alms of the faithful.

It is not to be wondered at the Kingdom of Christ could not be maintained by servants so degenerate. Helpless, despairing and unworthy in themselves, they turned their eyes to the West. Heraclius and two grand masters of the Templars and Hospitallers

went to Europe to solicit aid. They visited in vain the courts of the Continent, and turned to England, where King Henry II, had promised to expiate the murder of the Archbishop of Canterbury by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. But the ill fame of Heraclius had preceded him. His haughty, dictatorial manner repelled those whom he sought to persuade. On receiving Henry's refusal, notwithstanding his prior promise to the Pope, Heraclius loaded him with reproaches and threatened him with the anger of Heaven. The King became enraged and denounced the Patriarch as "more wicked than a Saracen," but in a calmer moment he sent a large sum of money to Jerusalem and exhorted his subjects to arm themselves for the defence of Jerusalem. Neither the Pope nor Heraclius could excite any enthusiasm among the warriors of Europe, and the deputies returned to the Holy City to announce their failure to procure aid.

King Baldwin had lost all his faculties, and typed his Kingdom in his weakness and near approach to death's door. Ere he died, factions were contending for a crown which was likened to one of thorns. When death relieved him of his horrid sufferings, the factions broke into discord. Raymond, Count of Tripoli, wished to retain the regency Sibylla wanted the crown for her husband. In the midst of the turmoil, the infant King, Baldwin V, died suddenly, and his death was charged to the factions, the mother not even escaping the suspicion of having murdered her own son. The death of young Baldwin V, increased the desire of the mother, Sibylla, to reign. In order to

achieve her object she resorted to every artifice and promise. While Raymond was assembling a council of barons and clergy at Naplouse to settle the succession, Sibylla, by advice of the Patriarch and grand master of the Templars, announced her intention of separating herself from her husband and choosing one who could defend the Kingdom. When this report was spread through Jerusalem, Sibylla closed the gates of the city, shut herself up in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and in the presence of the tomb of Christ, the Patriarch, Heraclius, took the oath of allegiance to her in the name of the clergy and people, proclaimed her divorce, and commanded her in the name of Heaven to bestow her hand and sceptre upon whom she deemed most worthy. At these words, Sibylla placed the crown upon the head of her husband, Guy de Lusignan, who was kneeling at her feet, saying at the same time that it was not in the power of man to separate those whom God had joined. While many applauded this trick, the partisans of Raymond were incensed at the deceit practiced on them by a woman. All who believed that Jerusalem needed a defender more than a King, were naturally alarmed. Many of the bravest leaders withdrew to their principalities, to despair of the safety of the Kingdom, amid retracy. When word of what had transpired reached Naplouse, where the barons had assembled, most of them resolved to quit Palestine. But Baldwin advised them to go on and choose a new King in the person of Homfrey of Thorou who had married Isabella, daughter of Amaury, and sister of Sibylla. He succeeded

in persuading the assembly, by promising to gain the sanction of Saladin for the selection. But ere the final vote was cast, young Homfrey, terrified at the miseries in store for him, fled in the night to Jerusalem to protest to Queen Sibylla his preference of ease to the throne. The assembly was now thoroughly disconcerted and disgusted. Raymond retired to his county of Tiberias. Others returned to their castles to await events. Still others, in their doubt as to what was best to do, went to Jerusalem and took the oath of allegiance to King Guy. This disconcert among his enemies greatly elated Guy. He grew haughty toward the barons and alienated many who were at first friendly to him. Urged on by the Templars, who were bitter against Raymond, he determined to besiege Tiberias. Raymond, in order to defend himself, called in the aid of Saladin. Nothing was now heard in Palestine but complaints and seditious clamors. The awful dangers which brooded over the Christian colonies served neither to cool ambitions nor check revolts. In the midst of general disorder, the superstitions of the Christians filled the future with calamities which they read in impetuous winds, hailstorms, earthquakes, an eclipse of the sun, and other celestial phenomena. Sea, earth, air and sky—"all the elements and architecture of God were angry, and abhorred the excesses, wickednesses, dissoluteness, and offences of the human race."

The inevitable doom of Jerusalem was not really written in any of the above sickly portents, but in the social, moral, political and martial conditions already described,

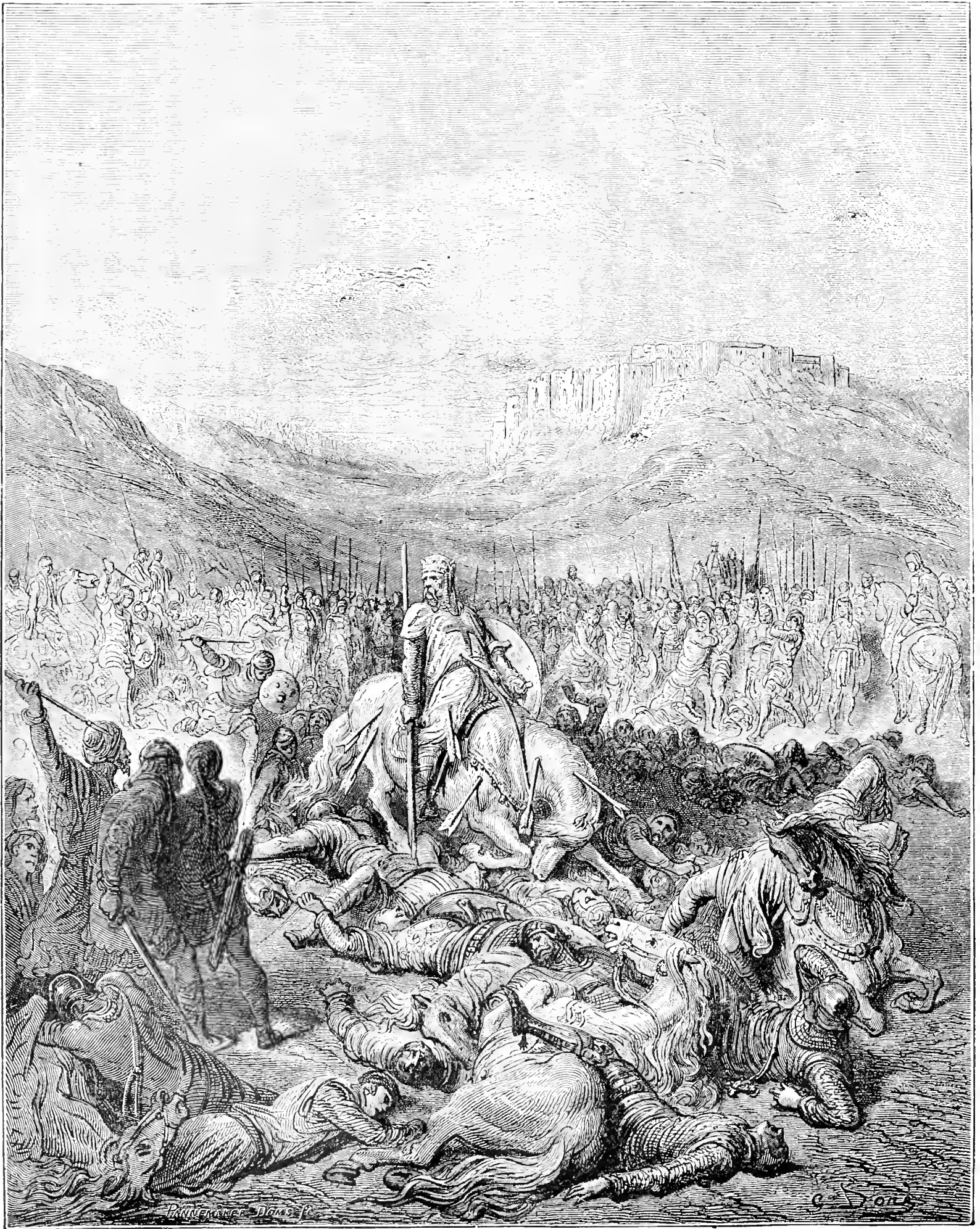


PLATE NO. XLII.—DEATH OF DE MAILLE, MARSHAL OF THE TEMPLE.

and in the physical fact that Saladin had triumphed over the emirs and scattered the family of Nouredin, had mastered Mossoul, Aleppo, and all the Mussulman cities of Syria and Mesopotamia, had united all the forces and riches of Egypt and Asia, and now hung like an unshakable threat at the gates of Christian empire in Palestine and the East. It required but a snapping of the truce between Saladin and the late King of Jerusalem to precipitate the impending blow. Renaud de Chatillon, the free-booter of Carae, continued his forays, in spite of all truces and treaties. In order to revenge his outrages, Saladin sent an army to ravage Galilee. Five hundred Templars and Hospitallers hastened thither to give him battle. They all perished, except the grand master of the Templars and two knights. This battle, fought in May 1187, was, according to the old chronicles, one of the fiercest ever waged between Christian and Saracen. All the knights performed prodigies of valor. They shot back the arrows which had pierced their bodies. They drank each others blood to quench their thirst. They died rolling in the dust with their conquerors. Jacques de Maille, a Knight of the Temple, rode a white horse. The Saracens took him for St. George. When alone and surrounded on the field of battle, he refused to surrender but piled heaps of dead around him with his lance. His horse sank from exhaustion, dragging him down. He arose and rushed upon his foes, to fall from frequent wounds. (*See Plate No. XLII.*) It is said that the Saracens cut his clothing and body in pieces and shared the particles. The terror inspired

by this defeat appeased the disputes among the Christians. King Guy and Raymond made friends. Raymond went to Jerusalem and swore to fight for the heritage of Christ.

Saladin increased his army by accessions of Turks, Curds, Arabs and Egyptians. He promised the spoils of the Christians to all the Mussulman families which had been driven out of Palestine. He distributed cities and provinces in advance to his emirs, and promised all the certainty of rich pillage or glorious martyrdom. Prayers for his success went up from all the mosques of Bagdad, Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt. He crossed Jordan and advanced into Galilee with an army of 80,000 horsemen. In order to meet him, the Knights of the three orders, the troops of the King and the nobles, and the garrisons of all the cities, were ordered to assemble in the plain of Sephouri. The money sent by King Henry of England was ordered to be used, and the arms of England were painted on the standards of the Christian army. The wood of the true cross was displayed as a talisman in the camps. An army of 50,000 Christians was thus prepared for action, when word came that Saladin had captured Tiberias and was threatening the citadel which enclosed the family of Raymond. The Christians who escaped the sword swarmed into the camp at Sephouri, and importuned the King and leaders to avenge the slaughter at Tiberias. They all agreed in council to the necessity of marching at once toward the ill-fated city, except one, and that one the most deeply interested of all. It was Raymond, of Tiberias. He arose to demur, and to surprise all by

saying:—"The advice I offer is opposed to my personal interests. My desolate country, my cities in ashes, my subjects ready for death or slavery, my wife exposed to Mussulman insults, all implore instant succor from me and you. But it is my duty to think of the Christian cities left behind. In this army exists the only hope which the Christians of the East have left. Here are all the soldiers of Christ, all the defenders of Jerusalem. If they perish, the Infidels have no other foes to dread. Beware then of leading this host into a dry, arid country, where hunger and thirst must soon deliver them without defence to the enemy. The number of the Christian soldiers inspires me with more alarm than confidence. They are a confused troop, gotten together in haste and unable to support fatigue. The Mussulman archers are more skilful than ours and may harass us on our march, without our being able to defend ourselves. The cavalry of Saladin is more numerous and better trained than ours and may attack us to advantage on the plains. Abandon, then, Tiberias, and let us save the army which may yet repair our losses. Our only aim must be to destroy the power of Saladin and at the same time preserve some defenders for Jerusalem. If we go to meet the enemy and should be conquered, God himself will not be able to save the Christians, but will allow us to be delivered up to the Infidels. If on the contrary, the enemy come to offer themselves to our arms, all our losses will be repaired, and the evils that will fall on me will become a source of gratification, since I shall have suffered for the

cause of Christ and the safety of the people."

While this address evinced the most self-sacrificial spirit, and was truly sound advice from a military stand point, it was interrupted several times by the grand master of the Templars, whose hatred of Raymond was bitter in the extreme. He reminded the assembly of the recent alliance of Raymond with Saladin, said he could see the wolf's skin under the fleece of the sheep, averred that he should have used the word Mohammed instead of Christ, and intimated that Raymond was a traitor. Raymond's only reply was, "I will submit to the punishment of death if these things do not fall out as I have said." A majority of the council declared in favor of Raymond. But the grand master of the Templars filled the private ear of Guy with suspicions of Raymond, and he gave the order to march against the enemy. For the first time since his assumption of the throne, the new King of Jerusalem was obeyed, and obedience meant the ruin of his Christian subjects.

The army marched with misgivings and amid contradictory orders. When in the plain of Batouf, the standards of Saladin appeared on the heights of Loubi. The Mussulman army had the sea of Tiberias at its back, and it commanded all the passes of the ranges. The advice of Raymond was now recalled, but only with sorrow at its neglect. Nothing but superhuman courage on the part of the soldiers could repair the error of the leaders. The desperate resolution was formed of cutting a passage through the enemy's lines and gaining

the banks of the Jordan. It was July 4, 1187. The moment the Christian army began to move, it received showers of arrows from the Saracen archers. Saladin moved into the plain with his cavalry. The Christians were compelled to stop to defend themselves. The first shock of battle was impetuous and bloody. The Christian Knights, oppressed by heat and thirst, were staggered by the activity and persistency of their foes. The priests rushed through the reeling ranks bearing images and reviving drooping spirits. The true cross, placed on an elevated spot, revived their courage, and they fought around it with the greatest desperation. But Saladin kept pouring in his charges till he succeeded in breaking through the Christian ranks. Night came to the rescue of the exhausted and nearly defeated Christians. Both sides remained on the field of battle. Saladin went through his camps exhorting his soldiers and promising sure victory on the morrow. He ordered four hundred charges of arrows to be distributed, and re-arranged his line so that the Christians would find themselves surrounded if they advanced their lines. So the Christians passed the night in prayers and exhortations, vows and threats of vengeance, noise of drums and trumpets, in fact in the use of all the means at their disposal to inspire hope of victory and lead the enemy to think they were by no means cast down by the failures of the preceding day.

When daylight appeared, and the Christians saw the new disposition Saladin had made of his forces, they were struck with amazement. To advance was to march into

the jaws of inevitable death. Even as they stood, they were virtually surrounded. Both sides remained in suspense till the sun was well up. A strong wind blew the dust of the plain directly on the Christians. Saladin gave the signal for combat. His troops closed in from all sides with shouts. The air was filled with their arrows. The Christians stood boldly in defence. The shrubs and grass were fired and the flames crept up to the position occupied by the Christians. Still the swords of the Christian Knights gleamed through the flames. They charged desperately on the Infidel columns. As often as they charged they were repulsed. Their ranks wavered. The hunger and thirst of continuous action set in. They swung toward the mountains of Ettin on their left, to take advantage of the passes. But the Saracens were upon them, hurling some down the precipices, enflaming others in the ravines. All through the dread day, the Knights of the Temple and St. John stood valorously by the true cross. Its bearer fell. The bishop of Lidda took it up and was captured. A wail of despair went up when the sacred emblem passed into the possession of the enemy. The bravest lost courage, threw away their arms and rushed suicidally on the swords of the enemy. Fear of neither death nor slavery contributed to further order or valor. The field became one of carnage and desolation. King Guy and his brother Geoffry, Grand Master of the Templars, together with Renaud, were taken prisoners. Raymond, at the head of the Christian vanguard, managed to cut a way through the Saracen ranks, and to escape to Tripoli,

where he died, shortly afterwards, in despair, and accused of infidelity by both Christians and Mussulmen. Bohemond of Antioch and Renaud, young Prince of Tiberias, accompanied Raymond in his flight. These, with their few soldier attendants, were all who escaped this disastrous battle.

This battle sounded the death knell of Jerusalem. It was a horrible carnage from beginning to end. The dead bodies of the Christians covered the plains and valleys, and in many places carcasses were piled up like stones. The tent cords were not sufficient to bind the prisoners, and they were driven off like herds of cattle to be divided among their captors. Saladin received King Guy and Renaud in a great tent on the battlefield. He treated the King with consideration, but, after denouncing Renaud as a traitor, he ordered his soldiers to cut off his head. On the next day, Saladin ordered the captured Knights of the Temple (Templars) and of St. John (Hospitaliers) to be led before him. As they passed his throne he said, "I will deliver the earth of these unclean races." The grand master of the Templars found favor in his eyes, because the signal victory of Saladin had been due to his imprudent counsels, but the rest were massacred in the presence of the victorious monarch, who thus disgraced an eventful triumph with atrocious barbarities. The Mussulmen consumed two days in thanking Heaven for their victory, and then Saladin turned his attention to reaping the advantages which were to follow. After mastering the citadel of Tiberias, he sent the wife of Raymond to Tripoli. He next besieged Ptolemais, which had with-

stood the attack of the armies of the West for three years, and in two days was in possession of it. Its inhabitants were allowed to march out with their property, and its churches were converted into mosques. The terror which now preceded the arms of Saladin was like that which the name of Christian Crusader had formerly inspired. The gates of Naplouse, Jericho, Ramla, Arsuf, Jaffa and Berouth flew open on his approach, and his yellow standard was mounted on their walls almost without a struggle. On the coast the Christians retained only the cities of Tyre, Tripoli and Ascalon. Saladin besieged Tyre, but seeing that to capture it would cost time, and that Ascalon would prove of more importance, as giving him an outlet to Egypt, he invested Ascalon. Its garrison resisted him with desperate courage. But, at length, a breach was effected in the walls, and Saladin proposed terms of surrender to the Christians. Despair had made the latter reckless of life, and they refused Saladin's offer. King Guy, whom Saladin led with him in triumph, importuned the defenders of the city not to compromise the safety of their families and the Christian inhabitants by further useless defence. They, therefore, agreed to surrender on condition that life and property should be respected, and that King Guy should be liberated at the end of a year.

Saladin next captured Gaza and several neighboring fortresses, and then marched upon Jerusalem, within which all was terror and lamentation. The widows and orphans of the warriors who had perished near Tiberias, the soldiers who had escaped that disastrous battle, the pilgrims who had re-

cently come from Europe, the panic-stricken families from the devastated provinces, and a weeping Queen, were the only guardians of the Holy Sepulchre. When Saladin had partially completed his investment of the city, he invited its principal inhabitants to meet him in council. When they were assembled, he said:—"I acknowledge that Jerusalem is the House of God, I do not wish to profane its sanctity by the shedding of blood. Abandon its walls and I will bestow on you a part of my treasures. I will give you as much land as you will be able to cultivate." To which the Christians replied, "We cannot yield the city in which our God died; still less can we give it up to you." This refusal enraged Saladin, and he swore to destroy the towers and ramparts of Jerusalem and avenge the death of the Mussulmen slaughtered by the soldiers of Godfrey of Bouillon. Even while Saladin was in the midst of his savage denunciation, an eclipse came upon the Sun, which was regarded as an omen fatal to the Christian cause.

The terrified inhabitants of the city began to organize for defence. They chose Balian of Ibelin as leader. He repaired the fortifications and put the defenders in training. Fifty new knights were created as subordinate leaders. All Christians able to bear arms enlisted, and swore to defend to the death the cross of Christ. The churches were despoiled of their ornaments, and even the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre was deprived of its precious covering, to provide money for the defence. Meanwhile, Saladin was posting his battalions upon the very spots

which the troops of Godfrey, Tancred and the two Roberts had occupied when they besieged the Holy City. Very soon the clash of arms came. Rendered desperate by their situation, the Christians fought with great spirit and determination. The Mussulmen, confident of victory, fought with valorous rashness. In the many sorties and clashes of the first few days great numbers of Christians, say the chroniclers of the time, received the palm of martyrdom and entered into the heavenly Jerusalem, while as many Mussulmen went to dwell on the banks of the river which waters Paradise.

After a time Saladin shifted his operations toward the northern wall, where he gradually undermined the ramparts extending from the Gate of Jehoshaphat to that of St. Stephen. The bravest of the defenders made a sortie upon him, with the cry of, "A single one of us shall make ten Infidels fly, and ten of us shall put to flight ten thousand." But the scriptures were not to be fulfilled in their case. Fight as they would, the operations of the Infidels could not be stayed. They were driven back into the city in rout, and their appearance carried discouragement and terror to the inhabitants. Despair set in, mingled with wailing, tears and prayers. Soldiers deserted the ramparts and flew to the churches to mingle their petitions with those of the women and clergy. The latter formed processions in the streets, to bewail the situation and cry to Heaven for protection. The marching throngs beat their breasts with stones, tore their bodies with hair cloth and shouted for mercy. Jerusalem was filled with sobs and groans, "but

our Jesus Christ," says a pious old chronicler, "would not hear them, for the luxury and impurity that were in the city would not allow either orisons or prayers to ascend before him." Despair drove the inhabitants to disconcert. At one moment they famed immolation by rushing in a body upon the ranks of the Infidels; at another, they cast their hopes on the clemency of Saladin. So, despair opened the differences which had long prevailed between the Greek, Syrian and Melaehite Christians, and the Latin, or European, Christians. The former charged the Latins with all the lasciviousness and corruption which had degraded the Kingdom and brought on the misfortunes of the war. A plot for the surrender of the city was discovered, which intensified the general alarm. The principal inhabitants concluded, at last, that the best thing to do was propose to Saladin a capitulation, on the terms which he had proposed before the siege. Saladin, remembering his oath to destroy the ramparts and avenge the death the Mussulmen slaughtered by Godfrey, sent back the deputies without giving them the least hope. The general of the Christian forces, Beleau, went several times to Saladin to ask for the acceptance of the terms offered, but his petitions remained unanswered. At length, one day, an unusually strong plea was made. Turning toward the city, and pointing to his standards upon the walls, Saladin said to the deputies, "How can you ask me to grant conditions to a city which is already taken?" But Saladin spoke too confidently. The standards to which he had so triumphantly pointed were only temporarily there. Their

presence drew a furious and concentrated attack from the Christians, and the Saracens were repulsed. As the standards went down, Beleau turned to Saladin and said "You see Jerusalem is not without defenders. If we can obtain no mercy from you, we will form a terrible resolution, whose results will fill you with terror. These temples and palaces you are so anxious to conquer shall be destroyed. The riches which excite your cupidity shall be burned. We will destroy the Mosque of Omar. We will pound into dust the mysterious stone of Jacob, which is an object of your worship. We will slay our women and children with our own hands and thus prevent them from becoming your slaves. When the Holy City shall become a ruin—a vast tomb—we will march out of it, armed with fire and sword, and no one of us will ascend to Paradise without first consigning ten Mussulmen to hell. We shall thus obtain a glorious death, and in dying shall call down on your head the maledictions of the God of Jerusalem."

This terrible speech, vindictively and tragically delivered, frightened Saladin, and he invited the deputies to come next day. He consulted the doctors of the law and they decided that he could accept the terms of capitulation without violating his oath. So on the next day the terms were signed in the tent of the great Sultan, and Jerusalem passed again into the hands of the Infidels, after having remained for eighty-eight years in the possession of the Christians. The Christian vaunt had been that they entered Jerusalem on Friday at the very hour in which Christ had died to expiate the crimes

of the human race. The Saracens now boasted that they retook the Holy City on Friday, the anniversary of the day on which Mohammed ascended from it into heaven. This circumstance gave additional splendor to Saladin's triumph and caused him to be regarded as the favorite of the Prophet.

The warriors in Jerusalem at the time of the capitulation were permitted to withdraw to Tyre and Tripoli. The lives of the inhabitants were spared, and they were permitted to purchase their liberty, the rate of ransom being fixed at ten pieces of gold for the men, five for the women and two for the children. Those who could not purchase their liberty remained as slaves. All Christians, except those of the Greek and Syrian churches, were ordered to leave the city in four days. While these terms were received with joy, the conquered Christians experienced bitter grief as the hour for their departure arrived. They embraced each other in the streets and lamented the dissensions and degradations which had led to such a fatality. Amid sighs and groans they visited Calvary and the churches they were to see no more. They watered the tomb of Christ with tears and regretted they had not died in its defence. On the day of departure, all the gates were closed except that of David. At this gate Saladin seated himself on a throne so that all the Christians might pass before him. The Patriarch passed out first, followed by the clergy, bearing the sacred vases, the ornaments of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the treasures. Next came Queen Sibylla at the head of the barons and knights. Saladin addressed her some

kind words, out of respect for her grief. Then came a throng of weeping women bearing their children in their arms. Many of them approached Saladin and said, "You see at your feet the wives, mothers and daughters of the warriors you detain as prisoners. We leave forever the country they defended with glory. They helped to support our lives. In losing them, we lose our last hope. If you deign to restore them to us they will lessen the miseries of our exile, and we shall no longer be without help on earth." The heart of the stern warrior was touched by their prayers, and he promised to relieve the misfortunes of the bereaved families. He united the husbands, wives and children of all the unredeemed captives. Many left their valuables behind in order to bear away on their shoulders their aged parents, or sick wives and children. These Saladin rewarded with gifts. He relieved the various forms of distress and permitted the Hospitallers to remain in the city to attend to pilgrims and assist those who could not leave by reason of sickness. Thus the warrior whose arms were dreaded throughout the East, and the Infidel who had proved so cruel in the exigency of battle, showed that in his hour of triumph he was possessed of the principles of humanity.

The population of Jerusalem, at the time of its capture by Saladin, was estimated at one hundred thousand. A greater portion of these were able to purchase their liberty. Baleau employed the treasures taken for the defence of the city in purchasing the liberty of others. Saladin's brother, Malec-Adel, paid the ransom of two thousand captives.

Saladin himself set free great numbers of orphans and poor. In the end there only remained fourteen thousand unransomed Christians, nearly half of whom were children, too young to feel their misfortune, yet whose fate was loudly deplored because it involved the certainty that they would be trained to the Mohammedan religion. The reader has been made acquainted with the cruel excesses and revolting scenes which attended the entry of the first Crusaders into Jerusalem,—an Infidel city. He has just read of the far different conduct of Saladin on his entry into Jerusalem—a Christian city. Whether the difference, which stands out so boldly to the discredit of the Christian leaders and warriors, is sufficiently accounted for by the two facts, first, that Godfrey and his companions were in a strange land, amid hostile nations, and were forced to the fatigues and dangers of a long siege by a resolute foe; and second, that Saladin's conquest was through the medium of a capitulation; must be left an open question. But it is certain that no apologist of the Christian conquerors of Jerusalem has ever been able to dim the praises which impartial history has bestowed on Saladin, and which were cheerfully extended to him at the time by the very people he had conquered. Whatever his religion, whatever his conduct in the past, his conduct at the fall of Jerusalem assuaged the sting of a mighty misfortune and wrote in letters of gold an exceptional chapter in the book of the humanities.

The victorious Saladin now turned attention to his triumphs. Preceded by his

standards, he made a triumphal entry into the Holy City. In his trains moved the imans, doctors of the law and ambassadors from the states of his Kingdom. Every church in the city, except the church of the Holy Sepulchre, was converted into a mosque. The Sultan ordered the walls of the Mosque of Omar to be washed with rose water from Damascus, and he placed therein, with his own hands, the pulpit made by Nouredin. The first Friday after the capture was devoted to thanksgiving for victory. The chief of the imans delivered a powerful address from the pulpit of the Prophet. Its conclusion ran, "Praise, then, with me the Lord, but yield not to the weaknesses of pride, and do not, above everything, believe it was your swords of steel, with your horses, rapid as the wind, that have triumphed over the infidels. God is God; God alone is powerful; God alone has given you victory. He orders you not to stop in a glorious career in which he himself leads you by the hand. The holy war! The holy war! that is the most pure of your adorations, the most noble of your duties. Cut down all the branches of impiety. Cause Islamism to triumph everywhere. Deliver the earth of the nations against which God is angry." And then, breaking into a touching prayer, he thus made an appeal for Saladin, "O God! watch over the days of thy faithful servant, who is thy sharp sword, thy resplendent star, the defender of thy worship, the liberator of thy sacred dwelling. O God! let thy angels surround his empire, and prolong his days for the glory of thy name."

In changing masters the Holy City had

changed its religion. The sermons and prayers which before went out and up in the name of Christ, now went out and up in the name of the Prophet. The eloquence and importunacy of the first did not excel that of the second. Indeed in the sermon and prayer of the chief iman, we read almost the same language as that used by Peter the Hermit and St. Bernard to fire Christian Europe. But the thanksgivings of the Infidel fell like sacrilege on the ears of the departing Christians, and made them detest the lives they owed to the generosity of their conquerors. Accused by the Christians of the East of having betrayed the tomb of Christ, the Latin Christians wandered forth to die of grief and hunger. They could find no sympathy nor asylum anywhere. Tripoli, a city still under Christian control, shut her gates against them. One woman rushed in despair from the impoverished multitude and cast her child into the sea, with curses upon the Christians who refused her succor. Swarms wended their way southward to Egypt, where they found at the hands of Mussulmen the assistance denied them by their brethren in Christ. Crowds flocked back to Europe to tell the sad tale of the loss of Jerusalem and to lament with the West the misfortunes of the East.

In those days of fanatical zeal, piety explained every victory and impiety every reverse, and this, without reference to the adventitious causes which really count most for the success of wars and the establishment of permanent states. Trusting all to pious fervor, Jerusalem lost all. The zeal

that captured it could not hold it, for that zeal itself was worn out in exasperating discords. It failed to create the conditions of permanent foothold, or to control those which sprang up spontaneously amid novel surroundings. There never was, for a moment, Christianity enough among the Christians of Jerusalem to beget a single principle of permanent statehood, or abate a jot or tittle of the corruption which preyed like a consumption on the vitals of society. The pious effervescence which had been like invigorating mist in Europe was dissipated by the skies of Asia. The inspiration which bore the Christians thither was insufficient for their orderly existence there. Owing to the quickness with which the Crusaders forgot their real mission, the littleness of their factional discords, the variety and depth of their depravity, the Kingdom of Jerusalem, left to itself, could not have lasted a decade. It lived for eighty-eight years by no inherent virtue, but by reason of the material aid furnished by Europe, and, especially, by reason of the fact that its enemies were torn by jealousies and internal dissensions. It fell the instant it was left to its own resources and was surrounded by a united foe.

But these thoughts did not prevail at the time. By the fall of Jerusalem the welfare of Christianity was placed at stake. The glory of God was eclipsed by the loss of the Holy City. Pope Urban III died of grief at Ferrara when word reached him that Jerusalem had passed into the hands of the Infidels. All Europe was struck with surprise and consternation. Christians everywhere

forgot their personal ills to weep over the fallen city. Priests bore from city to city images of the Holy Sepulchre trampled upon by the feet of horses, and of Christ crushed to earth by Mohammed. Dirges were sung over the captivity of King Guy and his Knights, the fate of abandoned virgins of the Lord, and of children under the curse of Mohammedan teachings. Superstition crowned despair with the hallucinations of prodigies and omens. The moon was seen to descend to earth and re-ascend to heaven on the very night Saladin entered the Holy City. Crucifixes and images of the saints wept tears of blood in the churches. A Christian Knight saw an eagle, in a dream, flying over an army, with seven javelins in its talons, and screaming "evil be to Jerusalem." Self accusation was the order of the day for having contributed to draw the vengeance of Heaven. The faithful sought to appease an angry God by penitence. The clergy appealed to God directly to "let the angels of peace obtain the fruits of penitence for Jerusalem." A spell seemed to come of a sudden over Christendom. Amid lamentations over Jerusalem, there was speedy recall of the precepts of scripture. An accusing conscience passed like an electric shock through the hearts of men, and a higher moral sense took root in hitherto barren soils. Luxury fled the cities, injuries were forgiven, alms poured in. Christians expiated their excesses and crimes by fasting, wearing hair cloth, sleeping upon ashes, and other mortifications of the flesh. The clergy reformed the morals of the cloister. Cardinals condemned themselves to poverty

and promised pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

While all these pious reforms were evanescent, they lasted long enough to give shape to a new Crusade. Pope Gregory VIII exhorted all Europe to assume the cross and take up arms. He set about to arrange the disputes between Christian nations, so that all might be at peace. He died without finishing his work, but left it to his successor Clement III, who immediately ordered prayers for the peace of Europe and the deliverance of the East. He commissioned William, Archbishop of Tyre, who had come into Europe to solicit aid, to preach the Crusade. He proved worthy of his mission by first awakening the Italians and then meeting Kings Henry II of England and Philip Augustus of France, who had come together. Though at war with one another, they laid down their arms, and sent for their bravest Knights to join the assembly. William met with an enthusiastic reception. He improved his opportunity by a pathetic description of the taking of Jerusalem by Saladin, and by a powerful exhortation to the soldiers of the West to avenge the slaughter of their brethren in the East. He so affected all who heard him that Henry II and Philip Augustus embraced each other and took up the cross. King Henry's son, Richard, duke of Guienne, Philip, Count of Flanders, Hugh, duke of Normandy, Henry, Count of Champagne, Thibaut, Count of Blois, and scores of other illustrious barons and Knights, together with many English and French bishops, took the oath to deliver the Holy Land. "The Cross! The

Cross!" became their battle cry, and it soon resounded through two Kingdoms. All who did not take the cross were taxed a tenth of their revenues. This came to be known as the "Saladin tithe." Those who refused to pay the tax were excommunicated. Strange to say, the clergy were the only ones who resisted payment of this tax. They were brought to terms by being told that they must set the example, that they were not the Church, and that the wealth of the Church belonged to Christ.

A feature of the two first Crusades had been the zeal with which the villagers, who were attached to the feudal estates as slaves, took up the cross. By doing so they set themselves free. Their absence left the lands uncultivated and the country deserted. In order to check this injurious zeal, the serfs were now required to first obtain the consent of their masters to enlist, and all who enlisted without doing so were forced to pay the "Saladin tithe." As evidence of how superficial the sentiment was which moved princes to take up the cross, and of how little solemnity they attached to their oaths, Richard, duke of Guienne, quarreled with the Count of Toulouse. King Henry flew to the aid of his son, and King Philip rushed to the rescue of his vassal. At the solicitation of clergy and nobles, the two monarchs met under the very elm tree which had witnessed their oaths, but a short time before, but they could not agree on terms of peace, and Philip ordered the tree to be cut down. Several subsequent trials to reach a peace failed. At length, Richard became disgusted at his father's stubbornness and

joined King Philip. The war now became earnest and the "Saladin tithe," assessed for purely pious purposes, was consumed in sacrilegious war, alike discreditable to morality and human nature. This did not auger well for the success of the Crusade. The Pope stepped in and, through his legate, excommunicated Richard and threatened to place Philip's kingdom under interdict. Philip retorted that the Pope had no business to interfere with the quarrels of princes and Richmond drew his sword to smite the legate. Peace passed further from a possibility. The vassals and people grew indignant. The bishops of Henry counselled. The Pope thundered. Nothing seemed to overcome King Henry's obstinacy. At length, importuned and threatened on all sides, he accepted Philip's propositions, but died of grief, and cursing his son Richard for warring openly with him, and his youngest son for conspiracy against him. Richard piously, or impiously, accused himself of his father's death, became penitential, and of a sudden remembered the oath he had taken to assume the cross. Having succeeded his father as King of England, he assembled the barons and prelates at Northampton, and Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, preached the crusade. Baldwin then went about the English counties, preaching and performing miracles, and stirring up enthusiasm for the Crusade. The first serious exhibition of English attachment to the cause of Christ was their persecution of the Jews, a great number of whom were massacred in the streets of York and London, and many more preferred to kill themselves rather

than submit to the atrocities of these Christian barbarians. These horrible scenes preceded every Crusade thus far. The Jew was the general depository of wealth, and this fact, in an hour of fanatical fervor, served to remind the vulgar that he had crucified the Son of God. Richard took advantage of these persecutions to increase his own treasures. In addition, he mortgaged his own crown lands and sold the great dignities of his Kingdom, both at home and in France. Such was the extremity of his piety that he said he would sell the city of London if he could find a purchaser.

Out of the general ferment in France and England arose a great number of warriors ready for the third Crusade. Many barons and lords, whose ardor had begun to cool, delayed to announce their readiness to depart. These were set upon by the orators and preachers and shamed into renewed zeal. The monarchs of France and England met and agreed to proceed to Palestine by sea. They also agreed upon a code for securing order and discipline. They agreed that the laws of religion were inadequate for the control of an army of Crusaders. So they looked to the justice of a barbarous age for the suppression of the passions and vices among Christians engaged in a Holy war. Who struck a blow, was to be plunged three times into the sea. Who struck with the sword, had his hand cut off. Who abused another, paid an ounce of silver for each invective. Who stole, had boiling pitch poured on his shaven head, and after it was covered with feathers, he was cast off on the nearest shore. Who did murder, was bound to his victim

and cast into the sea or buried alive. The authors of this humane and civilized code could not help being qualified for Christian conquest, and with such representatives of a glorious cause, Christianity could not fail to be exalted in the eyes of the Infidel.

Women, whose presence in great numbers, had brought disorder to the first and second Crusade, were forbidden to accompany the third. Gambling and swearing were prohibited. Luxury at the table or in dress was repressed. King Philip made his will, in which he confided his Kingdom to his mother Adela, and Uncle, the Cardinal of Champagne. Most of the barons and Knights adjusted their temporal affairs, as though they never expected to return. Philip took up the the staff and scrip of the pilgrim, and went to Vezelay to meet King Richard. They embraced, renewed their oaths, and called the thunders of the Church on all who should prove recreant. Richard then hastened to Marseilles to superintend the embarkation of his army, and Philip went to Genoa for the same purpose. This was the first time in history that Kings of France and England fought together for the same cause. But it was hardly likely that their friendship could be lasting. They had nothing in common at home. On the contrary, their respective thrones were nests of rivalries and jealousies. Both were young; both ambitious. Philip was by far the greater King; Richard by far the greater leader. Desire for renown, rather than piety, took them to Palestine. Religion had never humbled their pride or touched their hearts. Both

were haughty, quick in revenge, impatient of any arbiter except the sword. Philip had already shown himself to be an inveterate foe of England. Richard was the son of Queen Eleanor who had disgraced the bed of Louis VIII of France, and had married King Henry of England, with an oath that she would be revenged on France. Such were the loving monarchs who swore to harmonize in the name of Christ and for the purposes of the third Crusade.

After the Archbishop of Tyre had preached this Crusade in England and France, he went into Germany to solicit the Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, to take up the Cross. Frederick had practically lived among battles throughout a long and prosperous reign, and was easily persuaded to seek further renown by joining his pious contemporaries. Moreover, he found the step a convenient way to appease the Pope, with whom he had had many quarrels. He was followed by his son Frederick, Duke of Swabia; Leopold, Duke of Austria; Berthold, Duke of Moravia; Herman, Marquis of Baden; the Count of Nassau; the bishops of Besancon, Munster, Passau, Osnaburg, and a host of barons and knights. The churches of Germany rung with exhortations and promises. Many prodigies appeared announcing the will of Heaven in the matter. A virgin of Lewenstein had heard of the fall of Jerusalem on the very day the Saracens entered, and she forthwith proclaimed that it would furnish a means of salvation for the warriors of the West. Such multitudes of Germans rushed to embrace the cross that measures had to be taken to repress their ardor. Frederick,

who had gone with his uncle Conrad on the second Crusade, and who had learned something of the disorders of too great a mob, refused to accept any soldier who could not take along three silver marks. He rejected all such adventurers, vagabonds, and criminals as had dishonored the Christian cause by their excesses, during the other Crusades. He further determined to pursue the land route to Palestine, and wrote in advance to the Emperor of Constantinople to demand a free passage. He also sent an embassy to Saladin, with a chivalric demand upon the triumphant Sultan to restore Jerusalem and all other Christian cities to the Franks. He left Ratisbon with an army of one hundred thousand men, crossed Hungary and Bulgaria, and arrived in the provinces of the Greek Empire before Richard or Philip had embarked for Palestine.

At this time the Emperor of Constantinople was Isaac Angelus. He had obtained the throne by striking the Emperor Andronicus to the earth and then rushing into the streets crying, "I have killed the devil!" The people, who hated Andronicus for his cruelty, proclaimed Isaac Emperor. The soldiers seized Andronicus and dragged him through the streets. Amid the most bloody and disgusting scenes, Isaac assumed the imperial purple. He was less cruel than Andronicus, but unfit to defend the empire against its enemies. Instead of raising armies he turned his attention to visions and prophecies, and kept a troop of monks in his palace to pray for the security of himself and his kingdom. He, like Andronicus, greatly increased the mutual hatred between the

Latin and Greek Christians. The Latins had been driven from Constantinople, their houses burned, and many killed. Those who escaped took refuge in vessels and made reprisals along the shores of the Hellespont. The monks of Isaac's palace advised him to beware of Frederick's approaching army, and to capture or betray it.

Isaac was weak enough to listen to their advice. He sent promises to the effect that he would provision the German army and permit it to pass through his states. He at the same time made an alliance with Saladin. Then he sent word to his governors to harass the Crusaders and even attack them openly. This only exposed the weakness of their forces. Frederick gained easy victories over them, and did not hesitate to follow them up. To every request for peace, or every threat, on the part of Frederick, Isaac returned a haughty reply, and even imprisoned his ambassadors. But as Frederick approached Constantinople, Isaac changed his tone, and gave him much more than he had before refused. He fed for several months an army he had sworn to destroy, showered presents upon Frederick, and used all the vessels of his navy to transport the Crusaders across to Asia.

Once upon the soil of the East, the Crusaders felt the exhilaration of air, sky and scene. The prospect of tearing down and building up kingdoms nerved them for marches and battles. Soon they had enemies to contend with who were far more formidable than those of the Emperor Isaac. When they arrived on the banks of the Meander they found a Turkish army ready to

dispute the passage. Battle was joined, and after a stubborn contention the enemy was routed and cut to pieces. As usual, this victory was attributed to the intervention of Heaven and to miracles. St. George and St. Victor, armed with lances and clothed in white, were seen to lead the Christian forces. But the heaven favored Germans were soon face to face with something which miracle failed to remedy. Snow, rain, difficult roads, hunger, disease, and swift moving bands of the enemy, swept away great numbers of Frederick's forces. In order to escape the evils which threatened his army he was forced to attack and capture Iconium, the very capital with whose Sultan he had arranged for provisions and rest, but whose perfidy had rendered the harsh step necessary.

After this, the German Crusaders spread the terror of their arms in all the country around. They defeated the Turks in several battles, and made their march a triumphal one. Frederick was able to preserve splendid discipline, and even the emirs praised to Saladin the valor and patience of their enemies. He thus crossed the Taurus mountains, and was proceeding, in the spring of A. D. 1190, toward Syria, when his army reached the river Selc. Attracted by the fresh and limpid waters, Frederick went in to bathe, but was siezed of a sudden with a mortal chill. Though quickly dragged out, he failed to revive, and soon after died. (*See* Plate No. XLIII.) His army was plunged into greater grief than if it had lost a battle. William, Archbishop of Tyre, buried the remains in his own city of

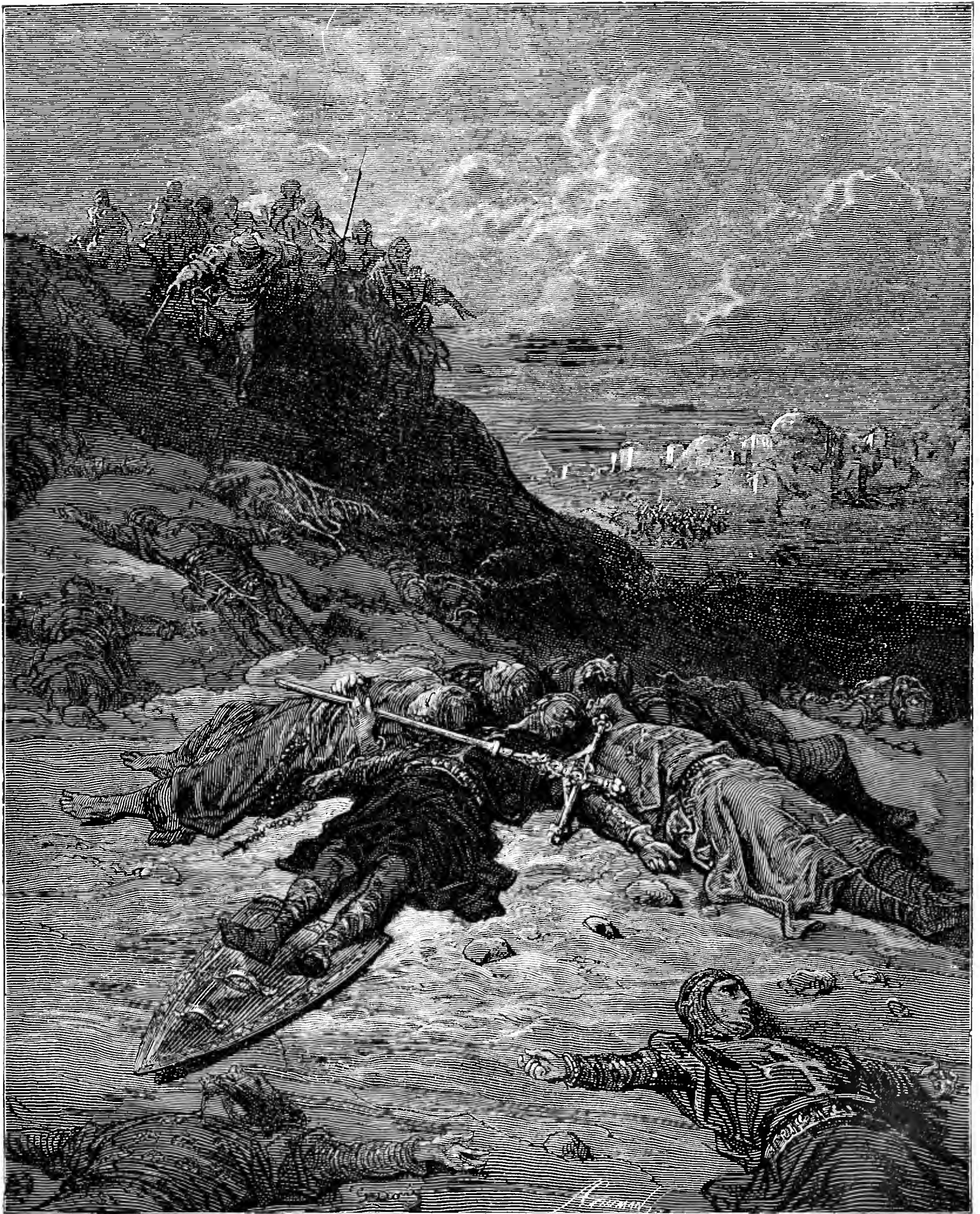


PLATE No. XLIII.—DEATH OF FREDERICK OF GERMANY.

Tyre, and in his eulogy spoke of him as the most powerful of Christian monarchs. His death demoralized his army. The courage of all was weakened. Many deserted. His son Frederick, duke of Suabia, who succeeded him, was unable to inspire valor and confidence in his saddened ranks. In repeated contests with the Turks, the Germans came

out worsted. Hunger, fatigue and disease swept away despairing thousands. In a very short time Frederick's army of one hundred thousand men was reduced to five thousand foot and seven hundred horse. This miserable wreck of a once powerful force managed to cross Syria and reach the Christian lines then drawn around Ptolemais.

ARTICLE II.
SALADIN.

A. D. 1187-1192.



THE battle near Lake Tiberias and the capture of Jerusalem by the Mussulmen under the lead of Saladin, persuaded the Christians of the East that they were unable to cope with the new power which was carrying everything before it. The third Crusade became necessary and, while it was gathering, Saladin continued to push his victories. One city defied his efforts. That city was Tyre, which found a resolute defender in Conrad, Son of the elder Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, who was captured at Tiberias and was still held a prisoner by Saladin. The young Conrad had won distinction in the war of the Holy See against the German Emperor. He had gone to Constantinople and won the gratitude of the Emperor Isaac Angelus, whose sister he married, receiving at the same time the title of Cæsar. Fired with a desire to visit the East, he reached Tyre just as it was on the eve of surrendering to Saladin. Taking command of its garrison, he widened the ditches, repaired the fortifications, and pre-

pared it to withstand attack by sea and land. Saladin offered to restore the elder Conrad, if the younger would surrender the city and accept a rich Syrian possession. Conrad replied that he despised the gifts of Infidels and preferred the success of the Christian cause to the life of his father. The warriors in Palestine, Knights of the Temple and of St. John, repaired to Tyre. Something of the old time enthusiasm animated every defender of the city, and in the many battles which were fought on board the ships and under the walls, the enemy were forced to yield to superior courage and skill. One French Knight, known as the *Green Knight* fought several single combats with success, and impressed even the great Saladin with his courage and feats of arms.

At length Saladin was forced to raise the siege. He then attacked Tripoli, but the *Green Knight* placed himself at the head of three hundred horse and five hundred foot, newly arrived from Sicily, and made so stout a defence of the place that Saladin was again frustrated. The Saracen chieftain next laid waste the banks of the Orontes and forced Bohemond of Antioch into a truce of eight month's duration. He then forced Carac to surrender. Throughout his conquests Sala-

Saladin had held Guy, King of Jerusalem, a prisoner. After the fall of Carac, he set the King free, first binding him by an oath to renounce his Kingdom and return to Europe. The King violated his oath the moment he was free and sought an opportunity to do something toward restoring his fallen throne. He presented himself before Tyre, but its defenders would have nothing to do with one who had proved his inability to retain his crown and the Holy City. He wandered aimlessly about Palestine, accompanied by a few attendants, till about the time the first detachments of the new crusade began to arrive in the Holy Land. Gathering up about nine thousand of these, he laid siege to Ptolemais, known in later history as Acre. This city was, like Tyre, a sea port, and was soon to witness a sanguinary conflict between the Mussulman and Christian forces. Soon the arrival of fresh Crusaders, French, English and Flemish, preceding the regular forces of Philip and Richard, increased the strength of King Guy to such proportions as to excite alarm among the besieged. These arriving Crusaders were under command of Jacques d'Avesnes, a notable chieftain, and the bishop of Beauvais. They were joined by Genoese, Venetian and Pisan Crusaders who came early upon the scene. So rapidly did Guy's forces augment that he found fully eighty thousand Crusaders ready to attack Ptolemais while the powerful monarchs of Europe were still engaged in preparation for their departure to the East.

Saladin was now thoroughly alarmed. He gathered his armies at Damascus, and marched to Ptolemais, where he encamped

on the surrounding heights, completely shutting in the besiegers, who were now almost as much besieged as the garrison in the city. The Christians were forced to dig ditches and raise towers in order to defend themselves against Saladin's attacks. Many severe battles were fought between the Christian and Mussulman forces. Most of these were of doubtful result, but in one Saladin penetrated the Christian lines, entered the city, and headed a successful sortie, driving the Christians back into their camps. He reinforced the garrison and left as commanders two of his bravest Saracen generals. He then returned to his camp and prepared for fresh attacks on the Christian army.

Saladin was daily expecting the arrival of a fleet from Egypt, which would make him master of the sea. The Christians were also looking eagerly for the arrival of a squadron from Europe. Sails appeared and both armies rejoiced. (*See Plate No. XLIV.*) But as the fleets approached, the standard of the cross floating from the mast-heads depressed the Mussulmen and sent a thrill of joy through the Christian ranks. There were really two fleets, one bearing German Crusaders under the lead of the duke of Gueldres and landgrave of Thuringia, the other carrying warriors from Friesland and Denmark, who had been fighting the Saracens in Spain. Conrad could not remain idle at Tyre while his brethren were struggling at Ptolemais. He joined his vessels and troops with the besiegers, and not only increased their numbers but restored their ardor. They resolved to assume the offen-

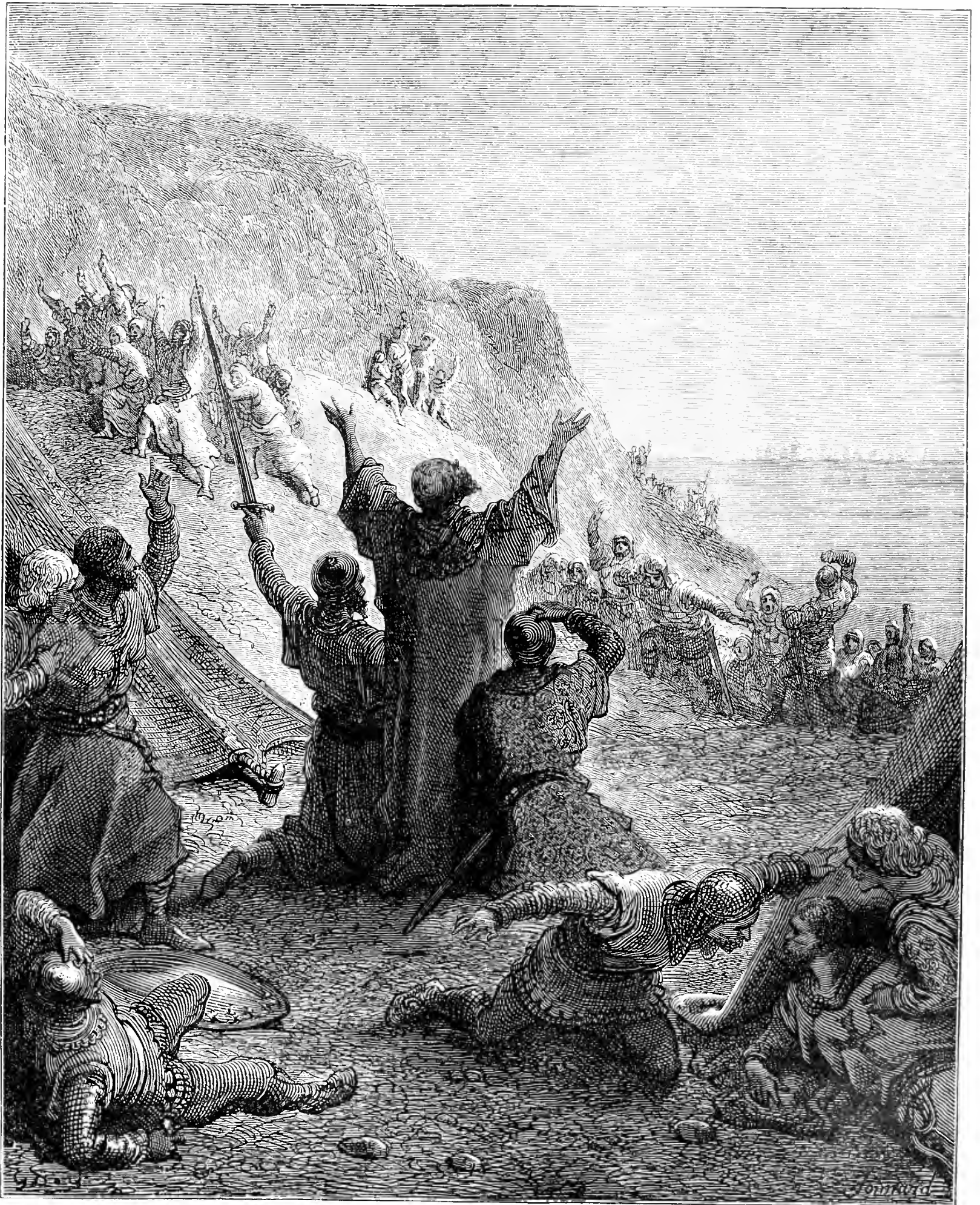


PLATE NO. XLIV.—THE SIEGE OF PTOLEMAIS (ACRE).

sive and attack Saladin. The army was divided into three columns, each of redoubtable aspect and confident of victory. King Guy commanded the right composed of French soldiers and the Hospitallers. Conrad commanded the left composed of Venetians, Lombards and Syrians, with the sea on their flank. The landgrave of Thuringia commanded the centre, composed of Germans, Pisans and English. The Templars and the duke of Gueldres with his soldiers constituted a reserve.

In order to repel them, Saladin placed his Mamelukes in his centre, his nephew Omar on his right next to the sea, and the princes of Mossoul and Sandjar on his left. His position was such that, if fortune favored him, he would have the Christians hemmed in between the river Belus on their right and the sea on their left. The Christian archers and cavalry attacked Omar, on the right, threw his forces into confusion and retreat, and pursued with such impetuosity as to capture the Mussulman camps. The panic spread through Saladin's entire army and most of it fled. Saladin remained almost alone with his faithful Mamelukes, and by dint of herculean effort succeeded in rallying enough of his terrorized forces to warrant a charge upon the victorious Christians, who were now in the midst of disorderly pillage. The charge was made with terrific energy. It struck and dispersed the cavalry of the Franks. The detached Christian forces broke in flight. The Templars marched up their reserve, only to meet the Mussulman cavalry in such full career as to carry everything before it. Several times the broken columns of the Temp-

lars rallied, but without being able to stand up before the Saracen horsemen. Meanwhile, the emirs on Saladin's left had re-arranged their forces and were making a determined attack upon the Christian left, assisted by the garrison of Ptolemais, which issued from the city in order of battle. The fight was now general and terrific. Saladin appeared to be everywhere. After having established his right, he returned to his centre, and then passed to his left, to direct and urge. Ten times he crossed in front of the Christian lines, and every cavalry charge was made under his personal direction. His forces made a terrible slaughter of the Christians, whose lines were broken everywhere and falling back in panicky retreat upon their camps. Saladin pressed his advantages throughout the entire day, and at evening made a desperate attack upon the entrenched positions of the Christians. In this he was repulsed, and both armies rested for the night, after a day of fearful carnage, and amid lamentation for the loss of many of their bravest leaders.

The next day the Christians did not dare to leave their entrenchments and Saladin was not sufficiently assured of victory to attack. His camps had been thrown into disorder and many of them pillaged. Most of his baggage had been lost. Provisions were short and winter was approaching. Under these circumstances he resolved to quit the plain and withdraw to the mountain of Karouba. As he retired, the Christians extended their camps till they occupied the entire plain and the heights about Ptolemais. They made their positions secure by means

of ditches and walls, and prosecuted the siege without intermission. Day by day they battered at the walls and made assaults. The garrison resisted with stubborn courage, but their carrier pigeons bore letters to Saladin's camp warning him of the great danger to the city unless he could render aid from the outside.

By spring Saladin had recruited his army. He marched down from the mountain of Karouba and again confronted the Christian army. Sight of his formidable hosts depressed the Crusaders. Their hopes of capturing the city vanished as they again saw themselves between two fires. The three great towers they had erected during the winter and pushed up so as to overlook the walls were burned by the enemy. As the flames shot skyward, terror seized every beholder, and many quitted the service to return to Europe, believing that God had deserted the Christian cause. Saladin made repeated and furious attacks on the Christian camps and the ditches they had dug for their own protection became the sepulchres of thousands. Every time the Christians made an assault on the city, Saladin was sure to make one on their camps, and he allowed them no repose by night or by day. In the harbor was to be seen the fleets of Egypt and Europe loaded with provisions for the respective combatants. These sometimes engaged in battle. In that event Saracen and Christian struck upon their shields and announced by war-cries their hopes of victory for their partisans, or perchance in the midst of their excitement they added a land battle to the

ocean fray. In the battles which took place about Ptolemais the Mussulmen employed all the stratagems of war while the Christians relied on their courage and valor. Saladin kept his army in perfect discipline, and was able to take prompt advantage of his victories. On the other hand the Christians followed their victories by demoralizing searches for booty, in which their leaders joined. Every battle began at sunrise, and the Christians were generally conquerors till noon; but their eagerness for plunder placed them at the mercy of the enemy by night, and even if they escaped with their booty it was generally to find that their own camps had been invaded by the vigilant troops of Saladin or by the garrison.

At this stage of the siege, Saladin was reinforced by troops from Egypt commanded by his brother Malec-Adel. Their arrival raised the spirits of the Mussulmen. But their joy was of short duration, for word came that the German Crusaders had quitted Europe and were marching toward Syria. Saladin dispatched an army to meet this new enemy. Several of his leaders left for the purpose of protecting their own principalities. Messengers were sent to the Caliph of Bagdad and to Mussulman princes in Asia, Africa and Spain to join their forces for the protection of Islam. The terror among the Mussulmen gave rise to joy among the Christians and they redoubled their efforts to capture Ptolemais before the arrival of the Germans. After many battles, they resolved to attack Saladin's forces and drive him beyond the mountains. At the signal for attack the two armies mingled, and plan

and mountain side became a mass of contending humanity. The Christian warriors fought with invincible courage. Templars and Hospitallers carried death in their course. Soon the Mussulman army broke in flight, covering hill and plain with fleeing detachments. A grand victory was in the grasp of the Christian forces. But greed for booty stopped pursuit and gave the Mussulmen time to rally. They returned to attack and surprise their conquerors who were engaged in the work of pillage. The Christians were surrounded and, having laid down their arms in order to plunder, were helpless for defense. Exasperated by their defeat, the Mussulmen were merciless, and cut down all who came in their way. Christians fell in the very tents they were despoiling, and, as an Arabian historian says, "The Christians fell under the swords of the conquerors, as the wicked will fall into the abode of fire at the last day. Nine ranks of dead covered the ground between the hill and the sea, and each rank was of a thousand warriors."

While this defeat and carnage were going on, the garrison of Ptolemais made a sortie, penetrated the Christian camps and carried off a great number of women and children. When night came and the Crusaders returned to their camps to find them thus plundered, they bewailed their double defeat and fell into great depression of spirits. Soon after, word came of the disasters to the German army and the death of Frederick Barbarossa in Syria. Despair set in. Many leaders resolved to return to Europe. Others favored a treaty of peace with Saladin. But once

more hope was restored by the timely arrival of a fleet which bore great numbers of French, English and Italians under the command of Henry, Count of Champagne. This made the Christians masters of the sea, and they renewed their attack on the city with great confidence. The Count of Champagne constructed, at enormous expense, formidable towers and rams of wood, iron and brass, and with them menaced the ramparts. He headed several powerful assaults in which his warriors gained the ramparts only to be driven back by the vigilant and determined foe. The garrison received daily reinforcements and provisions by sea, either in Egyptian vessels which stole into the port under cover of the night, or in ships manned by apostate Christians, who used the white flag and red cross to deceive the besiegers. The besieged became expert at burning the Christian towers and rendering their attacks abortive. They kept up communication with the sea by means of the Tower of Spies, and this the Christians determined to destroy. They erected a tower on a vessel and pushed it up close to the Mussulman strong-hold. At the same time a bark laden with combustible material was run into the midst of the Saracen fleet. In a moment the wind changed and drove the flaming bark directly upon their tower, setting fire to it. The warriors in the tower made their escape by jumping into the sea and swimming to the shore. While this daring attack was going on, the rest of the Christian army made a concerted assault on the city. They fought with great bravery, but were repulsed and driven back to their camps to find them on

fire and undergoing pillage by the soldiers of Saladin.

While smarting under the sting of double defeat, the Christian army was augmented by five thousand warriors, under the lead of Frederick, duke of Swabia. This was the miserable remnant of that mighty German force which had lost its leader, Frederick Barbarossa, and had been dissipated, in Syria. Much had been expected of the German Crusaders, and their arrival at Ptolemais had been long and anxiously looked for. Now that only a miserable fragment put in a tardy appearance, their arrival gave cause for depression and mourning rather than hope and joy. Nevertheless, Frederick wished to signalize his arrival by some deed of valor. An attack upon the Saracens was ordered. The battle lasted for an entire day and resulted in the defeat of the Christians, who repaired to their camps thoroughly exhausted, and to fall victims to a famine which began to prevail.

As in their greed for the booty of the enemy, so in their use of provisions sent to them in ships, the Christian army had been singularly indiscreet. When a fleet arrived they revelled in plenty, but took little thought of the future. As winter approached and the sea grew stormy, they were reduced to the point of starvation. In their despair they fought several disastrous battles, and if they made forays into adjacent districts in search of food and forage, they almost inevitably fell into ambuscades laid by the wily enemy. At length famine began to tell with fearful effect. The warriors were obliged to destroy and eat their horses, and finally to consume

the harness and trappings made of skins and leather. Many Christians sought food in the camp of Saladin; others apostatized and joined the Mussulman armies; still others deserted to the Saracen fleets and went to ravage the shores of Syria and Cyprus. The rains filled the valleys about Ptolemais and drove the Christian army into camps upon the hills. The bodies of the dead exhaled pestilential odors. Contagious diseases broke out and carried off hundreds daily. Many of the bravest leaders perished, among them Frederick, duke of Swabia, whose companions in arms returned grief stricken and despairing to the West. Queen Sibylla, wife of King Guy, and her two children, died, throwing the Christian community of the East into discord over the succession. Guy claimed the crown in his own right. Isabella, second daughter of King Amaury, and sister of Sibylla, also claimed it, and her husband, Humphrey of Thoron, immediately asserted her right to it. Conrad, who had made himself master of Tyre, was suddenly siezed with an ambition to rule over Jerusalem and Palestine. Though married to the sister of Isaac, Emperor of Constantinople, he made love to Isabella, and through the connivance of the clergy secured a dissolution of her marriage with Humphrey. He then married her and determined to assert her rights with the sword. Humphrey withdrew all claim to the throne, but there still remained the factions headed by Conrad and King Guy, which quarrelled bitterly, throwing the entire army into commotion. At length the bishops interceded and persuaded the rivals to refer their disputes to Richard

and Philip whose arrival was expected in the following spring.

These two monarchs had met at Messina, where they delayed in order to indulge personal rivalries and settle quarrels over matters relating to successions in Europe. In the spring Philip embarked for Palestine, and his arrival revived the hopes of the Christians who had been vainly besieging Ptolemais for two years. Philip pitched his camp close to the enemy and ordered an assault. The effort proved so encouraging that Philip, in a moment of chivalric folly, called a halt in order that time might be given for Richard to arrive and to participate in the honors of this first conquest. This indiscreet generosity proved fatal, in that it gave Saladin time to receive reinforcements and consolidate his armies. He had passed a second winter on the mountain of Karouba and, though his army had been much reduced and he, himself, was suffering from a disease which baffled his physicians, he had succeeded in gathering from all quarters of the East a formidable host of the faithful to resist "the numberless legions of Christians who are come from countries beyond Constantinople to bear away from us conquests that gave such joy to the Koran, and to dispute with us a land upon which the companions of Omar planted the standard of the prophet."

While things thus stood, Richard was detained by something which quite suited his ambition but was entirely foreign to the Crusade. His fleet was separated by a storm, and three of his vessels were wrecked on the island of Cyprus. Their crews were in-

sulted and cast into prison by one Isaac, of the Comnenus family, who vaunted the title of King of Cyprus. Shortly afterwards a ship, on board of which were Jane, Queen of Sicily, and Berangaria of Navarre, was forbidden by Isaac to enter the port of Limisso. Richard, who had collected the remainder of his fleet, made war upon Isaac, captured him, and took possession of the island, which remained for three hundred years under the dominations of the Latins. It was on this island that Richard married Berangaria of Navarre. He then started for Palestine, dragging along Isaac, loaded with chains, and his beautiful daughter, in whom Richard's new wife found a dangerous rival.

Richard's arrival in Palestine was the occasion of great rejoicing among the Christians. When he joined his English army with the forces already before Ptolemais, there was present upon that Eastern theatre of war all that Europe could boast in the way of valiant leaders and courageous soldiers. It was the climax of the third Crusade. The French camps were spread out like a city on the plain, and Philip had his army under perfect discipline. The various nations gathered there had separate leaders and quarters, and they differed in their manners and arms as much as in their tongues. But while confused in speech and habit, they all responded with zeal when the signal for battle was given. The fate of Ptolemais must soon have been sealed but for the discord which attended the coming of Richard.

Now that the two monarchs, to whom the question of succession to the throne of Jerusalem had been referred, were present, the

debates began. Philip declared for Conrad. This was sufficient to warrant Richard in declaring for Guy. All the old factional differences at once broke loose. The Germans, Genoese and Templars sided with Philip and the French. The Pisans and Hospitallers sided with Richard and the English. Such was the intensity of hatred between the two parties that any moment war was likely to ensue. They refused to cooperate against the enemy, and when one king ordered an assault the other sulked in his tent. The besieged never had more than one monarch to contend with, and the Christian army, though immensely increased in numbers and led by the mightiest chieftains of Europe, was less feared by the Mussulmen than before. Amid these disputes, both Kings fell suddenly ill, and each charged the other with an attempt on his life. When Saladin sent them physicians and delicacies, they charged one another with hellish communion with the notorious Infidel. Such was their gratitude for favors extended by a generous enemy and such their Christian respect for one another.

These factional differences so imperilled the army and the cause, that decency and reason cried out for a truce. By way of compromise it was decided that Guy should retain the throne till death and that Conrad and his descendants should succeed to the title of King. At the same time it was agreed that when one of the European monarchs, say Philip, headed an assault, the other, say Richard, should not sulk in his tent, but should guard the vacant camps and repel the attacks of Saladin. Under these conditions

the Christians renewed the siege with increased confidence. But meanwhile the Mussulmen had greatly strengthened their ramparts, and when the besiegers came to assault they met with unexpected resistance, while Saladin proved as effective as ever in his masterly manœuvres without the walls. Twice did the Christians move in general assault upon the walls, but both times they were compelled to withdraw in order to defend their camps. Many battles took place between them and the forces of Saladin, at the foot of the hills on which they were encamped.

Then the siege took less impulsive and more regular shape. The Christians dug their ditches up to and under the ramparts. They were met by counter ditches and mines. Both sides fought with determination and seemed unaffected by fatigue or sight of death. At length the French, who had directed their efforts mainly against the Cursed Tower on the eastern side of the city, succeeded in undermining it so that its fall was threatened. This would have made a breach sufficient to admit the besiegers. The garrison, weakened by fatigue, famine and disease, grew despondent. There were not enough soldiers left to man the ramparts, attacked at all points. Munitions of war, and especially the formidable Greek fire, had failed. Murmurs arose against Saladin and the emirs. Reduced to a last extremity the commander of the garrison offered to capitulate to Philip. The confident and haughty King swore by the Christian God that he would not spare the life of a single inhabitant of Ptolemais if the Mussulmen did not



PLATE NO. XLV.—CAPTURE OF PTOLEMAIS.

restore all the cities that had fallen into their possession since the disastrous battle near Tiberias. The commander replied that rather than accept such terms he and his soldiers would defend Ptolemais as a lion defends its blood-stained lair. On his return to the city he imparted his indignation to every warrior, and when the Christians resumed their assault they were repulsed with a courage which astonished them. Says an Arabian author, "The tumultuous waves of the Franks rolled toward the place with the rapidity of a torrent: they mounted the half-ruined walls as goats ascend the steepest rocks, while the Saracens precipitated themselves upon the besiegers like stones detached from the summits of mountains." In one of these terrific assaults a Florentine knight fought his way into an Infidel tower and carried away the standard. A French knight scaled the walls and plunged into the city to meet a glorious death. Stephen of Blois and several knights were burned to death by boiling oil and melted lead poured from the ramparts. (*See Plate No. XLV.*)

For several days the besieged maintained their obstinate courage, expecting help from Saladin. But despair again set in. Many emirs fled to Saladin's camp, preferring his anger to the Christian sword. Contemplation of their tottering walls and towers caused a general resolve to abandon the city by night and make good an escape to the Sultan's army. The project was discovered and intercepted. Pigeons were sent out to warn Saladin of the perilous condition of the city. These messages met with no response. Without hope, emirs, soldiers and inhabi-

tants again proposed to Philip to capitulate on condition of life and liberty, the delivery of 1600 prisoners, the wood of the true cross, and payment of two hundred thousand pieces of gold. A deputy was sent to Saladin to announce the conclusion the garrison had arrived at. He heard the news with regret, and immediately called his emirs in council. While they were discussing the terms, they beheld the standards of the Christians floating on the ramparts of the city.

Thus Ptolemais passed into the hands of the Christians after a three years siege and the shedding of sufficient blood to have assured the conquest of all Asia, if the energy and bravery which accomplished its fall had been wisely directed. Nine great and more than a hundred small battles had been fought about its walls. Several armies had passed away in sight of it. Europe's bravest Knights and most distinguished nobility had perished beneath its ramparts. Religion had served as a spur for both sides. Prophets, saints and miracles were equally invoked. Priests and imams promised remission of sins and crowns of martyrdom. King Guy bore the book of the Evangelists and Saladin read from the Koran on the same fields of battle. The war cries, "It is the will of God," and "Islam," mingled over the heads of the combatants and ascended jointly to the same heaven. Fanaticism intensified slaughter. Each scoffed the ceremonies and reviled the religion of the other. In massacres, animosities and revenges, the barbarism of the age was as fully exemplified by Christians as by Mussulmen. In

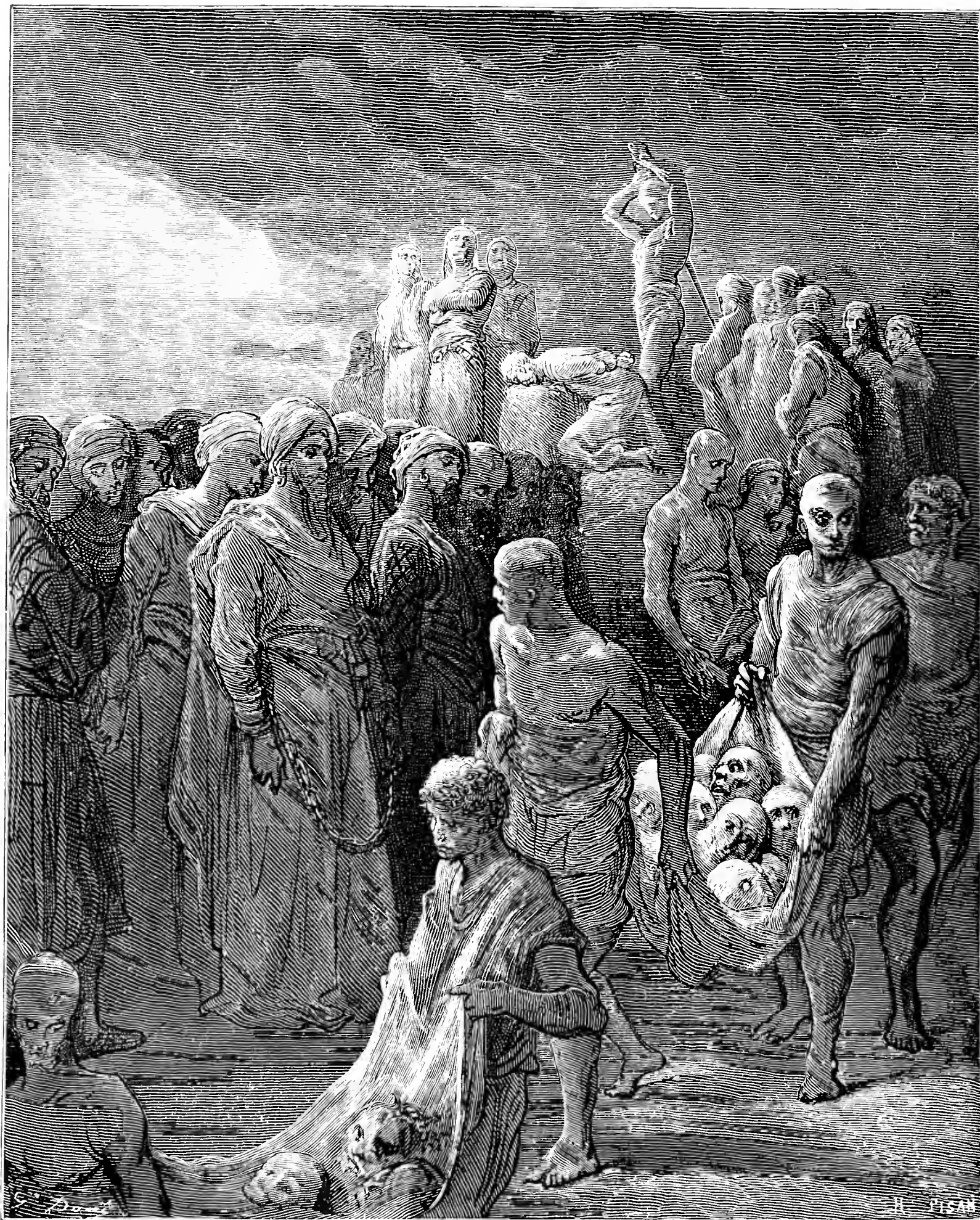


PLATE No. XLVI.—MASSACRE OF CAPTIVES BY RICHARD CŒUR DE LION.

mockery and abuse the challengers to single combat outstripped the heroes of the Iliad. Women fought in the depraved duels of the times. Children entertained both armies by miniature battles. Sometimes the amenities of peace glimmered through the barbaric atmosphere. During the siege Mussulman were often invited to contend in the tournaments with Christian Knights, and the chivalry of Europe frequently condescended to dance to Saracen music. There was a strong contrast between the manners and habits of the Christian and Mussulman leaders. The emirs and their soldiers dressed and lived plainly, and were temperate almost to abstemiousness, as their religion required. The Christian leaders endeavored to excel one another in magnificence. In the first Crusade the leaders and Knights took along their hunting and fishing appointments and endeavored to keep up the luxury of their castles. This error was largely corrected in the second Crusade. But in the third Crusade King Philip and others repeated many of the follies of the first by indulging in hunting with falcons and other sport. Again, the Christian soldiers often fell a prey to debauchery. It is said that even when famine and contagion were playing havoc with the army in front of Ptolemais, the arrival of three hundred Cyprian prostitutes was hailed with delight.

Amidst this general corruption, the clergy strove to maintain a saving state of morals by daily services. Systems of charity were organized, by means of which the pangs of the sick and wounded were soothed. Forty German nobles formed themselves into a

society for the alleviation of the ills to which the warriors from the North of Europe were prone. Their association proved to be the origin of that hospitable and military order which afterwards became famous as the Order of Teutonic Knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem.

When Ptolemais fell into the hands of the Christians it was partitioned among the respective nationalities, each occupying its own quarters. King Guy was the only leader who failed to receive a share of this first reconquered place in his Kingdom. The terms of the capitulation remained unexecuted. Saladin employed various pretexts for delay. Richard became enraged at what he was pleased to call a breach of faith on the part of the Sultan, and in revenge massacred five thousand prisoners that were in his hands. (*See Plate No. XLVI.*) This barbarous conduct excited the regret of the entire Christian army, and showed Richard to be what his name implied, a man of lion-hearted (*Cœur de Leon*) violence. Even in the midst of victory at Ptolemais he proved that he could not be a generous hearted rival, by ordering the standard of Leopold, duke of Austria, to be cast from the ramparts on which it had been planted into the ditch. Leopold swore to avenge this insult at the first opportunity. In other respects Richard proved to be equally imperious and violent. He corrupted the troops of Philip by presents, offered a premium on infidelity and treason, and sought to reduce the entire Crusade to a scheme for furthering his own ambitions. Such was his insolence and reckless disregard of the proprieties that Philip,



PLATE NO. XLVII.—BATTLE OF ARSUR.
234

rather than sacrifice the fortunes of the Crusade by punishing an audacious rival, withdrew in disgust and returned to Europe, leaving behind an army of ten thousand foot and five hundred horse under command of the duke of Burgundy. On arriving at Tyre, Saladin sent an embassy to Philip, which bore rich presents, and was authorized to compliment him for his bravery and regard for the humanities. He was complimented by the Pope, on his arrival in Italy, for his bravery and devotion.

Philip's departure from Palestine left Richard in command of an army of one hundred thousand men. After repairing the walls of Ptolemais, he crossed the Belus and marched toward Cæsarea, a fleet hugging the shore and bearing the provisions, machines and baggage of his army. Saladin pursued and harassed his army on all sides, killing all the prisoners taken, in revenge for the massacre of the garrison of Ptolemais. It required six days for Richard to march to Cæsarea, and he found himself in the midst of so many obstacles and perils that he proposed to Malek-Adel to make peace, on condition that Jerusalem should be restored to the Christians. Malek refused to renounce a conquest made in the name of Islam. The irritated Richard swore he would conquer what he could not otherwise obtain, and ordered his army to march toward Arsur, or Azotus, still keeping the sea on their right. The route was a difficult one, and Richard displayed fine generalship in holding his forces together and repelling the incessant attacks of the Mussulmen. At every ravine and upon every height the enemy's archers

appeared to dispute the way or harass the moving columns. Saladin pushed his forces entirely past those of Richard, laid waste the country, and at length took possession of the wooded heights near Arsur, determined to make a stand there. As soon as Richard came up he deployed his forces for battle. In his van were the Danes, Flemings and Tuscans under Jacques d'Avesnes. In the centre was Richard himself at the head of English, Normans, Gascons and Syrians. The rear was composed of French and Germans under the duke of Burgundy and Leopold of Austria. (*See Plate No. XLVII.*)

Saladin's army was advantageously posted. While his archers were shooting and receiving showers of arrows from a distance, he passed through their ranks, rousing their courage, and receiving the animating response of "God is powerful." Like the Christian army, his was a mongrel of nations. Besides the regular troopers of Syria and Mesopotamia, there were Bedouin Arabs armed with arrows and round shields; long-haired Scythians, armed with javelins and mounted on swift horses; Ethiopians painted with white and red. They advanced from their heights to the attack amid the sound of cymbals, blare of trumpets and cries of those whose business it was to encourage friends and frighten enemies by their shrieks. Their movements were rapid, and their battalions spread as they advanced. They carried with ease everything before them, for the Christian army stood as if paralyzed with fear. This encouraged the Mussulmen, and they rushed up and around the Christians who were drawn in a compact



PLATE NO. XLVIII.—CRUSADERS SURROUNDED BY SALADIN'S ARMY.

mass of sixty thousand warriors with their cavalry in the centre. The situation was seemingly critical for Richard, for his forces were almost entirely surrounded (*See* Plate No. XLVIII.) and the enemy were athirst for victory.

Richard was general enough to see his opportunity. When the Mussulman were well spread in order to surround him, he suddenly opened his infantry ranks, and his cavalry, under the lead of Jacques d' Avesnes, rushed through the opening and out upon the enemy stationed along the torrent of Arsur. He charged twice with great impetuosity, but was repulsed both times. In a third charge he lost his leg by a sabre stroke, but he continued to fight till his right hand was struck off. As he fell dead in the midst of the enemy, he called on Richard to hasten to secure and avenge his loss. Richard advanced at the head of the main body. He swept away the Mussulman lines along the torrent and pursued them to the other side. But while boldly pushing after the flying columns, Saladin ordered a strong force to attack the French and Germans who composed Richard's rear. They began to give way before the Mussulman onset. Richard had to forego further pursuit and rush to the rescue of his rear. The plain was of limited extent, and the two armies became commingled and entered into hand to hand encounters. Foot and horse braved each other. Groans of agony and cries of rage blended with the clangor of the sword and lance. The spectacle was one of horrible confusion. It is said that in the midst of this carnival of death Richard and Saladin came face to face

and joined in single combat, during which both armies stood in silence, leaving the fate of the battle in the hands of their leaders. As two such combatants could not have met without reaching a decision, and as no such decision was reached, the story may be set down as apochryphal (*See* Plate No. XLIX).

The battle of Arsur was fought throughout the entire day. By evening the Mussulman columns were broken at every point and in retreat toward the forests of Saron, whither the Christians feared to pursue. It was one of the most memorable battles of the third Crusade. The losses on both sides were heavy. Saladin lost many of his bravest emirs, among them his chief of the Mamelukes, a warrior who stood second to none in the entire East. The Christians had to lament the death of the chivalrous Jacques d' Avesnes, who had shown them the way to many a glorious victory. Throughout the battle the Christians trusted less than before to brutal courage and celestial intervention, but displayed a skill which quite baffled the ingenuity of the great Saladin. The Mussulman cavalry, always superior to that of the Christians, could not operate advantageously on so contracted a plain. This gave prominence to the infantry on both sides, and it is a remarkable fact that this was the first field victory of any Crusade whose honor must be attributed mostly to the infantry. In all former Crusades the foot soldier had been despised. Never, until the siege of Ptolemais had he been regarded as other than a target for arrows or as an attendant on the nobler horseman. But now, in a siege or in a contracted space, he



PLATE NO. XLIX.—RICHARD AND SALADIN AT THE BATTLE OF ARSUF.

was seen to be far more useful and formidable than the best mounted and heaviest mailed Knight.

After the discomfiture of Saladin, Richard might have marched almost unmolested to Jerusalem. But, though equal to victory, he was unequal to its advantages. He marched to Jaffa, whose ramparts Saladin had demolished and abandoned. There he wasted much time in repairs, and thither he invited his wife, Queen Berengaria, Jane, widow of the King of Sicily, and the handsome daughter of Isaac. With these celebrities as a nucleus, he composed for himself a brilliant court, and drowned all thought of capturing Jerusalem, or of his holy mission in Asia, in demoralizing festivities. During this irreligious lull he came near losing his life. While hunting in the forest of Saron, he dismounted to rest, and fell asleep under a tree. He was awakened by the shouts of his attendants, who cried, "The Saracens are upon us!" In an instant he was surrounded and attacked. While valiantly defending himself, one of his Knights cried out in Arabic, "I am the King!" Immediately he became the object of attack, and was captured and led a prisoner to Saladin. Richard escaped to Jaffa to astound his army with the narrative of his danger and the heroism of the Knight who saved him. (*See Plate No. L.*)

Richard determined to besiege Ascalon. Saladin, doubtful of his power to defend the city, burned it and destroyed its walls. Its destruction was a source of sorrow to all Mussulmen, and equally to Richard. It had cost the blood of many armies and was the

gateway to both Palestine and Egypt. Richard led his army into the plain in front of it and undertook to rebuild its ramparts. In his camps were thirty thousand men, whom he expected to use as laborers upon the walls. But he had counted too much upon their subordination. The soldiers murmured at this kind of drudgery, and when Leopold was accused by Richard of idling with his Germans, he replied that he was neither a carpenter nor mason and that his followers had come to Asia not to rebuild Ascalon but to conquer Jerusalem.

To add to this pitiable plight of the Christian army, Conrad, Marquis of Tyre, who had fallen a victim to Richard's superciliousness, sought an alliance with Saladin, and promised to restore Ptolemais to him if he would protect him (Conrad) against Richard's ambition and tyranny. Richard learned of Conrad's intentions and frustrated them by making a proposition himself to Saladin, promising to abandon the Crusade and return to Europe if Jerusalem and the wood of the true cross were delivered to the Christians. Saladin replied that Jerusalem never belonged to the Christians, and that he could not be guilty of the crime of delivering a city in which the mysteries of his own religion had been wrought out. As to the wood of the true cross, he had refused to sell it to several bidders, and still refused to restore to the Christians such a disgraceful monument of idolatry. Richard did not fly into a passion as was his custom, but changed his proposals, and worked so ingeniously on the ambition of Malek-Adel, Saladin's brother, as to interest him in his schemes. He actually

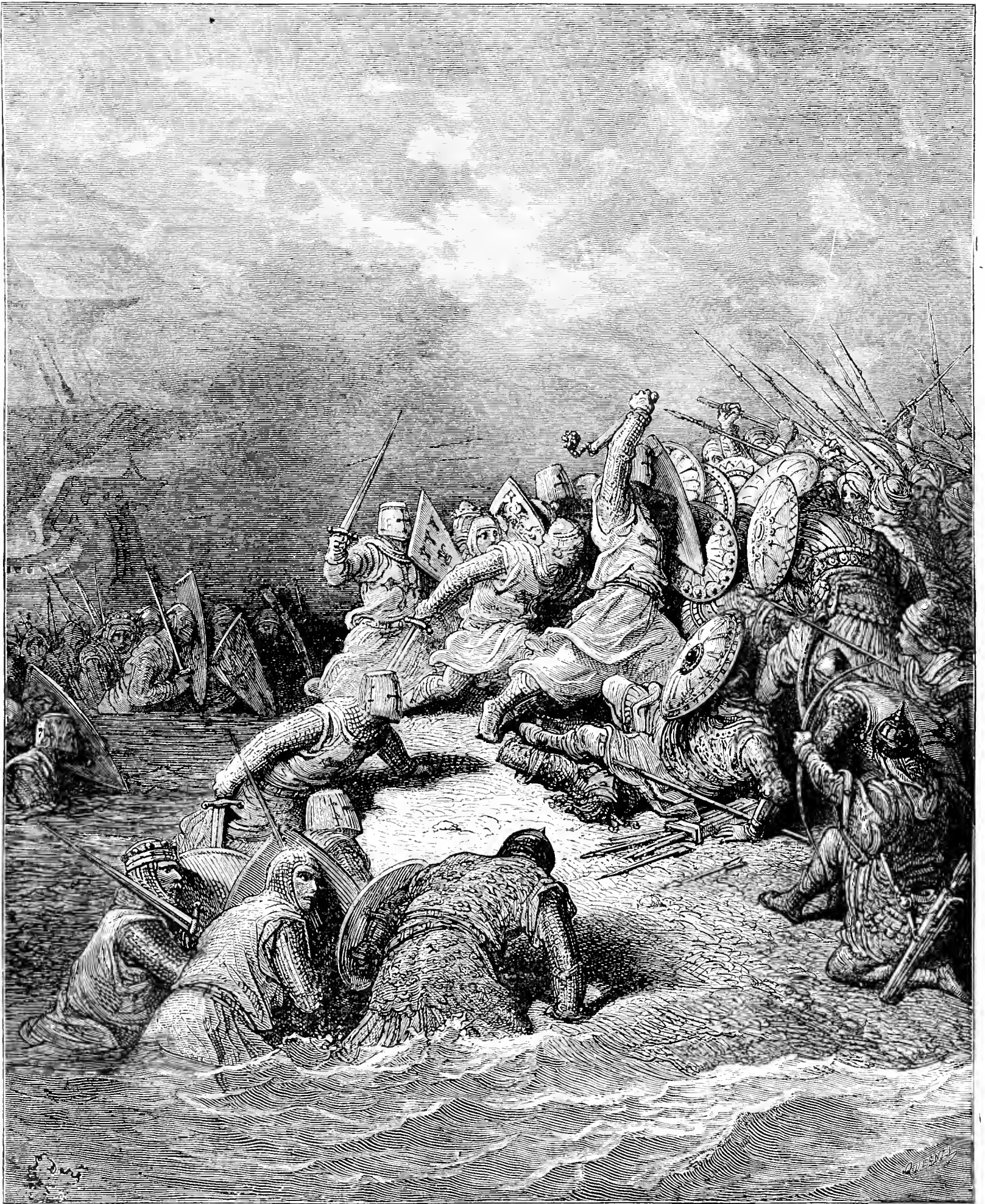


PLATE NO. I. RICHARD CŒUR DE LION DELIVERING JAFFA.
240

offered his sister Jane, widow of William of Sicily, to Malek as wife, and suggested that they reign over a mixed Christian and Mussulman empire, under the auspices of Richard and Saladin. The iniquitous project met with the denunciation of the imans and doctors of law, and the Christian bishops threatened both Richard and Jane with the thunders of the church if they dared to consummate so infamous a bargain.

Saladin evidently lent his ear to the plan only for the purpose of gaining time to fortify Jerusalem. He employed great numbers of skilled workmen from Aleppo to rebuild the walls and widen the ditches. Two thousand Christian prisoners were condemned to constant labor on the fortresses. Saladin supervised all, and constantly impressed on his subjects the importance of resisting the Christians to the last and revenging the massacre at Ptolemais. As Jerusalem was the objective point of the Crusade, the Christian army, tired of Richard's vacillation, pressed him to march toward it. Unable longer to withstand their impatience, he led them to Bethonopolis, half way between Ascalon and Jerusalem. Saladin laid waste all the country in Richard's advance, and destroyed Ramla, Lidda and the fortress of Nitro. He harassed them in front and on their flanks with his cavalry, and cut off their communications with Ptolemais and the sea. Thought of reaching Jerusalem kept up the enthusiasm of the Christians, but Richard did not share their joy and zeal. While still almost in sight of the sea the want of provisions began to be felt. If this could be at such a stage, what miseries must

be in store for them under the walls of Jerusalem. The country was swarming with Mussulman troops, and the strong garrisons of Jericho, Hebron and other places could be thrown into Jerusalem in case they were needed. Besides, winter was on, the leaders were not acting in concert, there was danger that disease would follow fatigue and famine. Under such circumstances, the religious sentiment had little weight with Richard and his more prudent barons, and they resolved to consult safety rather than court disaster. So, he wheeled his army about and led it rapidly back to Ascalon, hoping, however, that Saladin would follow, and that a victory over him in the open field would eventuate in securing the coveted city. But Saladin did not hazard his conquests by pursuit and battle. Richard's retreat occasioned loud murmurs in his camps. Many of his soldiers deserted standards which no longer pointed the way to Jerusalem. And while Richard's army was thus mutinously inclined, the Pisans and Genoese within Ptolemais broke into war with one another. Conrad took part with the Genoese, and Richard, as a matter of course, sided with the Pisans. As an almost inevitable result, Conrad and the Genoese were driven from the city and forced to seek safety in Tyre. Conrad now completed his alliance with Saladin, and turned completely against Richard. He was to have the protection of Saladin, and to occupy as his own all cities he captured from the Christians, reserving the booty therein for the Mussulman armies. Very soon after this, Conrad was assassinated, some say by the emissaries of the Old Man of the Mountain,

and if so, most likely at Richard's instigation; at least he gave cause for such suspicion by immediately taking possession of Tyre and giving the widow of Conrad in marriage to his nephew, the Count of Champagne. Many of his own warriors and Philip Augustus of France charged Richard directly with Conrad's death.

Richard now had no rivals to fear among the Christians of the East. The dread of his hatred or vengeance, which was universal, served to augment his authority. He moved his army quickly and resolutely, and by means of surprises captured several important places in Southern Palestine. Then, of a sudden, he hearkened to the murmurs of his followers and marched them swiftly toward Jerusalem, in which Saladin had shut himself up. As they approached the city Richard's jealousy and insolence took the shape of violent aversion toward allowing the dukes of Austria and Burgundy to participate in the honors of the capture. They in turn were unwilling to assist in an enterprise which would enure solely to the glory of the King of England. Thus the Christian army was rent with disorders at a time when all things called for unity. Richard called a council to determine what steps should be taken. Some of the leaders favored immediate siege, on the theory that the Mussulmen, remembering Ptolemais, would never again permit themselves to be shut within ramparts, or if so, would fight feebly and tremblingly. Others, among whom were Richard, opposed a siege. They pointed to the difficulty of passing the mountains of Judea, all of whose passes were guarded by

Saladin's forces, to the impossibility of getting provisions in case their communications with the sea were cut and to the danger of pursuit if forced to retreat. Richard's ultimatum was to retreat at once to Ascalon. The Dukes of Burgundy and Austria insisted on a continuation of the march to Jerusalem. At length the matter was left to twenty-four knights, a majority of whom favored a retreat to the coast. Thus, the Crusaders once more, and very regretfully, turned their backs on a city they had sworn to conquer. It is said that Richard wept at the thought of his ability to view but inability to capture the object of all their desires, but this lachrymose interest did not help to restore that confidence in his military talent which had been shaken by the uncertainty of his plans, nor did it dissipate that despair in the souls of Crusaders which had put an end to the fear of one they no longer respected. Discord broke out in the army with fresh fury. The respective partisans charged each other with misrepresenting the spirit of the army and with playing into the hands of the Infidels. Religion was no longer thought of. Perfidy and treachery were the only themes that engrossed attention.

Day by day Richard became the object of graver suspicion and the subject of louder complaint. Sometimes he replied in language which quite became a King. At others he dashed into the most fool-hardy undertakings, as if courting death, or determined to answer all imputations by examples of unparalleled zeal and bravery. At the head of a few knights he dashed upon a formidable camel escort and captured seven thousand

animals. Taking ship, with a weak guard, he sailed for Jaffa and, almost alone, drove out a marauding band who had hoisted the standards of Saladin. A short while after, he attacked seven thousand Mussulman cavalry with a much inferior force and, riding directly upon the leader, struck his head from his body in the presence of his stupefied followers. But withal he became more and more odious. The Duke of Burgundy retired with his French soldiers to Ptolemais. The Duke of Austria quitted Palestine with his Germans. Richard remained alone with his English followers. His career thus far had evidenced far more desire to increase his fame by prodigies than to deliver holy places. He evidently hoped to eclipse every other warrior who had preceded him to the East, and to bring home a reputation which would help him to triumph over all his rivals in Europe. But now that he was left with a reduced army, and was forced to face the fact that Jerusalem, after all, had not been delivered, and that really nothing had been done which enured to the permanent good of the Christian cause, he was driven to try the effect of negotiations with Saladin once more. His diplomacy proved far more vacillating than his campaigning, yet in the end more effective. He, at first supplicated, but without avail. He threatened, but Saladin remained firm. He tried to frighten by spreading the report that the Pope was about to arrive in Palestine with an army of two hundred thousand men. Saladin did not yield. At length Richard said if peace were made he would disembark for Europe, but if it were not made he would besiege Jerusa-

lem. Saladin replied, that God, by giving him victory, commanded him to continue the war. But finding that there was dissatisfaction among his emirs, he called them together. They called Saladin's attention to the devastated provinces, the cities in need of repair, the difficulty of obtaining provisions and forage, the danger of a coalition among the now discordant Crusaders, if driven to despair, the general necessity for peace in order that the East might recuperate its strength, the probabilities of renewing war to better advantage after a rest, the fact that the Christians by violating their treaty, would soon offer a fresh pretext for attacking them. Dreading the appearance of division in his empire, being already abandoned by several of his most powerful auxiliaries, and seeing that the disposition of forces was such as to preclude any distinct warlike enterprise for a considerable time, Saladin agreed to a truce which was to last for three years and eight months.

The terms of the truce were that the Christians should hold the coast cities, then occupied, from Jaffa to Tyre; that Ascalon should be demolished; and that Jerusalem should be open to Christian pilgrimage and devotion. The wood of the true cross was not mentioned. The treaty was signed and sworn to by all the Christian and Mussulman princes of Syria, except King Guy, who had been practically despoiled of his Kingdom by Richard, and had purchased the island of Cyprus from the Templars, to whom Richard had sold it. Henry, Count of Champagne, was confirmed in his right to the county of Palestine, through his new wife Isabella, who had married three Kings without capitals or

thrones. The truce was celebrated by tournaments in which Christians and Mussulmen joined in friendly contests. Saladin gave permission to the warriors of the West to visit the holy places they had been unable to conquer. As the French Crusaders were preparing to leave Palestine, by way of Tyre, they were called upon to mourn the loss of their leader, the Duke of Burgundy through sickness.

This closes the stirring chapters of the third Crusade, and the active life of one of the most remarkable characters that figured in Eastern warfare. As already stated, this Crusade called to arms the martial population of every important state in Europe. It represented the combined energy of militant Christendom. Its mightiest achievements were one city captured—Ptolemais, or Acre, and one city destroyed—Ascalon. All else, and there was but little else, was secondary. In it Germany lost one of her greatest Emperors, and a grand army, with glory untasted and achievement unwrung. Say the Arabic historians, six hundred thousand Crusaders appeared before Ptolemais, of whom not over one hundred thousand ever saw Europe again. The sacrifice of life in this crusade was far more deplorable than in former ones, for the reason that criminals, adventurers and vagabonds were excluded, and death made its harvest of the best physical material Europe could produce. They were better armed and disciplined than any that had gone before. The foot soldier rose into an importance he never before assumed. In imitation of the mail of the Knights, they wore leather cuirasses and bucklers which

defied the arrows of the enemy. So too, the Mussulman armies were composed of different stuff. They introduced the use of the lance, were more submissive to discipline, and had learned the art of rallying round and adhering to a standard. They carried the strategy of war, the art of attack and defence, to a perfection which baffled the brutal vigor and undaunted courage of the Christians. They had one cause and one commander, under Saladin. The Christians had one cause, which they were likely to forget, and a divided generalship, even though Richard were at their head.

The third Crusade proved a greater source of enlightenment to Christian and Mussulman than any which preceded. When encamped near each other and not fighting, there were frequent exchanges of amenities, and a mutual acquaintance with usages, manners, resources and virtues. Aside from the knowledge which Christians acquired of the barbarians, a knowledge disadvantageous in no single respect, but advantageous in most, the third Crusade, and indeed all the Crusades, proved particularly helpful in breaking down the barriers which feudalism had reared between the serf and lord. A common tent proved a great leveler of dignity and a corresponding school for the ignorant and despised villain, bound to nothing but disgraceful labor and harsh discrimination when at home. The Christians fought throughout this Crusade without the aid of fanatical visions and prodigious interventions, yet with their old fashioned passion for glory and a mellowed religious enthusiasm. The title of Knight became more distinct

and exalted, and chivalry took almost the form of a school. Sentiments of honor and humanity dried many a tear and assuaged much suffering. The Knights and troubadours who obeyed the spirit in which they swore to support the cross, found in their oath and profession a guard against the seductions of the camp. The songs of the latter united love with heroism, and embalmed in rhapsodized history many a noble deed and truly exemplary character. The Templar, Hospitaller and Teutonic Knights magnified their powers, enlarged their organizations, acquired wealth and importance, brought and seized states, established states for themselves, and exercised no little influence over home and foreign policies.

The third Crusade served to develop and round out the characters of two men, whom it called to leadership—Richard and Saladin. Their immortality rests on qualities which, if contrasted, exalt the Eastern Infidel above the Western Christian. Richard, the best and worst endowment of all Christian princes, was the least calculated of all to carry on a successful religious war. He strove to make his name a terror in the East and, in the minds of all Mussulmen, at least, he fully earned the title of *Cœur de Leon*. But never did warrior exhaust so much useless bravery. By the cultivation of letters he won a place in the songs of the troubadours, but the arts mellowed neither his ferocity nor courage. His hatreds and friendships knew no rational measure. Incredulous, superstitious, warm and cold for religion as the whim suited, fickle in projects, victim of contending passions, extravagant

in everything, imprudent, presumptuous, contentious, cruel, constant in nothing except love of war and exploit, he could neither honor a Christian cause nor reap the fruit of daring suffering, death and victory.

Saladin was equally brave, but without Richard's rashness, and far more stable. Master of himself, he was more fit to command others. He counted the cost and gathered the results of his enterprises. His passion for reigning and for securing the triumph of the Koran was intense, but in other respects he was diplomatically mild and just. Only once in his warlike career did his fanaticism burst into barbaric cruelty. His subjects, hitherto ruled by fear, were astonished to find a ruler who could maintain allegiance through the nobler sentiment of love. He counted his victories over the Christians by the score, and overthrew their power in Asia, yet the conquered attested, in many forms, his generosity, clemency and respect for oaths and treaties.

As in the second Crusade, many of those who enlisted for the third were directed to Spain, where they helped to weaken the power of the Moors. Others from the German states made war on the unconverted nations of the Baltic and widened the areas of Christendom. As a greater part of the Crusaders went to Palestine by sea, the art of navigation made marked progress, and the maritime nations of Europe began to acquire fleets which enabled them to dispute the sovereignty of the seas with the Saracens. The Crusade was more beneficial to France than to any other single nation. King Philip returned early from it, and in



PLATE NO. LI.—BLONDEL HEARS THE VOICE OF RICHARD.
246

the absence of his great vassals, many of whom were his worst enemies, he was enabled in the midst of peace to levy taxes and prepare for these victories which proved so fatal to the enemies of his kingdom.

On Richard's return to Europe, his vessel was wrecked on the coast of Italy. Fearing to pass through France on his way to England, he disguised himself as a simple pilgrim and endeavored to pass thus through Germany. But his liberality betrayed him and he was seized by the soldiers of Leopold, duke of Austria, who had not forgotten the insults offered him by Richard in the Holy Land. Richard was held a prisoner for so long a time that search was instituted, and one Blondel, a former adherent, traversed Germany in the guise of a minstrel. When before a castle, said to contain an illustrious prisoner, Blondel struck up a song which he and Richard had composed. A voice from the top of the tower answered him by singing the second couplet. Blondel returned to England to announce that he had discovered the prison house of the king. (*See Plate No. LI.*) Leopold, terrified by the discovery, turned his prisoner over to the Emperor, Henry VI., who also had insults to avenge, and who was glad of an opportunity to retain so illustrious a prisoner in chains. Thus the hero of the third Crusade, who had spread the terror of his name among all Mussulmen and whose renown was world wide, found a dungeon in Christian Europe, and for a long time remained a victim of the vengeance of Christian princes. When the German diet assembled at Worms, Richard was brought before it and accused

of every crime that malicious ingenuity could invent. He offered an eloquent plea, which, added to the pitiable sight of a monarch in chains, caused the bishops and nobles to intercede with Henry for an abatement of his rigor. His mother, Queen Eleanor, implored all Europe to intervene for the release of her son. Her plea so touched the heart of Pope Celestine, that he demanded Richard's release under the threat of excommunication. But Henry had gotten used to papal thunder and he defied the Holy See. Richard was held captive for another year, and had to buy his liberty with a considerable ransom, which his Kingdom, ruined by Richard on his departure for Palestine, exhausted itself to pay. He was received with enthusiasm by his subjects, and the glamor of his adventures abroad together with the sad story of his return, soon obliterated the remembrance of his cruelties and misfortunes.

After the truce with Richard, Saladin retired to Damascus where, after a year spent in the giving of alms to Christians and Mussulmen alike, he died, (A. D. 1192) his last order being to an emir to carry his shroud through the city, crying, "Behold all that Saladin, who overcame the East, bears away of his conquests." His death, which was profoundly lamented by his subjects, was followed by the disorders incident to countries in which the succession of rulers are unprovided for, and the political power and title are the results of victories obtained in war. Twelve of his sons and relatives succeeded to him and fell to disputing his sovereignty. His brother, Malek-Adel, took possession of

Egypt and Mesopotamia. His most powerful emirs, profiting by Malek's example, and taking advantage of the inexperience of Saladin's sons and nephews, shared most of the cities and provinces among themselves. Thus went to speedy decay, through a divi-

sion of authority among those who could not support its weight, an empire which had witnessed the ruin of Christian power in the East, and whose brilliant rise had twice called forth all the energy which Europe could exert against it.

PART IV.

THE FOURTH CRUSADE.

A. D. 1195—1198.



It now becomes difficult for the historian to draw the lines between those efforts on the part of Christian Europe to rescue the Holy Land, so as to distinguish them by distinct Crusades. Some historians extend the fourth Crusade over the capture of Constantinople, but, logically, it ended before that time.

As already narrated the successors of Saladin fell into dispute over the division of his empire. These disputes ran into bloody wars, and the whole East was in a ferment. The Caliphs of Bagdad lost their power over the discordant elements. The sons of Saladin proved unworthy of their father and, having a propensity for debauchery, they fell into disrepute as Mohammedans. Amid this confusion which the Christians might have easily taken advantage of, the shrewder and stronger of the Mussulman princes naturally came into power. This was Malek—Adel, Saladin's brother, and one of his ablest generals. He entered upon usurpations which he had the ability to defend, and it soon became evident that he alone must unite under one sway the conquests of Saladin. While

he was thus profiting by the discords which prevailed not only among Mussulmen but Christians, the fourth Crusade took shape. It was designed to take advantage of the confusion and weakness then existing in the East, but its effect was to drive into coherence the scattered members of Saladin's empire.

On Richard's departure for Europe, after the failure of the third Crusade, the Christian colonies of the East declined rapidly. Henry of Champagne, refused the throne of Jerusalem, and desired to return to Europe. King Guy assumed the title of King in Cyprus, and found all his time occupied in crushing the revolts of his subjects and in defending himself against the intrigues of the Greek Emperor. The possession of Palestine was really left to the three military orders, whose vows prevented them from leaving it. Bohemond III, governed Antioch and Tripoli. He was ambitious to extend his principality, and made war on Armenia, one of whose princes challenged him to single combat and captured him. This incited these Christian peoples to greater hostilities, which only ceased after both were exhausted, and after the marriage of prince Rupin's daughter to Bohemond's

eldest son. This alliance was designed as a badge of peace, but war was always ready to be rekindled.

The Hospitallers and Templars had, as Orders, become as powerful as sovereigns. They owned villages, cities and even provinces in Europe and Asia, and had become rivals, quite forgetting the defence of the holy places in their greed for riches and renown. Robert, a French gentleman, possessed the castle of Margat as a vassal of the Hospitallers. The Templars siezed his castle under pretence of ownership. The Hospitallers flew to arms and drove the Templars away. Henceforth, two Knights of these two Orders seldom met without insults and challenges to single combat, and the Christians in general took sides according to their predilections. In vain did the King of Jerusalem and the Christian princes strive to reconcile these haughty rivals. Even the Pope failed for a long time to affect them with his thunders, but at length he succeeded in bringing about a peace which the Knights would have preferred to conquer by the sword.

These fatal divisions led to forgetfulness and neglect of the common cause. The Mussulman enemy was lost sight of. It is not known that during the rapid decline of the Christian power subsequent to the third Crusade, either a Knight of the Orders, or a Christian of Antioch or Acre (Ptolemais), sent word to the West for help to redeem a perilous situation. Perhaps they regarded this step as impossible under the conditions of the truce between Saladin and Richard. At any rate, owing to the

pitiabile state of affairs, it was impossible to foresee a new Crusade. Asia did not request it, Europe did not appear to be interested in it. Still, the name of Jerusalem possessed a charm for the religious mind. It could be used with great effect by the Church for pious conjuration. Veneration for the holy places, almost extinct in the holy places, was yet cherished in remote Europe. Memory of the preceding Crusades was still sufficient to arouse enthusiasm. Pope Celestine ardently wished that he might close a career of over ninety years by the conquest of Jerusalem. Saladin's death had carried joy to Rome and Europe. Celestine spread the news of his death among the faithful, and, without regard to a truce which the Infidel was solemnly keeping, he ordered his prelates to preach a new crusade, now that the greatest enemy of Christendom was gone. He urged the profanation of holy places, the oppression of the faithful in the East, the increasing insolence of the Saracens, and ended with promises of the same privileges and advantages as in former Crusades. He gave particular emphasis to his addresses to the English bishops in the hope that Richard Cœur de Leon could be again induced to spread terror among the Mussulmen. But Richard was too busy in restoring his Kingdom and repairing the losses of his former venture. He urged on his vassals the importance of taking up the cross, but they shrank from a service which had brought only suffering and exile.

Nor had the preachers of this crusade much better success in France, where a few years before a hundred thousand warriors

assumed the cross. If Richard of England hesitated to go because he feared the machinations of Philip of France, so the latter preferred to remain where he could guard against the vindictive disposition and reckless ambition of the former. Philip's vassals shared his sentiments, and contented themselves with hearing the preachers and shedding tears with them over the fate of Jerusalem. The Count of Montfort was about the only French noble of repute who agreed to take up the cross.

In Germany the preachers met with greater success. The German mind still inclined to that sense of religious duty which was best performed by sacrifices in behalf of the cross. Germany's last contribution, in the shape of a magnificent army and the beloved Emperor Frederick, had perished without adding to German fame or advancing the cause of Christ. Therefore, the thought prevailed that another attempt might redeem the failure of the third Crusade. The Emperor, Henry VI, had not tasted of the perils of the last expedition, nor had he fears of rivalry in Europe, as had Kings Richard and Philip, so that he was at liberty to undertake a Crusade if he wished. He had just been excommunicated by the Pope, yet that official sent to him a conciliating embassy, recalling the example of his father Frederick, and urging him to assume the cross. Henry saw in another Crusade a way of gratifying his ambitions and at the same time of appeasing the Pope.

Henry VI was filled with unbounded desire to imitate the glory and enjoy the power of the Cæsars. He had married Constance,

heiress to the throne of Sicily, and he saw in a new Crusade a way of annexing Sicily to his own Empire. This throne of the Norman Crusaders once in his possession, he could use it as a base for future designs on Greece and Constantinople. His scheme was bold and comprehensive. Without any love for the Pope, and with no honest purpose of re-conquering Jerusalem, he looked through Sicily to the overthrow of the Italian republic, to the humiliation of the Holy See, and finally to a consolidation of the empires of Augustus and Constantine—the remains of the Latin and Greek dynasties—in himself and family. It may have been that Pope Celestine saw through his designs, and hoped that a Crusade would prove, at least, a temporary diversion, or that Frederick's fate would befall Henry. But be that as it may, Henry announced his intention of taking up the cross, and assembled a diet at Worms in which he urged the faithful to join him. His speeches and attitude made a profound impression. A great number of nobles, some to please God and some the Emperor, assumed the symbol of the Crusaders. Among them were Henry, duke of Saxony; Otho, marquis of Brandenburg; Henry, count Palatine of the Rhine; Herman, Landgrave of Thuringia; Henry, duke of Brabant; Henry, count Pappenheim; the duke of Bavaria; Frederick, son of Leopold, duke of Austria; and the bishops of Wurtzburg, Bremen, Verdun, Passau and Ratisbon.

The eloquent preachers of the Crusade read everywhere the letters of Henry and the Pope, and succeeded in enkindling an enthusiasm equal to any former time. As things

shaped up, it was to be peculiarly a German Crusade, and the Teutonic soldiers became as much interested for their martial reputations as for their religion. Henry gave it out that he was to command the expedition, but secretly he had other designs, shared by the nobles who were in his confidence. His final resolve was to remain in Europe and direct the Crusade from his own dominions. He divided his immense army of Crusaders into three divisions. The first, under the command of the duke of Saxony and duke of Brabant, was to embark for Palestine from ports on the Baltic. The second, under the command of the Archbishop of Mayence and Valeran of Limbourg was, after being joined by the Hungarians accompanied by their queen, Margaret, to march to Constantinople, whence the fleet of the Greek Emperor, Isaac, was to take it to Acre, (Ptolemais). These two divisions were to meet in Syria. The third, consisting of forty thousand men, constituted Henry's own army. Placing himself at its head, he marched toward Sicily, intending to conquer it.

The Second division, under the lead of the Archbishop of Valeran and the Archbishop of Mayence, arrived in Palestine before the first. Though headed by a prelate, and though the truce with Saladin still existed, they were anxious for instant war. The Christians of the East remonstrated, fearing the danger of a violation of the treaty, at least, till another division could arrive. But the confident Germans expressed astonishment at the idle scruples and foolish anxiety of the Eastern Christians, and contemptuously answered that Western warriors

were not accustomed to defer battle, and that the Pope had not induced them to take up arms in order that they might waste time in inactivity. To this the more conscientious and perhaps wiser Knights and barons of the East retorted, that they had not asked for the coming of the German Crusades, that they knew better than new arrivals from Europe what was advantageous to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, that they had braved their situation without foreign help, and that when the proper time arrived they would prove their valors by deeds and not words. Both parties thus found themselves in the midst of acrimonious debate and cruel discords before they had a chance to declare war against the Mussulmen.

Of a sudden and in a spirit of foolhardiness, the Germans marched out from Ptolemais and began to lay waste the surrounding country. This signal of war silenced all turbulence among the Mussulmen, and they gathered for defence from Egypt to the remotest parts of Syria. They who had been fighting one another made common cause against the Christians. Malek-Adel now towered up as the Mussulman champion. He marched from Damascus at the head of an army, and made Jerusalem his head-quarters till all the provinces were heard from. He then dispersed the Christian forces at Naplouse and besieged Jaffa, which had been fortified by King Richard at great expense and was regarded by the Christians as of great importance. It was nearest to Jerusalem and afforded a direct route from the sea to that place. If it fell, the Mussulmen could more easily defend the Holy City.

When Malek's object became known, Henry of Champagne at once joined the German Crusaders and prepared to defend Jaffa. Just as he was departing from Ptolemais, he unfortunately fell from a window in his castle and was killed in the presence of the soldiers whom he was reviewing. While his warriors were celebrating his funeral obsequies, that happened which the better informed Christians feared. The garrison of Jaffa made a sortie against Malek's forces. They were ambuscaded and nearly all killed. Malek entered Jaffa almost without resistance and put twenty thousand of the inhabitants to the sword. Thus had come about precisely what those who opposed the breaking of the treaty had foreseen. But while the newly arrived Germans stood non-plussed at disasters they had invited, the more philosophic and better informed Knights and barons of Palestine uttered no vain complaints nor regrets. They did, however, look eagerly for the Crusaders who had started from the Baltic ports. These, it seems, had stopped in Portugal where they defeated the Moors at Silves. Proud of their victory, they sailed in time to arrive at Ptolemais while the Christians were lamenting the loss of Jaffa.

Their arrival was hailed with joy by the Christians, and immediate preparation was made to march against the Infidels. Without seeking the army of Malek, the Crusaders marched along the coast of Syria, with their ships off the shore, laden with provisions and arms, toward Berytus, to which they laid siege. Berytus was equidistant between Tripoli and Jerusalem, had

a commodious port, and rivalled Ptolemais and Tyre in population and commerce. It had come to be recognized as the Mussulman capital of Syria. It was at Berytus that Saladin had been crowned Sultan of Damascus and Cairo and proclaimed sovereign of Jerusalem. The Mediterranean pirates brought thither all their spoils captured from the Christians. The Mussulman warriors had gathered all their trophies and riches there. It was the prison pen for Christian captives. Therefore, the Christians had as powerful a motive for its capture as the Mussulmen had for its defence.

Malek had destroyed the ramparts of Jaffa and marched toward Damascus. But when he heard of the movement of the Christians he turned and met them on the Eleutheran plain between Tyre and Sidon. Battle was sounded, and the Mussulman cavalry endeavored to surround the Christians and get between them and the sea. But they closed their ranks and presented firm fronts to the enemy. Though the object of a storm of arrows and darts, they dealt death in turn with their lances and swords. The furious battle remained uncertain for a long time. At length victory began to set in for the Christians. Animated by the turn of affairs, they pushed the retreating Mussulmen in all directions and covered the ground with their dead. Many of the emirs lost their lives. Malek was wounded and made his escape with difficulty. His army fled, part toward Jerusalem and part toward Damascus, spreading consternation and despair in their track.

In consequence of this victory all the

Mussulman cities on the coast of Syria fell into the hands of the Christians. Sidon, Laodicea and Giblet were abandoned by the Mussulmen. When the Christian fleet arrived before Berytus, the garrison was taken by surprise and offered no resistance. Immense stores of provisions and arms fell into the hands of the captors, and nine thousand captives were delivered. The Prince of Antioch, who had joined the Christian army, sent a carrier pigeon to his capital to announce the miraculous victory, and all the Christian cities offered thanks to the God of armies. "Sion leaped with joy and the children of Judah were filled with delight."

While Syria was resounding with these triumphs, Henry VI was using his part of the Crusade to conquer Naples and Sicily. He cloaked his object by pleas of religion, humanity, and justice, but all the while pursued his ambitions. His revenges were barbaric in the extreme. All who showed respect to the noble family of Tancred were imprisoned or slain. He brought to the Sicilians the peace of a despot and to the land more evils than war itself. His soldiers, thus preying on brethren, were soldiers of the cross, and Henry himself, still excommunicated, assumed to be the first of the grand army of Christ. He was virtual head of the fourth Crusade and arbiter of the Christian cause in the East. The King of Cyprus offered to become his vassal. Livon of Armenia besought him for the title of King. His conquest of Sicily left him free to turn his attention to the East. Having no further use for a great

number of warriors at home, he offered them a bounty to engage for the holy war, and promised to maintain an army of fifty thousand men for one year if they would cross the sea to Palestine. The price of thirty ounces of gold a head soon brought him the required numbers, and Conrad, bishop of Hildesheim, led the third army of this Crusade into Syria.

This large accession of strength to the victorious Christians of Palestine prepared them for new and daring enterprises. Many of the leaders proposed to march directly against Jerusalem, whose governor, a nephew of Saladin, was reported to be hostile to the Sultan of Damascus and inclined to listen to propositions from the Christians. But the more knowing ones took little stock in these reports. Moreover, they knew that Saladin had materially strengthened the fortifications of the Holy City. Winter was on and the rainy season would bring its compliment of diseases and distresses. The attack was postponed till the following year. It was very apparent through all these discussions that the desire to conquer Jerusalem actuated only a pious minority of the Christian army. Jerusalem was remote and contained nothing but religious treasures and monuments. The cities nearer the coast were larger, richer and far more tempting to the ambitions of the leaders. They were in easy contact with Europe.

One fortress, Thoron, upon a mountain a few leagues from Tyre, remained in the hands of the Mussulmen. This the Christians resolved to besiege. They worked their way by means of mines and trenches to the walls,

and brought the garrison to the point of capitulation. But among the multitude of Christian leaders there was no one who dared to accept the propositions of the Infidels. Their embassy came promising to surrender everything on the condition that life was spared. They could only be heard in a general assembly of the Christians, part of which favored the terms proposed, but another part deemed it necessary that the garrison should perish by the sword in order that proper terror should be spread abroad, and the conquest of Jerusalem be thus made easy. As the advice of those who favored massacre, in order that the name of Christian might prove terrible, was not taken, they advised the embassy to fight till the death, for they would surely be massacred if taken captive. These same humanitarians, angrily and with grief, informed the Christian soldiers that the leaders were too lenient in desiring to achieve by terms what the sword had better accomplish. But despite these savage motives, the terms of capitulation were entertained, and hostages from the Mussulman camp were expected. They did not come. Despair suddenly seized the besieged and they resolved to die rather than submit. The Christians recommenced their attacks. They, however, lost zeal and courage, forgot the cause for which they were fighting and fell into a state of depravity which scandalized the Christian name.

While in a most demoralized condition, accomplishing nothing through licentiousness, word came that Aleppo and Damascus had risen in arms, that Egypt was pouring forth its warriors and that Malek-Adel was again

at the head of an approaching army. At this news the Christian leaders deceived their own army, clandestinely raised the siege of Thoron, and quitted the scene, leaving the soldiers to grope their way to places of safety as they might. Knowing not whence to fly, they made their escape by various routes, leaving baggage and equipments behind. Some lost themselves in the mountains, others fled in confusion, and amid tempest, to Tyre. When they were assembled again, mistrust of the leaders prevailed. Charges of perfidy flew thick and fast. The more fervent arraigned the leaders for forgetting the object of the holy war and abandoning the soldiers at a critical moment in order to gratify their own selfish desires. Discord became so rife that the German Crusaders and Eastern Christians refused to remain under the same colors. The Germans retired to Jaffa, whose walls they restored, while the Eastern Christians went to Ptolemais.

Malek-Adel marched toward Jaffa and offered battle. Though the Germans triumphed, they lost the dukes of Saxony and Brabant and many illustrious Knights. This victory so encouraged the Germans that they treated the Christians of Palestine with great contempt, and chided them for their indifference. The Eastern Christians retorted that the German Crusaders came into the East not to fight but to command; not to assist, but to impose a yoke more intolerable than that of the Saracens. Amid these fatal divisions command was lost. The Kingdom of Jerusalem was destitute of support. Religion and law were fading away beneath a reign of violence. License and corruption

were making such inroads as to shame the very name of Christian.

As a way out of this demoralization, some of the leaders suggested that Queen Isabella, widow of Henry of Champagne, should again try her hand at husband choosing, with a view to securing one who might be able to defend the Kingdom. She had already chosen three husbands, none of whom had actually occupied the throne. They suggested Amaury, who had recently succeeded King Guy on the throne of Cyprus. Amaury consented, and the two were married at Ptolemais. The Arabian historians give Amaury credit for being a wise king who respected humanity. His accession afforded the hope that the Eastern Christians would cease their bickerings and gather fruits from their victories. But even before the festivities of this marriage were finished, word came of the death of Henry VI, the German Emperor. The election of his successor would in all probability produce a violent contest in Germany, in which the princes and nobles then in Palestine desired to participate. They, therefore, determined to abandon the Crusade and return home. The Count of Montfort and several French knights, who had just arrived, remonstrated with them. The Pope implored them not to abandon the cause of Christ. But nothing could restrain them. The Queen of Hungary alone remained faithful to her vows, and adhered to her followers in Palestine. The departing German leaders left a garrison in Jaffa. While they were all drunk in celebrating the feast of St. Martin, they were set upon and massacred by the Mussulmen.

Winter was approaching. Neither Christians nor Mussulmen were in a condition to keep the field. Both sides were desirous of peace. Therefore, a truce for three years was agreed upon. The truce terminated the fourth Crusade, which amounted to hardly more than a pilgrimage of a few months to the Holy Land. The Crusaders acquired the coast cities of Syria, which would have proved substantial advantages, but for the fact that all the fruits of conquest were lost in their sudden departure. Their cities were left without defenders and almost without inhabitants. This Crusade was remarkable in that it was carried on by an excommunicated monarch. It furnished few great events and met with fewer misfortunes than its predecessors. It escaped famine and disease. The German Emperor, who, by means of the Crusade had acquired Sicily, provided well for the Crusaders, whom he regarded as his own soldiers. Though it gained many important cities it miscarried wholly before the insignificant fortress of Thoron.

The make-up of the German Crusaders did not permit them to take advantage of victory. They were courageous but they did not unite prudence with courage. They lacked the enthusiasm of the first soldiers of the cross, and pilgrimage was at a discount during the time of the fourth Crusade. But this was due to the prohibition of the Pope and the leaders, who forbade any to enter Jerusalem unless they had conquered it. One hundred thousand warriors who had entered the East for the purpose of conquering Jerusalem, suddenly returned to Europe

without thought of visiting the tomb of Christ. Former Crusades had been inspired by purely religious motives. The army of the fourth Crusade had been raised largely by the promise of thirty ounces of gold to each man. Other holy wars had religion at their base: this one, though promoted by Pope and bishops, had politics at its base. The pride, jealousy and ambitions which lay in it were not veiled by religion. Not an archbishop or bishop engaged in it distinguished himself for wisdom or piety. Conrad, Chancellor of the Empire, returned under suspicion, and when he was afterwards slain in a conspiracy, the people regarded his tragic death as the merited punishment of heaven.

The Emperor, Henry VI, who preached and organized the Crusade, viewed it only as a means of extending his empire. While praying for the success of the holy war, he carried on impious war, desolated and subjugated a Christian people, and threatened the Grecian empire. The son of Tancred, of

Sicily, was deprived of sight and imprisoned, and the daughters of Tancred were carried into captivity. The barbarous Emperor of Germany irritated all his neighbors and provoked strife in his own family by his inhumanities. His enemies charged that he had been poisoned by his wife, and asserted that Providence had thus chosen to avenge the calamities he had inflicted on Naples and Sicily. As he died under excommunication, the Pope was asked to permit his burial in the Holy Land. The reply was that he might be buried among Christians, but only on the condition that prayers were offered for the mitigation of God's anger. In acquiring Sicily, Henry sowed the seed of jealousy and discontent at home. Powerful parties disputed the succession and brought on wars which involved all Europe. Thus, while all former Crusades had contributed to the peace of Europe, the fourth Crusade introduced confusion in Christendom without impairing the power of the Mussulmen in Asia.

PART V. THE FIFTH CRUSADE.

ARTICLE I.

SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

A. D. 1198—1204.



HE reader has doubtless pursued the history of the first four crusades with some degree of wonder at the savage fanaticism which engendered them. He will, as a philosopher, have deduced beneficial results to Europe from them, but as a sectarian he will be prepared to doubt whether a truly Christian spirit actuated the leading warriors and churchmen who promoted them. He will, at least, see as much religious merit in the Mussulmen, called on to defend their faith, as in the Christians who sought to extend theirs. But from this time on, it will be less difficult to detect the temporal motive in the Crusades. The spiritual power begins to lose its disguises, and the Crusade becomes a vehicle for all the ambitions that exercise both Church and State.

The departure of the German Crusaders from Palestine and the sudden ending of the fourth Crusade, left the Eastern Christian

without any protection except the truce with Malek-Adel. As they had been persistent treaty breakers, they assumed that the Mussulmen would have no hesitation in ending the present truce as soon as it stood in their way. If such an event should happen, the Christians would be caught at a great disadvantage, for they were weak and discordant. They, therefore, turned eyes Westward, and the bishop of Ptolemais and several Knights started to solicit the aid of the faithful in Europe. A violent storm wrecked the ship in which they sailed, and they all perished. Still, word of the complaints and prayers of the faithful in the East reached Europe, but fell upon dull ears. The princes and prelates of Germany were contending over the succession to Henry VI. Philip of France was at war with Richard of England. Amid the blaze of hostilities, Europe had apparently lost sight of the tomb of Christ.

Pope Innocent III had just succeeded to the Holy See. He was young, eloquent and hopeful, and quite as anxious as his predecessors to assume the triumph of relig-

ion, in other words, his church. As his power rested on growth of faith and holy enthusiasm, he began the suppression of those innovating doctrines and practices which corrupted the aged and threatened the sanctuary. His most available weapon was a new Crusade. In order to gain the ear of nations, master the minds of Kings, and rally Christians around a common standard, he proclaimed respecting the tomb of Christ, the captivity of Jerusalem and the profanation of the holy places. In a circular letter addressed to bishops, clergy and nobles in France, England, Hungary and Sicily, he made known the menaces and promises of God. Prelates were dispatched to every country in Europe to exhort princes to unite against the enemies of God. These prelates were authorized to engage cities and nobles to enlist armies and equip them for a two years' campaign. Remission of sins and the protection of heaven were promised to all who took up arms, or contribute to the cause of Christ. Boxes for pious tribute were placed in all the churches. Priests were ordered to command all sinners to concur in the holy enterprise, and to withhold grace till the will to participate in the Crusade was manifest. The only virtue required of Christians seemed to be zeal for the delivery of the holy places. Charity lost much of its value except when employed in promoting the Crusade. The bishops and clergy were exhorted by the Pope to set an example of sacrifice and devotion, in order that the Church might escape the odium of imposing burdens on the people which she escaped. The Pope melted his gold and silver plate

in order to provide for the expenses of the war, and used only vessels of wood and clay.

Pope Innocent rejected nothing that could augment the armies of Christ. So satisfied did he become of the success of the Crusade, that he wrote to the Patriarch of Jerusalem to expect an army from the West. He wrote to the Emperor of Constantinople reproaching him with indifference to the Christian cause; to which Alexius retorted that he was as zealous as the Pope but that as yet, he feared a God whom the Christians had irritated, and that the Pope had better reserve his reproofs for those Christians who, in their ravages of the Greek empire, had acted against the will of heaven while they feigned to be laboring for Jesus Christ. The Pope, in writing to Alexius, did not conceal his pretensions to universal empire, and spoke in the character of sovereign arbiter of the East and West. He, the Pope, was as the sun, while all temporal princes were as the moon. And this was but throwing off an ancient and well worn papal disguise. As the Emperors of Byzantium had, at the downfall of the Roman Empire, aspired to assert the power of Augustus Cæsar over the East and West, so now Rome, under the inspiration of her politico-ecclesiasticism, dreamed that the time had come for her to assume the patronage of both West and East. Earlier would not have done, for that would have been to lose advantage of the fanaticism which, with the holy places as an objective, could be used to inflame Europe and drag her warriors to the standards of the church militant. Later

might not do, for there was no telling how soon a more enlightened sentiment in Europe and the political growth of her empires might overshadow all the pretensions of the Pope, and quite check the possibility of depleting Europe in order to serve ambitions in the remote East. Now, if ever, Pope Innocent could afford to be haughty and imperious in his claims. The Empire of Byzantium was inherently weak. It was between two consuming fires, the Mussulmen on the East, and the Latin Christians of the West. All her riches and splendors had been unfolded to the Crusaders as they passed and repassed through her portals, and, just as the rich cities of the further East had excited their cupidity and caused them to forget Jerusalem, so Constantinople might well suffice as an object of holy wrath and religious robbery.

Perhaps Pope Innocent's avowal of intentions weakened, somewhat, his exhortations to this Crusade, but he endeavored to overcome all drawbacks by the arbitrary use of his clerical powers. When the German princes and bishops were found to be divided between Otho of Saxony and Philip of Swabia, the Pope threatened with the thunders of the Church all who favored Philip. The experience of the Germans in the last Crusade, and the turmoils which grew out of this interference of Pope Innocent, dampened the ardor of Germany for this Crusade, and the anticipated spectacle of an army flocking to the cross was not realized.

Attention was therefore turned to the other powerful nations of Europe. Peter of Capua, a papal legate, succeeded in establish-

ing peace between Philip of France and Richard of England. Richard, desirous of conciliating the Holy See, pretended to interest himself in another Crusade, and promised a fleet and an army. But his ambitions in this direction were second to the humiliation of Philip, with whom war was soon renewed, and in the midst of which the great Cœur de Leon perished in a petty quarrel with Christians.

Philip repudiated his wife, daughter of the King of Denmark, in order to marry Agnes of Meranie. The Pope censured him, forbade the union and, on the King's refusal to listen to him, placed his kingdom under interdict. The sanctuaries were closed, Christian burial was refused, and the Christian religion was practically banished from France. All zeal for the Crusade became impossible, and the clergy had more cause to lament the unhappy condition of a Christian kingdom at home than the captivity of Jerusalem. But at length an eloquent curé of Neuilly, upon the Main, appeared in the person of Foulques. He had led a dissolute life and desired to expiate his sins by preaching contempt for the things of life. Like Peter and St. Bernard, he touched the popular heart. He traveled from place to place, was welcomed by the clergy, who pronounced him an envoy of God, and by his earnestness moved his auditors to quit their wicked ways and resort to the standard of the cross. Pope Innocent III confided to him the mission that the Holy See had conferred on St. Bernard fifty years before. Foulques assumed the cross, and proceeded on his mission, exhorting, and enlisting thousands.

Eloquent orators assisted him, some going along the Rhine, some to Bretagne and Poitou, some to England. They used the old arguments—the profanation of the holy places, the evils suffered by Eastern Christians, the pious remembrance of Jerusalem. While they melted their auditors to tears, or threw them into enthusiastic transports, by their harrowing recitals, they lacked ability to move the princes and nobles to action. Foulques determined to overcome this coldness. He went into Champagne, the scene of a great tournament between the most illustrious Knights of France, Germany and Flanders, and so impressed the combatants with the importance of using their valor and skill for the redemption of Zion, that they forgot all about their “queens of beauty” and the adulations of minstrelsy, and took the oath to fight the Infidels.

Among those who thus enrolled themselves were Thibault IV, Count of Champagne, and Louis, Count of Chartres and Blois. Thibault's brother had been King of Jerusalem and his father had followed Louis VII in the second Crusade. He could bring to his standard twenty-five hundred Knights who owned him homage, and through his marriage with the heiress of Navarre he brought almost an equal number from the borders of the Pyrenees. Louis of Chartres and Blois could count upon nearly as many warriors. It would be impossible to mention the names of the leaders who followed the example of these two, but among them was Simon of Montfort, who had signed the three years truce with the Mussulmen, and who was no less ready on that account to violate

one oath by taking another to fight against them. To these must be added the names of many bishops and abbots, noted for their zeal and wisdom, as well as for other qualities calculated to inspire courage and devotion.

The return of these Knights and barons to their respective homes, bearing the sign of the cross, excited, great enthusiasm among their brethren in arms. The nobility of Flanders proved particularly responsive. Baldwin, who had espoused the cause of Richard against Philip, joined the Crusade as an escape from the anger of the French King. Mary, countess of Flanders, and sister of Thibault, though advanced in pregnancy, followed her husband, and left a home she was never to see again. Baldwin's two brothers, Eustace and Henry, followed his example.

The leaders met at Soissons and chose Thibault as commander of the Crusade. It was decided to enter the East by the sea route, and deputies were sent to Venice to obtain transports. Venice was now at the height of her prosperity. Upon the breaking up of the Roman Empire, the hardy Venetians began to build up a city and a commerce in the Adriatic Gulf. They fell under the Emperors of Constantinople, but as the Greek empire began to decline, they asserted independence and, as a Republic, controlled the Adriatic. Their fleets had proved more than a match for those of the Greeks, Normans and Saracens, and their power was respected throughout Europe. They remembered with pride the action of Pope Alexander III, when the Republic was



PLATE NO. LII.—DANDOLO, DOGE OF VENICE, PREACHING THE CRUSADE.

threatened by the German Emperor. The Pope presented a ring to the Doge of Venice, saying, "Espouse the sea with this ring that prosperity may know that the Venetians have acquired the empire of the waves, and that the sea has been subjected to them as a woman to her husband." This was the origin of the celebrated ceremony "The Wedding of the Adriatic," solemnized by all subsequent Doges. The Venetians were familiar with all the ports of Greece and the East. They had not entered into the Crusades with any Christian zeal, but in pursuit of gain had transported Crusaders to their destination, had established stores and commercial privileges in captured cities, and had carried provisions and stores to both Christians and Mussulmen. At the time of the arrival of the deputies from the North, the Doge of Venice was the celebrated Dandolo, nearly ninety years of age, but awake to every opportunity to enrich his Republic and enhance its strength and importance. (*See* Plate No. LII.) He praised with warmth the enterprise announced by the deputies, and lent his voice in open assembly to the furtherance of their cause. He promised to furnish ships for the transport of forty five hundred Knights and twenty thousand foot, together with provisions for nine months, for eighty-five thousand silver marks (\$850,000). And then, in order to give his people a chance to profit by the enterprise, he proposed to arm fifty galleys, on the condition that the Republic should have half the conquests made in the East. His very shrewd and interested terms were accepted at once by the deputies, and the mat-

ter was then referred to the people for ratification in a general assembly. Speeches were made by the deputies and by the Doge, and the people were so carried away by religious enthusiasm and pride in their importance that they ratified the conditions of the compact with one voice. The treaty was then sworn to on the part of the deputies, and the nations they represented were solemnly bound to observe its specifications. The Doge loaned the deputies ten thousand marks, and they went away professing admiration and friendship for the Venetians, who had, in reality, driven one of the smartest bargains in their commercial experience.

An account of what had taken place at Venice spread through Piedmont and Lombardy, and many warriors took up the cross, under the lead of Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat. But at Pisa and Genoa, rivals of Venice, efforts to interest the people in the cause of Christ, failed. On the return of the deputies to Champagne, they found Thibault ill. He was so rejoiced at their success that he insisted on putting on his armor and mounting his horse at once. But the effect caused a relapse and cost him his life. He died in the flower of his age, regretting a fate that despoiled him of so much glory, and exhorting his companions in arms to fulfill their vows to re-conquer Jerusalem. He ordered all his treasures to be converted to the use of the Crusade.

The leaders elected the Count of Bar and Duke of Burgundy, as commanders. The former refused the honor outright, and the latter, remembering the fate of his father in the third Crusade, preferred the ease of his

duchy to the hardships and dangers of a pilgrimage to the East. The declinations of two such illustrious princes was deprecated by the soldiers of the cross, and it is said they both bitterly repented their indifference to the cause of Christ, in after years. The command was then offered to Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, who had already acquired renown in fighting Infidels and whose brother, Conrad, had made a reputation in his defence of Tyre. Boniface accepted and was proclaimed commander in the church of Notre Dame.

Two years had elapsed since Pope Innocent III ordered the preaching of this Crusade. The situation of the Eastern Christians had become daily more deplorable, and appeals for aid had been incessant. The pope again urged the clergy to awaken those who had enlisted to the necessity of an early departure, to censure the indifferent, and reproach all ecclesiastics for tardiness in paying the fortieth of their revenues toward the expense of the holy war. He proclaimed the Crusade a season of penitence, issued regulations respecting diet, dress and amusements, and forbade tournaments for a space of five years. He reanimated the courage of the warriors by telling of the fresh schisms which had broken out among the Mussulmen, and of the awful scourges which had visited the valley of the Nile, thus showing that God himself was striking the country of Babylon and giving up his enemies to the chastisements of death. The Pope's exhortations had the desired effect. The Marquis of Montferrat went into France in the autumn of 1201, and devoted the winter to preparations.

He found the barons discordant over the

question of enlistment. Some positively refused to lead any but soldiers used to the sword and lance. Then, there was a disposition to attack the Jews and make them pay the expenses to the war; but the Pope came to their rescue and deemed it impolitic to disturb a people to whom the Crusaders were already heavily indebted, except in so far as threats might work a revocation of usurious contracts, and all contracts were regarded as usurious which bore interest. While these preparations were going on the preacher of the Crusade, Foulques, died. He had fallen under a cloud, owing to charges of misappropriating funds raised for carrying on the war, yet his death was much lamented, and he was buried with great pomp.

In the spring of 1202 the Crusaders prepared to depart. On their arrival at Venice, the ships were ready, and the inhabitants received them with joy. But before they embarked, the Venetians called upon the barons for the pay they had promised. The barons took account of the situation and found that half the promised number of Knights and warriors were absent, and that among them were those they had depended on most largely to foot the bill. Nearly all of Baldwin's Flemish followers had taken ship to come to Venice, but instead of stopping had kept on toward Palestine. Renaud, to whom Thibault had given his treasures to be devoted to the Crusade, had sailed from Bari, with his followers. Several other leaders had sailed from Genoa and Marseilles. This breach of faith threatened the success of the entire enterprise, for the barons present found it impossible to fulfill their contract.

After sending word to all Crusaders, who were still on their way, to come to Venice, and after sacrificing all of their personal possessions excepting horses and arms, they were still in arrears more than half the stipulated price for transport. The Doge assembled the people and proposed to them a modification of the contract, the terms being that the Crusaders should turn in their army to the assistance of the Republic till their debt was cancelled. The people sanctioned the proposition of the Doge. Then the astute old Dandolo turned to the Crusaders and suggested, that God would give them a speedy means of fulfilling their treaty if they would join the Venetians in conquering the city of Zara, which had recently deserted the Venetian Republic and cast its lot in with Hungary. The Crusaders embraced the suggestion with joy, for they were shamed by inability to pay their way as they had promised and, moreover, deemed it prudent to conciliate the Venetians, who would prove indispensable in carrying out their enterprise. But some of the Crusaders, on second thought, began to murmur at the delay this would occasion. Their remonstrances took a moral turn, and they objected to fighting Christians while under oath to fight Infidels. The Pope sent Peter of Capua to Venice to declare the service they had offered the Doge impious. The King of Hungary had taken the cross, and to attack one of his cities during his absence, was cowardly and sacrilegious. A people who could act thus defiantly must be considered as the enemies of the Church. Dandolo regarded his right to subdue a re-

bellion as quite equal with that of the Pope to screen it, or to curry favor with a monarch who protected it in its desertion. He replied that Crusades were not undertaken to promote the ambitions of Kings and protect rebellious states and cities; that the Pope had not the power to enslave sovereigns and divert Crusaders from enterprises by means of which they could pay honest debts; and that in the reduction of Zara he but proposed a just war against revolted subjects, whose recent piracies imperilled the safety of the seas and jeopardized the lives of Crusaders on their way to the Holy Land.

In order to make his argument effective with the Crusaders, Dandolo, knowing very well that the prospect of gain would overcome all other scruples, boldly proposed to join the Crusade himself and enlist his people in the enterprise. He called an assembly, announced his intentions in a captivating speech, publicly assumed the cross, pledged himself to live or die with the pilgrims who might follow him, and turned over the office of Doge to his son. He was immediately surrounded by an army of faithful followers, sworn to deliver the holy places. This heroic action completely won the Crusaders, and gave Dandolo virtual command of the expedition. He defied Peter of Capua, the Pope's legate, and informed him that papal legates ought not to assume to act as leaders of Crusades, but should content themselves with edifying Crusaders by virtuous examples and pious exhortations. While the attitude of Dandolo toward the Holy See astonished the French barons, it did not shake their faith in one who had so re-

cently agreed to share their fortunes. The cross was a sufficient pledge of alliance between the faithful of France and Venice, and from that time on very few Crusaders were influenced by the thunders of the Holy See. Knights and barons showed the same alacrity in preparing for the expedition against Zara as the Venetians themselves, and soon all were ready to sail to the scene of war.

But just as they were ready to depart, there happened, as an historian of the time says, "A great wonder, an unhoped for circumstance, the strangest that ever was heard of." Alexius, of Constantinople, had dethroned his brother, the Emperor Isaac, loaded him with chains, deprived him of sight and cast him into a dungeon. He had, at the same time, imprisoned young Alexius, the Son of Isaac, but he had escaped and made his way to Philip of Swabia, who had married his sister, Irene. He importuned Philip for aid, but that prince was engaged in protecting himself against the arms of King Otho and the thunders of the Pope. Young Alexius next implored the aid of the Pope, who failed to hearken to his complaints. He then made the round of Europe in vain search for aid. When in despair, he was advised to appeal to the Crusaders, who represented the warlike and ambitious energies of the West, and would be most likely to espouse his cause. He accordingly sent deputies to Venice. They told such a tale of outrage on the part of the Emperor Alexius, and set forth the cause of the younger Alexius so eloquently, that the Knights and barons were moved to pity, and forthwith volunteered to defend the rights of the illy

used nephew. The spirit of old Dandolo was equally stirred. He, with his republican followers, were ready to avenge injured innocence and remedy a great calamity. Venice remembered that the usurper Alexius preferred to ally himself with Pisa and Genoa, and she, therefore, not only found her own cause in that of the deprived Alexius, but thought it in keeping with the situation that Venetian vessels should bear him back to the ports of Greece and to Byzantium.

While these events form an interesting prelude to what shortly followed, they did not operate to divert attention, except temporarily, from the conquest of Zara. The fleets set sail in due time, loaded with enthusiastic Crusaders, and cheered by the entire population of Venice. It was the most formidable naval display ever seen on the Adriatic. Four hundred and eighty ships bore forty thousand fighting men, the flower of European chivalry and the pick of her foot soldiers. Easy conquest was made of Trieste and some smaller cities which had deserted the Venetian Republic. On November 10th, 1202, the fleet arrived before Zara, on the Eastern side of the Adriatic, and one hundred and eighty miles from Venice. It was a rich and populous city, fortified by high walls and surrounded by a rocky sea. The King of Hungary had garrisoned it strongly and the inhabitants had sworn that they would never surrender it to Venice. At sight of its formidable bulwarks the weaker hearted of the Crusaders began to despair, but the leaders ordered an immediate assault. The chains which guarded the ports were speedily broken, and the ma-

chines of war began to make the stubborn walls tremble. The inhabitants lost all their bravery and sent an embassy to treat with Dandolo. He agreed to pardon them on account of their repentance, and the embassy returned. But on its way back, it was intercepted by a number of Crusaders in the interest of the Pope, and opposed to the capture of the place, who asked, "Why did you surrender? You have nothing to fear from the French." This rekindled the war. The embassy announced that not all of the Crusaders were their enemies, and that Zara need not fall if its inhabitant were willing to defend it. The object of the dissatisfied Crusaders was to divide the enemy at this point. Guy, Abbot of Vaux, used his utmost endeavors to secure the failure of the expedition against Zara. The abbot of Cernai forbade the Crusaders to draw their swords against the Christians, and was about to read a letter from the Pope when his voice was drowned by the cries of those Knights and barons who could not forget their promise to fight for the Republic of Venice, and whose sense of chivalry forbade them to lay down arms in the face of an enemy who promised to surrender but who now defied them by fresh attacks.

While these serious disputes were in progress, the bravest of the leaders resumed the assault. The besieged hoped much from divisions among the besiegers, but on the fifth day they saw no safety except in submission. They could not now obtain the favorable conditions first proposed by Dandolo, and were content with a promise of life and liberty. Their city was given up to pillage,

and the rich booty was divided between the Venetians and French. As winter was on, the Doge proposed to postpone the sailing of the fleet till the following spring. The two nations, therefore, took quarters in different parts of the city. Soon the French discovered that the Venetians were most comfortably situated, and they vented their dissatisfaction in complaints, threats and, finally, in an appeal to arms, in which the streets of the city ran with blood, much to the joy of the conquered inhabitants, and the clergy who had condemned the war. Order was established with great difficulty, and the two nations were in a fair way to forget their bloody disputations, when word was received from the Pope, reproaching the Venetians for having seduced the Crusaders into an impious war, disapproving of the capture of Zara, and ordering Crusaders to renounce the booty taken in a Christian city and repair all the injuries they had inflicted. The French Crusaders heard these orders with respect, but the Venetian Crusaders defied the Holy See and, in order to make their victory sure, began to demolish the ramparts of Zara. The French barons and Knights sent deputies to Rome to explain their conduct and ask for pardon. Though fully determined to retain their booty, they promised to return it and repair damages, whereupon the Pope granted them his absolution and benediction as dutiful children. He exhorted them to set out for Syria, turning neither to the right nor left, and very graciously permitted them to cross the seas with the Venetians, whom he had just excommunicated—a condescension all the more

praiseworthy on the part of the Holy See, since they had no other way to go. The Pope further advised them to separate at once from the Venetians, on their arrival in the Holy Land, if the latter still proved disobedient, for to associate with a people reprobated of God would bring maledictions on the Christian army. He promised to watch over their wants in the midst of the holy war, and to write to the Emperor of Constantinople to furnish provisions as he had promised; and in the event that provisions were refused upon the asking, they were authorized to take them wherever they should be found. The excuse for this permission to pillage and this bid for brigandage was found in scripture and thoroughly reveals the spirit of the thirteenth century as well as the policy of the Holy See. But that fortune which sported so capriciously with papal edict and pilgrim project very soon gave new direction to the events which characterized this crusade.

Ambassadors arrived at Zara from Philip of Swabia. They came in the interest of young Alexius, and met a council of barons and knights in the castle of the Doge. In their address, they commended Alexius to the keeping of the Crusaders, protested against a wish to turn them from their holy designs, yet offered them an easy way to accomplish them; knew they had only taken up arms in behalf of Christ and justice, but would assist all oppressed by unjust tyranny and thus secure the triumph of religion and humanity. They then squarely proposed that the Crusaders should turn their arms toward Greece, groaning under the usurper

Alexius, and assure the conquest of Jerusalem by first conquering Constantinople. In support of this they urged the mistake made by Godfrey, Conrad and Louis in leaving the Byzantine empire in their wake, and the fact that Alexius was weaker and more perfidious and cruel than any of his predecessors, had gained his throne by murder, had outraged all the laws of religion and nature, and, in order to escape just punishment, had allied himself with the Saracens. Then, deftly weaving for the Crusaders their most irresistible appeal, they continued, "We will not tell you how easy it would be to wrest a kingdom from a tyrant who is hated by his subjects, for your valor loves obstacles and delights in dangers; nor will we spread before your eyes *the riches of Byzantium and Greece, for your generous souls aim at nothing in this conquest but the glory of your arms and the cause of Jesus Christ.*" The ingenuity of that appeal to the cupidity of the Crusaders is without parallel. They followed it up with the promise that if young Alexius were seated on his throne by their aid, he would maintain their fleet and army for a year, contribute two hundred thousand silver marks (\$2,000,000) toward the expenses of the war, go in person with them to the conquest of Syria and Egypt or, if thought better, send ten thousand men, and maintain five hundred Knights in the Holy Land during his life. Then in order to clinch this woefully extravagant bargain, they continued that Alexius was willing to swear to put an end to all the heresies that defiled the East and to subject the Greek to the Roman Church. "These wonderful advantages," they con-

cluded, "ought to move you to hear our prayers, and as God sometimes employs the most simple means to make known his wishes to his chosen people, it is a young prince he has, on this occasion, appointed as the instrument of his designs. It is Alexius that Providence has commissioned to lead you in the way of the Lord, and to point out to you the road you must follow to render certain the triumphs of the armies of Jesus Christ."

Many of the Knights and barons favored these propositions, but the wiser Doge and his following dismissed the deputies with the promise that they would duly consider the matter. Warm debates followed. It was found that those who opposed the siege and capture of Zara, opposed also the diversion of the Crusade into an expedition against Constantinople. They were indignant that the interests of Alexius should weigh against those of God; said that his father, Isaac, was nothing but a usurper, and had, during the third Crusade, been an enemy of the Christians and an ally of the Turks; that Greece was not murmuring at the usurpation of Alexius and had not called on the Latins for aid; that Philip of Swabia exhorted the Crusaders to assist the young Alexius, but contented himself with making speeches; that young Alexius was too lavish of promises and was not to be trusted—he had neither soldiers nor treasures to give and, being a Greek, would most likely turn against his benefactors. Egypt, devoured by famine, promised the Crusaders easier victories and more brilliant conquests.

The wise old Doge and his Venetians

heard these arguments with patience but were not moved by them. They had no more love for the Greeks than for the Infidels, and were anxious for an opportunity to destroy the trading posts of the Pisans, which dotted the Grecian coasts. The Doge had a personal resentment against the Greeks, and he took occasion to magnify in the minds of the Crusaders all the injuries inflicted by Greece on his little Republic. It is said that the Sultan of Damascus, frightened by the report that a formidable Crusade was ready to sail from Venice, secretly sent to the Doge a considerable sum of money to divert it from the East. While this may be a malicious fabrication of the dissatisfied Crusaders, or more likely of the Eastern Christians, who had become irritated at the delays of the soldiers of the cross, it is true that a majority of the French Crusaders stood in no need of the arguments or example of the Doge to encourage them to undertake a war against the Greek Empire. Even those who opposed the project hated the Greeks bitterly, and all the arguments pro and con but inflamed the general mind against an empire and people which, though Christian, were regarded as hostile to Christians. Many powerful ecclesiastics, headed by the abbot of Looz, opposed those who favored an invasion of Egypt, and stoutly advocated the capture of Constantinople as the best means of securing Jerusalem. Their arguments were all gilded by the fascinating hope that one day they would see the Greek Church united with that of Rome, and witness a period of concord among all Christian people.

Prospect of uniting the two churches by

means of their arms pleased the Knights. They easily construed their oaths to "defend innocence and the rights of the oppressed" so as to embrace the cause of Alexius. They fed their imaginations with the wonders and perils of so gigantic an enterprise, and those who indulged visions of the riches and splendors of Constantinople believed they would not return empty handed. After many and long deliberations, in which the Doge had tested all the shades of sentiment, it was resolved that in the spring the army should sail for Constantinople.

When the young Alexius first appeared at Venice through his deputies, prior to the siege of Zara, the usurper Alexius learned of the impression he had made and of the possibility of an invasion of Greece in his interest. He, accordingly, sent an embassy to the Pope to declare that he was the only legitimate sovereign at Constantinople, that the son of Isaac had no rights, and that an expedition against Greece would be an impious diversion of the Crusade from its true object. The Pope replied, mildly deprecating the diversion of the Crusade into an expedition against Constantinople, but took care to inform the Greek Emperor that the young Alexius had many warm friends among the Crusaders, and that he had promised to end the rebellion of the Greek Church. The Pope thought that by thus failing to assuage the fears of the Emperor he might be induced to repeat the promises of the young prince, and that eventually the whole matter would be referred to Rome. Alexius sent no more ambassadors and made no preparation to resist invasion.

The Pope was in constant receipt of complaints from Palestine respecting the tardiness of the Crusaders and his failure to redeem his promises of help. He renewed his efforts to direct the Crusaders to their destination, and sent legates to the East to encourage the despondent Christians by the announcement that the fleets would soon depart from Venice for Palestine. But he was terribly disappointed when he heard that the leaders had determined to attack Constantinople. He charged them with looking behind them, like Lot's wife, and gave them to understand that they had not assumed the cross to avenge the injury of princes but of God; that they were not judges of usurpations and crimes; and that they would not be allowed to invade and plunder the lands of the Greeks. He withheld his benedictions and threatened them with the maledictions of heaven.

This action of the Pope made very little impression on most of the Knights and barons, but it served to encourage those who, all along had opposed the diversion of the Crusade from its original purposes. They exhausted every art of persuasion and threat to change the destination of the army, and when they failed, they and their adherents deserted, some to return home, others to seek Palestine by whatever route opened. Five hundred of them were shipwrecked and drowned. Hundreds were massacred while passing through Illyria. They perished cursing the ambitions and errors which had diverted the Crusade from its object; while those who stuck to their standards lamented the tragic fate of their companions and con-

soled themselves with the devout sentiment, "The mercy of the Lord hath remained with us; evil be to them who stray from the way of the Lord." Even those who most regretted in secret the disapprobation of the Pope, were persuaded in their minds that they could justify that conduct by victory, and that in the end the father of the faithful would recognize their conquests as the expression of the will of Heaven.

As the Crusaders were about to sail, young Alexius arrived at Zara. His presence excited the greatest enthusiasm. The barons hailed him as Emperor, and hoped to be the architects of his future grandeur, and power. His mission was to break the chains of a blind father, and in this he was regarded as a model of piety. He was a veritable envoy of Providence in that he was about to combat usurpation, punish injustice and stamp out heresy. His pitiable story was told and retold in the camps, till its pathos stirred every heart with profound interest in his welfare. The young man was greatly impressed with his reception, and proved more lavish of vows and protestations than his deputies. Entirely unaware of the magnitude of his promises and of his utter inability to fulfill them, he little reckoned that he was only drawing upon himself the early reproaches of his liberators.

While, day by day, the barons were féting the young prince and swearing to enthrone him at Constantinople, and while all Italy and the West rang with their preparations, the Emperor Alexius was dreaming sleepily on a crumbling throne. He had no virtues as a ruler, and had entrusted authority to his

courtiers. He wasted treasures in order to buy oblivion for his usurpation, and sold justice, levied taxes, and plundered merchant ships, in order to repair his shattered finances. He scattered dignities till they fell into dishonor. His wife, Euphrosyne, filled the court with intrigues and scandals. Though threatened by both Bulgarians and Turks, he never faced the enemy, but pursued his pleasures. He sold the sacred vases and plundered the tombs of the Greek Emperors, in order to purchase peace with the German Emperor, who had conquered Sicily. His ministers had dismantled his navy and sold the equipments. Conspiracies were rife, and the Imperial throne appeared to be vacant. Bravery, patriotism, none of the saving virtues of citizenship, were present among his subjects. The provinces were estranged, the army was unpaid and without competent generals, there was no intimacy or love between the people and their ruler. The remnants of ancient Greek pride were now puerile vanities, and a once glorious history but served to bring into glaring contrast the events which spoke of degradation and decay. Corrupt and superstitious monks controlled all important affairs, and they pleased and beguiled both Emperor and people by childish prophecies and frivolous visions. Vain disputations consumed the time of the Greeks, weakened their character, intensified their ignorance and chilled their patriotism. Even while the Crusaders were sailing toward Constantinople, the city was rent with disputes over the question as to whether the body of Jesus Christ, in the Eucharist, was corruptible or incorruptible, and so heated were the

contentions that nobody thought of defending the threatened empire.

The Venetians and French left Zara in separate fleets, with orders to meet at Corfu. When they landed in Macedon, the inhabitants of Corfu and Duras welcomed Alexius and received the Crusaders as liberators. This welcome by the Greeks was regarded as a happy augury for the success of the expedition. Fertility of the island of Corfu and its rich pasturage induced the Crusaders to remain there for some weeks. This rest for an army, whose coherency existed only by enthusiasm and activity, caused a breaking out of the old disputes which had proved so fatal at Zara. Gauthier of Brienne had conquered Apulia and Naples with sixty Knights. "There," said the malcontents, "Why should we not go to Gauthier who has made himself master of a rich kingdom, and is preparing to carry out his vows to deliver the Holy Land, while we are exhausting the resources of the West in a distant and useless war? Why should we not demand vessels of him?"

The malcontents met in a valley in order to perfect plans for desertion. The Doge of Venice and other leaders and bishops heard of the plot. They entered the valley, prostrated themselves before the malcontents, and prayed them to abandon their intentions and remain faithful to the holy standards. They were moved by the humility of the petitioners and swore to remain with the army till autumn, provided the barons and lords pledged themselves to then furnish them vessels to convey them to Syria. This was agreed to. Both parties then returned to

their camps to prepare for the second stage of their expedition against Constantinople.

The fleet of the Crusaders left Corfu with fair wind and weather. Three hundred vessels bore thirty thousand warriors through the islands of the Archipelago, sight of which increased the enthusiasm on ship-board. After a safe voyage, the fleet arrived at St. Stephen, the entrance to the Bosphorus, nine miles from Constantinople, and in full view of the city. This magnificent capital of the Greek, or Byzantine, Empire, bathed on the south by the waves of the Propontis, on the east by the Bosphorus, and on the north by the waters of its port, was surrounded for twenty miles of its circumference by double rows of walls, above which towered its many splendid structures. The shores of the Bosphorus were continuous gardens. On the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus, were the cities of Chalcedon and Scutari. Never was city more eligibly situated for commerce. It joined two seas and two continents, and in the days of its splendor was a veritable "Golden Horn." Like Rome, it was built on seven hills, and its towers were compared to those of Babylon. By means of deep ditches, which at a signal could be converted into a lake, it could be severed from the Continent on which it stood.

The Emperor Constantine, founder of Constantinople, established it as the new city of the Cæsars, and in building, fortifying and embellishing it, he united the genius and power of the Romans with the art and science of the Greeks. All the quarries of Europe contributed materials to it, and all

the cities were spoiled of ornaments to embellish it. The successors of Constantine added to the strength and splendor of its structures and, after twenty glorious reigns, it stood as the most magnificent capital in the world and, indeed, as *the* capital of the then civilized world, all of which the Empire of Constantine embraced. It had fourteen quarters; thirty-two gates; circuses of immense extent; five hundred churches, among which that of St. Sophia ranked as one of the wonders of the world; five great and many smaller palaces. Unlike Rome, it had kept the barbarians at bay, and had preserved the riches gathered from East and West, the masterpieces of ancient art, and the language and literature of the Greeks.

What wonder that surprise and fear tinged the enthusiasm of the Crusaders as they gazed upon such a city! The leaders passed a night of deliberation at St. Stephen, during which a thousand projects for its capture were proposed, debated and abandoned. By morning, orders were ready for all the Knights and soldiers to appear in the blazonry of war upon the decks of the vessels. The entire fleet was then sailed through the canal and beneath the walls. It was an imposing display and a surprise to the thousands who gazed upon the ramparts. A few stones and arrows were thrown, at which the Crusaders, supposing the defenders of the city were in sight, looked well to their lances and swords. But there were only a few mercenary soldiers within the city. It really had no defenders except its memories of past glory and the respect of the nations who knew not of its fatal weakness.

After this demonstration, the Crusaders attacked and pillaged Chalcedon, upon the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, and established themselves in the palaces and gardens which had been the pride of Alexius, and from which he had fled to seek refuge in Constantinople, where he continued his pleasures and received the flattery of his courtiers. But at length a sense of his danger began to dawn on him. He sent a messenger to salute the Knights and barons, and express surprise that they, who had started out to deliver the Holy Land, should make war upon a Christian Empire. He applauded their zeal for the cross and offered to assist them, but in the event of their not leaving his provinces, he threatened to disperse their fleets and armies and forever close the route to the East.

The messenger was authorized to inform Alexius that his empire was the heritage of the young prince who was then in the midst of the Crusaders; that his conscience ought to suggest his crimes as a motive for capturing his city; that a usurper was an enemy of all princes, and a tyrant was the enemy of the human race; that the only way he could escape the justice of Heaven and men was to restore to Isaac and his son the throne he had stolen and implore their pity; and that if he failed to do this, they would waste no further time, but would begin war. While the Crusaders were thus defiant, they noticed that the name of the younger Alexius hardly attracted the notice of the Greeks. Resolving to acquaint them with his presence and to test the inclination of the people, they ran a galley, with the young prince on board,

close under the walls of the city, and while Dandolo, Boniface and others held young Alexius up, a herald announced that they should behold and acknowledge their sovereign and have pity on him and themselves. Most of the Greeks on the ramparts maintained a sullen silence, while others answered with jeers. Meanwhile tumult reigned within the city. The Greek population, exasperated at the presence of the Crusaders, formed into mobs, attacked and pillaged the quarters occupied by the Latin races, and forced many of them to seek safety by escaping to the camps beyond the Bosphorus. From that moment the Crusaders knew that war was inevitable. They immediately attacked a body of troops that Alexius had sent across to their camp, and put them to flight. Taking advantage of the fear they had thus inspired, and dreading themselves the disadvantage of their small numbers in the face of such a multitude as might be rallied by a sense of self-protection, the Crusaders gathered at Scutari, and decided to cross the Bosphorus at once and encamp under the walls of Constantinople. Confessions were made, prayers were said, the signal for departure was given, and Knights and foot soldiers embarked for their destination. On the passage, all the soldiers swore to conquer or die, and when the vessels approached the shore, the Knights plunged into the water with their horses, each anxious to be the first to reach the land. Archers and foot soldiers followed, and in less than an hour the entire army was scanning the plain for an enemy. The soldiers of Alexius took to flight, and their camps, outside of the walls, were soon

in possession of the Crusaders, who occupied them for the night.

The next day they resolved to attack the fortress of Galatea, which commanded the port of Constantinople on the north. The Greeks poured into the fortress and offered a stubborn resistance. Jacques of Avesnes was badly wounded. His Flemish warriors redoubled their exertions and soon drove the Greeks back in disorder. Many were drowned in their attempt to reach the ships in the port. Others rushed for the citadel, but only to find it in possession of the Crusaders. While this battle was going on, the Venetian warships sailed for the port of Constantinople and attacked the Greek fleet, composed of twenty galleys. The chain which protected the port was broken, and the Greek galleys were destroyed or forced to surrender. Then the Greeks learned what they had to expect from the barbarians whom they had hitherto held in such contempt.

The Crusaders now divided their army into six grand divisions, each under a leader of renown, and marched to the west side of the city, where they encamped. The Venetian fleet encamped where it could control the port, and the water approaches to the city. The Venetians were free from surprise and from all danger of being overwhelmed by numbers. Dandolo advised that the whole army unite on board the vessels and conduct operations from the decks, but the Knights would not forego the use of their horses and arms, and the counsel of Dandolo was overruled. Thus was presented the remarkable spectacle of an army, which could not muster much over twenty thousand war-

tions, attacking a city of a million inhabitants, two hundred thousand of which were capable of bearing arms.

Before assaulting, the Crusaders offered peace, on the condition that young Alexius was recognized as sovereign. Their answer was jeers and arrows from the ramparts. The people had been persuaded that the young prince had come with the powers of the West to overturn their religion and laws, and while they had little respect for their emperor they preferred him to one who sought a crown through foreign intervention. The camp of the Crusaders occupied but a small space before walls so extended. The Greeks made repeated sorties, and the country around began to swarm with their soldiers. The Crusaders were forced to remain under arms night and day. They were provisioned for only three weeks, and action must be speedy. They filled up ditches, made gradual approaches, set up balistas, catapults and rams, and battered at the walls till enormous stones fell from the ramparts. Often great stones were flung quite into the city doing much damage to the houses and palaces.

After ten days of labor and fighting the Crusaders determined to storm the city, and the signal was given on the morning of July 17, 1203. The army moved under command of the Count of Flanders, and every machine was directed against the walls. A tower fell in front of the troops led by Baldwin. Ladders were placed and valiantly mounted, but the Greeks swarmed to the spot, and drove the Crusaders back, killing and capturing those who failed to escape when the ladders

were thrown down. Simultaneously with this assault, Dandolo attacked the city by sea. He arranged his vessels in two lines, the front line, of smaller vessels, being filled with war machines and archers; the second line, of larger ships, bearing towers higher than the walls of the city; and made a formidable attack with stones, arrows and javelins, receiving in return showers of Greek fire, which hissed on the surface of the sea and endangered his entire fleet. Amid the din of conflict, the voice of old Dandolo was heard, commanding every man to land, and threatening death to those who refused. So responsive were his soldiers, that those of his galley bore him to the land, waving in his hand the standard of St. Mark. The soldiers of the other galleys followed their intrepid leader and his standard. The larger vessels now pushed forward with their taller towers and more formidable weapons of war. The Greeks on their ramparts were now confronted with ramparts fully manned and overshadowing their own. Down fell the drawbridges from the floating towers on the ramparts of the city. Up rose from the foot of the walls a thousand ladders, by means of which ten thousand men climbed to join those who were in conflict on the ramparts. Of a sudden the standard of St. Mark appeared in one of the towers. Sight of it caused a shout of joy to rise from the Venetian warriors. Confident that their patron saint was at their head, they cast themselves upon the walls in the midst of their enemies, and soon had twenty-five towers in their possession. The frightened enemy was beaten back and pursued into the city. Fearing

ambush from the myriads who crowded the streets, the victors fired the houses in their route, and the rapidly extending conflagration drove the terrified multitudes before it. The conquerors followed up the conflagration and added to the consternation. Pressed by the cries of his people, Alexius mounted his horse and ordered sorties by three different gates, in order to attack the French Crusaders, who had been far less fortunate, during the day, than the Venetians.

The indolent and pleasure loving Emperor seemed suddenly to rise to the occasion. He rode along the ranks of his sixty battalions and exhorted them to victory. The French Crusaders were stricken with fear and withdrew from the ramparts to their camps, where they hastily reformed. This retreat of the French caused Dandolo to abandon his victory and fly to their rescue. Nothing could have saved the Crusaders if the Greeks had pressed their advantage with courage. But instead of attacking the Crusaders, who were really trembling in their camps, Alexius obeyed the voice of his cowardly courtiers, fired a few arrows at long range, and re-entered the city, every part of which resounded with groans. The citizens were more terrified at the cowardice of their defenders than at the bravery of their enemies. They charged treachery upon the army. The army charged treachery on Alexius. The Emperor found himself between two fires. Mistrusting his subjects as much as he feared the Latins, and thinking only of his life, he abandoned his family, friends and capital. Under cover of the night he fled to some obscure portion of his empire.

Daylight revealed to the Greeks that they no longer had an Emperor. The people crowded the streets and burst into infuriate discussion of their misfortunes and the cowardice and treachery of their leaders. The flight of the Emperor recalled his usurpation, and all the curses of Heaven were invoked on his head. The wisest were at a loss what to do, when the courtiers of Alexius rushed to the prison in which Isaac was confined and led him in triumph to the imperial palace. Blind, and believing himself in the midst of his executioners, he was bewildered by hearing the voices of flattery. The Courtiers poured into his ears their vows for his cause and their denials of favoritism for Alexius. They sought out Isaac's wife, and threw the intriguing Euphrosyne, wife of Alexius, into prison. No change in Constantinople could be for the worse, and this was regarded as for the better. The citizens acquiesced and were inspired with new courage.

Rumor of this change spread to the camps of the Crusaders, who thanked Providence for delivering Constantinople in this miraculous way, and at the same time for freeing themselves from further danger. Soon the camps of the Crusaders were flooded with Greeks, each full of wondrous tales. The Courtiers of the deposed Emperor swarmed around the young Alexius, protested their interest in his welfare and invited him to come and share the honors and powers of his father, Isaac. The Crusaders mistrusted the Greeks, notwithstanding their effusive vows, and kept their army ready for action till they could send an Embassy into the city to as-

certain the facts. This Embassy was directed to congratulate Isaac and to require of him a ratification of the treaty made between the Crusaders and his son, the younger Alexius. When the Embassy was conducted to Isaac, seated on a throne in the palace of Blachernæ, glittering with gold and precious stones, and made known to him the pledges his son had given to the Crusaders, he expressed astonishment, and pointed out how difficult it would be to redeem such promises. But seeing the danger of refusal, and feeling gratitude toward his liberators, there was little to do but to assent, which he did with the acknowledgement that the Crusaders had served him well, and that they had even merited the whole empire had they asked for it.

When the Embassy returned to the camps with the ratified treaty, the Knights and barons conducted young Alexius into the city. He rode between the Doge of Venice and the Count of Flanders, followed by all the grand equestrian procession. The people crowded around him and extended a cordial greeting. The Latin clergy, who formed a part of the brilliant escort, were met and saluted by the Greek clergy. Thanks were offered in all the churches. Hymns of rejoicing resounded everywhere. The day was given up to festivities. At the palace of Blachernæ, old Isaac clasped his son in his arms. Tears streamed from his blind eyes. Never was liberty sweeter after eight years of confinement in a dungeon. Never was gratitude more heartfelt than that of the parent toward the child to whom he

owed his freedom and his restoration. The touching scene vividly recalled to all the calamities of two innocent princes, and sufficed as a pledge of Heaven's blessings on the restored Empire. The blind Emperor again thanked the Crusaders and asked them, in order to avoid all difficulty between the Greek and Latins, to encamp on the other side of the gulf of Chrysoceras. The Crusaders obeyed and, amid the peace and plenty of suburban Constantinople, they soon forgot the perils and fatigues of war. The Pisans, who had proved themselves the stoutest defenders of Constantinople, made peace with the Venetians. The Greek and Latins interchanged visits, the former carrying provisions and wares, the latter losing themselves in contemplation of the wondrous palaces, edifices, and religious monuments and relics, of the city. It was as if a new world had suddenly opened on their crude visions.

In a few days, young Alexius was crowned in the gorgeous church of St. Sophia, and admitted to joint sovereignty with his father. He made haste to discharge part of his obligations to the Crusaders. In the midst of the cordialities which prevailed, the Greeks forgot their defeats and the Latins their victories. The two princes on the throne won the respect of all, and remembered with gratitude their liberators. As allies of the Greeks and protectors of their empire, the Crusaders now turned their attention to their Saracen foes. They sent word to the Sultans of Damascus and Cairo that war was declared in the name of Jesus Christ, the Emperor of Constantinople and

the princes and nobles of the West, and that they would soon feel the valor of Christian nations if they did not deliver up the Holy Land and the places consecrated by the Savior. On the heels of this declaration of war, the Crusaders sent into Europe glowing accounts of their successes thus far, and the recital of their exploits kindled enthusiasm among the faithful everywhere. The Emperor of Germany was importuned to take part in the Crusade and place himself at the head of it. When similar accounts reached Syria, they spread consternation among the Mussulmen and revived the hopes of all Eastern Christians.

There was one drawback to the glory of these victories. The French Crusaders did not believe that they could enure wholly to their own renown or the cause of God till sanctioned by the Holy See. They, therefore, wrote the Pope, protesting that their work was not of men but of God. Thus those who had just conquered an empire and who, in their haughty pride, boasted that they feared nothing but the falling of the heavens, prostrated themselves before the Pope, repudiated all earthly views, and pleaded to be regarded as the agents of Providence for executing its designs. Young Alexius wrote at the same time to the Pope, justifying the conduct of his liberators and stating particularly that one of his promises to them was that the Eastern Empire should recog-

nize the Roman pontiff as its ecclesiastical head.

From the antagonism which Pope Innocent III had all along expressed toward this diversion of the Crusade, and this attack on a Christian city, his reply to these letters must have contained an indignant protest, and a repudiation of the entire enterprise and its unholy results. But instead, he praised the zeal and intentions of the young Emperor and urged on him the duty of accomplishing his promises. As to the Crusaders, he still held over them the whip of resentment for having disregarded his prohibitions, yet, he adroitly suggested, that if the Emperor did not make haste to fulfill his promises, they, the Crusaders, would appear as not having been sincere in their intentions, and would have added a second sin to their first. The atonement, thus intimated, for their first sin would be to use their force to Romanize the Greek Empire. The Pope gave, in addition, extensive advice to the Crusaders, but their fortunes were too closely linked with those of the heretical Venetians to attach much importance to either his threats or counsels. Destiny held among her secrets a series of events which neither Crusaders nor Pope could foresee or control. When they were revealed, the aims and objects of the holy war would change to suit them, as planets yield direction to the mightiest forces.

ARTICLE II.
SACK OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

A. D. 1204.



THE reason for the existence of a Crusade had never controlled it throughout. Fanatical zeal, religious enthusiasm, desire to redeem holy places, the sentiment of honest devotion, proved to be exciting causes, but they faded in the presence of mundane ambitions and the opportunities for aggrandisement opened by invading armies. The East was a revelation to Europe. We have seen how this Fifth Crusade was completely swerved from its original purpose by a singular conjunction of events. There was no thought on the part of the Crusaders of using Venice other than as a convenience, in the way of transport to the Holy Land. Poverty and disappointment gave rise to other considerations and contracts. Helpless, haughty, ambitious, careless as to vows, these doughty barons from the interior soon saw in the Venetian fleets, the Republic of the sea, and in the wise and freedom loving old Dandolo, an adjunct to their arms which they could not despise. So Dandolo saw in the bravery and pertinacity of the Knights a power which might well

supplement his own. He worked to place this power entirely within his grasp or, at least, to make it securely co-operative, and in this he succeeded in all respects, save in so far as it might be effected by the Pope's interference. As to himself, he defied the Pope. As to the rest, he trusted to victory to mollify papal resentment, and rightly, as the sequel proved.

The diversion of the Crusade to Constantinople, the siege of the city, the restoration of Isaac and Alexius, the virtual protectorate which the Crusaders exercised within and over the restored Empire, a protectorate doubly strong in that it embraced land and sea, might well have caused them to pause and consider whether any field beyond offered more seductive prizes. Their well known cupidity might here be gratified to the utmost. Their ambitions might be satisfied here with a glory and comfort which the far East forbade. The extermination of the Infidel could not be a more crowning achievement than the swallowing up of the Greek in the Latin church. All the holy places of Jerusalem and Palestine, golden at a distance but leaden when possessed, could not weigh in grandeur and importance with the magnificent trophies which Constantinople afforded. From the well-known character of the Cru-

saders and, after having once feasted their eyes on the splendors of the Byzantine capital, one might expect them to linger about it fondly, and dwell pleasingly on the contemplation of its full ownership. They would here have their feet on two continents. Here they could control the seas. They had an army and navy—the most brilliant Knights and daring sailors of the world. For what they had done, they claimed to have had a humanitarian cause. For what they might do, excuses were not far to seek.

The young Alexius was highly gratified by the good will of Greeks and Latins. But when the time came for him to fulfill his many extravagant and foolish promises, he was plunged into a sea of troubles. He could not expect to maintain the regard of the now imperious Crusaders without living up to his treaties. He could not live up to his treaties without such exactions as must mortally offend his Greek subjects, and this was especially true of that preposterous agreement to turn the Greek church bodily over to Rome. Being practically without a Greek army, and fearing to trust his cause to the mob, he was forced to choose between the two perils which menaced him, and appealed a second time to his liberators, as the most hopeful avenue of escape. With no confidence in his subjects, he plead his inability to perform his pledges unless the Crusaders stood by him. Though the people had received him kindly, they had, through frequent revolutions, lost the habit of obedience, and their respect for law and sovereignty. Factions reigned throughout the long neglected provinces. If the Crusaders

would but remain till spring, and confirm the power they had helped to establish, he would provision them and redeem his pledges as far as he could.

His propositions opened the old controversies in the army of the Crusaders. Those who favored an immediate departure for Syria, protested that the army had demeaned itself sufficiently by fighting for earthly princes, and that the time had come when it should fight for the religion of Christ. But Dandolo and a majority of the barons held to the view that it would never do to abandon Alexius to his enemies, who were equally the enemies of the Crusaders, and that it would only bring scandal on the Church to permit the Greeks to revive their heresies and indulge their propensity for making alliances with Saracens and opposing the soldiers of the cross. The departure of the Crusaders was, therefore, postponed till Easter of the following year. Isaac and Alexius thanked them for their determination. In order to execute their promises they exhausted the treasury, laid double taxes, and stripped the churches of their ornaments. This sacrilege greatly incensed the people, but they lacked the courage to rise in rebellion.

They were, however, to witness scenes more grievous. Influenced by the Latin clergy and fear of the Pope, the leaders of the Crusaders required the Greek clergy, including the Patriarch, to abjure the errors which separated them from the church of Rome. While this alarmed the religious conscience and alienated all pious affection, the Emperor, clergy and people raised no voice of protest. It was only when they

heard their Patriarch make base surrender to Rome, from the pulpit of St. Sophia, that they expressed indignation, and even then they condoned his crime of blasphemy and perjury by the belief that he was deceiving the Latins for policy sake. The difference between the Greek and Roman churches, as to discipline, was not very material; but the schism was broad as to three cardinal doctrines—1st. The procession of the Holy Ghost. 2nd. Refusal of the Greeks to acknowledge the primacy of the Pope. 3rd. The use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, the Greeks believing it could not be consecrated. Through endless theological disputations, the schism had widened till the two Christian sects were as fanatical in their hatreds as Sultan or Caliph could desire. The new requirement that they should acknowledge Pope Innocent III as the successor of St. Peter, and as the Vicar of Christ excited their invincible resentment. Even the irreligious took interest in a matter of previous indifference, and professed themselves ready to die for a cause which they understood no better than the theologians. In truth the grave religious questions involved no religion at all, but merely the contempt of the Greeks for Western assumptions, both as to ecclesiastical knowledge and warlike force. The half civilized Crusaders stood aghast at the thought that they, who had made an Emperor and changed an Empire in the twinkling of an eye, could not by simple word of command change the religious convictions of a people who had written, read and thought long before Europe emerged from the fog of barbarism. But they felt the magnetism of

Byzantine wealth and splendor and knew the potency of their arms, where all else was weakness. Trusting to the latter to achieve what they could not accomplish by other means, they rigorously exacted the subjugation of minds and souls, drove the subjugated into hostile hatred, and so prepared the way for the fall of the Emperor and Empire which a cruel destiny had placed at their mercy.

The old Emperor Alexius had fled to Thrace, where he had gathered a little army. The young Emperor Alexius resolved to give him battle. Many Knights volunteered to accompany him. They found the enemy in Adrianople. On their approach, the former Emperor, Alexius, fled to Mt. Hemus, and his forces were quickly dispersed. In this expedition young Alexius met the wild and ferocious forces of Joannices, prince of Bulgaria, a former state of the Byzantine Empire. He had taken advantage of intestine troubles to desert the Empire, and had embraced the Roman faith and declared himself a vassal of the Pope in order to win the title of King. Thrace had been made to feel the power of his arms. Alexius did not risk war with him, owing to the indifference of the Knights, but returned to Constantinople, after having secured the allegiance of the Thracian cities.

On his return, he found Constantinople in a ferment. The Flemish Crusaders, incited by the Latin residents, had attacked the Jews in their synagogue. The inhabitants of the city, less bigoted than the disciples of Rome, came to the defence of the Jews. A battle ensued, and in its wake followed a fire, which raged for eight days, destroying homes, palaces, temples, galleries, wharves

and shipping, adding great loss of life to incomputable value of property, and impoverishing a quarter of the population of the city. The better hearted knights lent their aid to the subjugation of the flames and promised to punish the authors of the conflagration, if the guilty ones were found among their soldiers. But their efforts and protestations could neither restore the loss nor appease the ire of the distressed Greeks, who did not hesitate to attribute their calamities to their two Emperors and their unnatural coalition with the Latins. Many of the French Crusaders had established their families within the city. These became the victims of insult and persecution. They sought refuge in the camps without the walls, and their harrowing tales revived all the old animosity of the Crusaders against the Greeks. Thus every event seemed to widen the breach between the two nations and point to further calamities.

Young Alexius fell into disrepute, and was obliged to lean more and more on the arms of the Latins. He became an habitue of their camps, a participant in their games and a companion in their gross orgies. When all were drunk, the French warriors treated him with insolent familiarity, even pulling off his jeweled diadem and placing on his head the cap of a Venetian sailor. As nothing could exceed the pride of the Greeks in the magnificence of their sovereign, his submission to these insults deepened that contempt already inspired by his abjuration of the national religion. Even his father Isaac loaded Alexius with imprecations. The people, in their superstitious excesses, tore

down and destroyed the statue of Minerva, which decorated a public square, because, having its face and arms toward the West, it was believed to have been instrumental in calling in the barbarians.

While these commotions reigned, the Emperors were busy levying taxes in order to pay the sums promised the Crusaders. The people protested. Recourse was had to the richer citizens. Churches were plundered and their treasures melted. Not half enough could be raised to satisfy the Latins, and they began to ravage the Propontis and pillage the houses and monasteries. This barbarism further incensed the people. They gathered in crowds about the palace of the Emperors, reproached them with having abandoned both God and country and cried aloud for avengers and arms. Among them was a member of the family of Ducas, who bore the princely name of Alexius and the surname of Mourzoufle. He was ambitious, subtle and full of words relating to glory, patriotism, liberty and religion, which were sure to catch the ear of the mob. He was brave, and amid the timid wealth and corrupt Court princes of Constantinople, terrorized by the presence of the Crusaders, his bravery assumed the form of rashness. His great voice, haughty look and imperious tone won for him the position of commander of the multitude, who looked to him as a liberator. He had rendered the deposed Alexius valuable service and had been charged with the imprisonment of Isaac; but he had managed to ingratiate himself with the younger Alexius without sacrificing any of his popularity with the citizens. He per-

suaded Alexius that if he would preserve the confidence of the Greeks he must break with the Crusaders. Then, turning to the people, he took up arms, and was soon at the head of a numerous troop, who rushed from the city in order to surprise the Latins. But their courage failed and Mourzoufle, left alone on the field, escaped capture with difficulty. Having dared to brave the warlike Crusaders, he was more a hero than ever, and even those who had deserted him re-pledged him their strength and valor. Cries of war were heard throughout the city. The Crusaders were alert in their camps.

At this juncture a deputation of Christians from the Holy Land came to the camps of the Crusaders to implore their assistance. They told the pitiful tale of those Crusaders who had embarked from other ports and gone to the rescue of Jerusalem; how they had come in detachments from the various countries of Europe; how they had left Palestine, because the King of Jerusalem was averse to breaking the truce with the Saracens, and had joined their forces with those of the prince of Antioch, to fight against the prince of Armenia; how they had been surprised and massacred by a Saracene army under the Sultan of Aleppo; how famine and disease had ravaged all Egypt and Syria, carrying off thousands of Christians. Their pleadings did not turn the Crusaders from their enterprise. They promised to go to their rescue in the spring, or as soon as they had subdued the Greeks. Pointing to Constantinople, they said, "This is the road to Salvation; this is the way to Jerusalem."

As their advantage increased, the Crusaders

grew more exacting in the demands on Alexius. To keep his word with them now meant, more than ever, a revolt of his subjects. The terrified Emperors shrank from the double ordeal, and secluded themselves in their palace. The Crusaders sent deputies to Alexius, to know whether he meant peace or war. These deputies were hooted and mocked in their passage through the streets. On their arrival at the palace they delivered an insolent and threatening speech, which incensed both Isaac and Alexius, and caused them to break forth in resentful challenge. As this was what the deputies had designed and desired, they returned to their camps to report. The Crusaders now found the opportunity they had so long courted. They declared war, and determined to attack Constantinople. The Greeks flew to arms, and what they lacked in valor they made up in fury and hatred. They attacked the Venetian fleet with their Greek fire, and would have destroyed it but for the skill of the sailors in deflecting the fire ships. This rash act but aggravated the situation. It was sure to draw the savage vengeance of the Crusaders. Alexius became terrified, and began to implore the Crusaders for clemency. He blamed everything on the fury of the people, which he could not restrain, and offered the Crusaders fresh oaths and promises. He even conjured them to come and sustain his crumbling throne and take high seats in his palace.

These pleas and offers were conveyed to the Crusaders by Mourzoufle. As he passed through the streets he gave it out to the multitude that he was carrying the surrender

of Constantinople to the barbarians of the West. The people swarmed into the streets and public places. They joined in the cry that the Empire required a new master—one who could defend and protect it. Alexius shut himself up in his palace. The mob surged into the church of St. Sophia to choose a new Emperor. In vain did the more prudent clergy and patricians protest against these hasty proceedings. In vain they sounded the dangers of revolution. Passion was uppermost, and the air was filled with reproaches of the two sovereigns to whom every ill was ascribed. The incensed crowd saw no remedy except in revolution. They knew not whom they would have, but importuned many to accept the throne. For three days the riot of revolution raged, and at times swords were drawn to compel those who had been selected to rule, but had declined to accept. At length an obscure and imprudent young man by the name of Canabus was induced to accept the honor, and was duly crowned.

Alexius now trembled in his palace. He had no hope but in the Latins, and he implored them to come to his rescue. The Marquis of Montferrat headed a chosen troop, and entered the city by night in order to protect the throne and its two Emperors. Mourzoufle persuaded Alexius that the Latins were the worst enemies he had, and that if they entered the palace all would be lost. When the Marquis of Montferrat presented himself before the palace, he found it closed. Alexius sent him word that he was not at liberty to receive him and begged him to leave the city. The retreat of the soldiers of the

West stimulated the courage and fury of the people. They flocked to the palace, uttering seditious cries, and quite surrounded it. Mourzoufle, who was no stranger to the revolution which resulted in the choice of Canabus, had his friends in the mob and in the imperial guard. He presented himself to Alexius and employed every means to aggravate his fears. Under pretext of providing for his safety, he drew him into a secluded apartment filled with his accomplices. In a moment they loaded the young Emperor with chains and cast him into a dungeon. Mourzoufle then appeared before the excited multitude and told them what he had done for the Empire. He boldly demanded the throne as a recompense for his patriotic services. The demented mob carried him in triumph to the church of St. Sophia, and undid their mad work of a few days before, by crowning him Emperor. No sooner was Mourzoufle clad in the imperial purple than he repaired to the cell of Alexius and forced him to swallow a poisoned draught. Death seeming tardy, he facilitated it by strangling him with his own hand. (*See Plate No. LIII.*)

Thus perished Alexius, whom one revolution placed on a throne and another, in a little over six months, swept away. Weak and irresolute, he could neither pay nor oppose the Crusaders, much less gain the good will or stir the patriotism of his subjects. His father, Isaac, on learning of his son's fate, perished of terror and despair. History does not record the fate of the foolish Canabus. Four Emperors had been dragged from the throne since the arrival of the



PLATE NO. LIII.—EMPEROR ALEXIUS POISONED AND STRANGLLED BY MOURZOUFLE.

Western barbarians. What of the fifth, Mourzoufle? That worthy sought by treachery the death of the leaders of the Crusaders. He invited them to the royal palace to receive the sums promised by Alexius, of whose death they had not yet heard. They prepared to go, but Dandolo, prudent of the prudent, suspected something wrong, and dissuaded them. Shortly word came of the deaths of Alexius and Isaac and the crimes of Mourzoufle. The Crusaders burst into indignation and swore to avenge the wrongs toward the Emperors. The leaders proclaimed war. The clergy invoked the thunders of religion and war against the impious Greeks, holding their highest crime to be their heresy and failure to acknowledge the supremacy of the Holy See. They promised the unstinted indulgence of the Pope and all the riches of Greece to the warriors who would avenge the cause of God and men.

Mourzoufle was on the alert. He strove to attach the multitude to his cause, reproached the rich and great for their indifference, and filled his treasury by confiscating the property of all the courtiers who had enriched themselves at the expense of Isaac and Alexius. He organized an army and strengthened the fortifications. His was a battle for life, and he remitted no activity in preparing for victory. But it was hard to excite the Greeks to war. They made another ineffectual attempt to burn the Venetian fleet, and then retired within the walls, to declaim against the Crusaders. The latter had nothing to fear but famine. Pinched for food, they sent an expedition to the

shores of the Black Sea, besieged and captured Philea, or Philopolis, celebrated as the city which received Jason and his Argonauts, and obtained both booty and food. On their return they were ambushed by the troops of Mourzoufle, but gained an easy victory over them, capturing the standard of the Virgin, which the Greek Emperors were accustomed to bear in their battles. When the victorious Latins saw this precious standard floating in their midst, they were persuaded that God had abandoned the Greeks and declared himself in favor of their cause. The Greeks, lamenting the loss of their revered banner, felt satisfied that their safety lay within their walls. They were workmen rather than soldiers. A hundred thousand of them labored night and day on the fortifications, satisfied that their ramparts would defend them.

Mourzoufle dreaded the courage of the Latins and doubted the valor and loyalty of his subjects. Before risking further battle, he determined to try what terms he could make in peace. He demanded an interview with the Crusaders, but the Latin leaders spurned his overtures as those of an usurper, murderer and executioner. Old Dandolo, however, with a better regard for peace and humanity, and with a keener business eye, thought it wise to hear his proposals. Dandolo ran his galley close to shore and Mourzoufle approached it, as near as he could on horseback. They held a protracted conference, the result of which was a proposition by Dandolo to Mourzoufle to pay at once the enormous sum of fifty centenaries of gold (\$10,000,000) to aid the Crusaders in their



PLATE NO. LIV.—PARLEY BETWEEN MOURZOUFLE AND DANDOLO.

expedition to Syria, and to again swear allegiance to the Roman Church. Mourzoufle promised the gold but refused to submit to the yoke of Rome. (*See* Plate No. LIV.) Dandolo, astonished that a usurper who had outraged all the laws of Heaven should attach so much importance to his religion, asked if the Greek religion justified treachery and murder? Mourzoufle was about to return an angry reply, when a band of Latin horsemen appeared and put an end to the conference. The usurping Emperor now saw nothing ahead but war, and he resolved to die arms in hand. He placed all the fortifications in order, equipped the ramparts, and raised and fully manned all the towers. So formidable were his preparations that the Crusaders began to despair of ever taking the city, unless a miracle intervened. Yet they must take it, or perish themselves. Retreat would be ruinous, and booty was essential to their further projects. In Council assembled, they considered the best plan of attack, and divided the spoils of the capital and Empire in advance. A new Emperor was to be chosen from among the Latins, who should have a fourth of the conquests and the two imperial palaces. The cities, the lands, and all the booty of Constantinople, should be distributed equally among the French and Venetians, upon their rendering homage to the Emperor. The proportions of the clergy and barons were fixed for the Council of State. Thus a little band of Western barbarians, panoplied in arms and armor, squatted before the walls of the ancient, opulent, and populous Constantinople, coolly abolished the laws of the Greek

Empire and substituted in advance the cruder codes of Europe.

During the first siege of Constantinople the Knights and barons had learned the folly of a land attack, and had seen the wisdom of the Venetians in choosing to attack by sea. They now resolved to join their forces with the Venetians and attack mainly from the sea. On Thursday, April 8, 1204, they embarked, with their horses, provisions and appointments of war. On the next day the fleet formed a line and sailed toward the water front of the city, whose ramparts and towers bristled with arms and men and machines of war. Mourzoufle had his head-quarters on one of the seven hills, whence he could view the scene and issue his commands. As the fleet drew near, the Greeks put all their machines of war into motion, but in spite of all their efforts several ships gained the shore. Out of them poured strong bands of Crusaders, who planted their ladders and battered the walls with their rams. Attack and defence now proceeded with fury. The Greeks, who fought at an advantage, hurled their weapons on the heads of the Crusaders, and piled up their slain at the foot of the walls. As the ardor of battle increased, confusion set in among the Knights and the vessels of the fleet. Toward evening, the fortune of war turned completely against the Crusaders, and they confessed to repulse by sounding a retreat, in order to save both fleet and army. The Greeks, thinking their city saved, flocked to the churches to thank Heaven for victory, and their transports were as excessive as their fears had been.

The Doge and barons held a council of war, on the same evening, to discuss their defeat. They could not understand why, with the same Knights who had once mounted the ramparts, the same invincible fleet and same pusillanimous enemy, they had failed. The Greeks fought for usurpation and murder, the Latins, in their imagination, for humanity and justice. It could not be that God would fail to recognize his true servants and protect his cause. The defeat must be retrieved. The leading Knights and barons, favored changing the point of attack to the side of the Propontis. But the Venetian sailors feared that the currents there would carry their vessels to sea. So it was decided to renew the attack at the point of repulse. Two days were given to the repair of vessels and machines, and on April 12, 1204, the fleet was again in motion toward the city. The Greeks were surprised at this return, and suffered no little from terror. The Crusaders advanced cautiously yet resolutely, each soldier goaded to emulation by the offer of one hundred and fifty silver marks to him who should plant the first banner of the cross in a tower of the city. Soon battle was joined, and the air was filled with flying stones, beams and javelins. The ships, lashed in pairs, drew near to the walls. Drawbridge after drawbridge, loaded with warriors, was let down upon the ramparts, and the soldiers rushed into hand to hand encounter with their enemies. Ladders were landed from below, up which clambered others to join in the struggle. Attack and repulse followed each other in quick succession and in a hundred places.

Masses of stone carried death to those beneath. The deadly Greek fire consumed those on whom it fell. It was past noon, and the valor of the Crusaders had accomplished nothing. A strong breeze sprang up from the north which brought a pair of powerful ships into action. They swung full against the walls, and instantly their drawbridges were lowered. Over them swarmed a host of Knights and sailors, who drove the Greeks out of a tower and put them to flight. Sight of the banner of the Cross waving in triumph from a much coveted tower, inspired the whole army to renewed effort. Three other towers fell into the hands of the Crusaders. The Greeks fled terror stricken and were massacred in their flight. The rams, at work on the gates, crushed three of them in. The Knights were quick to disembark their horses, and rush to the entrances. Soon they pushed their way into the city (*See Plate No. LV.*) where sight of them stampeded the troops of Mourzoufle. All fled, leaving the imperial camp to the Crusaders. The confusion was now intense. The merciless victors struck down with the sword every Greek they met with. After getting full possession of one quarter of the city, they added fire to the terrorism of the sword. The wind carried the smoke and flames to other quarters, announcing to the inhabitants the terrible nature of their calamity and merciless character of the scourge which the victory of the Crusaders imposed. These valiant soldiers of the Cross, in the name of God and humanity, did not hesitate to employ, as a supplement to their arms, the most indiscriminate

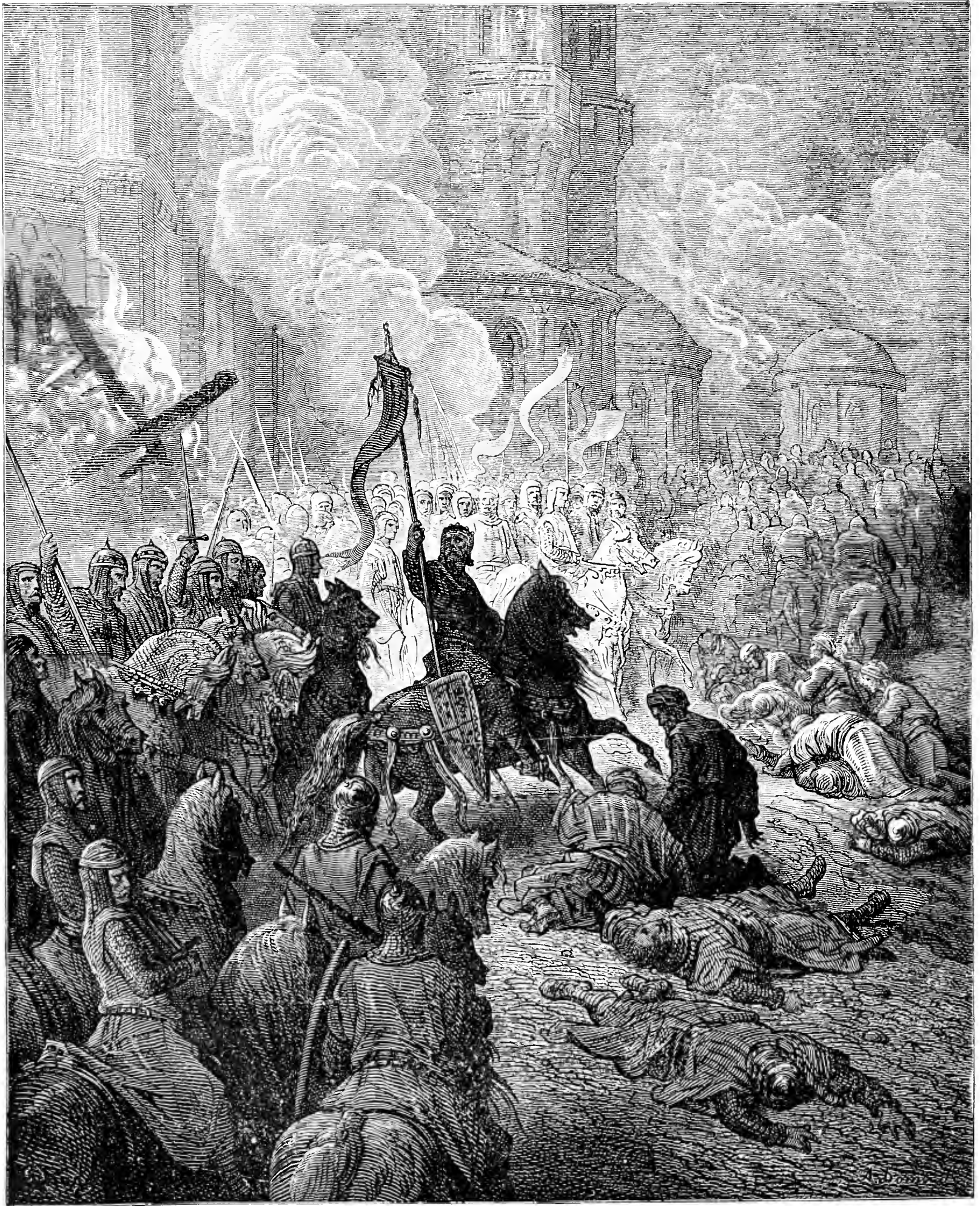


PLATE NO. LV.—THE CRUSADERS ENTER CONSTANTINOPLE.

and appalling of all weapons, the torch— weapon of savagery, as deadly to innocence as guilt, female as male, childhood as age, weakness as strength. The Greek soldiers crowded the palaces, while many threw away their arms and clothing to escape recognition. The clergy and citizens took sanctuary in the Churches. The wealthy concealed their treasures by burying them. Swarms fled from the city entirely, not knowing whither to direct their steps.

At night, the Crusaders were astonished at the magnitude of their success. They could not believe that the conflict was yet ended, and so kept eager watch. Mourzoufle endeavored to rally his soldiers. But his appeals fell on deaf ears. He had not only lost the respect of citizens and soldiers, but in their despair they charged him with the crime of usurpation and murder. The resentment of the conquered became to him as much of a menace as the vengeance of the conquerors. He fled secretly to Thrace. When his flight became known, the excited citizens loaded him with imprecations, and gathered in the Church of St. Sophia to choose a new master. Several solicited the suffrage of the assembly. One Lascaris was chosen, but he did not dare to assume the crown. He however delivered an animated harangue, in which he pictured the Crusaders as fighting for neither religion, country, property nor the honor of their families; as having called in fire as their auxiliary, and as concealing their fears behind flame and ruins; as trembling now to advance further into a city with numberless defenders. And then turning his theme, he

pictured the Greeks as having religion, country, property and home to defend. He exhorted the soldiers and guards to heroism, and the patricians to a sense of patriotism. In response, the soldiers clamored for pay, and the citizens stood in despairing silence. The trumpets of the approaching Crusaders were heard. Terror prevailed the Assembly and silenced all further deliberation. The dispirited mass silently melted away, each bosom pierced with the agonizing conviction that further opposition to the Crusaders would be futile. Lascaris was left alone, and had to seek in flight that safety which his newly found subjects could not afford him. Constantinople was again without a master.

The fires kindled by the Crusaders spread to several parts of the city, serving the double purpose of terrorizing the inhabitants and lighting the way of the victors. More houses were destroyed, say the barons themselves, than three of the largest cities of France or Germany contained. As the Crusaders pursued their carnage in the illuminated streets, they were met by gradually increasing throngs of men, women and children, filling the air with groans, lamentations and piteous appeals for mercy. The hearts of some of the leaders were touched, and an order was issued to spare life and protect the honor of women. Amid blazing streets, the blare of trumpets and huzzas of victory, the Crusaders pressed on to occupy the principal parts of the city. Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, entered the palace of Bucoleon, to find it filled with weeping women of the first families, among them Marguerite, daughter of the King of Hungary, and wife

of Isaac, and Agnes, daughter of a King of France. They implored mercy for themselves and companions, and Boniface placed them under the protection of a guard. Henry of Hainault took possession of the palace of Blachernæ. These two imperial palaces were reserved from pillage, and escaped the vandalism which reigned in the city till the cupidity of every Crusader was satisfied.

After getting the strategic points in their possession, free rein was given to the spirit of pillage. The Crusaders stole whatever excited their impious greed. They looted the houses of the poor and the mansions of the rich. Boniface, moved by the prayers of the outraged and plundered citizens, issued orders intended to restrain his vandalic followers, but sight of booty only stimulated their thirst for robbery, and they paraded the city in bands bent on seizing and appropriating whatever they could find. "Nothing," says Nicetas, "could soften the fierce temper, appease the anger or gain the affections of these barbarians. It was a ridiculous undertaking to attempt to render them tractable, a folly to speak reason to them." They murdered indiscriminately as they plundered. No spot in Constantinople was free from their brutal search. In spite of the protests of leaders and priests, they outraged the modesty of women and the sanctity of churches. Victory was for them a delirium; their opportunity a carnival of brutality. They plundered the tombs and coffins of the emperors, tore the body of Justinian from its sepulchre, laid sacrilegious hands on the relics of the grave. Their unhallowed fingers greedily clutched the silken

robes of the dead, and tore from the ears, hands, wrists and necks of the corpses the golden ornaments which affection had permitted them to wear in their last, long sleep. With a spirit of devilish profanation and heathenish desecration, they battered to pieces the altar of the Virgin, a master piece of art which decorated the Church of St. Sophia, tore the veil of the Sanctuary to tatters, played dice on the tables of the Twelve Apostles, drank themselves drunk on sacramental wine from Eucharistic cups, loaded their horses and mules in the sanctuary till they bent beneath their load of spoils, and prodded them into action with their lances, till the sacred aisles and vestibules were stained with their blood and ordure. To complete their insult to a Christian religion and prove their devotion to the cross they wore, they mounted a prostitute in the patriarchal pulpit and danced in the sanctuary to her bacchanalian songs.

The trembling Greeks looked with horror on these impious scenes; scenes which far surpassed the barbarities of the Saracens, and which, in their minds, contrasted most unfavorably with those which followed the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin and his warriors, when the modesty of wives and virgins was respected, when sepulchres and churches were not violated nor filled with massacred remains, and when no Christian was subjected to fire, sword, hunger nor nakedness. Outside of the city and along the shores of the Bosphorus, the same vandalism prevailed. Houses, churches, villages, were devastated and pillaged. Crowds filled the highway, doubtful which way to

flee from the devouring monsters of the West, rending the air with groans and prayers, bending and perishing under fatigue and exposure. Senators and the nobility strayed about in rags looking for an asylum. The Patriarch fled, begging charity in his flight. The rich were reduced to want. Virtue and talent found no respect amid the pervading misery. Misfortune so effaced all distinctions, and so demonized the dregs of the population, that the latter applauded calamity as a leveling event and made prey of the fugitives who were now no better off than themselves.

After the Crusaders had ceased their massacre and pillage, they turned the sports of victory into taunts and insults. They paraded the streets in the long, painted robes, which were part of the Grecian costume, tied linen hoods with silken cords on the heads of their horses, and bore paper and ink-horns in their hands instead of swords, to signify that the Greeks were nothing but scribes and copyers. These were their answers to the standing charges of the Greeks that the Latins were ignorant and a race of barbarians. While the conquerors were in vengeful mood, it was not likely they would spare the evidences of art and science which established the renown of Constantinople among all the cities of the world. This grand capital stood almost alone amid the ruins of several Empires, and especially that of Rome, whence her assailants now emerged. She had gathered and preserved the masterpieces of art and the sacred relics which had survived the destruction of barbarous ages. In her edi-

fices and palaces shone the genius of ancient, cultured and affluent Greece. In her statuary, marble and bronze, in her parchments and books, in her historic treasures and ornaments, were more than a thousand years of brilliant history, sacred to scholars and to civilization, worthless only to the free-booter and the savage. These palaces and edifices were defiled and defaced by the Christian Crusaders. Books and parchments were destroyed. Bronze statues were melted and coined into money for covetous soldiers of the cross. The masterpieces of Praxiteles and Phidias, the heroes of Greece, Rome and Egypt, the gods which told in marble the story of ancient religions and arts, were hewn to pieces by the ruthless conquerors, to whom art, science and history were as alphabets to brutes.

While the Greeks of the time of this Crusade were neglectful of the fine arts, and had permitted the philosophy of the Academy and Lyceum to run into theological discussions, they crowded their churches and palaces with saintly images and sacred relics, which they regarded with great reverence. As these were costly, they appealed strongly to the pious cupidity of the Crusaders. In the general pillage, gold, jewels, carpets and rich oriental hangings were borne indiscriminately away, but now came the devout pilgrims and the clergy who, in the guise of relic hunters, saw in what remained a booty appropriate to the soldiers of Christ. Martin Litz, abbot of Paris, entered a church whose relics were in charge of a Greek monk. Finding the monk on his knees at prayers, the abbot rushed upon him exclaiming,

“Miserable old man! If thou dost not instantly conduct me to the place where thy relics are hidden, prepare to die on the spot!” The terrified monk pointed to an iron coffer, into which the pious abbot thrust his hands and seized all they could grasp. By one means and another, Abbot Litz contrived to gather from the clergy of Byzantium a great quantity of these sacred spoils, which he carried to Europe. Among them was a piece of the true cross, an arm of St. James and the bones of St. John. The safe arrival of these stolen articles in Europe was celebrated with pomp, and the journey of the abbot was regarded as a miracle, in that the articles themselves served as talismans to ward off robbers and quell the tempests of the sea. Others of the clergy carried away equally important relics. Galon, a priest of Langres, bore away the head of St. Mames, and a priest of Picardy carried off and deposited in the Cathedral of Amiens, the heads of St. George and St. John the Baptist. It is remarkable what an opportunity for invention the capture of Constantinople furnished to the Roman clergy, or rather, the coincidence is striking between the superstitions which exalted these deceits to equal importance in the two Christian Churches of the time.

While the clergy were thus appropriating sacred treasures and inestimable relics, and carrying them away to Europe, the princes and barons came in for their share. Old Dandolo, too, got a piece of the wood of the true cross, which he presented to the Republic of Venice. History does not record by what miracle these pieces of the true cross

could be so generously supplied, nor even how they could be supplied from Constantinople at all, since Saladin had captured the true cross at Tiberias and had refused to surrender it to Richard Cœur de Leon. Baldwin kept for himself the crown of thorns of Christ, and sent to the King of France a piece of the true cross, some of the hair of Jesus Christ, when an infant, and the linen in which the man-God was swathed when a babe in the manger at Bethlehem. While these thefts were justified by piety and executed with complacency, they threw the Greek monks and priests into profound grief. It was not only a source of sorrow, but would prove a loss of prestige to part with saintly remains and holy trifles which had been instrumental in healing the sick, curing the halt, restoring the blind, and lifting the paralytic. They had been gathered with religious care from all countries of the East, and had been most sacredly preserved, and nothing could be more poignant than to witness their theft and departure for the enrichment and glory of the Roman Church. They were received by the Western Christians as the most glorious trophies the victories of God had enabled the Crusaders to obtain, and their presence gave distinction to all the churches in which they were deposited.

The Crusaders captured Constantinople on April 10, and their rejoicings lent eclat to the Easter festivities, toward the close of which some generous sentiments began to crop out of hearts hardened by victory. The clergy made general calls to confession and penitence, (*See* Plate No. LVI.) and the cruel soldiers flocked to the altars they had

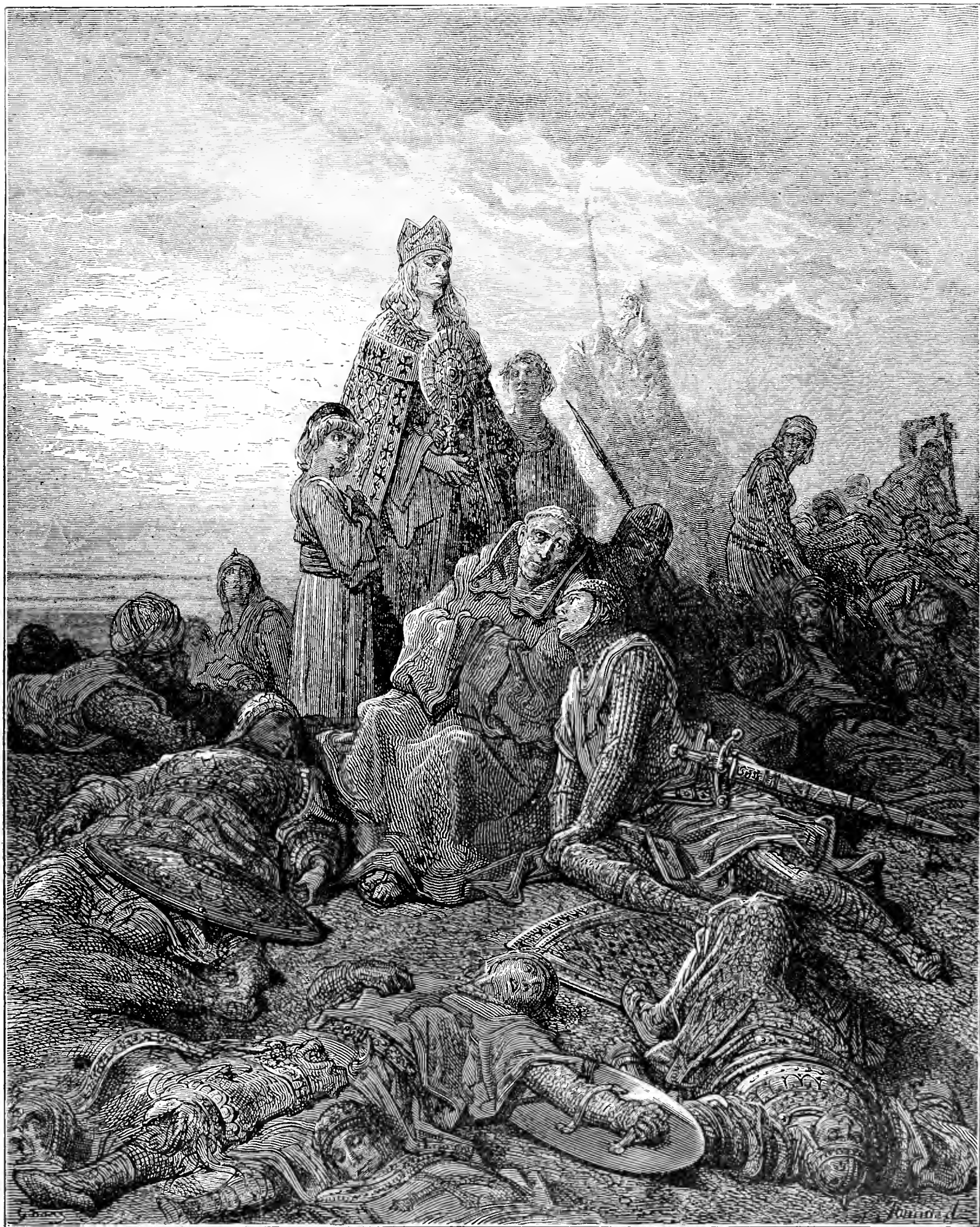


PLATE NO. LVI.—CONFESSION.

wrecked to celebrate the resurrection of Him whose name they had outraged. Not all had been overcome by thirst for booty, and yet all claimed the right to plunder according to the laws of victory. By strict orders, all booty was to be deposited in three churches for distribution. Yet many soldiers and knights appropriated valuables, in spite of the penalties against it. After Easter the Crusaders divided their plunder. A fourth part was set aside for him who might be chosen Emperor. The rest was divided between the French and Venetians, the latter taking care to secure the fifty thousand marks the French owed their Republic. The plunder divided among the conquerors was estimated at from four to five hundred thousand silver marks, say, \$25,000,000, and probably as much more was secretly appropriated. The fires which consumed more than half the city destroyed also more than half its riches. The plunder alone exceeded the revenues of all the kingdoms of the West. History asserts that the Venetians advised the French knights and barons to levy a tribute rather than resort to booty, as a more humanitarian plan and one promising larger results, but the cruel princes and warriors were not sufficiently enlightened to indulge in civilized methods of dealing with an enemy. They counted victory as a justification for all inhuman excesses, and were not disposed to weigh it in commercial scales. Pillage and massacre, were, with them, the natural fruits of conquest and noblest rewards of valor.

After sharing their plunder, joy ran into extravagance, and the blind conquerors little

recked that they were exhausting wealth they might soon need, and without which they would be worse off than the impoverished Greeks. The glitter of the imperial purple dazzled their eyes, and without regrets for their past savagery, or thought of the future except as their swords revealed it, they chose six Venetian nobles and six French ecclesiastics to select an Emperor. The prominent candidates were old Dandolo, Boniface Marquis of Montferrat, and Baldwin duke of Flanders. Though Dandolo was best entitled by experience, ability in council and rendered services, his own people could not agree to place a republican official on an Emperor's throne. Besides, he had earned the repose which only a Republic could afford him for the short time he had to live. The election was then open to Boniface and Baldwin. But in order to prevent troubles such as followed when Godfrey was chosen King of Jerusalem over Raymond, it was exacted of the defeated candidate that he should be contented with the ownership of the island of Candia, and the possession, by fealty and homage, of that part of the Byzantine empire which lay east of the Bosphorus. The Venetians threw their suffrage to Baldwin and secured his election. The result was hailed with joy by Latins and Greeks, for Baldwin had shown himself one of the gentlest and most considerate of the conquerors. The coronation was postponed till the fourth Sunday after Easter. Meanwhile Boniface married Margaret of Hungary, widow of Isaac, and for the first time the Greeks heard in their Churches the wedding hymns and ceremonies of the Latins. In due

time the coronation services took place, amid the acclamations of the Latins and melancholy participation of the Greeks. Before his coronation, Baldwin distributed his offices and favors among the chiefs of the Crusade, giving to old Dandolo a dignity above all his nobles by making him prince of Romania, representative of the Venetian Republic at Constantinople, and ruler of half the city. After the coronation came the distribution of the cities and provinces to the barons. This was effected with difficulty and the partition was the subject of speedy changes, but in general the provinces of Europe belonging to the Empire went to the French barons, the coasts and islands to the Venetians, while the Asiatic provinces were erected into a new empire and given to Boniface. Thus these crude warriors entered into possessions, of whose name, extent and value they had no conception, and in their ignorant astonishment they thought the entire world had been opened to the West. They claimed not only all that then constituted the Empire of Byzantium but all that ever owed allegiance to Constantine, and in their exuberance they cast lots for Media, Parthia and all the countries conquered by the Turks and Saracens. Some set up imaginary empires to be ruled from Iconium and Alexandria, some traded their possessions for those larger or more advantageously situated, some used their plunder to buy provinces outright, or gambled with dice for whole cities and their inhabitants. For weeks Constantinople was a real-estate market and gambling den, in which seas, islands, cities, provinces and nations were the subject

of traffic or stake, and during which the world of Rome in her palmiest days was bought or won by a few wild adventurers from the West, panoplied as Crusaders.

And while the barons were thus busy distributing the fragments of an Empire they had ruined, the clergy were invading and apportioning the property of the Church. All the churches were divided between the French and Venetians, priests were set apart for them, and no services were allowed except those of Rome. A Venetian Patriarch was elevated to the chair of St. Sophia. Bishops and priests of Rome were sent to all the churches of the Empire, outside of Constantinople, to take possession of the privileges and wealth of the Greek clergy. Thus papal supremacy and the religion of Rome went hand in hand with the brutal carnage, fiendish ambitions and cruel victories of the Crusaders, and sanctified barbaric conquest by fire and sword. The fame of these exploits rang throughout the world. All the nations trembled before the arms of the Crusaders. The glory of this victory over Christians far outshone that over Jerusalem and the Infidels. The Holy places, the entire object of the crusade, had been forgotten in the unholy lust for booty and power nearer home. The prize of a Christian capital overshadowed every consideration which originally prompted enlistment under the banner of the Cross.

The new Emperor and his barons now began to fear for the permanency of their possessions. Many warriors would naturally return home. A conquered, despised and scattered people could not be depended upon to

cultivate the soil. In the midst of all their strength there was inherent weakness. Danger, even, lurked under their triumphs. The Emperor, Boniface and even the Doge, sent letters to the Pope, submitting their conquests to his judgment, praying his acceptance, inviting his presence to the new Church of Byzantium, imploring his intercession, with the hope that he might induce soldiers from France, Germany and Italy to flock to their rescue. In order to flatter the sovereign pontiff, they boasted of the wealth of the countries they had brought under the influence of the Holy See, pointed out that they had prepared a path to the conquest of Jerusalem, asserted that the Christians of the East approved of their enterprise, and averred that in the Greek Empire a new land of promise awaited the soldiers of Christ. The reply of Innocent III, was characteristic. He reproached the soldiers of the Cross for having preferred the riches of earth to those of heaven, for having dishonored wives and virgins, for having ruined Constantinople and defiled its sanctuaries, for having laid impious hands on the treasures of the Church. "Yet," he continued, "he could not take on him to fathom the judgments of God. He was satisfied to believe that the Greeks had been justly punished for their faults and that the Crusaders were recompensed as the instruments of Providence and avengers of divine justice. Dread the anger of the Lord. Hope with fear that he will pardon the past, if you govern the nation with equity, if you are faithful to the Holy See, and, above everything, if you entertain a firm resolution to accomplish your vow for the deliverance

of the Holy Land." He was evidently gratified to the bottom of his heart for the conquest and submission of these haughty warriors, whose exploits were filling the nations with alarm. He absolved Dandolo, approved the selection of Baldwin as Emperor, who took the title of Knight of the Holy See, recognized the Empire to which he was to give law. Their submission made it quite plain to the Pope that their conquests, cruel and unjustified as they were, could only concern the glory of God and the vicar of Christ on Earth. He wrote his bishops that Providence had humbled the Greeks, an impious, proud and rebellious people, and had again placed the empire in the hands of the Latins, a pious, humble and submissive nation. Without apparent consciousness of either irony or falsehood, he went on to do just what the barons of Constantinople wished, by inviting, in the name of the Emperor Baldwin, the French of both sexes and all conditions to repair to Greece to receive lands, and by extending the indulgences of the Crusade and his special benediction to all the faithful who went to defend the new Empire of the East. (*See Plate No. LVII.*)

The Pope had not lost sight of the object of the Crusade, and felt that any succor sent to Constantinople must contribute to the deliverance of the holy places. Baldwin hoped ere long to send substantial aid to the Syrian colonies, and to encourage them he sent to Ptolemais the chain of the port and the gates of Constantinople. The Eastern Christians were greatly rejoiced, and the Sultan of Damascus, with whom they had just made a truce, feared they would break it by a declar-



PLATE NO. LVII.—BENEDICTION.

ation of war. But, instead, they sought to escape from the ills of existence in the East and to share the good fortunes of the conquerors of Constantinople. The Knights of St. John and the Temple, and the greater part of the defenders of Jerusalem, started for Greece where glory and rich domains might reward their valor. The clergy followed in great numbers to labor for the conversion of the Greeks. (*See Plate No. LVIII.*) The King of Jerusalem was left almost alone at Ptolemais. Baldwin welcomed these newcomers, but was prostrated with grief at the death of his wife, Marguerite, who had gone to Palestine to await his arrival. He sent a vessel to bring her to Constantinople to share the honors of the Empire, but it brought back her remains. The pomp of victory was quickly followed by the ceremonials of death, a fitting image of the glory of conquest and the destiny of his realm.

Even with these recruits from the East, Baldwin had scarcely twenty thousand men to distribute over his wide Empire for defence. The King of Bulgaria and Sultan of Iconium both looked to the early fall of the Latin power in Constantinople, and thought the time favorable to stir strife and gratify their ambitions. The Greeks were conquered but by no means subdued. As the Latins relied wholly on force and the sword, so the Greeks, who still bore arms, began to found states on the ruins of their Empire, each one of which was defiant of Latin authority. The grandson of Andronicus founded the principality of Trebizond in Asia Minor. Leo extended his authority at Napoli till it

embraced Argos and the isthmus of Corinth. Michael Angelus Comnenus conquered and held the Kingdom of Epirus. Lascaris, who had thrown down the title of Emperor of Constantinople and fled, made himself Emperor of Bithynia with his capital at Nice, whence his family were to be called at no distant day to Constantinople. The other two escaped Emperors did not profit by the wreck of their Empire. Mourzoufle was captured, led back to Constantinople and thrown from the top of a column in the presence of those who had proclaimed him Emperor. Alexius was captured and sent a prisoner to Italy. He escaped, joined the Turks in a war on his son-in-law Lascaris, whom he could not forgive for having established a Kingdom in Bithynia, was captured a second time and consigned to a monastery where he died forgotten by both Greeks and Latins.

The Latin Counts and barons found great difficulty in getting possession of the cities and provinces allotted to them. Many of them were obliged to conquer with the sword the lands assigned as their shares. Boniface started with a large following of Knights to visit his Kingdom of Thessalonica. The Emperor Baldwin started with a similar army through Thrace and Roumania. After being received with honor at Adrianople, he resolved to march into Thessalonica. Boniface resented this movement as an interference with him. Baldwin saw in the objections of Boniface a desire to interfere with his authority as Emperor. The two princes were about to solve their difficulty by war, when the old Doge and other counsellors interfered and brought about a reconciliation.

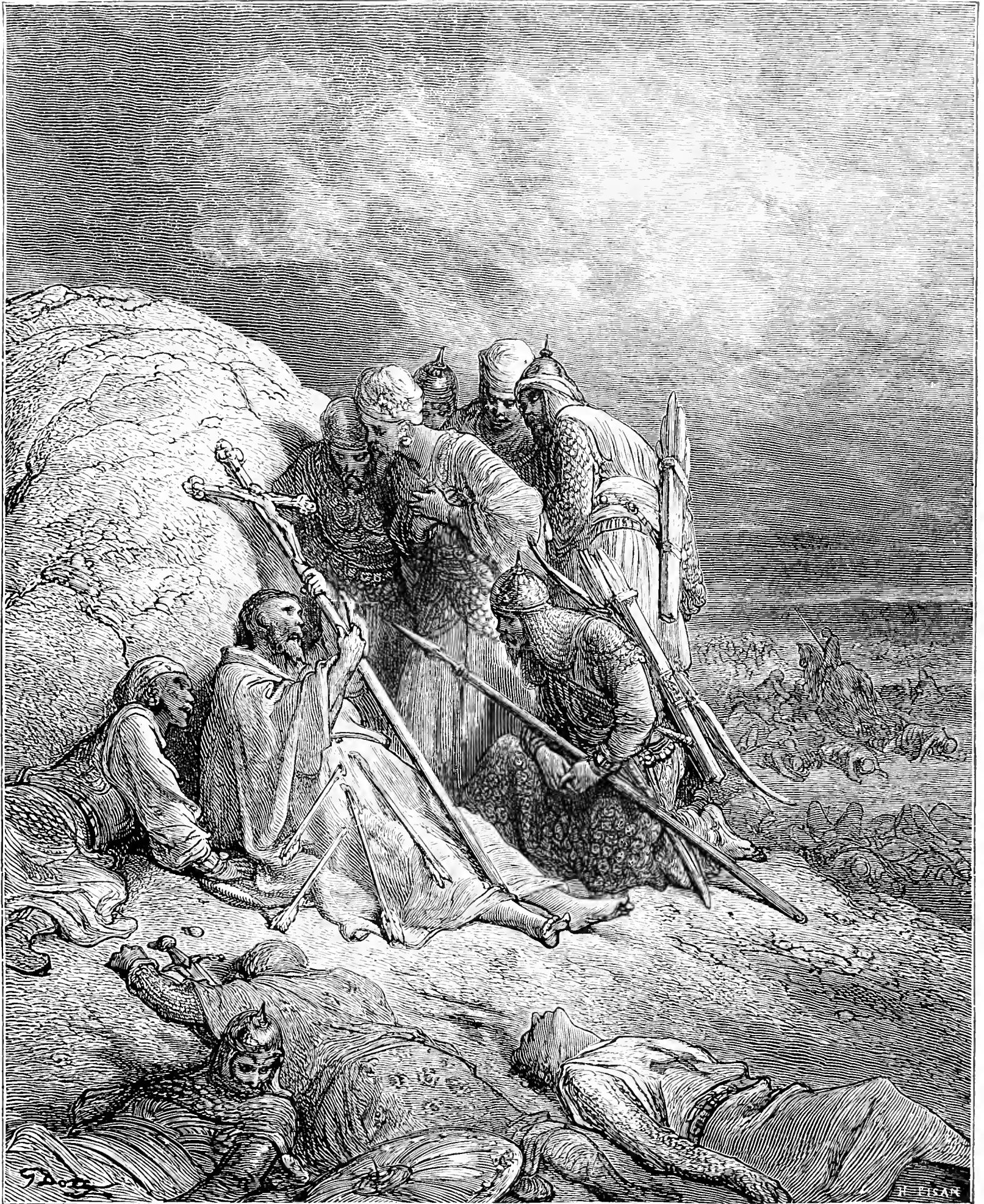


PLATE No. LVIII.—MAKING CONVERTS.

The Count of Blois, to whom Bythinia had fallen, was forced to assert his sovereignty by making war on Lascaris. Henry of Hainault was compelled to conquer Phrygia. Boniface extended his kingdom of Thessalonica over Greece only by hard fighting. Godfrey drove Michael Comnenus out of Epirus, and made it a part of Thessalonica. Thus these warriors of the cross gradually forced possession of the provinces assigned to them, and the barbaric West dictated laws in the lands whose glory had comprised the greatest lawyers, soldiers and philosophers of the world.

But while the Crusaders had the power to invade and conquer, they lacked the ability to maintain and govern. They knew nothing but brute force. Violence was then the idea of rule. They took no pains to conciliate subjects or neighbors. Joannice, King of Bulgaria, sent an Embassy to Baldwin with offers of friendship. Baldwin sent back an insulting reply and threatened to tear Joannice from his throne. So greedy had they been for spoils, that they cut off every source of prosperity and found only impoverished and despairing subjects. Even when the Greeks, through poverty, joined their armies, they loaded them with contempt. Citizens were everywhere subjected to persecution on account of religion, and the Greek priests were constantly forced to declaim against the tyranny which sought to subjugate the heart and will.

The feudal system was the only government known to the Crusaders. It was illy adapted for so large an Empire and such a people as they had conquered. One thou-

sand principalities or lordships were created, which were equivalent to as many states, remote, discordant, held only by the usual feudal oaths. The coast cities were governed by Venetian laws. The lords were in many instances, rivals and with hostile interests, legacies of their home training and codes. The Latin clergy helped to confound the situation by their anxiety to subordinate the power of the Emperor to that of Rome. They excited rather than healed dissensions, and many of them usurped the fiefs of the barons. As Ecclesiastical fiefs were exempt from military service, they thus robbed the Empire of its defenders.

The climate of Greece, the booty acquired by conquest, the long sojourn in and about a city whose comforts contrasted so strongly with the harder existence at home, bred corruption among the Crusaders and subtracted from their courage. The Greeks learned to despise their morals, as the Mussulmen had long since done, and they could not see how a people could be invincible whose daily life was so degraded. Then, since the departure of the barons for their fiefs had taken away a large part of the warriors from Constantinople, and as in several petty conflicts the Greeks had been able to hold their own, the thought gradually grew that there might come a time when it would be profitable to strive by arms to regain the lost Empire.

In looking around for help, they found a friend in the King of Bulgaria, whom Baldwin had so foolishly insulted. Secret plans for a revolt were laid. They were skilfully wrought out and embraced all to whom slavery was intolerable. Of a sudden, the war cry

was raised from Hemus to the Hellespont. The capital cities, as Adrianople and Didymatica, were surrounded by infuriate Bulgarian and Greek soldiers. Their garrisons were unable to resist, and were massacred in the street. Those who escaped fled in all directions, as much the victims of fear as those who had formerly crouched before their violence. The uprising and the fate of such cities as could be heard from spread consternation among all the Latin conquerers. They were unmanned, and gave entirely away to a sense of danger. At Philippolis, the old Knight in charge was deserted by his son-in-law, who fled and left him to perish.

When Baldwin heard of this revolt, he called in all the knights from the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. But after a wait of seven days, and feeling that his only hope was in prompt repressive measures, he set out for Adrianople with such an army as he could gather in Constantinople. In five days he appeared before the Thracian capital with eight thousand warriors. Within the walls were a hundred thousand Grecians. The Doge of Venice came up with eight thousand more warriors. Latin fugitives came in from all directions, augmenting Baldwin's forces to a respectable army. Siege was instantly laid to the city. Owing to lack of machines the operations went on slowly, and provisions began to fail. To further complicate the situation, word came that Joannice, King of Bulgaria, was coming with his army. This barbarous ruler of barbarous subjects, was moving under the inspiration of the same religion and same fanatical zeal as had caused the Crusaders to assume the cross.

He bore a standard of St. Peter which he had received from the Pope. He was a leader of a holy enterprise whose object was the extermination of those who had deceitfully assumed the Cross in order to ravage the provinces and pillage the cities of Christians. In his van marched Comans and Tartars, attracted from their mountain home by hope of pillage. They were fleet horsemen and were instructed by Joannice to attack the enemy and draw them back toward the main army. The barons were aware of their danger, but prudence bore no comparison to valor in their eyes.

When the audacious Tartars appeared before the camps of the Crusaders, the leaders flew to arms, put the enemy to flight, and followed in headlong pursuit, which they kept up for several miles. Suddenly, the Tartars wheeled and charged their pursuers. The realization that they had not gained a victory after all, and that they were suddenly on the defensive in a strange country, quite unnerved them. The Tartar tactics were an entire surprise, and they were the more complete because the army of Joannice now put in an appearance and surrounded the Crusaders. Pressed on all sides, they could neither resist nor fly. The bravest knights went down in the midst of the barbarians, all their prodigies of valor being of no avail. Baldwin, followed by a host of worthies, attempted to cut his way out, but they all perished except Baldwin himself, who was captured and borne away in chains. The Venetian forces, under Dandolo, being more wisely led, managed to effect a disorderly retreat. That night the remnant of

Crusaders raised the siege of Adrianople and hastened back to Constantinople. The Bulgarians followed in hot pursuit, cutting off stragglers and harassing the main body at every opportunity. At Rodosto, the crest-fallen and decimated army of Crusaders met Henry of Hainault with a detachment of knights from Asia Minor. They listened with awe to the recital of the defeated, and wept with them over the loss of half an army, and so many illustrious knights, including their captive Emperor.

At this meeting, many Knights professed a willingness to return and face the enemy, but many more had entirely lost their courage. These deserted the standards and rushed into Constantinople to inform their brethren of the fate of the army and its leaders. The loss of the Emperor carried grief and terror to all the Franks, while the Greeks secretly rejoiced at the retributive blow administered by the Bulgarians. Numbers of Knights saw no safety even in Constantinople. They hastened on board the Venetian vessels, despite the threats and jeers of their companions, and, having abandoned an Empire founded by their arms, went to announce to Europe the captivity of Baldwin.

Joannice followed up his advantages. Blending his forces with those of the Greeks, they drove the Latins out of all their provinces on both sides of the Bosphorus, except those which once constituted ancient Greece. The Crusaders appealed to Europe for aid, but it came slowly. Henry of Hainault made prodigious efforts to retake some of the cities of Thrace, but after fighting many battles and losing a great number of men, he

found himself unable to withstand the Bulgarian army, which advanced like a tempest on all sides, desolated the shores of the Hellespont, massacred twenty thousand Armenian immigrants who had come as farmers to the west of the Bosphorus, ravaged Thessalonica, and returned home with augmented forces. The defenders of the Latin Empire were driven within the cities and fortresses, and every day their numbers were diminished by war and desertions. Five hundred picked Knights were cut to pieces by the Bulgarians before the walls of Rusium. The name of Bulgarian, Coman and Tartar inspired as much dread among the doughty champions of the Cross, as ever their name had among Greek and Mussulman. Constantinople expected every day to see the Greek and Bulgarian standards floating before its walls, and only owed its safety to the easier conquests offered by other places.

In the King of Bulgaria, the Crusaders had met their match in war, and a nature as barbaric as their own. He moved like a scourge over the country, demolishing the cities that fell into his hands, leading away captives, treating his allies with the same severity as his enemies. The tyrannies he imposed and the calamities he inflicted forced the Greeks from their alliance, and drove them into league with the Latins. This resulted in the recovery, by the Latins, of most of the cities and provinces they had lost, and it might have resulted in such a coalition of Grecian and Latin influence as would have given to the Crusaders permanent control of the Byzantine Empire. But the cities and



PLATE NO. LIX.—THE VETERAN CRUSADER.

provinces were depopulated and strewn with ruins. The Bulgarians still continued their ruinous raids. The Crusaders were harassed continually, and their lot became every day more deplorable. At length Joannice formed an alliance with Lascaris, who was a bitter foe of the Latins. The Pope in vain besought Italy and France to go to the rescue of the conquerors of Byzantium. Evils and dangers without glory more than answered the Pope's exhortations.

All sorts of conjectures filled Christendom as to the fate of Baldwin. In order to relieve the public mind, the Pope sent word to Joannice to restore to Byzantium its Emperor. Word came that he had paid the debt of nature and that his deliverance was beyond mortal control. Upon this announcement, his brother, Henry of Hainault, was declared Emperor. At this juncture the Latins were called on to lament the death of Dandolo, the wisest of all the leaders of the Crusade, and as to the humanities and to the commercial relations of people, five hundred years in advance of the animal strength of feudal Europe. By this time, the Crusaders had nearly all perished in battle or returned to Europe with their tales of hardship and woe. (*See Plate No. LIX.*) Boniface was killed by the Bulgarians, and his Kingdom of Thessalonica was rent with quarrels over the succession. The new Emperor of Constantinople, Henry, brother of Baldwin, possessed all the military courage of the chivalric West, and not a few redeeming civil qualities, but it required a far different organization from his to restore a power which was consumed by revolutions and palsied with antagonisms.

This crusade struck the thin shell of an ancient and mouldering Empire. It built a mushroom Empire on its ruins, and witnessed its decay. The sublimity of audacity was reached when thirty thousand Crusaders, with nothing of their original purpose in view, and with entire diversion from intended direction, furiously attacked an Empire which should have been able to call a million warriors to its defence. A tempest at sea, a single indecisive battle, almost any untoward event, would have proved disastrous. But by a singular conjunction of happenings, the indiscreet, blind and brutal force of the West surmounted all obstacles and dangers, and swept away a capital and its provinces. It was all a tragic surprise, and an historic and martial astonishment, calculated to awaken the deepest interest of the student of human events. And then, to think that this mighty Western force, this terrible barbaric energy, before which the populous and cultivated East faded as an autumn leaf, could not stand the sight of its own triumphant standards, but proved weak and perishable the moment it was called upon to apply to mankind the results of victory. All that splendid virility which overrode everything in its course, seemed to exhaust itself in conquest, and to have no saving virtue for even the crudest government. If, as the thought of the time was, Providence employed the Crusaders to chastise the Greeks for their iniquities, what moralist can venture argument in favor of those whom Providence so speedily and summarily chastized, by snatching from their grasp the substantial fruits of victory and consigning them all to

the fate they visited on their hapless victims.

The events of this Crusade complete an historic parallel. The decline and fall of the old Roman Empire are repeated in the Greek Empire. Like the Romans, the Greeks became degenerate. Few virtues shone amid their many misfortunes. They had neither courage to prevent the disasters of war, nor resignation to support them. When reduced to despair, they had no recuperative energy, but drifted from master to master and yoke to yoke, like blind staggerers on a highway. No leader arose equal to dire occasions. No patriotism called a halt or rallied them. Confidence in men, laws and government was swamped in the quagmire of irresolution and immorality. This sad condition gave to the warlike and fanatical Crusaders of the West the same advantages, as a like condition of the Roman empire gave to the barbarians of Northern Europe. In both instances, it was a conflict between the hardihood of simple mannered people, the wild energy of forest and field, the greed for enrichment by pillage, the savage pride in victory, the natural desire for betterment which even the densest ignorance cannot crush, on the one hand, and love of luxury, habits debased by long corruption, and vanity engendered by weakness, on the other. The only difference was, that the Goth, Hun and Vandal, who poured from their fastnesses upon the Roman Empire, were unconverted. Now they were Christian converts, and as they poured into the East under the banner of the cross, they added the fanaticism of their new religion to characteristics otherwise unchanged, and found in their devotion to the cause of Christ

an excuse for excesses which rivaled in violence those perpetrated by their barbaric progenitors.

Other Crusades had been preached in sacred Councils. This one grew out of sermons delivered at tournaments. Chivalry, therefore, had more to do with it than inspiration from the Holy See, though, as has been seen, the French Knights were ever asking the Pope to sanction their conquests, and the Pope, while taking advantage of their submission to administer a fatherly scolding, seldom withheld his approval. The heroes of this Crusade did nothing for the deliverance of Jerusalem. Instead of opening a new road to Palestine, as they boasted in their letters to the Pope, their exploits placed all the Christian colonies of the East in greater peril, and subverted, without replacing, a power which might have served as a barrier against the Infidels for all time.

The Venetians, to whose fleet and the wise generalship of Dandolo, the fall of Constantinople was due, profited most by this Crusade. It gave them a great advantage over their commercial rivals, the Pisans and Genoese, and increased their respect with the warriors of Europe. While moved by the same ambitions as inspired the barons and Knights of France, they were not rent and exhausted by the possession of spoils. Moreover, they had the sea for a footing, and were exempt from many of the disasters which befell those who took cities, principalities and Kingdoms as their shares of booty and badges of honor. With the Venetians, a fair amount of prudence came to the assistance of valor; with the Knights victory and

force were lost in blind excesses. In this respect the French Crusader lacked the ruling instinct of his Frankish progenitor. When the Frank invaded Rome, he did not undertake to make a foreign nation of the conquered, but took them into fellowship. The result was confirmed power, and a new nation and language. But the Crusaders showed a profound contempt for the Greeks, repudiated their alliance and support, sought to impose new manners, laws and religion; in a word, undertook to do what was a thousand times more difficult than the conquest of their Empire. Having undertaken the impossible, they raised up enemies where they most needed friends.

The blame does not rest wholly on the Crusaders. The Holy See, at first opposed to the sack of Constantinople, and knowing the power of the Church over the imaginations of the Crusaders, conditioned his pardon of those who had violated his commands on the fulfillment of their pledge to subject the Greek church to that of Rome. They attached so much importance to his forgiveness that they met schism and heresy by violence, and lost everything in attempts to appease the Sovereign pontiff. Violence but widened the breach between the two Churches. Neither power of arms nor anathemas sufficed to blot out memory of persecutions and outrages. The terrors of victory, the evils of war, the thunders of prelatial wrath, introduced reciprocal contempt and implacable hatred between the creeds of the West and East and divorced them forever.

Every Crusade had proved advantageous to the civilization of Europe. This one was no exception; yet such was the contempt felt by the Latin Christian for his Greek brother, that he was in no mood to fully profit by the opportunities at his command. The Greeks possessed the wise code of Justinian, and regulations respecting taxes and revenues based on the experience of ages. The Latins disdained these monuments of jurisprudence, and coveted nothing but Grecian provinces and wealth. The ingenious and historic productions of Greece found no favor among Knights who boasted of their inability to read or write. When the Saracens fired the library of Alexandria they said, "all the books which treat of our religion we do not need, and all that do not should be burned." The Crusaders wantonly set fire to Constantinople and beheld with barbaric indifference the destruction of large and valuable libraries by flames. Perhaps the most direct benefit of the Crusade was in the matter of language. The people of Greece were obliged to learn the Latin speech in order to make their petitions known, while the effort to Romanize the Greek Church led the clergy to study the Greek authors and language. The Crusaders profited by many of the useful inventions of the Greeks, by their skill in horticulture and landscape gardening, and by the transportation to Europe of plants and seeds which became valuable to them.

While in the main, there was little to compensate Central Europe for the loss of its bravest warriors and outpoured treasures, except the momentary glory of having cap-

tured Constantinople and lorded it over the Byzantine Empire, it ought not to be forgotten that the Crusade helped to ease the States of Europe by carrying away their turbulent and ambitious princes, many of whom perished outright, whilst others obtained empires in the East. Philip Augustus, of France, thus got rid of some of his most dangerous vassals, and found the duty of governing lighter for it. This was, however, an indirect advantage only. Venice profited directly. She increased her power on the Continent an hundred fold, and so enlarged her credit and commerce in the East as to

bring under her laws some of the richest possessions of the Greek Empire. Her navy became the most powerful in Europe. She renounced all conquests likely to become burdensome, and clung only to those which would increase her commerce and maintain the importance of her marine. Her princes, as vassals of the Republic, appeared in all the islands of the Archipelago, and each one was a prosperous and patriotic commercial agent, rather than a titled servitor of military power. No state of Europe, except Venice, succeeded in making the valor and ambition of her warriors subservient to her interests.

PART VI.

THE SIXTH CRUSADE.

A. D. 1200—1230.



WE have seen how the Fifth Crusade was diverted from a conquest of holy places to the sack of a Christian Capital and the destruction of a Christian Empire. The Christian states of Syria suffered intensely by this diversion and constantly called on the nations of the West for warlike assistance. It was but natural that such assistance should be delayed, for, while the name of Jerusalem and the desire for its possession were still a source of enthusiasm, the energies solicited were absorbed in that mighty revolution which was designed to Latinize the Greek world.

During the Fifth Crusade events in the East were partially lost sight of, owing to the overshadowing character of those nearer home. Yet history was still actively making. While Greece was a prey to war, Egypt and Syria were the victims of equally disastrous scourges. The turn of the century (A. D. 1200) saw Egypt visited with famine, followed by plague. Cairo, Damietta, Kous and Alexandria were nearly depopulated. It

is estimated that one million people perished in the valley of the Nile through lack of food and disease. Syria felt the effect of the scourge hardly less seriously, and Christians suffered equally with Mussulmen. From the Nile to the Euphrates and Orontes the lands were desolate and in mourning. Earthquakes followed in the wake of these calamities and added to their horrors. Balbec, Naplouse, Damascus, Tyre, Ptolemais, Tripoli, indeed all the cities of Syria suffered much, and many of them were nearly destroyed. These scourges of nature became the guardians of cities and provinces against the armies of men. They gave respect to treaties, even though the sovereign pontiff urged the Christians to take advantage of them by invading the Mussulman provinces of Syria and Egypt.

The Christians set about recovery from their misfortunes. Amaury, King of Jerusalem, showed the barons a high example of wisdom and resignation. The Knights of three military orders, whose treasures had been exhausted during the famine, sent letters and messengers into all parts of the West, to tell of the disasters which had befallen them (*See* Plate No. LX) and appeal to the faithful for aid. The Mussulman



PLATE NO. LX.—A MESSAGE FROM THE EAST.

prisoners were set to work to repair the destroyed cities. Though a truce existed between the contestants, predatory excursions were frequent, and petty wars existed in several provinces. King Amaury fell sick and died at Ptolemais, thus throwing the sceptre of Jerusalem back into the hands of Isabella, who lacked the ability to govern wisely. One of the sons of Bohemond of Antioch fell a victim to the dagger of assassins. Bohemond was unable to avenge his murder, and in addition suffered the mortification of seeing his son Raymond, Count of Tripoli, embroiled in war with Armenia. The Templars and Hospitallers engaged on opposite sides in this war, and the Turks took advantage of it to ravage the territory of Antioch.

These famines, plagues, wars, and perils dispirited the pilgrims and quite discouraged aid from Europe. Great numbers of knights left to gratify their ambitions in the more inviting field opened by the conquest of the Byzantine Empire, while others, tired of the desolation of the East, retired permanently to Europe. Pope Innocent III, though foiled in his efforts to retrieve the holy places by the diversion of the fifth Crusade to Constantinople, did not give up his design of reconquering Jerusalem. He ever held out the inducement of his benedictions to soldiers of the Cross, and made the promise to cross the sea to fight Infidels a condition of expiating sins. He sought thus to keep up devotion to pilgrimages, which might revive the zeal for other holy wars.

In his opinion, the perpetrator of any crime could secure mercy by condemning

himself to a campaign in the East. The people, however, were not so enthusiastic. They did not seem to care for the welfare of the Syrian Christians, nor for a kingdom which showed rapid symptoms of decline. Isabella died soon after Amaury, and Jerusalem passed to her daughter. The knights assembled to choose a husband for the young queen. Fear of rivalry among themselves drove them to select some one from the West. This decision roused the spirit of chivalry in Europe, and interested it in the cause of Eastern Christians. Deputies were sent to France, to seek one who, in turn for the hand of the young queen and the blessings of Heaven, was willing to fight for the heritage of God. The deputies were received with great favor by Philip Augustus, and the vain title they offered excited the imagination of the French knights, more than one of whom saw renown in the restoration of a throne founded by the illustrious Godfrey.

The choice fell upon John of Brienne, who had gained a reputation for valor in the vain effort of his brother Gauthier to gain the throne of Naples. He accepted with joy and bade the deputies to return to Palestine and announce that he would soon be present to head the army and fight the Saracens. Their arrival raised the depressed courage of the Christians, and they broke into joy, when it was rumored that another Crusade would signalize the advent of the new king. The Mussulmen were correspondingly depressed, and Malek-Adel offered to revive the truce which was about expiring. The wise warriors, among them the knights of

St. John, favored a renewal of the truce. They reminded the Christians of the uncertainty of the Western promises of aid. But the Templars and others, whom any report of aid and fresh perils excited, declared for war. They took this step in utter ignorance of the condition of Europe, which forbade the aid they so confidently counted on. Philip Augustus was hampered by warlike enterprises. Otho and Philip, of Swabia, were contending in Germany. John, of England, was laboring under the curse of excommunication.

John of Brienne landed at Ptolemais with an army of only three hundred Knights. He was duly married, but the festivities of his marriage and coronation were broken in upon by the announcement that Malek-Adel had laid siege to Tripoli and was threatening Ptolemais. The new King rushed to the field and won admiration for his valor, but it was apparent that his forces were too small to make headway against the Infidels. When the defenders of Palestine compared their scanty ranks with those of the enemy, they fell into despondency, and those who had opposed the extension of the truce lamented their folly. Most of the Knights who had come with the new King left for Europe. King John had scarcely a foothold in Palestine, except at Ptolemais, and, without an army to defend even this single point, he saw the impossibility of withstanding for any length of time the united forces of the Saracens. He sent messengers to Rome to implore the Pope for aid and to stir the warlike spirit of Europe. But Europe heard with indifferent ears. Her

own wars engaged her attention. Moreover there was a spirit of inquiry and indocility abroad which priests and bishops lamented. They considered the word debased by inquiries respecting it. Heresies sprang up in defiance of the discipline of the Church. The most powerful of the new sects was the Albigeois, precursors of the Reformation. Others existed, as the Vaudois, or Poor of Lyons; the Apostoliques; the Popelicians; the Aymerites; all abhorrent of the useless forms, clerical depravity and tyrannical assumptions of the Church of Rome. These new heresies led to persecutions, which only tended to sour men's minds and intensify religious dissatisfaction. The Pope's legates, sent into Languedoc, could make no impression on the heretics. Prompted by the clergy, he rated them as Infidels, and promised the absolutions and benedictions extended to Crusaders to all who would take up arms for the extermination of the wicked Albigeois. Hatred of the new sect and the thought of indulgence and glory without quitting Europe, drew together a large number of warriors who proceeded to crush all who refused to accept the decrees of the Pope as final. This was the birth of the Inquisition, an institution fatal alike to humanity, religion and patriotism. Piles, stakes and implements of torture arose on all sides. Cities were sacked and their inhabitants massacred. The violences and cruelties committed by the soldiers of the cross exceeded in hellish ingenuity anything before practiced upon the Infidels of the East. Religious passion seemed to burst into a diablery whose excesses would stretch



PLATE NO. LXI.—CRUSADE AGAINST GRENADA.

credence to the uttermost, but for the fact that the cold blooded participants have furnished their own shameless chronicles.

This inhuman war upon the Albigeois, and the other troubles which existed in Europe at the time, obstructed the designs of Pope Innocent III regarding pilgrim enterprises beyond the sea. What was particularly regretful to the Holy See was the fact that, while the efforts of the Church had been in the main directed to Christian Conquests in the East, the Saracens in Spain had been growing more numerous and formidable. They had organized a formidable army with which they threatened the King of Castile. The King implored the aid of all the French who bore arms, and wrote petitionary letters to the Pope praying for the help of the Church. The Pope wrote the clergy, particularly those of France, to exhort the faithful to the Crusade against the Moors. (*See Plate No. LXI.*) He promised to the warriors who enlisted for the Crusade the usual indulgences of Holy wars, and ordered a solemn procession in Rome to implore God to destroy the Moors and Saracens. An army of two thousand Knights and nobles was thus raised, which hastened to reinforce the Christian army of Spain. The contending forces met (1212) in the plains of Tolosa. A terrible battle was fought, in which the Christians conquered, and in which two hundred thousand of the enemy were killed and captured. The victors sang the *Te Deum* on the battle field amid the dead and the spoils of the conquered. The standard of the Saracen leader was sent to Rome as a trophy. The Pope offered public

thanks to God for scattering the enemies of the people, and prayed that Heaven in its mercy would deliver the Christians of Syria as it had just done those of Spain.

Amid the encouragement afforded by this victory, the Holy See renewed its exhortations to the faithful to enlist for the defence of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ. But still Europe had no ear for the complaints of Jerusalem, and it is said the Pope wept tears of despair at the indifference of the nations of the West. But while he could not induce Kings, barons or warriors to second a cause he so dearly espoused, the influences he set at work had an effect which, at this age, startles human credulity, and which would have been impossible at any period except one abounding in prodigies. Blinded by a false zeal, yet confident of their power over young and weak imaginations, ecclesiastics had gone through France and Germany exhorting the children to a Crusade in the name and for the sake of Jesus. So much had they imposed on childish emotions, that Europe was presented with the pitiable spectacle of fifty thousand infantile fanatics, braving parental authority, and gathering in villages and cities, bearing the emblems of the Church and singing the song of, "Lord Jesus, restore to us our holy Cross." When asked where they were going, the reply was, "We are going to Jerusalem to deliver the Sepulchre of the Savior." While some denounced the folly and danger of such an infatuation, most of the faithful pretended to see in it an inspiration from Heaven, and a show, on the part of Jesus Christ, of his divine power for the purpose of confound-



PLATE NO. LXII.—THE CRUSADE OF CHILDREN.

ing adult leaders and warriors, and reprimanding their pride and indifference, by entrusting his cause to the hands of simple minded and shrinking infancy. (*See Plate No. LXII.*)

As such an outburst of fanaticism invited, so it was soon crowned by, disasters. The crowds of youthful and deceived enthusiasts were wantonly set upon by depraved men and women, who took advantage of their innocence to plunder them of the money and presents foolishly showered upon them by sympathetic lookers on and designing prompters. Yet, swarms of them drifted over the Alps in search of Italian ports, whence to embark on their insane enterprise. Other swarms from France directed their course to Marseilles. The sea voyage had been robbed of its terrors for them by the clerical leaders, who imposed on them the miraculous revelation that the year (1213) would witness the drying up of the sea and the opening of an easy road to Syria over the bed of the Mediterranean. On their way to the sea coast, many of these infatuated innocents lost their way amid forests and mountains and perished of hunger, exposure, fatigue and wild beasts. Many were cured by hardship of their delusions, and returned home to confess with shame their disobedience and to repent of their imprudence. Among those who embarked, some were shipwrecked, while many fell an early prey to the enemies they had set out to conquer. If any of them ever reached the Holy Land, sight of them must have carried terror to the Christians of the East, rather than to the Mussulmen. While the latter would gladly welcome them

as inoffensive captives, prepared ready to hand by the inhuman zeal of their religious teachers, the former would stand aghast at the laws, the institutions and the men which encouraged or permitted such a condemnation of helpless innocence to exile and death. It was as if the Church had maliciously gathered and ruthlessly tossed fifty thousand infants from a cliff into the boiling sea, in order to calm its angry waves. Yet, such was the spirit of Europe, at the time, that no authority interposed to check the madness which exposed its innocence to certain destruction. When it was announced to the Pope that the flower of the youth, and the consolation of the age, of France and Germany, had been swept away by cruel and uncompensated death, there came the shockingly indifferent reply, not to say, the cold blooded exposure of design;—"These children reproach us with having fallen asleep, whilst they were flying to the assistance of the Holy Land." Precisely what assistance they could have rendered the cause of Christianity in a land where even the strongest of mailed Knights and the bravest of warriors could not make headway against powerful enemies, must be left to the secret workings of ecclesiastical imagination.

But the Sovereign Pontiff was to be neither abashed nor disappointed. In order to kindle the enthusiasm of the faithful and accomplish his designs, he must impress the nations by some grand spectacle. He accordingly called a general council at Rome to discuss the state of the church and the fate of Eastern Christians. The call was ingenious and characteristic—an exaltation

of the Church above every other human consideration. "The necessity for succoring the Holy Land and the hope of conquering the Saracens," said he, "is greater than ever. We renew our prayers and cries to you, to excite you to this noble enterprise. No one can imagine that God has need of your arms to deliver Jerusalem, but he offers you an opportunity of showing your penitence and proving your love for him. How many advantages has not the Christian church derived from the many scourges that have desolated her and desolate her still! How many crimes have been expiated by repentance! How many virtues revive at the fire of charity! How many conversions are made among sinners by the complaining voice of Jerusalem! Bless, then, the ingenious mercy, the generous artifice of Jesus Christ, who seeks to touch your hearts, to seduce your piety, and is willing to owe to his misled disciples a victory which he holds in his all powerful hands." The Pope concluded his exhortation with the prophecy that as Mohammedanism was the beast of the Apocalypse, whose power was not to extend over six hundred years, which time had elapsed, it had reached its end.

As in former Crusades, the Pope promised to all who should take up arms against the Infidels, the remission of their sins and the especial protection of the Church. In addition, so important did he deem the occasion, he opened the vessels of divine mercy to all the faithful in proportion to their zeal and gift. The prelates and ecclesiastics were made recruiting officers, with authority to

raise quotas of soldiers and provide for their three years support. Princes and nobles, who could not take the cross, were importuned to assist Crusaders in every way they could. Demand was made of prayers from the faithful, tributes from the rich, examples of courage from the knights, vessels from the coast cities. Monthly processions were ordered in all parishes in order to obtain the benedictions of Heaven. All the thoughts, vows, and efforts of Christians were turned toward an holy war. The Pope even revoked the indulgences granted to those engaged in the Crusades against the Moors of Spain and the heretical Albigeois, in order that they might find an inducement to enter the Crusade for the Holy Land. In a word, the Pope employed every means, even to those which were not likely to succeed, to carry out his enterprise. He wrote letters full of warlike bravado to the Sultans of Damascus and Cairo, asking them to restore the Holy city to the servants of the true God, telling them that God had chosen the Infidels as instruments of his vengeance, informing them that the day of deliverance had come when the Lord was about to restore the heritage of Christ, and, with a consideration which seemed satirical, invoked them to prevent the effusion of blood and the devastation of their empires. He wrote also to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, asking him to use his utmost endeavors to stop the corruption and licentiousness which prevailed among the Syrian Christians. But the Christians experienced no change in their morals, neither did the Sultan reply, except by increasing the fortifications of Jerusalem and

preparing to resist the threatened invasion of his enemies.

History records no such activity and earnestness on the part of any Pope. His appeals went out constantly to all Europe and to all the Christian centres in Asia, even to Alexandria in Africa. His agents visited every province with instructions to exhort, plead, promise, beg, but especially to keep the Pope posted as to the spirit which prevailed among the people and their rulers. Cardinal Robert and the Cardinal of Courcon were clothed with extraordinary powers, and commissioned to use their eloquence to obtain recruits. James of Vitri, was appointed pastor and bishop at Ptolemais, and proved particularly effective in exciting the warriors of the West to arms.

The preaching of such men and the immense power at their disposal, drew large sums, from the wealthy. Philip Augustus pledged the fortieth part of his revenues to the Crusade. Boxes were placed in all the churches, into which were poured the offerings of the faithful. The charge that the Cardinal of Courcon misused these funds brought upon him the censure of Philip Augustus, and when it was found that the enthusiastic Cardinal had been using his power to levy taxes, enroll warriors, forgive debts, lavish rewards and punishments and usurp all the prerogatives of a king, Philip called a council whose duty was to draw the line between his sovereignty and that of the Church. Meanwhile the Archbishop of Canterbury was busy preaching the Crusade in England, where King John had lately been forced by his barons to grant them larger

liberties. King John wished earnestly to retract the favors forced from him by his haughty barons, and, in order to secure for his crown the protection of the Church, he swore to take the cross and fight the Saracens. The Pope accepted his submission and promises as genuine, and employed the thunder of religion and the authority of the Holy See in defence of one whom he had for years been fighting with the weapon of excommunication as an enemy of the church. The secret of King John's submission and the deceitfulness of his promises soon came out. His own power, augmented by that of the Church, was turned against the stubborn barons. They were excommunicated by the Pope, and in order to maintain their liberties were forced to defend them by the sword. Amid internal troubles of so grave a nature, they paid no attention to the hollow promises of their King nor to the exhortations of holy orators, and enthusiasm for the Crusade was thereby greatly diminished in England.

In Germany, Otho of Saxony, a great favorite of the Pope, drew suddenly upon himself the ire of Innocent III, by laying claim to Naples, Sicily, and certain domains of the Church. He was excommunicated, and his cities were placed under interdict. Pope Innocent III, an expert in statecraft, then played off Frederick II, son of Henry VI, against Otho, just as he had Otho against Philip of Swabia. This threw Germany and Italy into agitation. Frederick was crowned King of the Romans at Aix la Chapelle, and at once assumed the cross out of gratitude to the Pope. Philip

Augustus, of France, espoused his cause. Otho resisted this invasion of his rights, formed a powerful league, composed of the King of England and counts of Holland, Flanders and Boulogne, and threatened to invade France. Philip met the combined armies at Bouvines and gained a celebrated victory, which assured the independence of the French monarchy and gave peace to Europe. Otho lost his crucial battle and his allies, and sunk beneath the thunders of the Church.

The Pope now summoned at Rome a council of the princes, nobles and ecclesiastics of Christendom. The Council assembled in the Lateran, and was presided over by the Pope. Deputies were present from Antioch, Constantinople, Alexandria and Jerusalem. Frederick II, of Germany, Philip Augustus of France, and the Kings of England and Hungary, sent their ambassadors. This assembly of the Universal Church contained nearly five hundred bishops and Archbishops, and more than a hundred abbots and prelates. The Pope opened proceedings by an eloquent sermon, in which he dwelt particularly upon the errors of the age, the misfortunes of the Church, and the measures he was about to take against heretics and the Saracens. As he concluded, he showed his zeal by promising to go in person with the Kings and princes of the nations, if his brethren thought it best. He had confused his subjects and spoken too figuratively. His auditors did not rise to the height of the occasion. Instead of losing themselves in enthusiasm, they gave to Eastern affairs a second place, and went about the business of

checking heresy and reforming ecclesiastical discipline at home. Their deliberations resulted in a Christian code, a declaration of faith, in which they opposed truth to error, persuasion to violence and the virtues of the gospel to the passions of sectarian innovators. As an evidence of the deep impression this declaration of faith made on the Pope, he issued, in the very midst of the Council, an apostolic decree, deposing the Count of Toulouse as a heretic and giving his states to Simon of Montfort, who had distinguished himself in the massacres of the Albigeois. The "persuasion to violence, and the virtues of the Gospel to the passions of sectarian innovators," which had been formulated as a part of evangelical belief, was thus given a practical turn by the Pope, in his aim to strike terror into all heretics by means of violence, and to encourage Christians to arm for the cause of Jesus Christ and his vicar upon the earth.

Having dispatched this part of its business, the Council turned its attention to the Holy Land and the means of succoring the Christians of the East. It was agreed that all the contents of the bull of convocation should be confirmed, that the clergy should pay a twentieth of their revenues to the Crusade, that the Pope should pay a tenth, that there should be a truce among Christian princes for four years, and that all princes who interfered with pilgrims on their march, or who furnished food or arms to the Infidels, should be excommunicated. The Pope promised to direct preparations for the war, to contribute outright three thousand silver marks and to equip several vessels for the



PLATE No. LXIII.—FOR THE DEFENCE OF CHRIST.

transport of the Crusaders. The Council proceedings made a profound impression on the minds of Western Christians. The clergy set about to recall the faithful to a state of penitence, to prohibit dances, tournaments and public sports, to reform morals and revive the love of religion and virtue in all hearts. They were to make the complaints of Jerusalem resound in the palaces of princes and the hovels of the poor, to solicit recruits and accept the offerings of the faithful, whatever shape they assumed. (*See Plate No. LXIII.*)

The decrees of the Council were promulgated throughout Europe; and in the Northern parts, among the new converts to Christianity, the phenomena which attended the first Crusades were invoked to excite the imagination and stimulate zeal. Luminous crosses appeared in the heavens, apparitions were seen at convenient times and of suggestive forms, all of which were made, by dexterous interpreters, to mean that God favored the holy enterprise and that Heaven was sure to crown the arms of the Crusaders with signal victories. From every pulpit the Saracen was imprecated, and the voices of bishops, prelates and pastors joined in summoning Christian warriors to arms. Poetry, now becoming an art in southern France, found themes for verses in the holy expedition, and the Troubadours mingled their profane notes with the exhortations of sacred orators. Even the Pope found chivalrous mention in the rhymes of the hour, as a valorous guide of the armies of Christ.

He had expressed his willingness to accompany the Crusade, but the state of Europe,

the progress of heresy and the advice of his counsellors, changed his mind. Without his personal participation, his wishes appeared to be on the eve of fulfillment. The entire West seemed ready to precipitate itself on Asia. But the glory of his ambitious projects was never to be revealed to his earthly eyes. He fell ill and died, leaving his stupendous enterprise to his successor. His death drew the praises of those who admired him and the censures of those who hated him. He had great ability, was persistent in belief and undertaking, thoroughly imbued with the supremacy of his vicarship, spiritual and temporal, a superb tactician, constant in his aim to Romanize the entire East. But he found Europe in a sea of trouble, and, with all his statecraft, he kept it so. There was scarcely a monarch who had not felt his wrath or cunning. Beginning moderately, he moved for a time on the lines of truth and justice. Then he grew irritable at interferences with his spiritual government, which he unwisely claimed was broad enough for all things earthly. Irritation gave place to violence, and the sword became his reliance. His stewardship was a gradual decadence from the efficacy of spiritualism to the brutality of force. He left a terrible legacy to his successors, who must either abandon his policy altogether, or complete it with its aggravated mixture of good and evil. From the date of the death of Pope Innocent III, there was no Crusade pure and simple, none whose successes were not constantly interrupted by the ambitions and bickerings of participating princes, none which was not deflected

by jealousies and given a more or less selfish direction, and all this notwithstanding papal anathemas and pontifical thunders.

Honorius III succeeded Pope Innocent. He exhorted all bishops to continue to preach the Crusade, and wrote the Patriarch of Jerusalem to be of good cheer, as he designed to follow the policy of Innocent in delivering the Holy places. He also adopted the policy of Innocent in first securing concord among the rulers of Europe. But in this diplomacy he was no match for his predecessor. Louis VIII, son of Philip Augustus of France, whom Innocent had pitted against England, was unwilling to renounce the invasion of a kingdom which had been so long under the wrath of the Church. The Pope supplicated, hoping that with peace between these two monarchies, both would unite in delivering the Holy Land. But King John died, and Henry III, his successor, could not be induced to quit his Kingdom, though he assumed the cross to please the Pope and encourage his subjects to enlist. Louis VIII found himself too busy in trying to suppress the heretical Albigeois to take part in the Crusade. Frederick of Germany adhered to his oath to make war upon the Saracens, and his example had a powerful effect. The people of the Rhine, Friesland, Bavaria, Saxony and Norway; the dukes of Austria, Moravia, Brabant, Lemberg; the counts of Juliers, Holland, DeWit and Loo; the archbishops and bishops of Mayence, Bamberg, Passau, Strasburg, Munster and Utrecht, assumed the banner of the cross, and prepared to quit the West for the battlefields of the

East. Second only to Frederick in importance, was Andrew II, King of the Hungarians, whose rule embraced Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Galicia and Lodomira. His kingdom was discordant, and policy would have dictated his staying at home to protect it, but the Crusade had been industriously preached among his susceptible subjects, new converts to the Christian faith, and Europe witnessed the strange spectacle of an outpouring of Christian warriors from the nations who a century before had bitterly opposed the progress of Peter the Hermit and his companions of the cross.

At this moment, Europe presented a still stranger spectacle. While the Crusaders were tending to various ports of embarkation, on the Baltic, along the sea, and on the coasts of the Mediterranean, a Crusade of Polish, Saxon, Norwegian and Livonian warriors, was directed against the unconverted inhabitants of Prussia. This people, now the most enlightened and powerful of Europe, perpetuated, in the thirteenth century and in the heart of Christendom, the paganism and superstitions of the old Norse nations. They lived primitively, like the early Teutonic tribes, and united many excellent regulations with an essentially barbaric system. But they had treated the Christian missionaries with much disrespect, and had even murdered some of them. They were therefore fair objects of vengeance for the enthusiastic converts of the North. Idolaters of the Prussian stamp could not be tolerated in proximity to the zealots of the true church. It was decreed that the pagans of the Oder and Vistula should be driven into



PLATE NO. LXIV.—THE DEPARTURE.

submission by the sword. This Crusade was organized for permanent war. It gave rise to Orders called Knights of Christ and Knights of the Sword, whose mission was to subdue the pagans of Livonia. The Teutonic Knights, whose Order rivaled the Templars and Hospitallers in Palestine, returned in large numbers and, having established many powerful centres in Northern Germany, undertook the work of invading and converting Prussia. The struggle thus begun, lasted for two hundred years, and until the light of the Reformation illuminated Prussia with a Christianity of its own choice, and of a quality far different from that which the sword failed to enforce. The agents of the Roman Church, Knights of the various Northern orders, were much less inspired by religion than by avarice, ambition and vengeance. While they mastered a country by sheer force of arms, they never inculcated a wholesome religious tenet, and they were often charged by the Church with a desire of conquest for the purpose of making slaves of their subjects, rather than Christian converts. But all this opens a history which is part of the national life of Prussia, and only introduced here to show how far selfish ambition perverted the spirit and purpose of the Crusades.

Frederick II, of Germany, was looked to as a natural leader of the Holy war. But he declined on account of home complications. The choice then fell on Andrew, King of the Hungarians. He headed a large army, among whose captains were the duke of Bavaria, duke of Austria, and other German nobles. The march of the army to the

port of Spalatro, where it was to take ship for Palestine, was like a triumphal procession. The people gathered in crowds by the wayside to cheer the departing heroes and pour forth their benedictions. (*See Plate, No. LXIV.*) At Spalatro, the clergy formed a processional and conducted the leaders to the principal church, where the mercy of Heaven was invoked on the Christian warriors. The fleet sailed for Cyprus where it met deputies from the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the three military Orders. The Crusaders, who had embarked at other Italian ports, preceded the army of the King of Hungary. They all landed at Ptolemais in due time and, according to the Arab historians, so large an army of Christians had not been seen in Syria since the days of Saladin.

It was the year 1217, a barren year in Syria, and the Crusaders found provisions scarce for so great a multitude. Famine led to license and robbery among the soldiers. Regardless of discipline, they pillaged houses, robbed monasteries and devastated the country. As the only means of securing order, the leaders were forced to give the signal for war, and that the lands and dwellings of Christians might escape the rapacity of the wild soldiery, they were instructed to confine their ravages to the houses, cities and fields of the Infidels. The entire army, commanded by the Kings of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Hungary, encamped on the banks of the torrent Cison. Here they were visited by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who came for the purpose of impressing the imaginations of the semi-civilized warriors of the West by



PLATE NO. LXV.—THE TRUE CROSS.

showing them a piece of the wood of the true cross, saved from the battle of Tiberias. Kings and princes approached the sacred emblem with bare feet and humbly bowed before it. Sight of the sign of redemption and the ostentatious ceremony attending its presentation, excited the enthusiasm of the army, and it advanced into the valley of Jesrael, (*See Plate No. LXV.*) thence to the Jordan and along the shores of lake Genesareth. It marched without meeting an enemy, and amid the strains of spiritual music. Every historic place and sacred object filled them with veneration for the Holy Land. Their campaign was a true pilgrimage. Without fighting a battle, they moved triumphantly along, gathering booty and picking up prisoners. In this way, having completed a large circuit, which gave them food and preserved much needed discipline, they returned to Ptolemais.

Malek-Adel had retired from the throne of Syria and Egypt. His eldest son, Melik-Kamel, was Sultan of Cairo, and Coraddin was Sultan of Damascus. Other sons had taken the principalities of Bisra, Baalbec and Mesopotamia. Malek-Adel still visited his children, to counsel them, and all Mussulmen still looked upon him as their leader and law-giver. When the presence of so formidable a Christian army struck terror into the Infidels, Malek calmed their fears by telling them that such a force must soon become discordant and disperse themselves like the howling storms of Libanus. The Crusaders were astonished to find no armies of Egypt or Syria in Palestine. Winter was setting in. To employ the soldiers and pre-

vent disorders, it was determined to attack the Mussulman fortifications on Mt. Tabor, the superb dome of which overlooks the plain of Galilee and the Jordan. It was a spot venerated by Christians, for here once stood two monasteries erected in memory of Moses and Elias, and a church commemorating the transfiguration of Christ. The Mussulmen had destroyed these structures, and their flag now floated on frowning ramparts erected on their site.

To storm such heights was attended by infinite danger. But the Christian warriors were not to be intimidated. Preceded by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, bearing the true cross, they made their way up the steep slopes amid showers of arrows and flights of stones. The leaders worked prodigies with their swords. Two emirs fell under the lance of the King of Jerusalem. The Mussulmen could not withstand the resistless surge of the Crusaders, but broke and fled within the gates of their fortress. Of a sudden, the Crusaders began to fear a surprise. Panic began to pervade their ranks. The fiery zeal that had carried them up the rugged steeps turned into fear and prompted a hasty and cowardly retreat, without accomplishing anything. After this retreat, the leaders fell to reproaching each other for lack of tact and bravery, while the soldiers sank into a state of discouragement. The Patriarch of Jerusalem refused, henceforth, to bear the wood of the true cross before a people whom it inspired with neither piety nor courage. The leaders marched the army toward Phœnicia, hoping to do something to retrieve the disgrace of their reverse. But they

found nothing to encourage their arms. It being winter, many soldiers perished by cold, while many more were picked up as prisoners. On Christmas eve, while the army was encamped near Tyre, the camps were wrecked by a terrific tempest of wind, rain, hail, thunder and lightning. To their superstitious minds, Heaven appeared to be directly against them, and then despondency became abject.

Discord set in and broke the army into four camps, which was perhaps, a mercy, as it enabled them to pass the winter better. Those that did not go into camp, went to Ptolemais with the intention of sailing for Europe. Among these was the King of Cyprus, who fell ill and died. The King of Hungary, though used to severe winters, grew discouraged at the unfortunate beginning of the enterprise, and suddenly resolved to return to his dominions in Europe. The Patriarch of Jerusalem reproached him for his inconstancy and threatened him with the weapons of the Church, but the barbaric King could not be frightened from his purpose. He quitted Palestine, leaving half his army behind as a pledge of his fidelity to the cause of Christ. Laden with relics, such as the head of St. Peter, the right hand of Thomas, and the seven vases which Christ filled with wine at Cana, which he afterwards used for purposes of conjuration, he wended his way slowly back to Europe, forgetful alike of the enemies which threatened his own Kingdom and that of Christ. On his arrival, he found that he had squandered the treasures of his empire in a vain expedition, and had given opportunity

for his nobility to obtain liberties and privileges which sapped his power and sowed the seeds of decay in his Kingdom.

The Crusaders who remained in Palestine were reinforced in the Spring by arrivals from France, Italy and Holland; also by a large body from Friesland and the Rhine, who had stopped in Portugal and won several battles with the Moors. These last came with glowing accounts of their victories, gained while fighting under the leadership of hosts of shining angels, and protected by other celestial apparitions. Their glowing stories revived the drooping spirits of the Crusaders, and filled them with a desire for immediate war. But whither should they turn? Syria offered nothing but the obstacle of strongly fortified cities, every one of them likely to demand sacrifices out of proportion to their worth. A conquest of Egypt had often engaged the thoughts of the Eastern Christians. Egypt offered booty. The perils of such an enterprise did not enter into the computation of Crusaders. The Pope, in the late council of the Lateran, had spoken of the conquest of Egypt. To Egypt, then, the army would go, and the King of Jerusalem, duke of Austria and William, Count of Holland, took command. It sailed from Ptolemais and landed near Damietta on the Nile. Damietta had resisted several attacks from Christian armies sent out from Sicily. It was strongly fortified, and an iron chain, stretched from the walls to a tower in the middle of the Nile, prevented the passage of vessels.

It was April when the Crusaders arrived before Damietta. They pitched their tents

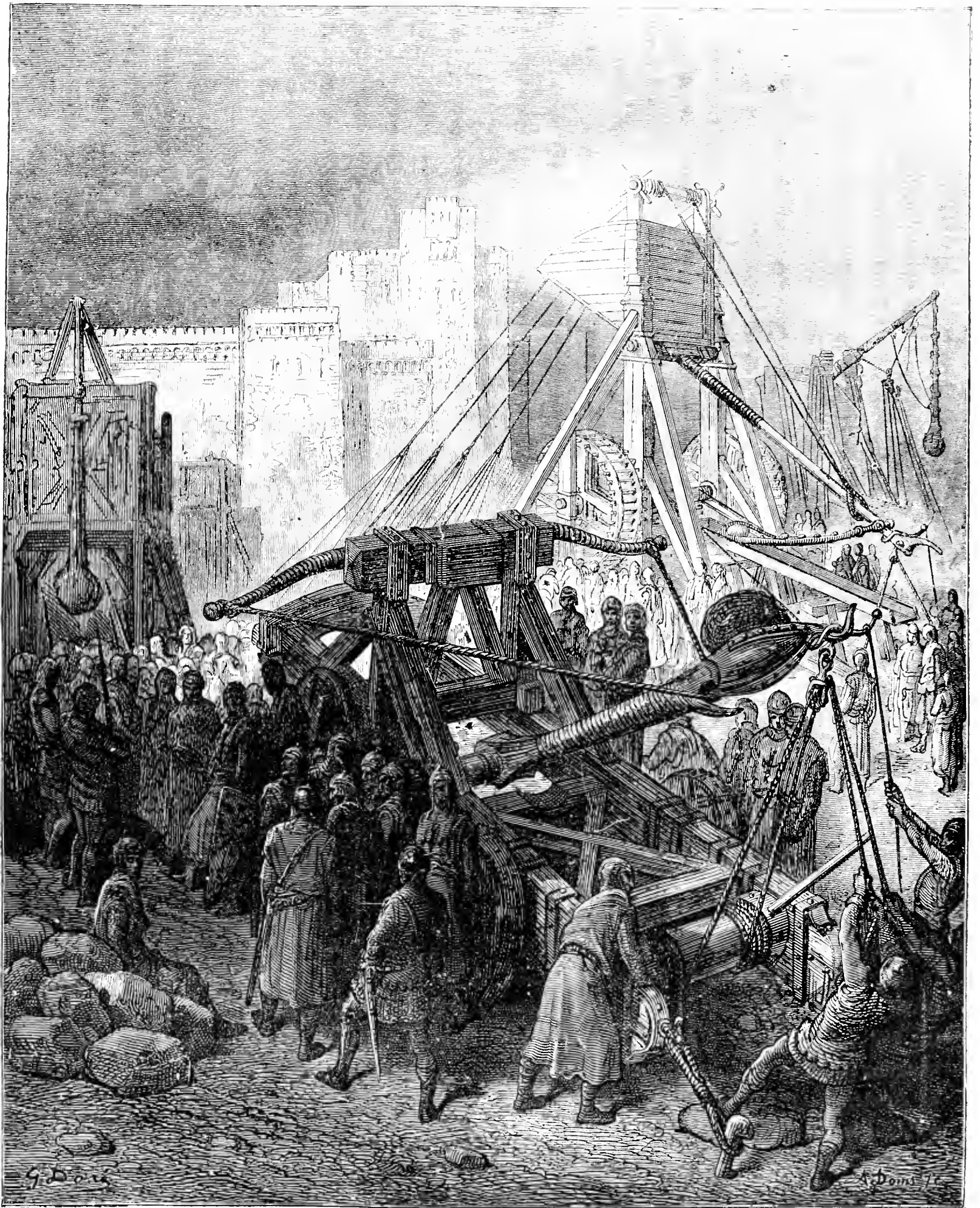


PLATE NO. LXVI.—CRUSADERS' WAR MACHINERY.

amid the canals and rice fields, and so plentiful were provisions and fruits, that they thought Providence was already smiling at the successes of their arms. They first attacked the great tower in the middle of the Nile, by moving up vessels filled with towers, ladders, drawbridges and all the ponderous machinery of war. (*See Plate No. LXVI.*) The soldiers who manned them made several assaults amid arrows and murderous missiles, but their courage availed not. The more intrepid fell victims to their own rashness, while thousands who attempted to assist them perished beneath the waves. Impetuous valor characterized every assault, but it was not seconded by prudence or discipline. The nations fought separately; no order governed either attack or retreat; soldiers on board the vessels usurped the duty of the sailors, and wished to both manœuvre and fight. Repeated defeats and great sacrifices at length taught the Crusaders prudence. They learned to do by strategy what prodigies of strength and valor could not achieve. Ascending the Nile, on the shallow side of the tower, with light draft vessels, they swept down on the bridge-of-boats which connected the city with the tower, and destroyed it. They improved their war machinery by erecting an immense castle on two vessels. This structure was higher than the ramparts, and from it drawbridges could be thrown upon the walls. The castle carried three hundred warriors under the lead of Leopold, Duke of Austria. On a given day, and after due solemnities by the priests, the castle was set in motion and passed up the Nile toward the walls, amid the cheers of the Christian army

in battle array on the banks. Sight of the moving monster filled the Saracens with dread. When near the walls the vessels anchored, and a storm of javelins issued from the castle. The Saracens replied with arrows and torrents of Greek fire. Amid the applause of the Christians, answered by that of the inhabitants of Damietta, the castle burst into a sheet of flames. The drawbridges were lowered, but they wavered and fell short of the walls, carrying into the Nile the standards of the Crusaders, or leaving them in the hands of the Mussulmen. The Infidel army sent up the wildest cheers. The Christians rent heaven with groans. The Patriarch and clergy fell on their knees and poured forth supplications. As if God had heard, the flames were extinguished, the drawbridges hoisted, and the attack was renewed. This time the drawbridges caught the top of the tower, and the warriors poured out upon the ramparts, driving back the enemy with sabres, spears, and battle-axes. They drove the Infidels from the top to a lower story. The floors were fired, but the Crusaders fought through the flames, and drove the enemy lower down. The battle was thus waged through all the stories of the tower, when the enemy, driven entirely below and with no means of retreat, laid down arms and sued for life. This victory enabled the Crusaders to break all the chains guarding the port and to push their vessels close under the walls of Damietta.

At this date, September, 1217, Malek-Adel died in Cairo. The passing away of this powerful warrior and wise Sultan was regarded as a favorable omen by the Christians,

for really another Saladin had entered Paradise. His death did mean great changes in the Mussulman dynasty. Evidences of decline appeared in the empire of the Ayoubites, which had reached its glory by his exploits. The emirs, whom he had held in subjection, broke into jealousies and conspiracies against the supreme authority. The Mussulman armies, and particularly those of Egypt, were rent by disorders. The death of Malek, might, therefore, have proven profitable to the Crusaders, but, once in possession of the tower of the Nile, they seemed to lose zest for further victory. Many thought they had sacrificed enough for the cause of Christ, and returned to Europe. The clergy followed these deserters with their maledictions, and they had the satisfaction of knowing that their curses had not fallen on the ears of a deaf God, when the report came that six thousand of the Brittany Crusaders had been wrecked and drowned on their way home.

And again, divine rebuke made itself conspicuous by bursting the dykes of Holland, overflowing its richest provinces, and submerging many cities and one hundred thousand inhabitants, just after the return of the Friesland Crusaders from Damietta. While these visitations and evidences of divine anger may seem a little out of proportion to the crime involved, and also somewhat indirect as manifestations of heavenly justice, they were, in their day, taken full advantage of by the priesthood, and driven home upon the remaining Crusaders as a means of holding them to their standards.

Pope Honorius viewed these desertions

with pain. He doubled his threats against the crime, and redoubled his exertions to fill the gap in the ranks by forwarding new recruits. March and September were the two tranquil seasons on the Mediterranean, and during these seasons the waters teemed with fleets bearing Crusaders homeward and abroad. Thus the depletion of the ranks at Damietta was more than met by fresh arrivals of Crusaders from Germany, Pisa, Genoa, Venice and France. Several nobles also came from England with their retinue of knights and soldiers. Robert of Courcon, one of the preachers of the Crusade, also came to inspire his soldiers by his zeal and eloquence, and Cardinal Pelagius arrived, bringing along the money to pay the expenses of the war.

Pelagius believed himself even greater than the Pope, and on his arrival he disputed the command with John of Brienne. His claim was that the soldiers had taken up arms at the solicitation of the Pope, that the soldiers were soldiers of the Church, and that the commands of the legate of the Holy See were supreme. The barons and leaders took offence at this imperious interference, and discords set in which bade fair to ruin the whole enterprise. Robert of Courcon died shortly after his arrival. His death was regarded as a severe blow to the cause, and when contrasting his bearing and conduct with that of the imperious Pelagius, one historian remarks that it was a pity the latter had not perished instead of the former.

Meanwhile, a sense of danger was visiting the Mussulmen. The Caliph of Bagdad,

whom Vitri calls the "Pope of Infidels," exhorted the nations to take up arms against the Christians. The many sons of Malek-Adel, reigning in Syria and elsewhere, marched to the assistance of Egypt. The Sultan of Damascus sent his army thither, but, in order that the Christians of Syria might have no inducement to attack Jerusalem and the coast cities during his absence, or, at least, no means of defending themselves if they conquered them, he destroyed their fortifications. When the Mussulman reinforcements began to arrive before Damietta, the Crusaders awakened from their inaction, and made several determined assaults on the city. These they continued persistently, though storms often drenched their camps and disease swept with deadly effect through their ranks. By dint of heroic effort they mastered the entire west bank of the Nile, and then determined to cross over and invest the city on the east, or land, side. The passage was difficult, and the plain was occupied by the Mussulman soldiers. The impossible was made possible by an unexpected event.

Emad-eddin, one of the bravest yet most ambitious of the emirs, led an army of Curds. He conceived the idea of dethroning the Sultan of Cairo and substituting one of the sons of Malek-Adel. Several emirs entered into the conspiracy. The Sultan's tent was to be entered on a certain day, and he was to be compelled by violence to renounce his authority. The Sultan heard of the conspiracy and deserted his tent. The next day the discovery of the design was published, and the camps were in confusion. The partisans

of each took sides and were bent on war, when it flashed on them that combat would invite their sure destruction by the Christians. Panic set in, and in a very short time the plain was vacated by the soldiers, who followed in the wake of their retreating leaders. To the Christians this retreat was a miracle from Heaven, and they took advantage of it with pious satisfaction. They crossed the river, took possession of the Mussulman camps, and drew near to Damietta on the land side.

The resistance offered to their attacks by the garrison gave the Sultan of Cairo time to reorganize his army. Emad-eddin was arrested and loaded with chains. The Sultan of Damascus arrived with his army. The Saracen forces were again well in hand and anxious to atone for their shameful retreat. They encamped in the rear of the Christian army, and made frequent attacks. The hot months were coming on and the climate was proving deadly to the Crusaders. The Mussulmen took advantage of this and kept the Christians engaged in constant battles, which they fought resolutely but amid much fatigue. Though most of these were drawn engagements, the fields were generally left covered with the slain, and the Christians suffered from all the drawbacks of actual defeat. While the land forces were thus contending, the Genoese and Pisans made a naval attack on the city. The Infidels set fire to their ships and crushed their bravest soldiers to death with stones and beams. After this defeat the Christian army was much disheartened, and reproaches were hurled promiscuously through the ranks. Divisions



PLATE NO. LXVII.—ST. FRANCIS TRIES TO CONVERT SULTAN MELIC-KAMEL.

arose between the horsemen and footmen. Each accused the other of lack of courage and of being the cause of the defeats. In the heat of accusation, both demanded to be put to the test by battle. They rushed tumultuously from their camps, in disregard of their leaders, and charged upon the enemy with the ferocity of forest animals. Their disorderly impetuosity was rebuked by quick and stunning defeat, after a horrible carnage.

There now came into the army a fervently pious man by the name of Francis of Assise, who had traveled much as an apostle and exhorter, and who was gifted with both eloquence and prescience. He came expecting to convert many souls, but he soon became dissatisfied with the Crusaders and, consumed with zeal, walked into the enemy's camp, where he was seized as a prisoner and conducted to the Sultan of Cairo, Meliekamel. There he tried to convert the Sultan, challenged the doctors of law to meet him in argument and, to prove the truth of Christianity, offered to cast himself upon a funeral pile. The astonished Sultan refused to make a martyr of him, and ordered him from his presence as a harmless enthusiast. (*See Plate No. LXVII.*) He then returned to Europe, where, as St. Francis, he established the order of Cordeliers. His disciples, like the apostles of Christ, had no possessions, but went without arms or purse or scrip as missionaries among the nations of Europe, Asia and Africa. "Peace be with you" was their card of introduction, prayer was their only weapon of defence, and death for the faith their only glory.

For seventeen months the Crusaders had been engaged in almost daily conflicts before the walls of Damietta. Though the Mussulmen had triumphed in many of the battles, they began to despair of the advantages they had hoped from the effect of climate on the Crusaders. Moreover, word came that the Emperor of Germany, who had taken the cross, was about to arrive with a fresh army. These considerations moved the Sultan of Damascus to sue for peace, on the terms, that the city and Kingdom of Jerusalem was to be delivered up to the Franks, with the reservation of certain rights for Mussulmen, the gift of a sufficient sum to rebuild the walls, and the restoration of all prisoners taken since the death of Saladin. The Crusaders called a council, and a majority of the barons favored the proposal. They saw in it more than they expected by the capture of Damietta, namely, a recovery of the holy places, which had been the object of the Crusade. But the Italian nobles, Cardinal Pelagius and the clergy opposed the offer. Pelagius regarded himself as the head of the army and wished to prolong his power. He looked upon the offer as a pretext of the enemy to gain time, and saw in their proffer of the Kingdom of Jerusalem nothing but a gift of demoralized cities and devastated provinces which would become the property of the Crusaders in due time. It was disgraceful to renounce the conquest of a city they had besieged for seventeen months. Once masters of Damietta, the Crusaders might conclude a glorious peace and reap all the advantages of victory.

Thus the Christian army presented the

remarkable spectacle of a division, in which its most distinguished warriors favored peace, and its clergy favored war. These discussions, leading more and more to open breach, were carried on for several days, when the renewal of hostilities called for a prosecution of the siege. It became a main effort of the Sultan of Cairo to throw provisions and reinforcements within the walls of Damietta. These efforts were, for the most part, foiled by the vigilant Crusaders. Famine began to tell on the garrison, and the inhabitants grew despondent and began to flee. The Commander walled up the gates, and from that time on Damietta became a closed sepulchre. The garrison, weakened by lack of food, could no longer man the walls. From one of their tall machines the Crusaders made the discovery that a tower was empty. They took advantage of this on a dark and stormy night and penetrated within the first inclosure. At daylight a picked few ascended the tower and threw out their standard. Instantly the whole army flew to arms and put their rams and other machines in motion. The walls toppled, embrasures were made, gates were opened. The excited Crusaders poured through the openings, ready to cut down everything before them. But instead of meeting an enemy they were overwhelmed with pestilential odors and stood aghast at the spectacle of a city strewn with corpses. Youth, prime, age, masculine strength and female grace, lay as they fell, confused, rotting victims of the siege. Out of seventy thousand inhabitants of Damietta only three thousand shadows flitted among the ruins of

the beleaguered city. The swords of the conquerors found nothing to cleave; their valor drooped into sad inaction. Still the spirit of booty found play. Pillage set in, and the Crusaders revelled in riches of spices, diamonds and precious stuffs. Two hundred thousand crowns worth of treasure were turned into the common stock, and as much more was appropriated by the soldiers, despite the thunders of the clergy. The superb Mosque was transformed into a church consecrated to the Virgin, and there prayers were offered for victory. The city was assigned to the King of Jerusalem. The miserable remnant of population appealed to the humanity of the conquerors. They were given food, offered the consolation and baptism of the Christian religion and set to work to cleanse the City whose poisons were exhaled by the dead bodies of their brethren. (*See Plate No. LXVIII.*) The Bishop of Ptolemais purchased many of the orphans, had them baptized, and took them to rear under Christian precepts. Few of them survived to crown his charitable efforts. So fearful was the stench within the city, that the Christian army was forced to withdraw to its camps as soon as its spirit of pillage was exhausted.

The fall of Damietta filled the Mussulmen of Egypt and Syria with terror. They rushed to their mosques and implored the intervention of the prophet. The Caliph of Bagdad was appealed to, but he was threatened by the Tartar hordes, and in turn invoked the help of Egypt and Syria to defend his capital. The Ayoubite princes did not respond to his appeals, but set about their

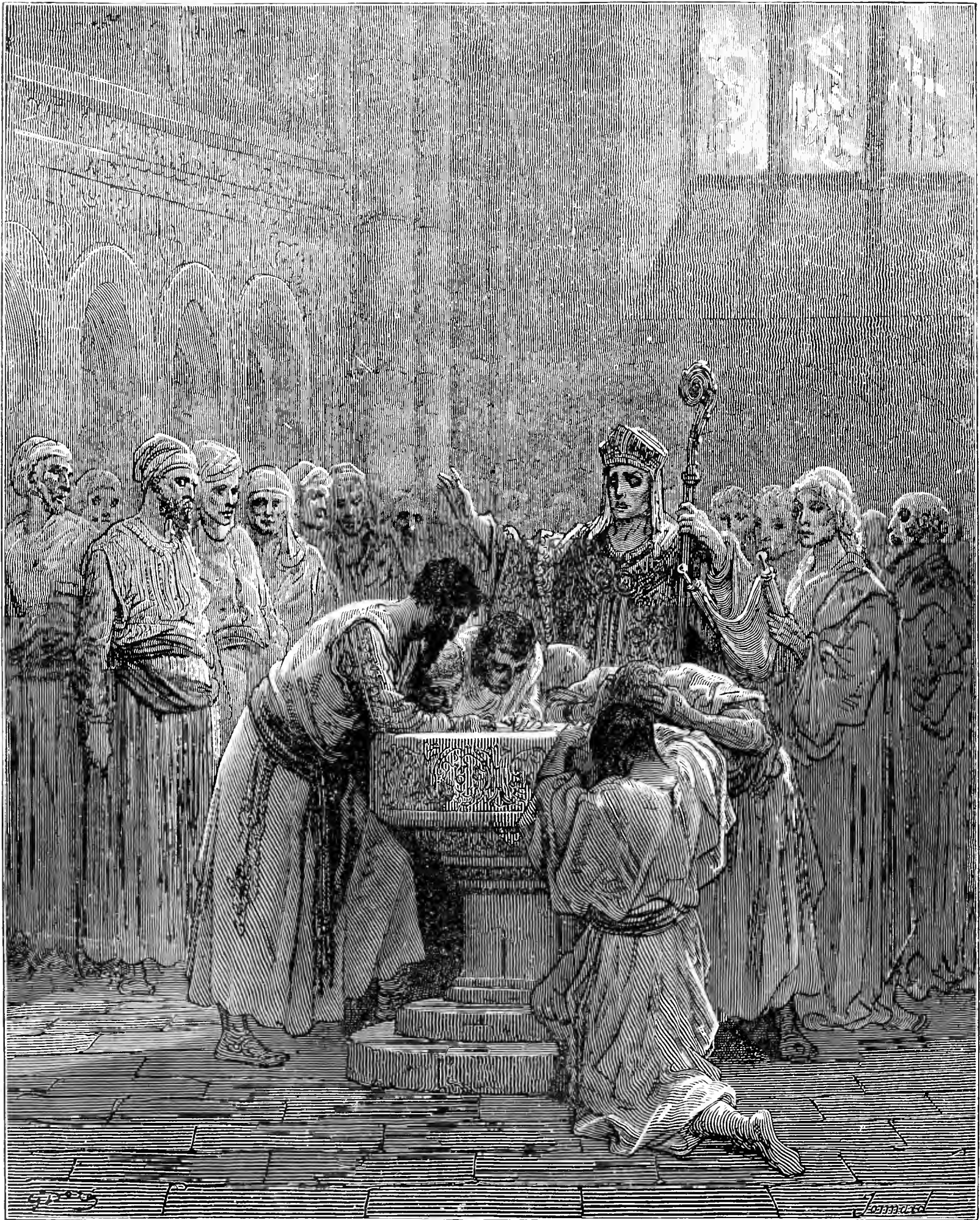


PLATE NO. LXVIII.—BAPTISM OF INFIDELS.

own defence. To them the Christian was more dreadful than the savage Tartar. The Tartar adopted the custom and religion he found; the Christian destroyed all, enslaved all. Therefore the mighty sweep from the steppes of Asia, which had involved Persia and was approaching Syria, was neglected, for the time, in order that the Christian storm from the West might be met.

After the capture of Damietta, Egypt was in a state of demoralization. The stronghold of Taunis fell. The Christians considered themselves masters of the Nile. Half of their army took advantage of the March passages and returned to Europe. The other half forgot the fatigues and perils of war and gave themselves up to indulgence under the balmy skies of an Egyptian spring. Idleness and voluptuousness, as ever with the soldiers of the cross, gave rise to jealousies and divisions. Pelagius grew more imperious than ever, and his haughtiness caused the King of Jerusalem to abandon the prize of Damietta and return to Ptolemais.

The fame of the capture of Damietta was working like a leaven in Europe. There was a constant influx of Crusaders from the North. Frederick II sent the Duke of Bavaria with four hundred Knights. France, Italy, Milan, Pisa, Genoa, sent their contingent of adventurers. The Pope emptied his coffers in support of the holy war. Pelagius proposed to march directly on Cairo. The nobles and Knights refused to follow any one but the King of Jerusalem. The Pope prevailed on him to come back and head the army. While the Crusaders were thus losing time, the Mussulmen were gather-

ing fresh armies. The Sultan of Cairo beheld daily accessions to his ranks from Damascus, Aleppo and Arabia. His camp grew into the city of Mansourah, at the two eastern branches of the Nile, and Mansourah became historic as the climax of Christian ambitions in the valley of the Nile.

On the return of John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem, to Damietta, a Council of war was held. Pelagius, backed by the bishops and clergy, proposed an immediate march on Cairo. The King of Jerusalem pointed out the folly of a march up the Nile at a time when its annual overflow was expected. Pelagius, as the direct representative of the Pope, charged cowardice on all warriors who refused to advance and threatened them with excommunication. The taunt and the fear decided the day. It was agreed to march against Cairo. Seventy thousand men advanced up the banks of the Nile. A fleet with provisions, arms and machines of war kept them company on the river. Pelagius was exalted in his triumph over the stubborn warriors, and looked confidently to the overthrow of the Mohammedan religion. The Christian army came opposite the Mussulman camp without a battle. Though the position of the Mussulmen was strong, they were rendered timid by reports of the arrival of Frederick of Germany with reinforcements, and by the success of the Tartars on the Syrian frontiers. They, therefore, proposed peace, by giving up the principality of Damietta and restoring the Kingdom of Jerusalem to the shape it was in before attacked by Saladin. The King of Jerusalem and the barons accepted the proposi-

tion, with joy, but Pelagius and the clergy dominated the situation. They saw further glorious conquests, and held that such a proposition was only an evidence of fear and weakness. Refusal of their generous propositions excited indignation and courage among the Mussulmen. They strengthened their position and prepared for vigorous defence. The Crusaders, now wholly at the disposal of Pelagius, surrounded their camps with a ditch and wall. That prelate, then proceeded to show his inefficiency as a military leader, by remaining inactive for days. The more ambitious warriors grew tired of irresolution, and ten thousand of them withdrew to Damietta. A month passed and none of the victories which Pelagius had promised came to pass. At length, the Nile began to overflow, and to awaken in the Crusaders a sense of the danger they were in. The Saracens opened the sluices and filled all the canals of lower Egypt. The Mussulman fleet came up the canals, centred about the Christian ships, and, in a single engagement destroyed them. This cut off provisions from the Christian army and paralyzed it with fear. The rising waters prevented foraging. To perish by hunger or by drowning was the alternative presented to the invaders. The King of Jerusalem offered the Saracens battle, but they declined. As the waters rose, it became impossible to manœuvre either cavalry or foot soldiers in the treacherous slime. The supreme folly of having trusted to a blind leader, was apparent. All the barons and Knights raised their voices against the Suicidal counsels of the prelate.

Cries and lamentations arose from the army to which he had promised victory. Finally, he was obliged to sue for peace and to lower his pride by humiliating conditions to those of whose conquest he had boasted. Damietta was to be given up and the Christians were to be allowed to return to Ptolemais.

The Mussulmen accepted the terms after a long and animated debate. But when word reached Damietta of the disaster to the Christian army, the newly arrived Crusaders were struck with surprise and grief. A great number of them returned home disgusted with the enterprise. Others rushed to the ramparts and swore to defend them to the last. They were not to be appeased till word was sent that if Damietta were not given up, Ptolemais would also fall into the hands of the Mussulmen, and, most satisfactory of all, that if no further contest for Damietta were made, the Mussulmen would restore to Christian keeping the true cross which they had captured at Tiberias.

Meanwhile the inundation of the Nile had deprived the Christian army of its tents and baggage, and had bred terrible contagion and famine. The King of Jerusalem petitioned the Sultan of Cairo to pity his disarmed enemies. The Sultan ordered the distribution of thirty thousand loaves of bread per day, for four days, to the famished Crusaders. He caused the sluices to be closed so that the soil might dry. As soon as Damietta was formally surrendered to the Mussulmen, the Christian army began its retreat. Owing their liberty and lives to a foe they never spared under similar circumstances, the Crusaders quitted the banks of the Nile where

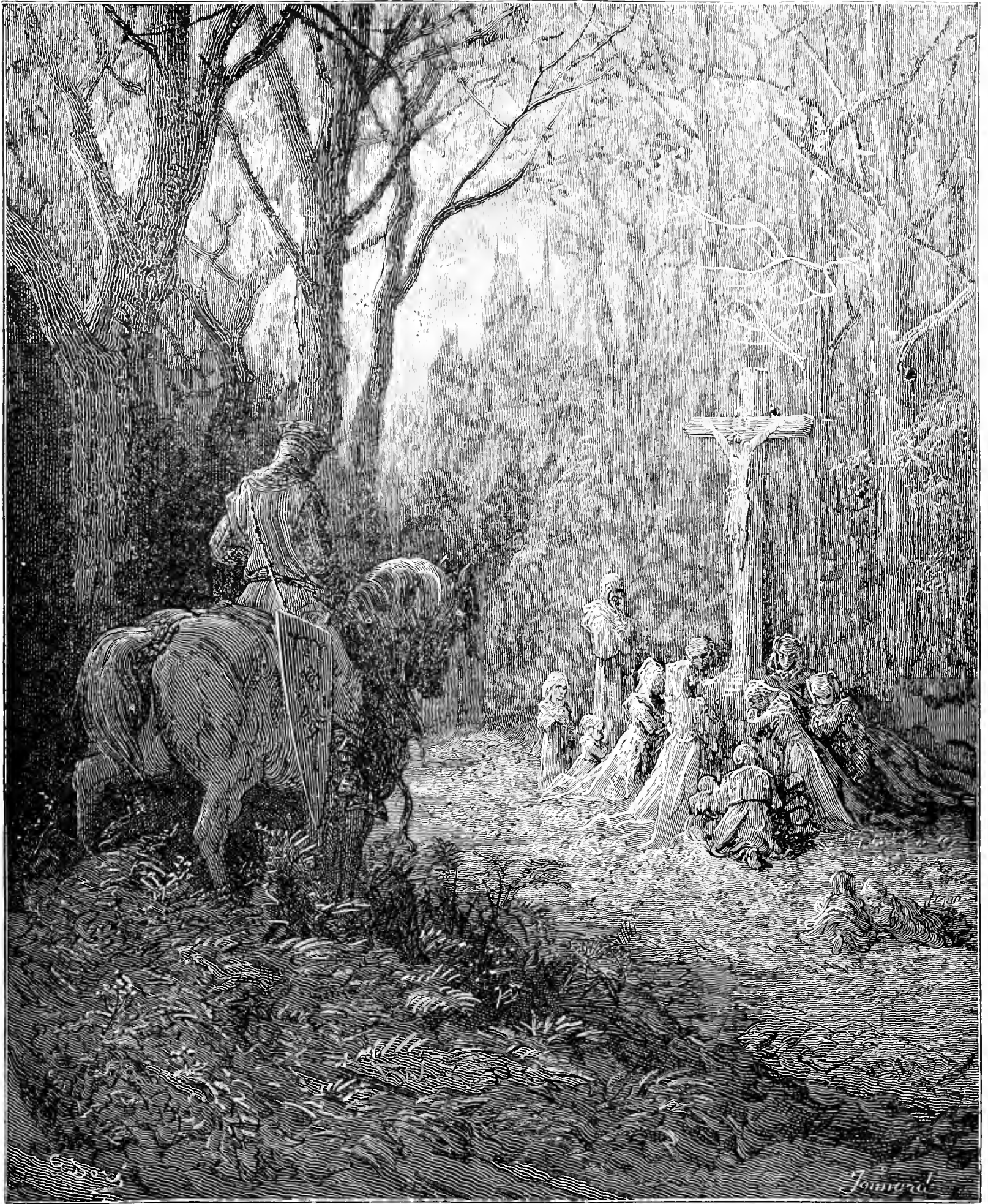


PLATE NO. LXIX.—THE RETURN.

a short time before they had sworn to make the cause of Christ triumphant. They bore away with them the wood of the true cross, whose genuineness they had reason to suspect since it proved no longer a source of miracles and victories. The son of the Sultan accompanied them on their retreat with orders to provide for all their wants.

The Christian victories on the Nile had caused great rejoicing at Ptolemais, but now that the discomfited armies were falling back in disastrous retreat upon that place, consternation took the place of joy, and, as usual, the leaders fell to reproaching each other for lack of judgment and cowardice. When news of the disaster reached the West, prayers were offered in all the churches for the mitigation of Heaven's anger, and the deepest grief pervaded the hearts of the faithful. A gloom rested on all the villages and leading households of Europe, occasioned by the immense losses of the expedition, and it was rendered deeper by the pitiful tales of returning wanderers, poured into ears eager to catch the faintest clues as to the fate of their lost friends. (*See* Plate No. LXIX.) Kings and people roundly denounced Pelagius, the Pope's prelate, as the cause of the failure of the Crusade and of such universal woe, but Pope Honorius adhered to his minister and, in turn, vented the thunders of Rome and the anger of Heaven upon the rulers, especially Frederick of Germany, for neglecting to succor the brethren of the East. As Frederick had three times renewed his vows to fight Infidels, and had sent vessels, provisions and soldiers to the holy war, he was at first astounded at the Pope's reproaches, and

then, goaded to anger, threatened to meet papal vengeance by open war. Honorius changed his tone and employed prayers rather than menaces to move the stubborn Frederick to have pity on the church of the East. Frederick, thus appeased, promised to lead an army into Palestine. At a grand assembly, at Verona, to which the Pope invited the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Grand Masters of the Templars, Hospitallers and the Teutonic Order, he proposed that Frederick should marry Yolande, daughter of John of Brienne, and heir to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Frederick accepted the offer and promised to maintain the Kingdom of Jerusalem or suffer excommunication.

After this celebrated conference, King John of Brienne, visited the leading courts of Europe in search of aid for the Holy Land. The Emperor Frederick prepared vessels and transports for the army he was about to lead. Becoming, of a sudden, more enthusiastic in raising recruits than the Pope himself, he reproached that functionary with being stingy in granting indulgences, and with employing incompetent orators. He urged on him the duty of settling the differences between France and England, that those countries might be at liberty to join the Crusade. He sent his agents into Austria, Hungary and Thuringia to engage recruits, and promised to furnish all Crusaders with vessels, provisions and arms. In short, he became the leading spirit of the expedition and the head of the holy enterprise. The Christians of Palestine looked anxiously for his advent, either there or on the banks of the Nile, even, says the Patriarch of Alex-

andria, "as formerly the saints had looked for the coming of the Saviour of the World." And, if anything, the Christians of Egypt were worse off than those of Palestine, for, after the loss of Damietta, their churches had been burned, and they had been deprived of their property and right of worship.

But while Frederick was thus active, his kingdoms of Sicily and Naples grew ripe for rebellion, and the Lombardy republics openly opposed his projects. The Pope, too, was hostile to Frederick's ambitions in Italy. These conditions forced Frederick to ask for an extension of time for two years. He excused his request by the plea that it would take that time to perfect his expedition, and by the fact that the Christian truce with the Mussulmen would not expire before that time, though this last had never before been a moving consideration with either King or Pope. The Pope was angry at the proposed delay, but dissembled his wrath by exacting fresh promises from Frederick, all of which were given with the greatest solemnity. Meanwhile Frederick's marriage with the heir of Jerusalem was solemnized at Rome, amid the most ostentatious formalities. The Christian West regarded it as a pledge of victory for the Crusaders over the Infidels. King John congratulated himself in obtaining a son-in-law who was Emperor in the West, and would soon be so powerful a supporter in the East. But his joy was transient, for Frederick refused to see in his new father-in-law other than the brother of Gauthier of Brienne, former King of Sicily and Naples, an avowed enemy and dangerous rival. He therefore disputed with John his

right to rule in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and at once claimed it for himself. The Pope was pleased with Frederick's pretensions, thought they would assure the success of the Crusade, and so brought about the deposition of King John and the acknowledgment of Frederick as King of Jerusalem. Thus John was dethroned, and he who had always been ardently in favor of holy wars was forced to nurse in silence an opportunity to avenge himself upon his ambitious son-in-law and, if possible, recover his Kingdom.

Frederick appeared to be more earnest than ever in his preparations for the expedition. The Pope ordered general preachment of the Crusade in Europe. War having been renewed between England and France, he threatened Louis VIII with excommunication if he did not immediately make peace. But Louis was too anxious for the conquest of Picton to pay attention, and he found in the prayers and thanks of his own clergy and people for his victories a talisman against the anathemas of the Pope. Moreover, war with England was not alone responsible for the failure of French Crusaders to enlist and depart. Louis VIII, carrying out the inquisitorial policy of his father Philip, was still enlisted in the persecutions of the Albigois. As soon as his hands were left free by a truce with England, he made a new vow, not to fight the Infidels, but to exterminate the heretics of Languedoc, thus securing the double advantage of battles near home and of possible extension of his territories. Most of his lords and barons followed him into the southern provinces, for-

getting all about the deliverance of Jerusalem.

The envoys of Frederick and the Pope were particularly active in preaching the Crusade among the German peoples. The Pope seconded their eloquence by the greatest prodigality of indulgences. This had the effect of diminishing the confidence and enthusiasm inspired by the orators, for the people beheld with astonishment the taking of the cross by the greatest criminals, who swore to expiate their sins by pilgrimage. True, St. Peter and St. Bernard had called thieves and murderers to the defence of Christ, but sentiment had undergone a change, and what could have been excused in a previous century was now deemed a reproach. The free use of indulgences for recruiting purposes was regarded as an incentive to great offences and as mockery of the zeal of true defenders of Christ. In England the clerical orators met with signal successes by appeals to superstition. Their favorite miracle was the sudden appearance in the heavens of an illuminated crucifix, with the marks of the five wounds of the Savior. The spectacle inflamed enthusiasm and drew thousands of recruits. Spain was a constant battle-ground between Christians and Moors, and could give no attention to the Crusade. Italy was in no condition to hear the appeals of papal orators. She was a system of divided communities, each jealous and hostile, most of them panting for larger liberty. The Guelph and Ghibelline factions troubled every Italian city, and the German Emperor was kept as busy as the Pope in hearing partisan appeals. The Lombard republics

had confederated and were powerful enough to have engaged the attention of Frederick for a very long while, but the Pope finally prevailed on them to sink their opposition to the Emperor and join the Crusade.

We look in vain along the line of these persistent and powerful efforts to raise a Crusade, for that wild enthusiasm and unreasoning response which made the earlier holy wars possible. Yet we see that a strong army was still obtainable by an aggregation of squads gathered from wide territories. All Europe had contributed some little to the present mass which was now ready for motion and under orders to sail from the port of Brindisi. Just as all things were ready, and Pope Honorius was about to see his wishes accomplished, he was removed by death. Gregory IX succeeded him. He had all the abilities, virtues and ambitions of Innocent III, to which he united fearless audacity and brutal obstinacy. The holy war engrossed his earliest attention. He provided for the wants of the Crusaders, then suffering much from the season and climate in Apulia, and urged their speedy departure. Frederick set sail from Brindisi, amid prayers for his prosperity, but at the end of three days he fell sick, retraced his course and landed at Otranto.

Gregory had celebrated Frederick's departure as a triumph of the Church. He denounced his return as a revolt against the Holy See. From the pulpit in Agnani, whither he had retired, he launched the anathemas of the Church against Frederick, and in his anger gave birth to that formidable storm which was to vex the world for cen-

turies. Frederick sent a messenger to Gregory to explain and justify his conduct. The Pope refused to listen, but denounced Frederick before all the sovereigns of Europe as a faithless and perjured prince, who had imprisoned his wife, Yolande, till she died of grief; who had left the Crusaders to perish of hunger and thirst in Apulia; who had deserted the cause of Christ under a pretext of sickness in order to return to the enjoyments of his own kingdom. Frederick replied with bitterness to Gregory's accusations. He wrote to all the courts of Europe, explaining his conduct, and setting forth in odious light the ambitious designs of the Pope. He charged the Church of Rome with a desire to heap up riches rather than spread the word of God, and with an attempt to reap where it had not sown; reminded the princes of the violence of the Pope toward the Count of Toulouse and the King of England; showed that the domains of the clergy did not satisfy the ambitions of the Holy See and that the Popes desired to lay hands on every kingdom. The result was that Pope Gregory IX and Frederick were at war, and war between two such enemies must necessarily prove desolating to all Christendom. Both were pugnacious, ambitious, jealous, implacable. The one was as ready to employ the power which the Church placed in his hands, as the other to employ the forces of political fortune. Gregory was active in the pursuit of his enemies with the weapons of religion and war. To these he added satirical manifestoes, allegorical denunciations and mysterious interpretations of Heaven's anger. Fred-

erick resorted to the secrets and stratagems of war, of which he was master. Gifted with raillery, he confused his enemies in discussion and in battle. A descendant on the female side of those Norman barons who first conquered Sicily, he united their audacity, courage and subtlety. He had enacted the most barbarous laws against heretics in order to please the Pope, but now he did not hesitate to arm both heretic and Infidel against the Holy See. His acceptance of the throne of Jerusalem was for the purpose of increasing his popularity in the East and rendering easier the title of universal Cæsar which he coveted, in spite of papal hostility.

When Gregory returned to Rome he repeated his excommunication of Frederick. The Emperor seduced the Roman nobles, insulted the Pope at his altar, and drove him from Rome. Gregory released the subjects of Frederick from their allegiance by reminding them that obedience was not due to those who opposed God and his saints. Frederick responded by driving the Templars and Hospitallers from Naples, plundering their Churches and ostracising all clericals belonging to the party of the Holy See. He ravaged the patrimony of St. Peter, enlisted the Saracens in Sicily and ravaged the Roman states. Amid these deplorable scenes the soldiers of Southern Europe quite forgot the holy war, though the Christians of Palestine and the grandmasters of the three military Orders never ceased to implore Western aid. All thought of maintaining further Christian foothold in the East must have been abandoned soon, but for the fact

that Providence furnished partial safety in discords among the Mussulmen.

During the siege of Damietta, a common danger had united the children of Malek-Adel. After that danger passed, the Sultan of Damascus formed a coalition with the Sultan of Carismia against Melik-Kamel, Sultan of Cairo. That prince, who, with all others, had heard with terror of the formidable preparations of Frederick, felt relieved at the failure of the expedition, and rejoiced in the report that the Pope and Emperor were at war. Hoping to strike a blow at the Pope, he sought terms with Frederick, sent him presents, and invited him to come into the East, promising to deliver to him the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Frederick was surprised and delighted. He accepted the Sultan's terms and secretly determined to follow up the project of the Crusade. By doing so he could best reply to the Pope's charges of lack of faith, and would, at the same time, be able to head off John of Brienne who was on his way to again assume the crown of Jerusalem. He prepared to embark at once at Barletta, amid ostentatious ceremonies. He read his will aloud, and his barons and nobles swore to execute it to the letter should he perish in the East. The Pope sent ecclesiastics to forbid his departure and to denounce him for presenting to the Christian world the ineffaceable scandal of a Crusade undertaken by a prince who stood reproved of God. Again, as Frederick sailed with only six hundred Knights in twenty galleys, he denounced him as having broken all his promises and started out as the captain of a piratical ex-

pedition. Frederick paid no attention to the Pope, but left the greater part of his army in Sicily, under instruction to carry on the war against the Roman states with vigor, but at the same time to be ready to accept terms of peace in case the Pope offered them.

When the Pope heard of his departure he was at Assisi attending services incident to the canonization of St. Francis. All at once his prayers were interrupted by maledictions of Frederick, and at the foot of the altar he implored Heaven to confound the pride of impious monarchs and circumvent the sacrilegious enterprises. Notwithstanding papal wrath, Frederick arrived safely in Syria and was welcomed by the clergy, patriarchs and grandmasters of the military Orders. But soon two disciples of St. Francis, sent by the Pope, made their appearance. Their mission was to announce to the faithful in the East that Frederick was rebellious to the will of the Church. Contempt for him soon took the place of respect. At Ptolemais all thought of delivering Jerusalem was lost in schemes to escape obedience to an heretical prince.

On the arrival of Frederick in Syria, the Sultan of Damascus died. The successor was young and inexperienced. The discords which followed spread to all the Mussulmen troops in Syria and Egypt and imperilled all the Mussulman thrones. Still, the Sultan of Egypt marched his army into Palestine, his real object being to take advantage of the confusion which prevailed and strike a blow for the possession of Damascus. Frederick reminded him of his promises and as-

sured him he had no other ambition than to regain Jerusalem. Frederick did not dare insist too strenuously, for if he offended the Sultan of Cairo, he would draw the combined armies of Egypt and Syria on himself. The Sultan of Cairo did not dare refuse directly, for then he would be between the Christian army of Frederick and the Mussulman army of the Sultan of Damascus. So the two sovereigns wasted much time in negotiations, designed to conceal the desire of both for peace and to cloak their respective policies, which were disapproved of by both Christians and Infidels. Scandals became rampant, and the followers of Frederick and Melik-Kamel reproached their leaders with sinister designs. They repeatedly exchanged presents, and the climax of scandal was reached when Frederick accepted from the Sultan the present of a troop of girls to sing and dance, after the Oriental fashion, in his banqueting halls.

Such was the flood of prejudices, that Frederick was more in favor with the Infidels than with the Christians, and Melik-Kamel with the Christians than with the Infidels. This hatred of Frederick broke into treachery. The Templars informed Melik-Kamel of Frederick's intention to bathe in the Jordan, and suggested that it would be a favorable opportunity to capture the head of the Christian army. The Sultan despised such treachery and sent the letter to Frederick. At length the Sultan of Damascus declared war against Melik. This determined him to conclude negotiations with Frederick and effect a treaty which would leave both to dispose of their forces as their ambitions dic-

tated. A ten year truce was concluded, and Jerusalem, Nazareth, Bethlehem and Thoron, were to be surrendered to the Christians, on the condition that the Mussulmen were to retain in the Holy City the Mosque of Omar and the freedom of their worship, and the lands of the Sultan of Egypt were not to be invaded by the followers of Frederick.

The armies of both princes denounced the treaty as impious. The imans and cadies appealed to the Caliph of Bagdad to condemn a truce which conveyed away from the Mussulmen their house of God and city of the prophet. The priests and bishops declaimed, in the name of the pontiff, against a treaty which left Mosques standing by the side of the Holy Sepulchre. The Sultan of Damascus refused to ratify so sacrilegious a treaty. Thus both faiths were scandalized. The Patriarch of Jerusalem put an interdict on the recovered Holy places and refused pilgrims permission to visit the sepulchre of Christ. Jerusalem was no longer the holy city and the heritage of God, and when Frederick entered it the faithful received him with sullen silence. He found the Church of the Holy Sepulchre hung in mourning and deserted by the clergy. An air of desolation pervaded the entire city. Frederick took the crown, placed it on his own head and was proclaimed King without any ceremony. The images of the apostles were veiled, only swords and lances hung round the altars, the sacred vaults echoed nothing but the shouts of warriors.

Undismayed by the coolness of his reception, Frederick wrote to the Pope and sovereigns of Europe that he had conquered Jeru-

salem without the effusion of blood and had thus gained a victory which must fulfill all the hopes of the Christian world. At the same time the Patriarch wrote to the Pope and to all the faithful showing the impious character of Frederick's treaty. The Pope, thereupon, deplored the conquest of Jerusalem as he would have done its loss, and compared the new King to the impious usurpers of the throne of David. Frederick did not remain long at Jerusalem, but went to Ptolemais where he found his Christian subjects as full of imprecations as those in the Holy City. The Patriarch and clergy interdicted the city so long as Frederick remained in it. Worship was suspended. Altars were stripped of their ornaments. Images of the saints were cast to the ground. No bells were rung nor hymns sung. The dead were buried without funeral ceremonies or monumental stones. Everything was given the semblance of a great calamity. This was the welcome of the liberator of Jerusalem to Ptolemais.

Frederick found himself obliged to negotiate with his Christian subjects as he had done with the Infidels. But they were worse than Infidels on his hands. He was driven to force. He closed the gates of the city, prohibited provisions from entering, planted archers where they could intimidate Templars and pilgrims, ordered mendicant monks to be dragged from the altars and beaten in public. Both sides carried their excesses to extremes. Frederick could not safely remain in the midst of enemies animated by such hatred and vengeance as these of Ptolemais. Moreover he had heard that two papal armies

had entered the Kingdom of Naples and were ravaging cities, mutilating prisoners and committing unspeakable atrocities. Strange to say, they were led by his own father-in-law, John of Brienne, ex-King of Jerusalem, who thus sought an opportunity to avenge his own injuries and at the same time show his loyalty to the Pope. Frederick, therefore, quitted Ptolemais for his own dominions. He accused the Templars of wishing to deliver him to the Saracens. The Templars charged him with a desire to surrender the Christian cities to the Sultan of Cairo. The Christians at large charged him with failure to defend or fortify Jerusalem and the other places whose possession he had secured, and with a design of annoying the Holy See. These and a thousand other charges and counter-charges were bandied about in churches, courts and camps, east and west, and the general result was that Frederick and his crusade became the theme of universal sarcasm.

During his absence, the Pope had united the Lombard republics against him and had armed John of Brienne with the sanction of the Church and the right to secure the title of emperor by his arms. Frederick's presence in Italy soon re-activated his troops. He conquered his pontifical enemies in several engagements and drove them out of his provinces and cities. The discomfited Pope again had recourse to anathemas. He excommunicated Frederick and all who sat at his tables, participated in his councils, performed religious service in his presence or paid him any respect. Frederick was appalled by the extent of this denunciation and sent ambas-

sadors to the Pope. Gregory, in spite of the power of his fulminations, dreaded his foe and the consequences of war, and was glad to negotiate with one who had humbled himself by a first submission. The Pope made terms by dictating laws to his conqueror, and willingly extended pardon for peace. But this peace was only on the surface. Discordant debates still filled the churches and courts in Europe and the East, and greatly subtracted from Christian zeal and courage. The Christians of Jerusalem lived in daily dread of attack from the Mussulmen, and many of them withdrew to better protected places. While they censured Frederick for leaving his acquisitions unfortified, they felt that their helplessness was intensified by lack of some such a military leader as he. As a consequence prayers and petitions for help poured into Europe from the East, only to pass unheeded. Nothing seemed to awaken the pity or enthusiasm of the faithful in the West.

Almost alone, Pope Gregory clung to the project of renewing and extending the Crusade. In a despairing moment he called a council at Spoleto, to which he invited Frederick and the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Constantinople and Antioch. Their deliberations were confronted with Frederick's ten year truce with the Sultan of Cairo, but this was brushed aside in true Christian style, and the assembly resolved to renew the war in Palestine. Gregory was impatient to extend the power of the Church and proclaim his laws in the rich capitals of the East and, to employ time, while the recruits were gathering, sent advance missionaries into Syria

and Egypt to convert the Infidels. He wrote to the Sultans of the East exhorting them to embrace Christianity. History does not record the fate of his missionaries nor the success of his efforts, but the Mussulmen do not appear to have been his enemies any less than before. He met with far better success when he sent his sacred orators through Europe to preach harmony among princes and people. These were, in some instances, eloquent and earnest men—disciples of St. Dominick and St. Francis—and by means of persuasive speech seconded by convincing miracles, they drew great crowds and left profound impressions. Cities and clans renounced their enmities. Peace was held up to the faithful as a panacea for all their ills. Many long and bloody feuds incident to the times and most of the incessant discords which preyed alike on Church and State were hushed by the pleas and exhortations of these agents of a crusade of peace at home. It may appear somewhat stultifying that a crusade of peace should be deemed a necessary prelude to one of war, but it was sufficient for the age that the Pope had faith in it and counted it as the most politic of Church measures. Aside from the selfish ends sought to be gained by it, it is a satisfactory spectacle in the dark ages to witness such a subsidence of discordant passions as was brought about by these pious orators of peace. In the midst of the lull, Gregory sent pastoral instructions to all the bishops and prelates in Christendom to organize new armies of the cross. He declared all guilty of treason who would not employ their utmost efforts to conquer the heritage of Christ, and assessed

all the faithful, male and female, a dernier a week to defray the expenses of the holy war. These alms he compared to those solicited by St. Paul at Jerusalem, and he regarded them as ample to support a crusade for ten years.

As the Crusade of peace in Europe had been mostly preached by the fraternities of St. Dominick and St. Francis, so now they became the most active agents in preaching the Crusade of war. Their apostles were given power to confer the cross and grant indulgences, and were endowed with the hitherto unheard of authority to commute the customary vow of the pilgrim into a pecuniary gift of alms. The Pope also ordered that they should be received with high ceremony by the clergy of the cities and towns they visited. As the priests and disciples of these orders had devoted themselves to poverty and to examples of Christian humility, their sudden assumption of pomp, wealth and power, detracted from the solemnity of their mission and the sanctity of their character, and their words began to cool, rather than kindle, the enthusiasm of Christians. It soon became manifest that the kind of enthusiasm which must be relied on for the success of the Crusade was that, and only that, which could be inspired by the example of illustrious princes and warriors. The situation was propitious. France was at peace. Her wars with the Albigeois were nearing an end. Her disengaged knights were restless for new fields of war. They readily swore to fight the Infidels in Asia.

Thibault, King of Navarre, renewed the vow of his father to battle for the cross. He was the bravest of knights and most musical

of the Troubadours, and as he now turned his muse to the complaints of Jerusalem, barons and knights flocked to his standard from all the provinces of France. (*See* Plate No. LXX.) They were seemingly glad of an opportunity to expiate their many perfidies, felonies and persecutions by steeping their swords in Infidel blood. Among them were the notorious Pierre, of Dreux, Duke of Brittany, educated as a priest; Hugh IV, Duke of Burgundy; Counts of Bar, Ferez, Macon, and Nevers; Simon, of Montfort; Andrew, of Vitri; Geoffry, of Ancenes; and a host of others of equal repute for valor and ambition.

As the preaching of the Crusade by clericals had introduced abuses which endangered its success, and as it was seen that the example of real warriors was more potential than pious exhortation, the Pope called a council at Tours for the purpose of undoing the evils incident to promiscuous recruitment. As the knights had decided that their ranks should not be dishonored by the enlistment of criminals, other than themselves, the council of Tours wisely decreed that the Pope's grant of indulgence and expiation should be modified so as to not exempt criminals found in the ranks, but to turn them over to an ecclesiastical judge to be tried. If guilty, the cross might be taken away from them entirely. In the same manner other evils were remedied—evils of which the Knights, who were to be propitiated, rather than the Church, complained, for as to morals, the more criminals Europe could transport to Asia as food for Infidel wrath the better she was off. Now, as ever

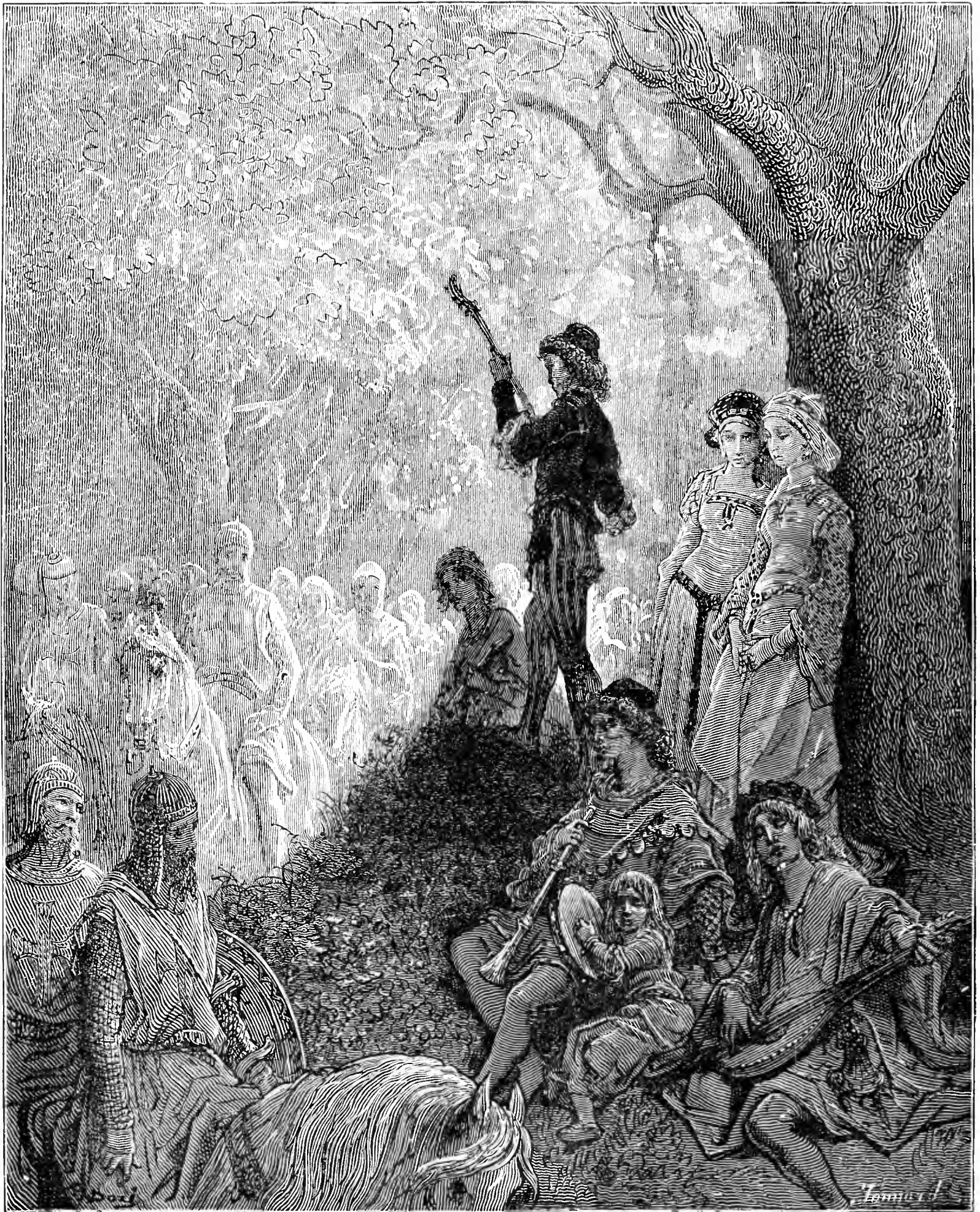


PLATE NO. LXX.—DEPARTURE OF THIBAULT, KING OF NAVARRE.

before, the preachment which crowned a Crusade stirred the people to excesses against the Jews, the moneyed element, the examples of frugality and prosperity, yet the accursed of earth because, in fanatical fancy and superstitious frenzy, they were responsible for the immolation of the Christ for whom battle was to be waged. Their property was looked upon as lawful booty, when siezed and devoted to a cause toward which all Christians were forced to contribute. The Council of Tours took steps to prevent these excesses. It prevented the robbery and ill-treatment of the Jews by the penalty of ecclesiastical censure, a very elastic penalty to be sure, yet in that age of church supremacy about the only one adequate to the crime.

Under these auspices the Crusaders were gathered, and were about to start, when the West was filled with fresh alarms. The Latin authority in Constantinople was in a death rigor. The family of Courtenay had succeeded to the throne after the death of Baldwin of Flanders and his son Henry. Peter of Courtenay had been murdered while on his way to take the throne, and his wife had died of grief. Robert, his second son, had succeeded, only to lose all the Asiatic provinces of his Empire to Vataces, successor to Lascaris, and Thessaly and most of Thrace to Theodore Comnenus, King of Epirus. Thus, the Greeks threatened to rescue their Empire from Latin domination, and their standards now surrounded Constantinople. Robert died suddenly, and John of Brienne was called to support the tottering throne. He infused new courage into the garrison

and dispersed his enemies, as if by miracle. But he greatly reduced his army by repeated battles, and was forced to call on Europe for help, which never arrived. He died at eighty years of age, valiantly contesting for his throne, and a mute witness of the wreckage which nothing could restore but wise leaders and powerfully equipped armies. Young Baldwin, who had married his daughter, was to have succeeded him, but he found himself a fugitive from his capital, and a suppliant in Europe. The Pope was touched by his pitiable appeals for aid, and published a new Crusade for the defence of the Empire of the East. He invited the Crusaders, about to start for Palestine, to go to the assistance of their brethren at Constantinople. Some favored the Pope's project, but the French Knights adhered to their purpose to fight the Saracens in Asia.

Thibault and other troubadours wrote spirited songs celebrating their departure. They gathered from all the French provinces at Marseilles, where transports awaited them. The assembled army was full of enthusiasm, but Pope Gregory seemed suddenly to turn against them and their enterprise, in the face of dangers nearer home. While the leaders were assembled at Lyons to agree on the future of the expedition, they received a nuncio from Gregory commanding them to return to their homes. This incensed the barons and Knights and they told the Pope that he might disapprove of an expedition he had set on foot, but they, who had dedicated themselves by oath to the defence of Christ, proposed to adhere to their intention. As the Pope, in his

nuncio, had charged them with betrayal of the cause they had espoused, they, in their indignation, insulted and would have killed his ambassador, but for the intercession of the bishops and prelates present.

At this juncture the Emperor of Germany sent word to the barons and Knights that he was collecting troops, and that it would be politic for them to suspend their march till he was ready. Seeing in this only another attempt at delay which they could not understand, except as they associated it with that of the Pope, they resolved to embark for Syria, at once, which they did. The cause of anxiety on the part of both the Pope and Frederick now became apparent. They fell to disputing about the sovereignty of Sardinia, and flew to war with all their old time animosity. The Pope excommunicated Frederick and degraded him in all the churches and courts of Europe by charges of heresy and as an oppressor of religion and humanity. Frederick retorted with great asperity and called on the princes of Europe to defend his cause as their own, and crush out papal usurpations once for all. The Pope redoubled his thunder and even preached a Crusade against Frederick, saying, "there was more merit in combatting a prince who was rebellious to the successors of St. Peter than in delivering Jerusalem." In this contest of venomous invective and scandalizing retort, the Pope and the Emperor lost all sense of things sacred and sovereign. On the one side, every associate of the temporal prince became a demon, on the other there was stubborn refusal to recognize the Pope as the vicar of Christ. The clerical poten-

tate who had just deluged Europe with sermons of peace, as a corner stone for the success of a Crusade against Infidels, was himself the first conspicuous example of bitter discord and relentless war. In his uncontrolled wrath and retaliatory hatred he offered the throne of the Emperor to any Christian prince who would drag Frederick from his pedestal, and as a sop to Louis IX of France, it was tendered to his brother Robert. Louis proved wiser than the Pontiff by refusing the gift, and turning his attention to the restoration of peace, so much disturbed by papal pretensions and threats.

Frederick's forces and those of the Pope soon joined battle. Frederick was victorious, and his army marched toward Rome, which he besieged, charging the Pope with perfidy and treating all prisoners with great cruelty. The hatreds thus kindled passed to the people, and Italy was devastated by civil wars. Amid these infuriate exhibitions, there was no ear for the complaints of Eastern Christians. The truce between Frederick and the Sultan of Cairo had expired, the Sultan of Damascus had re-entered Jerusalem, destroyed the tower of David and demolished its ramparts. Mussulmen hopes were revived and those of Christians gave way to despair. All the maritime powers of Italy were engaged in the civil wars between the Pope and Frederick, and their vessels neglected to visit Eastern ports. Many of the Crusaders who had sworn to go to Constantinople or Palestine, returned to take sides with the warring factions at home. Others attempted to reach the East by land and miserably perished in the mountains of

Asia Minor. The consequence was that the French lords who had set out from Marseilles were able to bring along with them to Palestine but a small contingent of the forces they had started with.

On their arrival, they found the Mussulman East as much troubled as the Christian West. Melik-Kamel had died, and the princes of his family had plunged into wars to settle disputes as to succession at Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo and Hamah. Amid these, they called in outside enemies, who pillaged their provinces and helped to destroy the powers they came to defend. The Crusaders might have made many and easy conquests, but they failed to unite for a single offensive movement. Jerusalem had no government. There was no common standard around which pilgrims could rally. Each prince fought where, when and whom he pleased, and followed his own ambitions. The Duke of Brittany raided the territory of Damascus and came back to Ptolemais loaded with booty. Other leaders, desiring to rival his exploits, marched to attack Gaza. As they observed no order, they were attacked and massacred by the Saracens, the Duke of Burgundy making his escape almost alone. This lamentable reverse increased the discords among the Christians, and as they saw no possibility of harmony and no hope of achieving any success without concert, the leaders began to make peace with the Infidels, each on their own terms. The Templars and some leaders treated with the Sultan of Damascus, and managed to secure a restitution of the holy places. The Hospitalers and others treated with the Sultan of

Cairo and agreed to defend him against those Mussulmen who had just given up Jerusalem.

After gaining nothing in Palestine of a substantial nature and unsettling everything, these Crusaders returned to Europe, and their place was taken at Ptolemais by some English adventurers under the lead of Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. Richard was the rich possessor of tin and lead mines in Cornwall, and being the nephew of Richard Cœur de Leon, whose memory was still a source of terror to Mussulmen, his arrival was regarded as propitious by the people and clergy of Ptolemais. He was brave, anxious for achievement and had enthusiastic followers. Regardless of the truce with the Sultans, he entered upon a vigorous campaign which promised success. But after a battle or two, in which he found only cold-hearted support from the Christians of Palestine, he was forced to renew the truce with the Sultan of Cairo. The utmost he achieved was an exchange of prisoners and the privilege of burying the dead who had fallen in the disaster at Gaza. He, too, soon embarked for Italy, where he found all Europe ablaze, and Frederick still hammering at the walls of Rome.

Amid the convulsions of his own starting, Pope Gregory IX died. Pope Celestine IV succeeded, but wore the tiara for only sixteen days. Frederick continued the war with fury against a Church without a head. The cardinals stood aghast at the situation. Several of them were held as prisoners by Frederick. The court of Rome fell into contempt. For two years Christ was without a Vicar on earth and anarchy walked on

stilts. At length all Christendom cried to Heaven for a pontiff capable of repairing the evils of Europe and the Church. Pope Innocent IV was called, but he followed the violent trail of Gregory and increased the prevailing disorders. The Christians of Constantinople and the East were lost sight of. Missionaries perambulated Europe and plead in vain for peace. They met everywhere with the iron opposition of Frederick, who in his defiant mastery was at war with everything which savored of papal exaltation, and especially those enterprises which looked to the extension of pontifical power by the delivery of Constantinople, Jerusalem and the Christian Colonies of the East.

Thus the sixth Crusade gradually lost itself in the convulsions upon the spot of its origin, and amid the clash of ambitions which called it forth. It was unlike other Crusades, whose outlines are distinct and which are characterized by either great victories or defeats. Its period of thirty years is a confused picture of conflicting interests, and passionate outbursts, wholly at odds with the spirit of a holy war. As an enterprise on the part of the Church, as an exhibition of any religious quality paramount in the first Crusades, it fell far below the standards set up by the earlier Popes. In the Council of Clermont, held by Urban, the complaints of Jerusalem drew tears. In the Council of the Lateran, held by Gregory, the misfortunes of the Eastern Christians were recited without causing pain. The first awakened enthusiasm among clergy and Knights; the second touched no responsive chord in the Church or out of it. The

mercenary power of exchanging an oath to fight for Christ for a sum of money, with which Gregory endowed his preachers, reduced the apostles of the Crusade to mere worldlings. They were no longer messengers of Heaven, gifted with the art of working miracles, but mere collectors of pontifical revenues, and confounders of heavenly with earthly things. Thus gold substituted religion as a motive to enlist.

The other indulgences extended by Gregory were practically the same as those of his predecessors, but their effect in enrolling criminals and the lower elements of society was counteracted by the knights, whose sentiment of honor and love of glory prevailed over the purely religious feeling, and converted a purely religious war into one regularly marshalled for temporal purposes. During all the period of this Crusade there was no sustained enthusiasm. Hitherto it had been found necessary to moderate military ardor when once it was stirred, but now it was stimulated only by excessive effort, and quickly cooled amid the ambitions of the church and the subtleties of theological discussion. What would exempt a Christian from his vows? What price would redeem a promise made to Christ? What could be considered a substitute for pilgrimage? Was an heir bound by the oath of a testator? Was a pilgrim who died on his way entitled to the same merit as one who returned? These are samples of the questions discussed by theologians, whose arguments pro and con crushed all transport in the bosoms of their hearers.

The sixth Crusade was as barren of military exploits as prolific of intrigues and

scandals. The Crusaders never were united nor subject to the spirit of order. Many deserted in disgust. Defeat always sent vast detachments homeward. Recruiting was kept up, but the life of a recruit was short. Though five hundred thousand warriors left Europe, at one time and another, for Syria or Egypt, they never aggregated a really formidable army on the Nile or Jordan. The Egyptian enterprise robbed the armies of that enthusiasm inspired by sight of the holy places. But nothing contributed so much to degrade the sacred character of the Crusade as the attitude of Pope Gregory, who exhorted the faithful to the conquest of Jerusalem with one breath and with the next showered the curses of the church on Frederick, the liberator of the Holy City. Frederick himself chilled all Christian sentiment for the Crusade by his preference of sunny Naples, for the barren rocks of Jerusalem, and by his willingness to send only his criminals and enemies to perish in the East. In this he was imitated by the popes who condemned to pilgrimage the great criminals of society, thus scandalizing the true knights and nobility of Europe. More than ever in this Crusade the reverses of leaders in the East, were reflected back on Europe, thus causing divisions at home. What wonder, then, that Palestine came to be regarded as a place of exile rather than a land of milk and honey, and that Jerusalem came to be recognized as the source of all the storms which disturbed Christendom rather than the true City of God and heritage of Christ!

In other Crusades, the Popes had been satisfied with stirring the faithful and invoking

Heaven for success. In this, they insisted on supreme command, through their legates. They paid a terrible price for this folly in the Egyptian expedition. The soldiers showed no ardor; victory slipped through the hands of the clerical leaders; rivalry between the spiritual and temporal power consumed all honorable ambitions. Owing to the eagerness of the Popes to have Europe engaged in Church wars the faithful were distracted by the preaching of several crusades at once. No one could tell which was the cause of Christ and which was not. Hence, hesitation and reflection set in, both of which were fatal to such a spontaneous uprising as was sought by the sacred orators. Moreover, Europe was fermenting preparatory to a larger liberty among her people. The religious passions were, therefore, far more than formerly, subordinate to those of a political character. This condition was intensified by the wars between Frederick and the popes, four of whom pursued the same policy toward him, and all equally determined to wrest southern Italy from German domination, as well as defeat his avowed ambition to restore and occupy the empire, and enjoy the title of the Cæsars. That exaltation of religious spirit which had caused men to take up arms as Crusaders, and which had contributed so much to the influence of the pontiffs, had passed its meridian, and pontifical authority was experiencing the same vicissitude. It had been exercised without moderation, and was gradually ruining the empire of the Church, whose temporal fall began with the wars upon Frederick.

But if the popes abused their power, so,

many Christian princes abused the spirit and enthusiasm which had produced the holy wars. They took the cross to obtain the protection of popes and enjoy the temporal advantages accorded to the soldiers of Christ. They assumed command of armies they could not have otherwise have raised and used them to extend their dominions or gratify their passions. This abuse taught society to seek other support than the Holy See, and warriors to rely on other glory than that derived from a Crusade. Prior to this crusade no troubadour thought of speaking of his lady love without introducing the subject of Jerusalem and her plights, but now gallantry was satisfied with

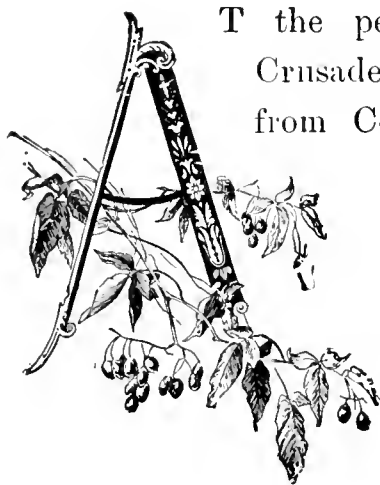
“ I will perform my penitence
Between the sea and swift Durance
Near to my lady's bower.”

In this Crusade less respect than ever was paid to the observance of truces and treaties. Christian and Mussulman violated them on the slightest pretext, but in this species of faithlessness the Christian excelled. The Knights and barons of this crusade brought nothing back for the advantage of Europe, but much to its disadvantage, notably the leprosy and other contagious diseases of the East. The use of force as a means of converting Infidels led the Christian princes of Europe to think it a justifiable means for changing the opinions of heretics; hence those barbaric attacks upon the Albigeois and the Prussian peasantry, during the time of the Sixth Crusade, wars such as paganism never attempted, and whose atrocities can only be excused by the darkness of times.

PART VII.

THE SEVENTH CRUSADE.

A. D. 1242—1255.



At the period of the Sixth Crusade, the Tartar hordes from Central Asia had invaded several countries under Mussulmen rule, and changed the policy of all Mohammedan powers at war with the Christians. These Tartars were warlike nomads who lived in movable houses drawn by oxen, and subsisted on the products of the chase and the milk and flesh of their flocks. They believed in one God, but their priests used the media of genii and magic to inculcate religion. They were an illiterate, ill-mannered, rugged people, without love for fixed locality, and fond of predatory excursions. In a certain sense, the entire male population was military. Agriculture was disclaimed, and war was the only true glory. They were excellent horsemen, and ate and slept in their saddles. They used as weapons immense bows with sharp steel headed arrows, and fought while riding swiftly. They were familiar with all the strategy of war and, though they built no cities, could construct the most formidable siege machines. Their warriors were fatally brave and

strictly obedient to their leaders. Their provisions were always at hand in the shape of herds. Their armies comprised all who could handle the bow and lance, and were divided into well disciplined companies of tens, hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands. They made no peace except with a conquered enemy. Desertion was punished with death. Their order, bravery and ferocity inspired all enemies with terror.

The Tartars despised all nations and believed the world should belong to them alone. Their country traveled with them in the shape of their wives, children and flocks. They were troubled by no moral or humane codes. So loosely did their own religion sit that it aroused no hatred in other nations, and facilitated their conquests by leaving them at liberty to embrace the creeds and opinions of the conquered. From the remotest antiquity they had overflowed and made invasions into India, China and Persia, and Europe came to know them in the shape of Avari, Heruli and Hun. They seemed to move like a glacier now and an irresistible torrent then. Empires fell before them, nations were doubled up by their flow, exterminated or left changed in their wake. In the middle ages their invasions were likened to tempests, inundations and volcanoes, and the sentiment

was prevalent among resigned nations that God held them as a northern reserve to chastise the corrupted people of other lands.

These Tartars had begun their invasion of the Mussulman provinces to the south by the conquest of Carismia, from which point they threatened Syria and Egypt. In order to stay their march the Sultans of Syria formed an alliance with the Christians of Palestine, but as this alliance also involved a conquest of Egypt, the Sultan of Cairo applied for assistance to the Carismian hordes, promising Palestine to them if they subdued it. At once they sent twenty thousand horsemen, who ravaged Tripoli, devastated Galilee and surrounded Jerusalem. As there was no possibility of resisting so formidable a force, the inhabitants fled, under escort of the Templars and Hospitallers, leaving the sick and helpless behind. The enemy entered the city and massacred all who resisted. By a show of interest in the Christian faith they enticed seven thousand of the fugitives to return, whom they put to the sword. They ravaged the city, desecrated the sacred places and broke open the tombs. Such cruelties and profanations had never been witnessed in the Holy City.

All the Christian and Mussulman forces of Syria now united near Ptolemais for the purpose of staying the ravages of the Carismian barbarians. The Christian barons resolved to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Infidel leaders, and they accepted Almansor, Prince of Emessa, "one of the best barons of paganism," as their leader. The clergy sealed the union between Christian and Infidel with

their prayers, and the combined army encamped in the plain of Ascalon. The Carismians advanced toward Gaza, where they were to meet the army of the Sultan of Egypt. After a divided council on the part of the combined Christian and Mussulman army, in which the Franks were impatient for battle and the prince of Emessa in favor of delay, it was resolved to attack the enemy. The spot chosen was the sandy plain of Gaza. The combined army was drawn up in three bodies. The Hospitallers and other Christian bodies composed the left, under Gauthier, Count of Jaffa. The Templars and clergy were in the centre, the Patriarch of Jerusalem bearing the wood of the true cross. The Mussulmen, under the prince of Emessa, composed the right. The Carismians formed slowly and awkwardly, but began to advance with loud cries and under a cloud of arrows. On the left, Gauthier rushed into battle, and soon the centre and right followed. Both sides fought with ardor, for both felt that defeat meant ruin. The contest lasted from dawn to sunset, and was most obstinate and murderous throughout. It was renewed the next morning, when the Carismians succeeded in turning the Mussulman right and driving off the prince of Emessa, who had lost two thousand horse. The Christians held for a time longer, but were forced to succumb, after their ranks had been decimated by the enemy. This terribly sanguinary battle cost the lives of thirty thousand Christian and Mussulman warriors, and the victory of the Carismian hordes was signal. Only thirty-three Templars, twenty-six Hospitallers and three Teu-

tonic knights escaped to Christian cities, and the Prince of Tyre, Patriarch of Jerusalem and a few other prelates reached Ptolemais with the greatest difficulty. All Egypt rejoiced over the victory of Gaza, and all Christian and Mussulman Palestine and entire Syria deplored the death and captivity of their bravest warriors. The Christians attributed the disaster to divine justice, maddened at sight of the banners of Christ waving with those of the Infidel. The Mussulmen believed they had betrayed the cause of Islam by allying themselves with the Christians. Ere the fight began, the prince of Emessa was heard to say, "I am armed for battle, but God tells me, in the depth of my heart, that we shall not be victorious, because we have sought the friendship of the Franks."

This victory of the Carismians delivered the greater part of Palestine to the most virulent enemies of the Christians. The Egyptians took possession of Jerusalem, Tiberias and all the cities which the Sultan of Damascus had recently turned over to the Franks to complete their alliance. The Carismian hordes were given free swing by the Egyptian allies, and they ravaged the valley of the Jordan, the territories of Ascalon and Ptolemais, and laid siege to Jaffa. They dragged Gauthier as a captive in their train, and exposed him to the arrows of his friends in order to force surrender. But that model of Knights exhorted the garrison to defend themselves to the last extremity. "Your duty," cried he, "is to defend a Christian city; mine to die for you and Jesus Christ." Jaffa did not fall into the hands of the

Carismians, and Gauthier, sent to the Sultan of Cairo, soon after obtained the palm of martyrdom by falling beneath the blows of an excited and brutal mob.

If these Carismian hordes were brave and irresistible, they were inconstant in their alliances and uncertain in their retention of conquests. They preferred to drift hither and thither and to use their power and the terror of their name, in fresh victories. The Sultan of Cairo sent them rich presents and invoked their aid against the city of Damascus. They assented, and, such was the vigor of their siege, that this proud capital of Syria soon threw open its gates and acknowledged the supremacy of the Sultan of Cairo. The elated Carismians now demanded of the Egyptian Sultan the lands he had promised them in Palestine. That prince, fearing the permanent presence of the powerful hordes he had invited, delayed the execution of his promises. In their rage at refusal, the Carismians allied themselves with the Sultan of Damascus, whom they had just conquered, and at once laid siege to the capital and its Egyptian garrison. Both the siege and defence of the city was bloody and obstinate. The garrison and inhabitants were able to hold out till relieved by a fresh army sent from Egypt. Fear of falling into the hands of a pitiless enemy inspired this really well equipped and ably officered army with invincible courage. It engaged the Carismians in two momentous battles, broke up their formidable organizations and practically exterminated them. Most of those who escaped the sword perished while wandering through the countries they had

devastated. A few of the best disciplined found refuge in the states ruled by the Sultan of Iconium, where their influence was to become the ground-work for the powerful dynasty of the Ottomans.

All this was welcome respite for the Christians of the East. They rejoiced at the defeat of the Carismians and mourned for the loss of Jerusalem and the terrible slaughter at Gaza. They had lost their Syrian allies, and saw again all Mussulmen under the power of Egypt, and all implacable enemies. This was all the more unfortunate because they had so recently rejected the overtures extended by the Sultan of Cairo. The cities which the Christians still retained on the sea coasts were almost without defenders. The Hospitallers and Templars offered the Sultan large sums for the ransom of prisoners, but their offer was haughtily rejected. Even these redoubtable military orders had sunk into such low estimation in the eyes of Infidels that they could be of very little service to their Christian brethren in the East without further accessions to their strength from the warlike nobility of Europe. The Emperor Frederick of Germany made no effort to save his Kingdom of Jerusalem. He had sent out several detachments of Knights to defend his interests in Ptolemais, but these only added the scourges of discord and civil war to those which already afflicted the Holy Land.

The Mussulman powers, united under one head, threatened Palestine with invasion, and the Christian states of the East were powerless for aid. The Comans, another Tartan horde, who rivalled the Carismians in

ferocious valor, were ravaging the banks of the Orontes and carrying fire and sword into the principality of Antioch. The King of Armenia was dead. The Turks of Asia Minor were open aggressors. The Kingdom of Cyprus had become a prey to factions and an object of attack by the Mussulmen of Syria and Egypt. It looked as if the fate of the Holy Land was sealed. But the groans and plaints of the despairing Christians once more reached Europe with moving effect. Valeran, Bishop of Berytus, reached the Pope and so touched him with his tale of woe as to secure the promise of succor. But the situation of Europe was not propitious.

The wars between the Holy See and Frederick II of Germany were still going on. The Latins of Constantinople were in the midst of perils. The Emperor, Baldwin II, was a second time soliciting aid in Europe against the encroachments of the Greeks and Bulgarians. A third Tartar horde had broken loose and, after ravaging the banks of the Danube and threatening Germany, spread the terror of its arms throughout Europe. In this unhappy state of affairs, Pope Innocent IV, then a refugee at Lyons, called an æcumenial counsel in that city, to investigate and remedy the evils that afflicted Christendom East and West. He exposed the deplorable condition of the Roman Church and called his bishops around him for light and guidance. The response was general, and among the bishops present no one attracted more attention than the bishop of Berytus, the envoy of the Eastern Christians. There were present also the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch and Aquilæ, and Baldwin

II, Emperor of Byzantium, but the latter appeared in a suppliant attitude, and the little respect shown him told how the Latin Empire at Constantinople, founded during the fifth Crusade, had fallen. Most of the Western monarchs were represented in this assembly by their ambassadors. Frederick, in particular, who had so long been an object of anger and dread to the sovereign pontiffs, was ably represented by ministers fully empowered to defend him before the fathers of the council.

As a preliminary to the proceedings of the Council, the Pope held a congregation in the Monastery of St. Just, in which the Patriarch of Constantinople unveiled the Byzantine situation. He pictured the empire as in a state of heresy and as surrounded and honey-combed with enemies of the Latin Church. The Bishop of Berytus read an appalling account of affairs in the East and showed how the heritage of Christ was about to become the prey of the barbarian unless timely aid came from the West. But the greatest surprise in store for this preliminary conclave came when the eloquent Thaddeus, who represented the Emperor Frederick, took the floor. He announced that his master fully partook of the grief occasioned by the deplorable state of the Church and of public affairs; that he stood ready to employ all his powers for the defence of Christendom; that he would arrest the incursions of the Tartars; that he would re-establish the domination of the Latins in Greece; that he would go in person to deliver Jerusalem and the Holy Land; and that he would restore to the Holy See all he had

taken from it and repair all wrongs inflicted on the sovereign Pontiff. Such concessions and promises, from so powerful and hostile a monarch, filled the assembly with surprise and joy. Pope Innocent chose to look upon them with suspicion. "The axe," said he, "is already lifted, and ready to cut the roots of the tree," an expression which plainly showed that the council he had called was itself a subterfuge, and much less designed to oppose the foes of Christendom than to prepare for the fall and ruin of his personal enemy.

After this preliminary conclave had provided the Pope with what he wanted, to wit, the disposition of his bishops and a test of his own strength, he opened the Council with great pomp in the church of St. John, himself wearing the tiara, with the Emperor of Constantinople on his right and the Counts of Provence and Toulouse on his left. His discourse embraced the five wounds of the Saviour on the cross, which typed his own five griefs, or those of the Church:—The irruption of the Tartars; the schism of the Greeks; the Carismian invasion of the Holy Land; the relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline and progress of heresy; and the persecutions he endured from Frederick. He moved over these themes with pathos and tears, but when he approached the last he assumed a tone of anger and menace. Not even the subject of Tartar, Carismian or Mussulman inspired the hatred occasioned by mention of the name of Frederick. For this theme he reserved all the thunders of his eloquence. He violently reproached him with every crime calculated to draw on him

the maledictions of the age and the contempt of the future. A profound silence followed the Pope's terrific arraignment and malignant outburst. The trembling bishops sat as if they had heard Heaven's own condemnation of the Emperor, and felt that none dared to reply to the interpreter of God's anger. But Thaddeus of Suesse arose and combatted the accusations of the Pope, justified the conduct of the Emperor, and even hurled counter-charges at the court of Rome. The angered Pope replied in a speech so fiery as to make all too plain his desire to find the Emperor guilty before a tribunal whose call embraced quite different purposes. He had turned a general council into an ecclesiastical court, and its first sitting presented the undignified spectacle of a violently worded contest between the head of the faithful and the ministers of a Christian potentate.

This embittered contest lasted for several days. It scandalized the adherents of both parties, injured both the Pope and Emperor, and perverted the objects of the Council. But at length resentments seemed to be gratified, and the calamities of Eastern Christians, the captivity of Jerusalem and the dangers of Byzantium, came up for consideration. The result of their deliberations was that a new Crusade should be preached for the deliverance of the Holy Land and the Latin Empire of Constantinople. The Pope renewed all the privileges before extended to Crusaders, and all the penalties against such as should give aid and comfort to Saracens and pirates. All who took the cross should be exempt from taxes and the cares of public office for three years, and

those who failed to keep their vows should be excommunicated. The octave of the Nativity should be celebrated in the churches in order that the protection of Heaven might be obtained through the intercession of the Holy Virgin. Tournaments were prohibited as profane and wasteful exhibitions. The clergy were assessed a twentieth and the Pope and cardinals a tenth of their revenues for expenses. The orators of the Crusade were to urge on princes, counts, barons, cities, to contribute. Sacrifices made for the Crusade were the surest means of redeeming sins.

Thus the Council virtually declared war against the nations opposed to the Christians, but contented itself with advising that the Germans dig ditches and build walls to stay the Tartar hordes then threatening Europe. The West was to lavish its treasure and sacrifice its armies for Constantinople and Jerusalem, while the most redoubtable of barbarians was knocking at its doors. Such was the wisdom of a grave Council called in the interest of the Church in the thirteenth century.

But while the Church Council was thus unmindful, Frederick was on the alert, and was importuning Europe to help him repel the Tartars. In this, Pope Innocent took less interest than in wresting the sovereignty from the German Emperor. He utterly ignored the spirit of charity commended by the Council to Christian princes. At the risk of fanning anew evil passions, perpetuating discord and giving Europe up to barbarian invaders, he persisted in his vengeance against Frederick. At a second sitting

of the Council, he opened afresh all the vials of his wrath, determined to crush his enemy with ecclesiastical power. Thaddeus asked for a few days respite in order that Frederick might come in person and offer his defence. Time was granted, but the insulted Emperor refused to appear in an assembly called and dominated by his implacable enemy. The sovereign pontiff took advantage of his absence to reproach him more mercilessly than ever for resisting the laws of the Church. As the trembling bishops awaited the sentence which had been prepared for Frederick, the English ambassadors arraigned the Pope for his assumption of feudal powers in that Kingdom, which was bringing it to ruin. The Pope was worse angered than ever by this desertion of his cause. Thaddeus urged in vain that most of the prominent bishops were absent, and in vain he threatened to appeal from this to a more solemn tribunal. Nothing could turn the Pope from his object or retard the hour of his vengeance. Assuming the tone of judge and master, he said, "I am the vicar of Jesus Christ. All that I shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven according the promises of the Son of God. Therefore I declare Frederick, attainted and convicted of sacrilege and heresy, to be excommunicated and degraded from his empire. I absolve from their oaths all who have ever sworn fealty to him. I forbid any, under pain of excommunication, to henceforth, yield obedience to him. I command the electors to elect another Emperor, and I reserve the right to dispose of the Kingdom of Sicily." At the conclusion of the sentence, prelates bowed their heads in

sign of Malediction and anathema. The ambassadors of Frederick were filled with despair, and Thaddeus of Suesse was heard to exclaim, "O terrible day! O day of anger and calamity!" The Pope seemed to be radiant with joy. He ordered the *Te Deum* to be sung, and then dismissed the Council.

Thus ended the celebrated Council of Lyons, one of the most important in the middle ages, and one of the most absurd and stultifying in all history. Called to arrest the progress of errors, it proposed nothing to that end, but developed into a court to punish the enemies of papal power rather than those of religion. It trampled alike on the majesty of Kings, the rights of nations and all scriptural charity. So supreme was Pope Innocent in the Council, that his prelates were awed into submission, and raised no voice of protest. He appealed not to their wisdom, and seemed afraid to ask their deliberate opinions. The best that can be said of them is that in their dazedly neutral condition they gave no heartfelt sanction to the odious decrees against Frederick and did not actively assist in carrying out the Pope's acts of injustice and violence.

As a sad presage of the blood which was about to flow, Pope Innocent ordered his cardinals to wear the red robe, symbol of persecution. Frederick was at Turin when he heard of his condemnation by the Pope. Seizing his imperial crown and placing it on his head, he angrily exclaimed, "There it is, and before it shall be wrested from me, my enemies shall know the terror of my arms. Let this pontiff tremble, who has broken

every tie that bound me to him. He at length permits me henceforth to listen to nothing but the dictates of my just anger!" The fury which pervaded the bosom of the Pope and Emperor quickly passed down to the people, and soon the provinces of Germany and Italy were in arms. In the midst of the turmoil which ensued, the Crusade which had been ordered would have been entirely forgotten but for the consideration of Louis IX. of France.

That Monarch had recovered from what all supposed was a mortal sickness, and his first act was to ask for the cross and give his vow to go to the Holy Land. His recovery and his determination were looked upon as miraculous and they created a profound impression. His best friends advised him against so perilous a step till his health was fully restored. But he had dreamed, during his sickness, that Heaven had appointed the King of France to avenge the outrages suffered by Eastern Christians, and was deaf to all remonstrance. The Pope sent his holy orators into France and other Christian states, but as no record of their successes appear, it is quite probable that the example of the King furnished the greatest inducement to enlist for the Crusade.

Louis IX called a Council of the prelates and princes of France, in which he drew a pitiable picture of the Eastern situation, and exhorted the barons and Knights to cross the sea to fight the Infidels and defend the glory of God and the French name in the East. His example and speech had the desired effect. Instantly his three brothers, Robert of Artois, Alphonse of Poitiers, and Charles

of Anjou, enlisted, as did also the wives of the two first. Most of the bishops and prelates enrolled themselves. A large number of the great vassals of the Crown swore to accompany the expedition. There was hardly an illustrious family in the Kingdom that did not contribute at least one recruit. The Council enacted many regulations designed to facilitate enlistment and contribute to the success of the Crusade. Louis IX threw all his energies into the work of preparation, and even resorted to tricks of argument and patronage in order to swell his ranks.

It must not be understood that there were any such exhibitions of fanatical zeal and insane enthusiasm as characterized the earlier Crusades. On the contrary, the approaching departure of the King afflicted France, and a vein of sorrow ran through the warlike ardor which his example inspired. Queen Blanche, in company with the Bishop of Paris, made a last appeal to the King to dissuade him from heading the Crusade. Their petitions and tears proved ineffectual.

The orators of this Crusade found no encouragement in England, then at war with Scotland. Many sacred orators were sent into Germany, but they preferred to inveigh against Frederick rather than exhort for the defence of Christ, and they did not hesitate to employ the treasures gathered for the holy war in laying plots, fomenting treasons and stirring up discords. Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, had been crowned Emperor by the bishops of the Pope, and in him Frederick saw centred all the wrath and power of the Holy See. Thus Christ and the deliverance of Jerusalem were ignored

subjects in Germany. In Italy, the hostility of the Pope against Frederick had redoubled the fury of the Guelph and Ghibelline factions. The Lombard republics were in arms on the papal side. Every city between the Alps and Sicily was involved in the disputes. As to the Kingdom of Sicily, the Pope had dropped the sword of religion and resorted to the lance of policy. He flattered the Sicilians, with their fertile soil and balmy skies, and after a dissertation on the blessings of liberty asked why they were still content to wear the chains of a tyrant. This attempt to undermine the inalienable rights frightened Frederick more than an army with banners. He was feeling in other quarters the maledictions against himself, and the interdict on his states. His armies had experienced some checks in Germany. He lived amid conspiracies to assassinate him. There was hardly any course open except to seek a reconciliation with the Church. The position of Louis IX of France was such as to make him a desirable arbiter. Frederick offered to abide by King Louis' decision and that of his barons, and engaged to go in person to the Holy Land, or send his son, the King of the Romans. In addition, he offered to supply provisions, vessels and equipments for an Eastern expedition.

King Louis eagerly embraced this opportunity for assuring peace in Europe and the success of the Holy War. He importuned the Pope to be lenient and use his clemency to appease the troubles of the Christian world. But the Pope would not grant peace. It was not possible for these two potentates to sincerely pardon each other. Moreover,

it had been determined in the councils of Rome that Frederick's house of Swabia should be overthrown. To this end it had been given out that he entertained the project of invading Italy and establishing his throne in the city of St. Peter. The policy of Frederick's overthrow had assumed the form of personal vengeance in the Pope's mind, and the offer of peace appeared to double his hatred, while the prospect of complete ruin of his enemy rendered him all the more implacable.

The haughty Emperor further humiliated himself by offering to abdicate his throne and spend the balance of his days in Palestine, on the condition that he should receive the Pope's benediction and that his son Conrad should rule. Still the Pope remained stubborn. In vain King Louis pictured to him the advantages to Europe and Christendom which would follow the repentance and generous offers of the Emperor. His pleas were not listened to, and the piously inclined mind of the French monarch was filled with disgust at the inflexible rigor of the head of the Christian world.

All these discords were joyous events to the Mussulmen, and sources of despair to the Christians of the East. The latter sent word to the Pope interceding for a prince who had promised them his presence and such powerful assistance. The Patriarch of Armenia wrote demanding favor for Frederick in the name of the threatened Christian colonies; in the name of the City of God fallen in ruins; in the name of the sepulchre of Christ, profaned by barbarians. The Pope made no reply. In his eagerness to

make war on Frederick he had lost all thought of Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre and the Christians of the East. Innocent pursued Frederick even to the East, and asked the Sultan of Cairo to break his treaties with the German Emperor. The Sultan answered with contempt, and the more he was importuned the more he affected a fidelity by which he hoped for future advantage over the Christian Church.

Frederick, goaded to despair, foolishly charged Louis IX with conduct unbecoming a sovereign in remaining neutral in a quarrel which interested all Christendom. He is said to have secretly sent ambassadors into the East to warn the Mussulmen of the expedition in preparation by the King of France. At any rate, throwing off all submission to the Pope he resolved to oppose violence by violence. He gained several successes in Germany and then besieged Parma, where he treated his prisoners with horrible cruelty. He next threatened to cross the Alps and attack the Pope in Lyons, but he was defeated by the Guelph army. This defeat threw him into despondency and he again became a suppliant at the feet of the Pope. He promised to divide his empire, giving Sicily to his son Henry and Germany to his son Conrad. He submitted his religious belief to the bishops and sent their decision to the Pope. He even went so far as to offer to solicit the clemency of the Pope in person. But the Pope had just caused the Count of Holland to be declared Emperor in place of the duke of Thuringia, who had been killed in battle, and he feared the hostility of Frederick less than he did his re-

pentance and proffers of submission, for the latter kept him in a posture of obstinacy before the nations and prevented the consummation of his designs. Indeed, Europe was already inquiring what powerful motive the Pope could have for his inflexibility. At length his unaccountable inveteracy reacted on him, and Frederick began to see an increase in the number and zeal of his partisans. Several important cities violently rejected the decrees of the Holy See. The Pope had recourse, as usual, to prelatial thunder, whose weight fell upon even the third and fourth generation of offenders. But his senseless rage only further alienated men's minds, and civil war was intensified in fury by the fanaticism of heresy.

The count of Rome used the Crusade as a pretext for levying tribute with which to foment sedition in the states of Europe. This pious fraud gave birth to a spirit of opposition among the nations that had hitherto kept aloof from factional strife. The commissaries of the Holy See pervaded cities and countries compelling the payment of all dues levied for the Crusade and, in addition, a tax for carrying on the war against the Emperor. In this way many of the fairest provinces of France were ruined. The French nobility protested loudly, and did not hesitate to favor the cause of Frederick. They questioned their own right to acknowledge a pontiff whose conduct was so contrary to the spirit of the gospel and a true vicar of Christ. At length the principal nobles of France formed a confederacy against the Pope and clergy. King Louis IX managed to maintain peace, but the confederacy ex-

isted, and not only proved a source of enlightenment for the popular mind, but a wholesome check on the usurpations of the Holy See during the absence of the King on the Crusade.

King Louis cleaned out the port of Aigues-Mortes, in Provence, gathered there his army of Crusaders, with ships and provisions, and prepared to sail thence. He also prepared magazines of arms and provisions on the island of Cyprus where the expedition was to halt on its way. He sent ambassadors into Apulia, Sicily and Venice to see what preparations were being made there, under the promises of the Emperor Frederick. He found that the Emperor was keeping his word, and was prepared to co-operate with him. Meanwhile, the Mussulman powers were busily fortifying their cities and frontiers against the proposed invasion. Three years had passed since King Louis assumed the cross. He now called a new parliament at Paris, in which the date of departure for the expedition was fixed for June, A. D. 1248. The barons and Knights renewed their oaths, and took in addition an oath of fealty to Louis' children, should he fall beyond the seas. The Pope extended his benediction to the Crusaders, and threatened with the thunders of the Church all who failed to depart. Louis' character inspired his warriors with confidence, for they looked to his piety, bravery and skill to save them from the licentiousness, discords and calamities plainly attributable to the godless imprudence of former leaders. He saw not only his cherished but his disaffected Knights

flocking to his banners, and many from other parts, notably England, Friesland, Holland and Norway, the latter being represented by no less a personage than King Haco himself, though he finally failed to embark, under advice of the Pope, who saw in him a possible enemy of Frederick.

It is very probable that the Pope was the least interested at heart of all prominent European functionaries in the success of this crusade. He freely liberated many from their vows to fight against the Infidels. He forbade the Crusaders from Friesland and Holland to embark for Palestine. In obedience to a personal and engrossing passion, hatred of Frederick, he sold dispensations for the voyage to Syria, which had the double advantage of enriching his exchequer and retaining at home such soldiers as might prove efficacious against his enemies. Thus the Crusade became essentially French, and love for the French King replaced religious enthusiasm. It is to be noted, that with absence of fanaticism there was a larger appeal in men's minds to humanity and justice. Many of the Knights, who sought to expiate crimes by enlistment, followed their oaths with restitution of their ill gotten gains. Others made pious gifts to found monasteries and endow churches, as monuments of their sincerity. Hospices for the reception of pilgrims and hospitals for those who returned with incurable diseases, sprang up in various sections. King Louis established petty courts everywhere for the adjustment of cases which grew out of preparations for the Crusade.

Under these favorable auspices King Louis turned over his regency to his mother,

Blanche, renewed his truce with England, and assumed the garb of a pilgrim. Queen Blanche took leave of him at Cluny. On his way to the coast he stopped at Lyons to see the Pope, whom he found as inexorable as ever, though he gave Louis his blessing and promised to protect his Kingdom, during his absence, from the Emperor Frederick and the King of England.

King Louis embarked his army at Aigues-Mortes on twenty-eight vessels, exclusive of those devoted to horses and provisions, and the fleet sailed away to the music of the *Veni Creator*. As France had no marine, the admirals were Genoese and the sailors mostly Italians and Spaniards. To the Knights and barons the sea was entirely new and an object of dread. The day of sailing was August 25, 1248. The fleet arrived at Cyprus on September 21, and Louis was received with honor by Guy of Lusignan, King of the island, and recently crowned King of Jerusalem by the Pope. Here a consultation of the leaders was held. It was decided that the expedition should be first directed against Egypt, as best suited to the ambitions of the new King of Jerusalem, and as best calculated to redeem the Christian disasters on the Nile, and at the same touch the centre of wealth and strength in the Mussulman dominions as then constituted. But King Guy promised to accompany the expedition, and asked for delay in order that he might make the necessary preparation. The Franks were eager to depart, but the blandishments of an Eastern Court and the delights of a semi-tropical climate prevailed on them to remain till the

following spring. In a short while their error became apparent. They fell a prey to gluttony and intemperance. Amid the altars of voluptuousness their virtue failed. Idleness proved a foe to discipline. Disease broke out and carried away hundreds of the bravest Knights. Money failed with most of the leaders, and King Louis was forced to contribute to the maintenance of their commands. These impoverished unfortunates complained that they had sold their lands and bankrupted themselves forever. They began to curse Cyprus as a place of abode, and to clamor for activity and opportunity to enrich themselves by Saracen booty. Louis had great difficulty in exercising authority, and but for his virtue, rather than power, he must have lost all control of his turbulent followers. Disputes arose between the Greek and Latin Clergy, which gave him great trouble to settle. In their ever recurring quarrels, the Templars and Hospitallers tortured him with appeals. At Ptolemais, the Genoese and Pisan residents fell to cutting each other's throats, and Louis was called in to check the fury and scandal of a civil war in a Christian city. He was also effective in concluding a truce between the King of Armenia and the princes of Antioch and Tripoli. One can thus well understand the difficulties King Louis was forced to encounter while waiting at Cyprus. Besides, he was forced to send five hundred of his best Knights to defend Bohemond, of Antioch, against a Turcoman attack, and to witness in addition the voluntary departure of as many more to share the fortunes of the King of Armenia.

The fame of Louis' arrival at Cyprus filled all the countries of the East, and the prediction was abroad that he would prove the deliverer of Asia from the control of the Mohammedan. It is narrated that he received an embassy from a leading Tartar prince, professing his conversion to Christianity and offering to fight for the recovery of the sacred places. But investigation showed that the overture was a trick, probably invented by some Armenian monk whose wish was father to the thought. Spring was now approaching, and Louis was anxious to move. As the fleets which had carried him to Cyprus had been dismissed, he had great difficulty in procuring others. The Genoese and Venetians asked enormous prices for their services. Besides, their vessels were too heavy for effective landing in the shallow waters of Egypt, and Louis was forced to construct many flat bottomed boats for the purpose. At this time, Louis received word from Frederick, still pursued by the thunders of the Church. He sent a liberal supply of provisions to Louis and expressed great grief at his inability to accompany him. Every day brought fresh arrivals of Crusaders to Cyprus. All the nobility of the island had taken the cross. The Greek and Latin churches were mingling their prayers, just as the Knights of the two nations were mingling in harmony. All was preparation for departure, and the Christian warriors were burning with zeal.

Of a sudden, their enthusiasm was shocked by the grand masters of the Templars and Hospitallers, who wrote to Louis to know whether it would not be politic to open

negotiations for peace with the Sultan of Cairo. They were moved by a desire to liberate the numerous captives taken at Gaza, and prompted by the experience that Western warriors always began their expeditions with splendor but ended them in discords and defeats. Their propositions were regarded as a scandal on warriors who believed themselves invincible, and that it was the easiest thing in the world for them to destroy throughout the entire East the enemies of Christ. They even charged the Grand master of the Templars with keeping up secret intelligence with the Sultan of Cairo and with having joined in his barbarous ceremonies. Precisely what these ceremonies were does not appear, but in all the Crusades it was nothing unusual for the leaders and Knights of the hostile camps to exchange courtesies of various kinds, to engage in friendly tournaments, and to affect temporarily the manners and customs of each other. (*See Plate No. LXXI.*) As Louis IX did not come East to sue for peace and deliver prisoners, he shared the indignation of his companions and forbade the grand masters of the two orders the repetition of their insults to him and his Christian warriors.

As usual, the Crusaders knew little of the obstacles in their way. They were ignorant of the climate of Egypt, and thought more of the wealth than the strength of their enemies. They built much on the quarrels between Syria and Egypt, regardless of the fact that repeated factional wars only tended to school their enemies, and that as a rule the appearance of a Western Expedition was

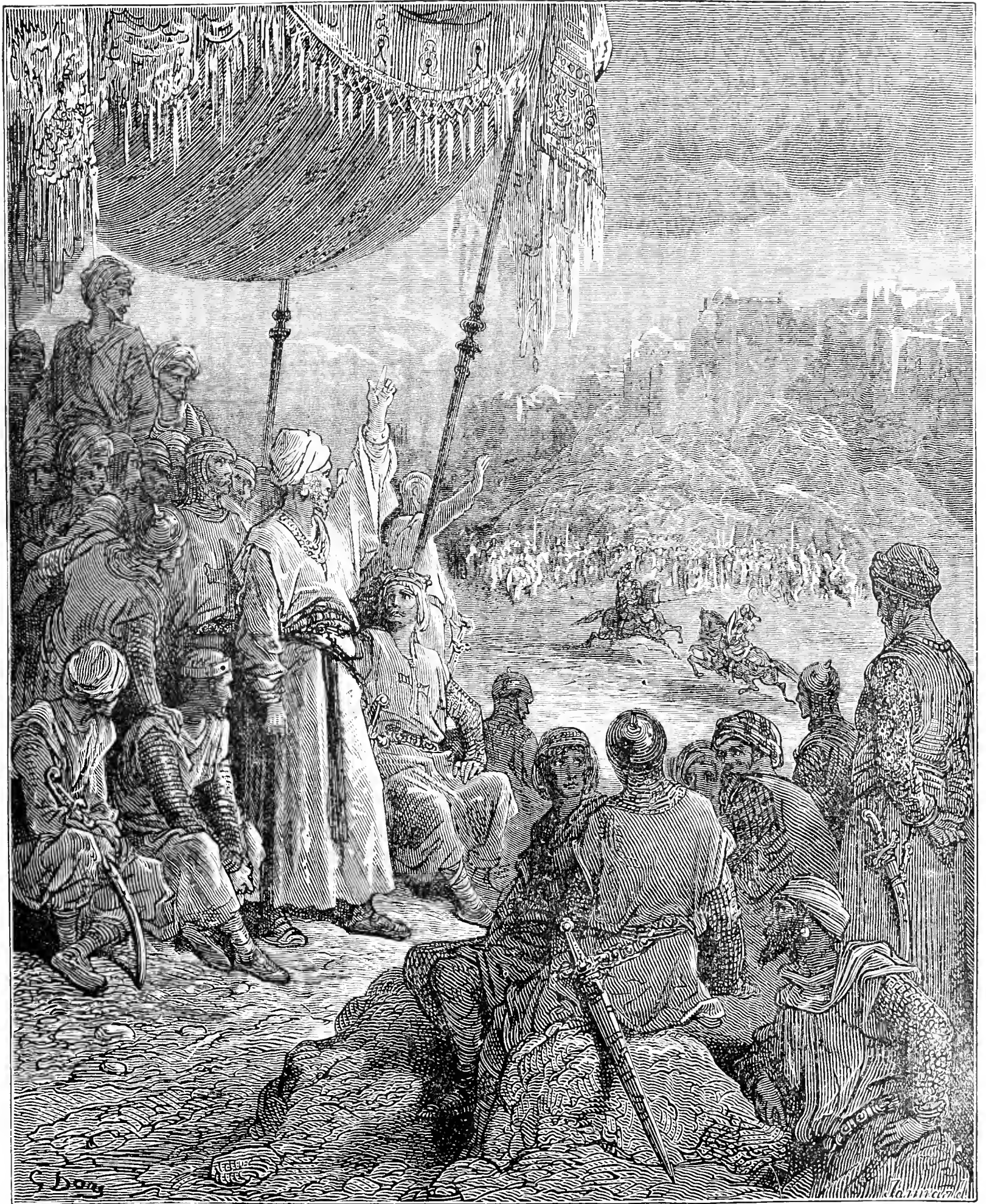


PLATE NO. LXXI.—A FRIENDLY TOURNAMENT.

a signal for the cessation of civil strife among Mussulmen. The then Sultan of Cairo was Malek-Selah Neomeddin. He was regarded as a skillful general and diplomatic ruler. It was he who had called in the Carismians and had so successfully crushed the alliance between the Christians and the Sultan of Damascus at the great battle of Gaza. He had pushed his conquests to the Euphrates and had extended his dominions till they embraced nearly all of the great empire of Saladin. On the arrival of Louis in Cyprus, the Sultan of Cairo was in Syria besieging Emessa and making war on the Sultan of Aleppo. When he learned that the Christian army was about to embark from Cyprus, he made a truce with his enemies and started for Egypt.

The Sultan regarded King Louis as the most redoubtable warrior of the West and he made his preparations for defence accordingly. He fortified his coasts, provisioned Damietta, threw a fleet into the mouth of the Nile, and encamped a formidable army on the west side of the river on the very spot where John of Brienne had landed thirty-three years before. At this stage of his preparations, the Sultan fell ill and was unable to give matters his personal supervision. As his illness was pronounced mortal and as everything depended on his presence and life, the general courage of his followers grew cool and many of his defensive measures failed of execution.

King Louis' fleet left Cyprus on the Friday before Pentecost. At the very start it met with disaster. A violent storm dispersed it, driving part of it back to Cyprus and part to the coasts of Syria. While he was gathering

it up again, his warriors were cheered by the arrival of important reinforcements from various points, among them two hundred English Knights under William of Salisbury. Before all the vessels were gathered, Louis set sail again, and on the fourth day his fleet arrived before Damietta, amid the general rejoicing of his soldiery and the prayers of his clergy. The Mussulmen detected its arrival and sounded the signal of danger from the great bell in the mosque. They sent out four galleys to reconnoitre. Only one of them escaped to tell the Infidels what enemies they had to contend with.

The Christian fleet advanced in line of battle and anchored within a mile of the coast. The Mussulman fleet lay stretched across the mouth of the Nile. The Mussulman army stood prepared to meet the invaders. Louis called a council of war on his vessel. Some proposed to defer attack till the vessels dispersed by the tempest should come up. Louis favored instant activity, because his entire fleet would be without roadstead or port in case of storm. A majority sanctioned his decision. At day-break next morning the fleet weighed anchor and the vessels drew near the shore. The warriors got into the barks that accompanied the vessels and arranged themselves in two battle lines. On the right was Louis and his chosen Knights, with the cardinal legate bearing the cross, and a bark bearing the oriflamme of France. On the left was the Count of Jaffa and the Knights of Cyprus and Palestine. In the centre were Erard of Brienne and Baldwin of Rheims, each with a thousand Knights. All the Knights stood



PLATE NO. LXXII.—ST. LOUIS BEFORE DAMIETTA.

lance in hand by the side of their horses. In front of the lines and on both wings were cross-bowmen to keep the enemy at a distance. (*See* Plate No. LXXII.)

As soon as the forces came within bow-shot, both sides became enveloped in showers of stones, javelins and arrows. The Christian ranks wavered for a moment, but the King commanded the rowers to double their strokes till the shore was reached. Ere his boat touched, the King, sword in hand and in full armor, sprang into the water. Instantly the entire army followed his example. The warriors pressed forward in water up to their breasts, shouting together and jostling each other, and followed by the empty barges. Though the shore was lined with Mussulman soldiers, they could not stop the impetuous assault of the Crusaders. The centre gained a foothold on firm ground, and was soon followed by the left. While they were forming in line, the Mussulman cavalry came pouring in upon them. They repelled the attack by presenting a solid front of lances, and then went on with the formation of their battalions. Louis landed and planted the oriflamme of France on the shore. He fell on his knees to thank Heaven, and in an instant called his Knights about him. Behind the solid ranks then formed the rest of the army landed, and soon the Crusaders and Mussulmen were engaged in sanguinary conflict. The fleets engaged each other at the mouth of the Nile. Shore and sea resounded with the terrific shock of arms. Prayers went up from the priests of both sides for victory.

The naval battle was brief, for the Saracen fleet was soon dispersed. Many of their ves-

sels were sunk, and the rest escaped up the river. Then the troops of Fakreddin, the leader of the Sultan's forces, began to break in all directions and to retire in confusion. The Crusaders made a final assault and swept the Mussulmen from their camps on the west side of the Nile. Nothing could resist the Crusaders, inspired by the example of their King. The Mussulmen left several of their bravest emirs on the field. During the battle carrier pigeons were sent to a small town where the Sultan was lying ill. As no answers came, the report spread that he was dead. This had a most discouraging effect on the Mussulman army. Several emirs, fearing their fate under a new reign, deserted the standards, and their followers fell into confusion. The victory gave to the Crusaders mastery of the coast and both sides of the Nile's mouth.

By sun-down the tents were pitched on the field of battle. *Te Deums* were sung and the night was spent in rejoicing. The losses of the Crusaders were small in proportion to the extent of their victory. Meanwhile confusion reigned in Damietta. Fakreddin seemed so demoralized that he gave no orders for the security of the place. The panic-stricken inhabitants expected every minute to see the Crusaders enter or to hear their preparations for another siege. Dread rendered them suspicious and barbarous. They massacred Christian residents, pillaged houses and burned public edifices. The panic spread to the garrison, who abandoned towers and ramparts and fled away with the demoralized army of Fakreddin.

The flames which were devouring Dami-

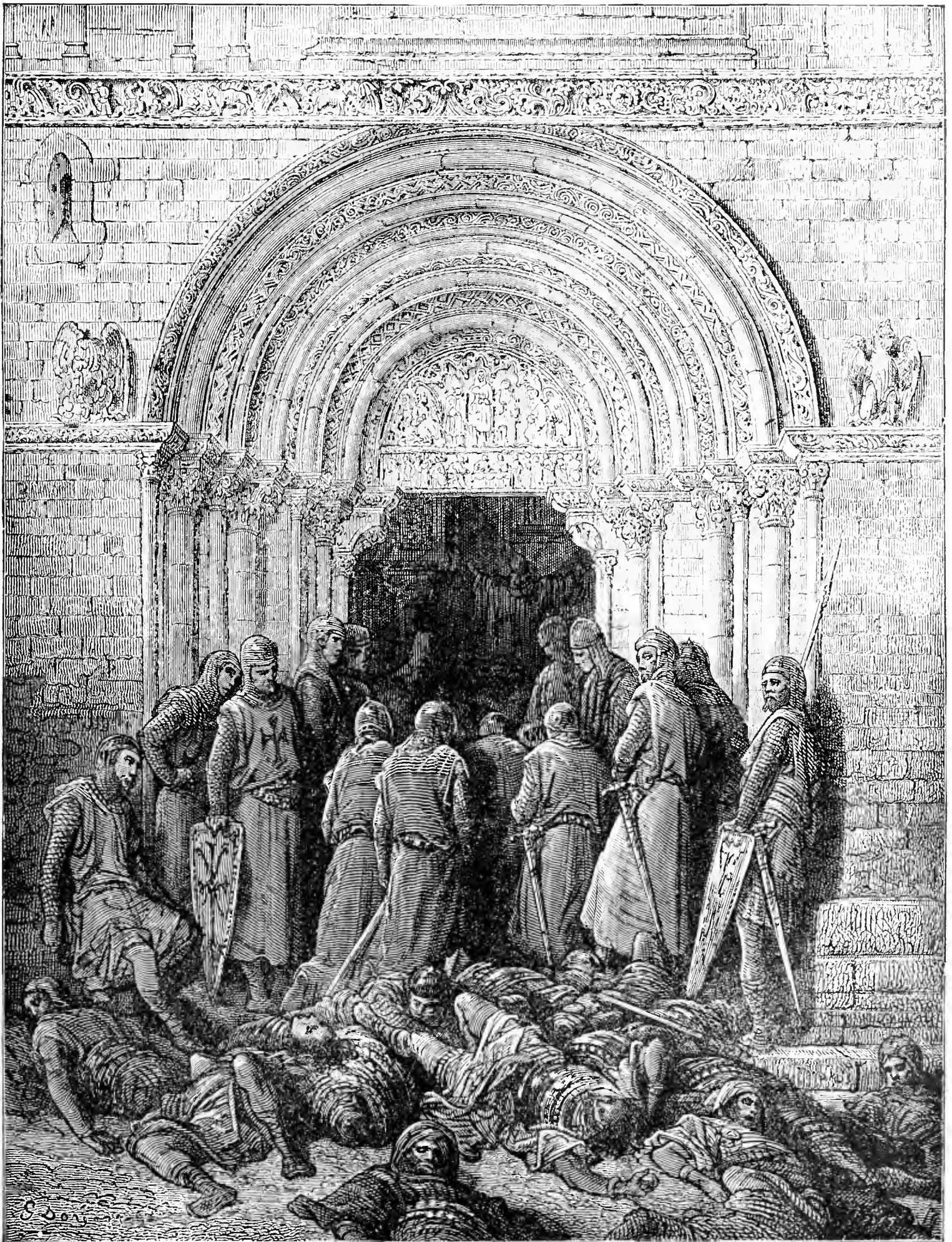


PLATE NO. LXXIII.—TE DEUM AFTER VICTORY.

etta lit up the Christian camps. The next day they pushed toward the city to find all the gates open. They were welcomed by the few Christians who had escaped massacre, and marched over the carcasses of massacred Christians and Musselmen, for the Christians had not hesitated to slaughter all whom age or infirmity had prevented from escaping by flight. The main army advanced cautiously and took possession of the city. After staying the conflagration, they dispersed for pillage, and were rewarded with rich booty. The clergy repaired to the mosque which was at once converted into a church and dedicated to the Holy Virgin. Louis appeared bare-headed and bare-footed in the solemn processional and joined his voice in the songs of thanksgiving for the miraculous victory. (*See Plate No. LXXIII.*)

The news of the victory carried joy to Europe and despondency through the provinces of Egypt. Even the bravest of Mussulmen despaired of saving their country. The sick Sultan heard of the defeat with anger. He charged the garrison of Damietta with treachery and sentenced fifty-four of the most guilty to death, on the principle that those who feared an enemy more than the anger of a master could not be true soldiers of Islam. This severity assisted in restoring discipline to the Mussulman rank and file. The emirs and Fakreddin escaped with mild reproaches, yet such as they were, they caused resentment, and would have ended in the assassination of the angered, perhaps delirious, Sultan, but for the fact that the hand of death was already apparent on his brow.

The Crusaders established themselves comfortably in Damietta. The palaces were occupied by Queen Marguerite and the princes and clergy. The towers were manned by five hundred Knights. The pilgrims who did not bear arms occupied the rest of the dwellings. The army encamped on the banks of the Nile. In this situation the Crusaders appeared to forget that they had beaten, not conquered, their enemies. The sick Sultan was carried to Mansourah, where he endeavored to re-establish discipline among his troops. While here he sent several ironical messages to King Louis, his motive probably being to conceal the progress of his malady. He welcomed Louis to Egypt and asked when it would please him to depart. He criticised the Crusaders for burdening their vessels with agricultural implements, and offered to supply them with all the corn they needed. He offered Louis battle on a certain day and place, after the fashion of the French duello. Louis answered all the Sultan's letters in a dignified way, and gave him to understand that he knew his business quite as well as the Sultan.

The Crusaders were soon reinforced by the Templars and Hospitaliers who had favored overtures of peace to the Sultan, and by the vessels that had been separated by the tempest. The former were acquainted with the country and the best means of combatting the Mussulmen, and therefore, proved valuable auxiliaries to the King in his proposed expedition to capture Alexandria, or open a route to Cairo. Many of the Knights favored an immediate advance on Cairo, but

the nearness of the Nile overflow and the sad fate of the previous expedition under John of Brienne and Pelagius, dispelled all thought in the mind of Louis of capturing Cairo at that time. Moreover he wished to await the arrival of his brother, Count of Poitiers, who was expected with a fresh army of French Knights. Louis' prudence and the consequent inaction of the Christian army proved a source of fatal disorders. The spoils of Damietta had not equalled the expectations of the Crusaders, and many of them had failed to turn in their prizes to the common stock to await distribution. These fell under the ban of the clergy, and vented their dissatisfaction in murmurs and threats. Then it was decided that the booty should not be divided at all, but reserved for the use of the army. This unheard of procedure gave rise to loud complaints. The Knights began to forget their war-like virtues and the object of the holy war. Looking ahead to the promised riches of the East, they squandered in riotous living the money advanced them by Louis and raised from the sale of their home estates. A passion for gaming consumed both leaders and soldiers, and, after losing all their money, they staked their horses and arms. The grossest debauchery flourished under the standards of Christ. The most odious vices pervaded all ranks, and houses of prostitution existed in close proximity to the pavilion of the French monarch. The leaders pillaged the traders who supplied food to the camps, or imposed such tributes on them as to bring on scarcity. Forays were made, in which caravans were captured and robbed, towns were devastated,

and female Mussulmen led back to Damietta for the gratification of the lusts. But the most fatal phase of this demoralization was the disrespect which was daily growing for the pious King Louis. Obedience declined as corruption increased. Law lost power, and virtue empire. Even the princes of Louis' own family thwarted his wishes. The camp guards came to be neglected, and the entire army endangered. The prowling bands of Arab and Carismian horsemen who constantly hovered on the edges of the Christian lines, captured nightly many soldiers and drew the prize the Sultan had set upon their heads. So important did this kind of warfare become, that the spirits of the Mussulmen were greatly raised by it, and they narrate that as many as thirty-seven Christian heads, four of whom were knights, were brought into Cairo in a single night. As the Sultan's end approached, his activity increased. He seldom failed to take advantage of the errors of the Crusaders. He greatly strengthened the fortifications of Mansourah, and anchored his fleet in front of it. While thus employed, word came that the Sultan of Damaseus had captured Sidon from the Christians and that Carac had declared in favor of Egypt. This exciting news, the frequency of captures made by the Arabs and Carismians and the demoralizing inactivity of the Christian army, quite restored the courage of the Mussulman army. It was the daily recipient of reinforcements, and all the Mosques of Egypt resounded with prayers for the improved situation.

While the Christian army remained inactive at Damietta and unmindful of discipline

and object, the Count of Poitiers was preparing to set out from France with reinforcements for Louis. After a tempestuous and lengthy voyage, he disembarked at Damietta, and was received with joy by the Crusaders. Immediately Louis IX assembled a council of war to decide on measures for the conquest of Egypt. Those most experienced in war favored the capture of Alexandria, as it would give them a port and base of supplies. The more head-strong favored an attack on Cairo, as the capital. "When you wish to kill a serpent you must first crush its head," was the captivating argument of the fiery Count of Artois. Louis unfortunately partook of the ardor of his younger and shortsighted advisers, and issued orders to march on Cairo. His army was composed of sixty thousand warriors, twenty thousand of whom were horsemen. A fleet accompanied it on the Nile, laden with arms, provisions and machines. Olivier of Thermes was left in command of the garrison of Damietta, and with him remained Queen Marguerite and the Countesses of Artois, Anjou and Poitiers.

On Dec. 7 the Crusaders encamped at Pharescour. Terror preceded their march and all things looked propitious. The Sultan had died, but his death was concealed for several days, so that nothing appeared to interfere with his preparations to meet the enemy, and no word could escape to the Christians to inspire them. This diplomatic secrecy was attributable to a woman, Chegger-Eddour, who had been by birth a slave, but had become the favorite wife of the Sultan. She assembled the emirs in council,

after the death of the Sultan. They acknowledged Almoadam Tourauscha, son of Negmeddin, as Sultan and gave the command of the army to Fakreddin.

The Christian army pursued its march along the Nile and entered Scharmesah without opposition, except from five hundred Mameluke horsemen, who were dispersed and driven into the Nile. On December 19 it arrived at Aschmoun. On the opposite shore was the Mussulman army and behind it the important city of Mansourah, with the fleet in front. The Crusaders staked their camp on the spot occupied by John of Brienne thirty years before. Everything seemed to point to their success, save that rashness which a too easy conquest of Damietta engendered. In their front was the wide and deep canal of Aschmoun. They were compelled to dyke this in order to cross it, but as fast as they poured in earth and stone the Saracens dug them away. Night and day their work was interrupted by flights of arrows and by swift-footed expeditions from the Arab cavalry. Fakreddin was vigilant and allowed no advantage to escape. He had reanimated the courage and confidence of his army till its elan was perfect. He sent a strong detachment to the rear of the Christian army, whose fierce assault spread terror through their camps. Encouraged by this, a general assault was ordered, in which the Christian Knights were compelled to perform prodigies of valor in order to save their camps. Conflicts now took place every day. Several of the Christian vessels fell into the hands of the Mussulmen. The prowling Arabs picked up as

prisoners all who ventured beyond the lines. The Christians erected machines for the protection of their work on the dyke across the canal, but the Mussulmen constantly destroyed them by means of Greek fire, whose use surprised and demoralized the bravest of the Knights. The expected arrival of the new Sultan revived Mussulman hopes and redoubled the ardor of Fakreddin and his soldiers, who were already making an unexpectedly brilliant defence. The Crusaders never took thought of crossing the canal by any other means than the dyke, and wasted fully a month in vain efforts to construct it. At length a traitorous Arab offered to show them a fording within half a league of their camp for five hundred byzants in gold. They paid him, and prepared at once to profit by their discovery. The cavalry moved in the night to effect a crossing, while the infantry remained in camp to guard the machines and baggage. The van of the cavalry, composed of Templars, Hospitallers and the English Knights, was led across by the youthful and fiery Robert, Count of Artois. They engaged three hundred Saracen horsemen and put them to flight. Though Robert had given the King a pledge to wait on the opposite bank till the main body of cavalry crossed to his support, and though more experienced leaders of the Templars and Hospitallers protested against pursuit, the impetuous Robert rushed after the flying Saracens, followed by his troopers, and entered their camp with them. Fakreddin rallied his forces and resisted for a time, but died covered with wounds, after being deserted by his followers.

The surprised and beaten Mussulman army retreated hastily to Mansourah. Robert could not resist the impulse to follow. His ardor for conquest and contempt for enemies who had abandoned their general and camps would not permit him to wait for the rest of the army to complete his victory. Deaf to all remonstrance, and with most ungalant charges on his lips against the Templars, Hospitallers and English Knights, he started in pursuit, followed by those whom he had just arraigned for duplicity and cowardice. They dashed into Mansourah to find that it had been abandoned by the enemy. Some stopped to pillage, while others followed the fleeing Mussulmen along the road to Cairo. The impetuosity of Robert had separated his command more than two leagues from the main army. The Mussulmen soon discovered that they had not been fighting with the main body, as at first supposed. The occasion evolved a skillful leader, Bibars Bondocar, who had just been placed at the head of the Mamelukes. He rallied the distracted Mussulmen, marched a part of his army between Mansourah and the canal, got possession of the gates, and poured a flood of warriors on the Crusaders, engaged in their work of pillage. "These lions of fights," as an Arabic historian calls the Mamelukes, "rushed upon the Franks like a tempest, dealing wounds and deaths in all directions." The Christians had no time to rally, nor could they fight on horseback or use their swords effectively in the narrow streets. They were the victims of direct blows and of stones and other missiles thrown from the house tops. The gates were closed and

strongly guarded, and not a single hope remained for the warriors who had so recently put to flight an entire army.

Other disasters followed. The rear of the Christian army, on hearing that the van was shut up in Mansourah, rushed hastily and confusedly to the rescue. The various detachments became separated. Some managed to retrace their steps, but most of them found themselves surrounded by Mussulmen. A thousand combats were going on upon the plain at once, and Christians were seen to be pursuing Saracens one minute and fleeing before them the next. All at once King Louis appeared with a formidable body of cavalry upon an elevation. The discomfited Knights believed they saw an angel of battle come to their assistance. Louis' fresh forces rushed headlong into the melee. No reconnoissance of the situation had been made. None knew where the strength of the enemy lay, and soon all lost knowledge of the head-quarters of the Christian army and the character of its lines. No orders could be issued nor rallying points assumed. Peril appeared as the only standard. Prudence and caution were useless. Ponderous strength and the clash of the lance and battle-axe were the only sources of triumph. Knights sank down in all directions covered with wounds, and to be trampled beneath the feet of frightened charges. The battle cries of the two armies mingled in their ascent to heaven. From Mansourah to the canal, and thence to the Nile, the country was one angry battle-field, where fury and despair animated the combatants by turns, and where torrents of blood

flowed without the advantage of victory to Christian or Mussulman.

Bibars, having left sufficient force in Mansourah to accomplish the destruction of the Knights imprisoned there, marched toward the canal with his main army to sustain those already engaged and to give decision to the battle. King Louis detected his manœuvre, and decided to draw in his army close to the canal so that it might not be surrounded, and so that communication might not be broken with the infantry columns and camps on the opposite side. Just then word came from the Counts of Poitiers and Flanders, upon the plain, that they must succumb unless speedily reinforced. Word also came from Robert of Artois that he was perishing in Mansourah. While Louis was hesitating, crowds of his bravest warriors rushed to the rescue of their companions, but they were driven back upon the main body, carrying confusion and terror with them. This gave rise to the impression that the Mussulmen were everywhere victorious, and it was followed by a rumor that the King had ordered a retreat. Squadrons began to disband in panic and to rush toward the Canal. Soon the waters were covered with drowning men and horses. Louis vainly tried to rally his troops. His commands were unheeded in the confusion. In despair he turned toward the enemy and dashed impetuously into the fight followed by his squires. Soon he was surrounded by the Mussulmen, who attempted to take him prisoner. By prodigious effort he slew six of them and escaped. This brilliant act reanimated the flying Crusaders. They

gathered about their chief and succeeded once more in dispersing the Mussulman battalions.

While the entire Christian army was thus engaged in an effort to repair the faults and save the life of the impetuous and indiscreet Robert of Artois, that worthy, with his fifteen hundred followers, was contending desperately within the city of Mansourah. Seeing no hope, they resolved to band together and die fighting. They nearly all perished thus. The grand master of the Hospitallers and a few others were taken prisoners. The grand master of the Templars escaped after witnessing the death of two hundred and eight of his followers. When night came, and the combatants separated, King Louis wept bitter tears over the misfortunes of the day. The clergy and the entire army were equally oppressed. Thousands had seenred the palm of martyrdom, but this excuse for every fault, this sublime exaltation of bravery, could not dispel the gloom that pervaded the camps of the Crusaders. True, they had managed to retain the field, and they had clearly shown what valor could effect, but they felt that they had not been able to rally and fight together as they should have done. The enemy had proved more skilful and had shown a superior discipline. Considering their great losses, the Christian army gave over all thought of celebrating a victory. Instead of joy, a melancholy sadness prevailed in their ranks. On the other hand, the Mussulmen, who had fallen back on Mansourah, considered it a great triumph to have stopped the enemy, and reassured themselves as to the issues of the war.

When the results of the day reached Cairo, they were considered as "notes of joy for all true believers."

The day after the battle was Ash Wednesday. The priests performed the ceremonies incident to the opening of Lent. The Christian army passed part of the day in prayer, the rest in preparations for defence. They threw a bridge over the Aschmoun to connect the infantry and cavalry camps. Bibars hastened to take advantage of his first successes. He paraded the head of Robert of Artois as that of the King of France, and so inflamed the ardor of his followers that they demanded to be led against the Christians. On the first Friday in Lent, the Mussulman army began its attack on the Christian position, which Louis had ordered to be well fortified. Bibars directed his infantry columns, armed with Greek fire, upon that part of the Christian lines held by the duke of Anjou and his Knights. The fire set ablaze the clothes of the warriors and the caparisons of their horses and threw the ranks into confusion. The Mussulmen penetrated the intrenchments, and the duke of Anjou was compelled to call on King Louis for aid. He led the reinforcement in person, and by herculean exertion succeeded in beating back the enemy. Similar attacks on other portions of the entrenched lines were repelled, but only after many brave knights had perished, among them the Grandmaster of the Templars. The Count of Poitiers occupied the left of the Christian army with the infantry. This became a point of violent attack, which was not repelled till after the enemy captured and pillaged the camps, and

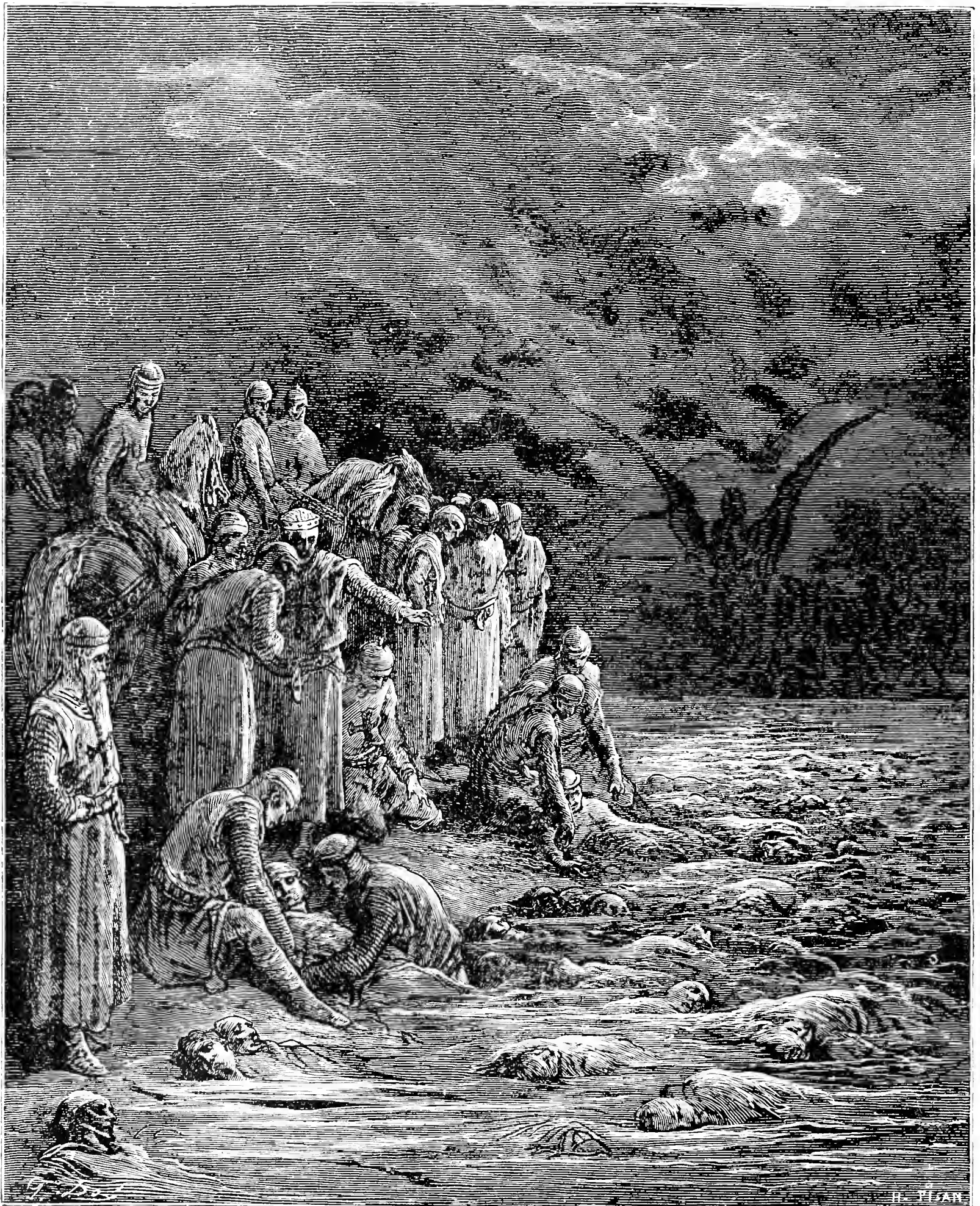


PLATE NO. LXXIV.—CRUSADERS ON THE NILE.

then only after the infantry had been reinforced by cavalry. If the battle could be called a victory for the Crusaders, it was one in which they had only glory as their reward, for the advantages were all with the Mussulmen. They had not only slain a majority of the Christian Knights but the horses on which they so much depended. Moreover they were receiving reinforcements every day. It became all too apparent that the Christian march upon Cairo was next to impossible. Retreat suggested itself, but that would be to confess defeat.

Almoadam, the new Sultan, arrived in Cairo. He proved to be a jealous monarch, and the emirs threatened to desert his standards. But the revolution which seemed imminent did not break out in time to prove advantageous to the Christians, who were now forced to contend with a more destructive and demoralizing enemy than the Mussulmen. They had not been able to bury their numerous dead, whose decaying carcases filled the plain and canal, breeding deadly contagions. Thousands died of disease, and the privations of a peculiarly sorrowful and austere lenten season exhausted the strength of those whom contagion spared. (*See* Plate No. LXXIV.) Most of those smitten met the approach of death without fear and considered it a happy ending of their sufferings. Nothing was heard in the Christian camps but prayers for the dying and dead, and nothing seen but funeral processions. In former crusades such scourges gave rise to despair and desertion, but in this the humblest soldier adhered to his banner and bore the evils with patience. In this

they but followed the example of King Louis, who attended the sick in person and lavished his treasures for their comfort. At length he fell sick, and from that time it seemed as if Providence had entirely deserted the soldiers of the cross.

The Mussulmen made no direct attack upon the desolated camps of the Christians, but they cut off their supplies by way of the Nile, by attacking and capturing a flotilla of fifty vessels and killing a thousand soldiers. A few days after, a similar flotilla was captured. Famine soon began to supplement disease in the Christian army. Leaders and soldiers were overwhelmed with despondency. King Louis judged it best to propose a truce. He offered to give up Damietta to the Sultan and leave Egypt, on condition that Jerusalem and all other places in Palestine should be surrendered to the Christians. The Sultan accepted the terms, but when the question of hostages came to be considered, the Sultan placed so little faith in the loyalty of his enemies, that he required King Louis himself to remain as a guarantee of the treaty. The King consented to this, but the lords and barons protested against such an insult, and expressed their determination to die rather than leave their King as a pledge. Louis was forced to yield to their opposition, and the negotiations were declared off.

King Louis now resolved to save the miserable remnant of his army by crossing it to the other side of the canal Aschmoun. While it was passing the bridge, the Mussulmen made a determined attack, which was repelled only with great difficulty and loss.

The army was no more fortunate on one side of the canal than on the other, and in a few days a retreat to Damietta became imperative. For this, the Sultán Almoadam was on the alert. He increased his force of roving Arabs by promises of booty, sent boats filled with soldiers down the Nile to join those already there, and lined the ways of retreat with light cavalry. On April 6th, King Louis ordered the women, children and sick to embark on the Nile. Nightfall was to conceal these sad preparations from the enemy, but they discovered the operations, penetrated the disordered camps, plundered the baggage, and put to the sword every living being they met with. Confused crowds fled on all sides. Cries of alarm resounded along the banks of the river. The mariners became demoralized and put off with empty boats. King Louis headed a relieving column in person, drove off the enemy, and recalled the boats and restored order.

The larger vessels took on board the clergy, and many of the nobles. The King was urged to follow their example, but he persistently refused to abandon his army, whose fate he proposed to share. When the army began its march under the lead of the Duke of Burgundy, and at night, King Louis took his place in the rear guard. He was so weak that he could support neither helmet nor cuirass and wore only his sword. The warriors who surrounded him felt the deplorable state to which they were reduced, yet took joy in the fact that the King had honored them with the position of his personal defenders. The Mussulmen were immediately in the wake of this retreat. They poured

over the bridge across the Asehmoun, which had been left standing in disobedience of Louis' orders, and harrassed the rear guard at every step. Amid the darkness the Crusaders could not see how to direct their blows nor pursue their advantages. They were in a constant state of confusion and awaited daylight with the utmost anxiety. Daylight came, but only to encourage their enemies by the small numbers and pitiable plight of the Christians. Menaced on all sides, these Knights who had taken the land route envied those who had gone by the river. Yet without reason, for a storm had grounded and destroyed many of their vessels. The remainder had arrived near Mehallah where the Mussulman fleet awaited them, confident in its ability to successfully dispute the passage.

Meanwhile the King and his rear guard were being continually pressed. Many times his intrepid followers were forced to perform prodigies in order to save his life. At length the entire guard was forced to make a final stand on an advantageous hill. It was proposed to try again the offer of a truce. A deputation of Knights was sent to the emir in command, and just as they were about to present their terms, a voice was heard exclaiming, "French Knights, surrender yourselves all. The King commands you by me. Do not cause him to be killed!" Believing that they were endangering the King's life, they all laid down their arms. When the Emir perceived this, he declined to negotiate, on the plea that it was not customary to treat with conquered enemies. The Mussulman attack was carried to the



PLATE No. LXXV.—ST. LOUIS A PRISONER IN EGYPT.

King's headquarters, where he was found surrounded by his weeping servants. He was loaded with chains and led away a prisoner of war by his victorious enemies. Both of his brothers fell into the hands of the Mussulmen. On learning of the captivity of the King, despair seized upon the entire army and many Knights, losing all intrepidity and love of life, permitted themselves to be manacled or slain without resistance, even though it was possible for them to have reached Damietta in safety. The oriflamme of France and the standards and baggage of the army fell into the hands of the enemy, who trampled under foot and profaned by insult every emblem of the religion they opposed.

The Christians upon the Nile fared no better than those on the land. The Mussulmen captured or destroyed all their vessels except the one on which the Pope's legate had embarked, and showed no mercy to prisoners except when moved by hope of ransom. The series of defeats which attended the Christian army at Mansourah and on its retreat caused a loss of thirty thousand lives. News of the victory obtained by the Mussulmen was soon spread throughout Egypt, and the Sultan caused it to be promulgated among all the faithful as one of the grandest triumphs of Islam. On the day after the surrender of the Christian army King Louis was placed on a transport and carried to Mansourah, attended by the Mussulman fleet in the river, by the Arab warriors on the western bank, and by the Mussulman army on the Eastern bank, with its long files of prisoners in chains. The procession was made triumphal by shouts and constant din of trumpets

and horns. He was confined in the house of the Sultan's secretary under a guard of Eunuchs, while the other prisoners were turned over to the keeping of regular guards.

When news of these disasters reached Damietta, the inhabitants and garrison would have decamped but for the fortitude of Queen Marguirite, who appealed to the Pisans and Genoese to stay by her with their ships, and to all others not to desert her and the helpless babe she had just brought into the world. Meanwhile, King Louis was less moved at Mansourah than they were at Damietta. He remained silent as to request or petition, and astonished his enemies with his resignation. Out of his entire fortune nothing remained but his prayer book, and in this he sought daily consolation. The Sultan sent him dresses for himself and the lords of his train. These he declined, saying "he could never wear the livery of a foreign prince." (*See Plate No. LXXV.*) The Sultan then offered to prepare a feast in his honor, but the King refused to grace an occasion which was clearly contrived to present him as a spectacle to the Mussulmen army. Thus baffled, the Sultan then sent to the King his most skillful physicians in order to preserve the life of one through whom he hoped to reap material advantages.

Ere long, the Sultan proposed to restore him to liberty, on the condition of the surrender of Damietta and the Christian cities of Palestine, still held by the Franks. Louis replied that the Christian cities of Palestine did not belong to him and that Damietta was beyond human disposal. The Sultan then tried the efficacy of threats; first, to send



PLATE NO. LXXVI.—ARRIVAL OF PRISONERS AT CAIRO.

him to Bagdad to be imprisoned till death; second, to exhibit him in all the cities of Asia as a Christian reduced to slavery; third, to place him in the *bernieles*, a punishment reserved for the greatest criminals. Louis' response was, "I am the Sultan's prisoner, he can do with me as he pleases." Sorrow for the fate of his army was the only affliction that preyed on the King's health and resolution. Those that had been slain he regarded as fortunate compared with those then crowding the prison court of Mansourah, ten thousand of whom had arrived in all stages of sickness, wounds and nakedness. All who could purchase liberty were assigned to a great tent: the rest were coralled like sheep, destined to perish. Every day a number were withdrawn and asked to abjure their religion. Those who refused were slaughtered. At length the survivors were led in chains to Cairo, and the capital of Egypt, which they had expected to enter in triumph, received them ragged and abject. There many died in dungeons while others were condemned to servitude. (*See Plate No. LXXVI.*)

The barons, Knights and others who were held for ransom were not ignorant of the fate of their brethren, and they spent the days and nights in terror. The Sultan wished to obtain from them what King Louis had refused him. He offered them liberty on the same terms before proposed to the King. They rejected his overture. He employed threats and exhibited to them his instruments of torture. Still they refused to yield their conquests or compromise the situation at Damietta. Rather, they

took steps to redeem themselves by payment of ransom. When Louis heard of this, he forbade all such negotiations, fearing for the fate of those too poor to thus effect their release. He obligated himself to pay for all, when the time came for advantageous terms.

The favorites of the Sultan, whom he had brought from Mesopotamia with him, now began to urge on him the policy of a speedy peace. They pictured to him the insolent emirs puffed up with victory and jealous of his power, ready at a moment to turn their swords against him, and urged on him to terminate war and begin to reign. Al-moadan, therefore, proposed more reasonable terms. He offered to receive a million golden byzants as the price of ransom, and the restitution of Damietta. Louis, knowing that Damietta could not be held, accepted the proffer, with the understanding that Damietta was the price of his own ransom, and the million byzants that of his army. The Sultan was so struck with his success that, as a mark of liberality, he reduced the money ransom a fifth.

The Knights and barons were at their prayers, or revolving their usual melancholy reflections, when an aged Saracen and his train of soldiers entered the pavilion, and announced that the King had declared a truce and wished to take council of his barons. They appointed a deputation to meet him, and it was not long before they learned that the King had bound himself for their ransom and that their captivity was about to end. Such a deliverance seemed like a miracle to them and they raised their



PLATE NO. LXXVII.—CAPTIVE CAVALIERS AT CAIRO.

voices in praise of God and in benedictions to the King of France. (*See* Plate No. LXXVII.)

After providing transports for conveying the prisoners to the mouth of the Nile, the Sultan repaired to Pharescour by land, where he received the congratulations of ambassadors sent from various parts of the East. He completely lost his head amid adulations and the intoxication of power. The Emirs feared and hated him. The Mamelukes, who had been favorites of his father, and were the real cause of defeat to the Christians, were among his most bitter opponents, because he had slighted them. Chegger-Eddour, the woman who had disposed of the Empire, inflamed the minds of the malcontents, because of insult and neglect on the part of the new Sultan. Murmurs and complaints soon ran into conspiracy and revolt. When the transports with the Christian prisoners on board arrived at Pharescour, the King and his suite landed to confer with the Sultan relative to the giving up of Damietta. After arranging for the final transfer in three days time, the Sultan celebrated the peace by a feast, to which the principal officers of the Mussulman army were invited. The conspirators took advantage of this opportunity and, toward the end of the feast, rushed upon him sword in hand, the leader being Bendocdare, the chief of the Mamelukes. The Sultan, though badly wounded, made his escape to a tower where he signalled for his soldiers. They were told by the conspirators that Damietta had been taken, and instantly they started thither leaving the Sultan to his enemies. The tower was set on

fire, and Almoadam jumped for his life only to be caught and suspended on projecting nails. At length he fell to the ground among those who thirsted for his life, prayed to be spared, and offered to abandon the throne of Egypt. The crowd hesitated, but the leaders were too far committed to yield. After receiving other wounds, the Sultan ran to the Nile and threw himself in with the hope of reaching a friendly vessel. Nine Mamelukes plunged in after him and gave him the blows of death. (*See* Plate No. LXXVIII.) Thus perished Almoadam by sword, fire and water, after having provoked his fate by imprudence and injustice.

King Louis and his companions heard the tumult incident to Almoadam's death, and feared for the worst. A crowd of Saracen warriors came to his tent with taunts and threats, but soon their demeanor changed, and they retired after giving the King to understand that all they required was the fulfillment of the treaty made with Almoadam. The Emirs were at first terrorized by thought of what of what they had done. In a council called to elect a new Sultan, the wisest refused to rule a country so full of troubles or command an army so given up to the spirit of sedition. Chegger-Eddour was therefore declared Sultan, she who had done so much to elevate and then crush Almoadam. As her Atabec, or assistant, Ezz-Eddin-Aybeck, a Turcoman, was chosen. These selections ended the direct successors of the powerful Saladin, and the family of the Ayoubites. The elevation of a woman to so imposing an office astounded all Mussulmen and drew protests from the Caliph of Bagdad. Su-



PLATE NO. LXXVIII.—DEATH OF ALMOADAM.

preme authority in the hands of one of a sex whom it was the custom of the Orient to despise, could neither calm the troubles of the empire nor cause treaties to be respected. This last, the Christians soon found out, for they were required to pay half of the proposed ransom and to give up Damietta, before they were permitted to leave the Nile.

After much delay in surrendering Damietta and concluding details, Louis IX, with the wreck of his splendid army, sailed from the mouth of the Nile for Ptolemais. The Egyptians celebrated the restoration of Damietta for several days, and then returned to Cairo where the Sultana rewarded the leaders and soldiers with presents of silver and gold. While Louis was landing at Ptolemais, news of his disaster spread through Europe, throwing the people into deep grief. Nearly every family in France had lost a member or friend in the dreadful disasters. The captivity of the King rendered the situation all the more deplorable. All festivities were forbidden, and the Kingdom was plunged in sorrow and abasement. The Church poured out its prayers and tears, and the Pope felt that one of the mightiest calamities had befallen Christendom. Frederick II, Emperor of Germany, deplored the disasters more deeply than any other Christian prince, spoke of Louis IX as his best friend, and reproached the Pope with the ruin of the Christians.

Louis carried with him to Ptolemais but a few of his Knights. The rest returned directly to Europe to recover from wounds or recuperate diseased bodies. Those who landed with him were nearly naked, and the dis-

eases they bore along became epidemic in the city. Louis immediately set about to deliver the captives still in Egypt, the number of which was estimated at twelve thousand. He sent ambassadors to pay the balance of the ransom money, but they found the country so full of fanatical divisions, and so at odds over the treaty already concluded, that they only succeeded in bringing away about four hundred of the ill-fated prisoners, most of whom had paid their own ransom. Their return plunged Louis into the deepest distress. He was in receipt of letters from Queen Blanche to leave the East. But how could he return while twelve thousand Christian soldiers remained in slavery? The Mamelukes had threatened to meet him in Ptolemais. The military orders, the clergy and nobles of Palestine, conjured him not to leave them, for if deprived of his support they too would have to abandon Syria to its fate. Louis called a council of his own barons and laid the matter before them. They were discordant in sentiment, but the stoutest arguments favored his remaining. Louis desired to stay for a while longer, but he left his followers free to depart for Europe if they wished. Many of them went home, each the bearer of a letter describing the disasters of the Crusade and exhorting all to take up arms for the assistance of the Holy Land.

The wisdom of Louis' decision soon became apparent. The Sultans of Aleppo and Damascus offered him terms to join them in an attack upon Egypt, where the Sultana had been dethroned and the Atabec installed as Sultan. While Louis could not afford to

break his treaty, so long as so many prisoners remained in Egypt, he sent an embassy to Cairo to offer to the Emirs peace or war. They wished to head off the alliance between him and the Mussulmen of Syria, offered him a similar one with Egypt, and set two hundred Knights at liberty. It was October, 1251, when these remains of once vigorous warriors arrived at Ptolemais, to be welcomed as men risen from the dead. Thus Louis was able to play upon the fears of the emirs to the advantage of Christians, and had the West been at all responsive to his appeals he might have repaired some of the reverses he experienced in Egypt.

Frederick II, Emperor of Germany, died at Naples, when about to send aid to Louis. His death proved a fresh source of trouble for Christendom. Though he bequeathed a hundred thousand ounces of gold for the succor of the Holy Land and restored to the church all that belonged to it, Pope Innocent received the news of his death with joy. "Let the Heaven's rejoice; let the earth be in gladness," wrote he to the clergy and people of Sicily; and then he pursued with anathemas the memory of a prince who for thirty-eight years had borne the title of King of Jerusalem. He excommunicated Conrad whom Frederick had named as his successor, sent emissaries into Naples to estrange the people, and instructed the clergy of Germany to preach a crusade against the house of Swabia. France too was passing through agitation. The letters sent by Louis affected all hearts. Some were fired with enthusiasm for the crusade; others, who had met with great losses, grew seditious in their grief.

The former cherished the idea that as God had deserted the great ones of earth, his future instruments were to be peasants and shepherds. In this they were encouraged by an Hungarian prophet, who came preaching and performing miracles. He called his disciples *Pastors*, and many flocked to his standard in Holland, Germany and France. Queen Blanche tolerated them in the hope that they might in some way bring aid to Louis, but her favor only increased their arrogance. To please the mob they disclaimed against the wealth and power of the clergy, and even took sacerdotal functions on themselves. They grew to be an hundred thousand strong, and embraced all the lower orders, thieves, mendicants and prostitutes. They left Paris in detachments and repaired by various ways to the coasts to embark for the East. They threw the cities on their line of march into frightful disorders, and their enormities had to be checked by the intervention of the police and military authorities, who received orders to disperse their disorderly and piratical bands. At Bourges, their entry was the signal for murder, fire and pillage. The populace rose in arms, pursued and routed them, killing Jacob, their prophet, and treating the rest as brigands.

In the midst of this singular effervescence, regular preachment of a Crusade to relieve the East was going on, and the Pope was inventing and extending new indulgences to the soldiers of Christ. All vows, except those of religion, became convertible into a vow for the Crusade. But while the Holy See readily extended these favors, it was too much engrossed in its wars against the house

of Swabia to care further for a Crusade in the East. The Bishop of Lincoln openly charged the Pope with exchanging the treasures of heaven for those of earth, and with selling Crusaders as kine and pigeons were formerly sold in the Temple. The time had come for the Pope to throw off all disguises. He ordered the Cordeliers (friars) to preach directly a crusade against the heir and successor of Frederick, and for this purpose he extended the indulgences, ordinarily granted to Crusaders, to the fathers and mothers of those who enlisted under his banners. The preaching of such a Crusade, at a time when King Louis was pleading for help in Palestine, excited great indignation among the French nobility. They were forced to regard the papal recruits as rebels, their lands were siezed by regal orders, the Cordeliers were reprimanded, and their efforts were brought to naught. Yet this did not have the effect of increasing zeal for the Eastern Crusade. The very best friends of Louis preferred not to prolong his absence by sending him assistance. Thus the prayers of the King for help, and the prayers for the King by his subjects, were on lines so opposite as to offset each other in the sight of Heaven. Queen Blanche sent him a vessel laden with money. A few trusty Knights crossed the seas to his support, but in the main, Louis was forced to rely on levies in Greece, Syria and Cyprus, and these asked so high a price for their services as to bankrupt the King's treasury. With all his efforts he could scarcely muster seven hundred Knights, at a time when war was openly declared between the Sultans of Damascus and Cairo.

Still he relaxed no effort to break the chains of Christian captives in Egypt, and his grief for their bondage was greatly augmented by knowledge of the fact that so many of them had abjured their faith and embraced that of Islam. This, however, was nothing unusual, for history does not hesitate to affirm that throughout the Crusades more Christians became Mussulmen than Mussulmen Christians. Some attempt to account for this on the theory that the crusading armies possessed so many of the lower orders whose religious virtue was not equal to the ordeals of misfortune. One of the sayings of Saladin was that "a good Christian never made a bad Mussulman, nor a good Mussulman a bad Christian." While both faiths sought converts and encouraged apostacy, neither looked with pride on the condition of the pervert, and this notwithstanding the fact that many such, in their new country and under their new religion, became prominent officers and officials, or wealthy in agriculture or the mechanical arts.

But while Louis could do nothing offensively, he repaired the fortifications of Cæsarea, Ptolemais, Jaffa and Caipha, and to prevent that licentiousness of manners among his knights, which had always been incident to idleness, he organized many little pilgrimages to sacred spots. He even contemplated a visit to Jerusalem, at the request of the Sultan of Damascus, but the prelates dissuaded him from a pious visit to a city he hoped to enter one day as a conqueror. Had his priestly advisers known that the yoke of the Infidel was so inexorably fixed on the Holy City, they would have hardly denied

him the enjoyment of so amiable and pious a wish.

Louis' position improved by means of its neutrality. Neither the Sultan of Damascus nor Cairo wished to have him as an enemy, and both made frequent overtures to him for an alliance. By degrees, their terms grew more liberal and, as the most promising results lay in the direction of Egypt, he concluded a treaty with the Sultan of Cairo, in which the Mamelukes were to liberate all Christian captives in Egypt, the children of such brought up in the Moslem faith, and restore the heads of the martyrs that had been exposed on the walls of Cairo. Jerusalem and the cities of Palestine, except Gaza, Daroum and two other fortresses, were to be restored to the Franks. A truce should exist between Jerusalem and Egypt for fifteen years. The two states should combine their forces, and all conquests should be shared equally between the Christians and Mamelukes. This very generous, not to say preposterous treaty, had within it all the elements of failure. It involved concessions on the part of Egypt out of all proportion to the importance of Louis' position, and was so plainly an attempt on the part of Egypt to outbid the Sultan of Damascus, that it seems incredible how a monarch of Louis' sagacity could have been deceived by it. Many of his advisers denounced it as an unholy alliance between Christians and Infidels, and as contrary to those pious principles of which the King had always been regarded as the stoutest exponent. But he seems to have been carried away by its excessive liberality, and to have forgotten that its terms were al-

most sure to be interfered with by the perfidy of its makers or by the yet powerful Sultan of Damascus, against whom it weighed most heavily.

The Mussulman leaders of Egypt were to march to Gaza and Jaffa, to complete their alliance with Louis and plan for carrying on the war. The Sultan of Damascus immediately planted an army of twenty thousand men between Gaza and Daroum, so as to prevent a union of the Christian and Mameluke forces. The latter failed to appear at Jaffa, as they had agreed to do. They, however, turned over the Christian prisoners in Egypt and the religious relics, and sent Louis the present of an elephant. Louis waited their appearance at Jaffa for an entire year. It then began to dawn upon him that the emirs of Egypt had sought an alliance with him only for the purpose of frustrating the designs of the Sultan of Damascus, when their own situation appeared desperate and when they feared that Louis would receive succor from the West. When they learned that Louis could not muster a force of more than seven hundred Knights, they feared to enter into warlike enterprises in which he could give them no substantial support. Therefore, their invasion of Syria took no orderly form, but consisted of a series of disturbing raids, which resulted in no permanent advantage, and fell far short of their promise to wrest Jerusalem and other Christian cities from the Sultan Damascus and turn them over to Louis.

While Louis was thus nursing his shattered hopes, the Caliph of Bagdad was acting as arbiter between Cairo and Damascus.

He soon had the satisfaction of seeing his efforts crowned with success. The Sultans of Syria and Egypt entered upon a peace, whose prominent feature was an agreement to unite their arms against the Christians. From that moment of hopes of the Crusaders fled. King Louis stood aghast at the consequences of his tardiness. While in compact with Egypt, he beheld his two enemies united against him and the Christian cause. As a statesman he had been outwitted, as a warrior out-generaled, so that one of his historians felt warranted in saying of him, "that to be a saint it appears not necessary to be infallible, particularly in political affairs, and even still less in war." The treaty between the Mamelukes and Syrians was the signal for war, and immediately their armies surrounded Ptolemais, destroyed the fields it depended upon for provisions and levied a tribute of fifty thousand gold byzants. They then departed with the intention of returning.

Louis redoubled his efforts to fortify the Christian cities. He employed immense numbers of workmen to restore the ramparts of Sidon, when a roving Turcoman army suddenly descended upon the place and put every Christian inhabitant to the sword. Louis wished to put himself at the head of his army to attack the invaders, but his warriors would not permit him to thus expose himself. They marched without him, and met the invaders near the sources of the Jordan where they dispersed them. Their victory would have been complete but for the fact that some of the Knights proved indiscreet enough to attack a Mussulman cas-

tle on the heights of Libanus. The enemy rallied for defence, repulsed their assailants, and drove them in confusion over the rocks and precipices. It was only by prodigious efforts that they managed to organize a safe retreat. They then returned to Sidon, where King Louis had arrived. The reeking remains of the massacred Christians were given sepulture, and the work of fortifying the place was begun anew.

While here, the King received word of the death of his mother, Queen Blanche. This sad event plunged him into the deepest grief. It imposed on him the duty of returning to his Kingdom. The war for the succession in Flanders had broken out again. His truce with England had expired. He could undertake nothing new in Palestine. The clergy and barons of Palestine advised him to depart, thinking his presence in Europe might inspire a new Crusade. Leaving a hundred Knights at Sidon, and taking along his queen, Marguirite, and the three children born to him in the East, he arrived at Ptolemais in the Spring of 1254. On April 24, he bade farewell to the Holy Land and sailed for Europe with a fleet of fourteen vessels. After a tempestuous voyage of two months, which abounded in accidents and adventures, the fleet anchored in the Mediterranean waters of France, and Louis arrived, at Vincennes, on Sept. 5, 1254, where an ovation was extended to him by the joyous people. The greater part of the barons and Knights who had departed with him had found graves in Egypt or Syria; those who returned found their castles deserted and in ruins. Louis set about repairing the evils

his absence had caused with as much spirit as if he had resolved never again to pervert the uses of religion, the power of royalty and the glory of chivalry to vain adventures in Mussulman countries.

Thus terminated the seventh Crusade, whose beginning was the delight of Christendom, whose end left all Europe in mourning. It was a religious affair with King Louis, but for his army it was only a common war, in which the spirit of chivalry was dominant, and in which there was less of the religious sentiment than in the sixth Crusade. Its preaching and tributes were of a kind calculated to suppress the principles and objects of an holy war. Louis took three years to prepare it. He had eliminated as much as possible the degrading elements of humanity. It was the best equipped and provisioned of all Crusades. It had the most pious, prudent, renowned leader of all—a constant example to his subordinates, had they been wise enough to follow it.

The great wonder is that a King, so exalted, pious and wise as Louis IX, could have been induced to embark on an expedition fraught with such dangers and so barren of advantages, even if successful. Some say he nursed visions of a permanent Christian colony which might unite the East and West. If so, his opportunity lay rather in the direction of Constantinople than Egypt. We prefer to ascribe his motives to a purely religious instinct, which in that age was sufficient excuse for acts entirely beyond the ken of reason or the perception of intellect.

Among the consequences of this Crusade was the destruction of Damietta and the filling of the Nile's mouth with stones, by the Mamelukes, in order to take away the inducement for similar expeditions from Europe. This Crusade contributed, as much as any internal cause, to the rapidity and violence of those revolutions in Egypt which witnessed the end of the Ayoubite dynasty and the rise of the Mameluke power. It is a curious fact in history that the destruction of the Mameluke dynasty in the eighteenth century was brought about by the French, the same nation which had indirectly contributed to its rise in the thirteenth century.

When in Syria, Louis learned that a powerful Emir was collecting a library, to be open to the scholars of the world. Wishing to imitate so noble an example, he gave orders for the transcription of all the manuscripts in the monasteries. These literary treasures became models for those bibliographical monuments which are now the pride of Paris. Louis likewise collected the laws that formed the Assizes of Jerusalem, and sent missionaries into Tartary to study the institutions of that peculiar people. He thus gave heed to the civilization of the East, and in this way redeemed by added knowledge the other fatalities of his expedition. He went away an invalid and came back with restored health. Adversity had perfected him physically, and so increased his prudence, diligence, modesty and zeal, that he was more beloved, than before, by his people and better fitted for the duties of state.

Pope Innocent continued his war upon the house of Swabia. He died while taking pos-

session of Naples in the name of the Church. His successors continued the war, and finally liberated Italy, for a time, from the German yoke. But the contest went on for centuries, and involved, time and again, Italy, Germany, France and Spain in bloody revolutions. The concluding period of the seventh Crusade was an era of outbursts, all of which were dignified by the title of "Crusade." The Pope ordered one against Eccelino, an Italian tyrant, and usurper of several Lombard cities. The King of Bohemia headed a Crusade against the Lithuanians, a people

who persisted in their paganism. The Prussians, so many times afflicted by attacks of the Teutonic Knights, were made the victims of a Crusade by the half converted and almost wholly barbarous nations of the Oder and Vistula. History can scarcely follow the Crusades of the time, nor account for the fact that the West was not depopulated by wars. They were lessons alike for good and evil, and evidently the fierce fires kindled by Providence for the refinement of the coarse humanity then running wild in the forests of Europe.

PART VIII.

THE EIGHTH CRUSADE.

A. D. 1255—1270.



THE good influence of King Louis IX, of France, on the Christians of Palestine was lost soon after his departure. The Genoese and Venetians of Ptolemais became bloodily hostile. Their discords crossed the seas, and Genoa interested the Pisans and Greeks in her cause. War was declared, fleets were equipped, troops were raised. The war was waged by sea and land for twenty years with varying success as to the principals, but always with fatal results to the Christian colonies of the East. So the spirit of discord extended to the Templars and Hospitallers, and they drenched with paternal blood the land they had sworn to protect. Sergines, whom Louis left in command at Ptolemais, had no power within it nor troops enough to defend it. The only safety of the Christians lay in the ever recurring revolutions among the Mussulmen, which prevented their concentration for the purpose of attacking the Christian cities. The Mamelukes, in particular, being an army

rather than a nation, were continually distraught by revolutions.

We have seen the character of some of these revolutions. Others might be mentioned as, for instance, that one brought about by the jealousy of the deposed Sultana-Chegger-Eddour. She caused the usurper Aibek to be murdered, and then sent for the emir Saif-Eddin to ask his advice and offer her hand and empire. He was frightened at sight of the Sultana seated on her bloody throne with the corpse of a murdered Sultan at her feet (*See Plate No. LXXIX.*) She summoned two other emirs who fled from her presence. Word of her terrible deed passed to the populace, who revenged the death of the Sultan by slaying the Sultana and casting her naked body into the castle ditch. The fifteen year old son of the Sultan was raised to the throne, but another revolution soon hurled him from his eminence. But these and all such revolutions in Egypt were soon to pale in significance before that general storm which was brewing in Asia and was soon to involve Persia, Syria and the valley of the Nile.

The Moguls of Tartary laid siege to Bagdad, captured it and slew the Caliph who rep-



PLATE NO. LXXIX.—SULTANA CHIEFFER-EDDOUR AND EMIR SAIFEDDEN.
398

resented the thirty-seventh and last generation of the Abbassides. This violence to the head of the Mussulman religion, together with the march of the Moguls toward Syria, threw the Mamelukes into consternation, and they elected Koutouz, one of their wisest and bravest emirs, Sultan. The Moguls crossed the Euphrates and took possession of Damascus, Aleppo, and the principal cities of Syria, the Mussulmen fleeing before them. They avoided the Christian cities, and the Christians regarded them as liberators, prayed for their success, and ceased to look to Europe for aid.

But the irresistible approach of so powerful a foe created quite a different impression in Europe. All the nations of the West began to tremble, not so much for the fate of Eastern Christians, as for their own. This was not strange, for while Oulagon, the Mogul leader, was ravaging Syria, other Tartar armies were desolating the banks of the Danube and Dniester. Pope Alexander exhorted the faithful in Italy, Germany, France and England to unite against the barbarians. He ordered prayers to be said, processions to be made, blasphemies to be stopped and luxuries to be suppressed, all of which does not seem to have retarded in the least the triumph march of the Moguls. It was only by dint of stout military resistance that their progress was checked in Hungary and Poland. This relief to Europe produced alarm among the Eastern Christians, who feared that the wrath of the Moguls, inspired by Christian opposition in the West, would be transferred to them; and what they feared came about, precipitated by

the indiscretion of some German Crusaders, who pillaged Mussulman villages under tribute to the Moguls. They demanded reparation, which was refused. From that time the Moguls waged war against the Christians, ravaged the territory of Sidon and threatened Ptolemais. Having no hope from the West, the despairing Christians forgot all they had endured at the hands of Egypt, and began to repose confidence in the arms of the Mamelukes. The Moguls swept over Palestine and began to threaten Egypt. The Sultan marched a large army northward, executed a truce with the Christians at Ptolemais, and then met the enemy in the plain of Tiberias. Here he fought a decisive battle, slew the Mogul leader, and so demoralized the barbarian hordes that they quitted Syria entirely.

But now that the Mussulmen were triumphant, they could not excuse the Christians for the interest they had at first taken in the success of the Moguls. They were charged with having taken advantage of the desolation of Syria to insult the disciples of Mohammed. Their churches were demolished in Damascus and they were persecuted in all Mussulman cities. The cry of "war upon the Christians" resounded in all the provinces under control of the victorious Mamelukes. Even the Sultan of Cairo paid the penalty of his fidelity to the truce he had just concluded with the Christians. Bibars, who had killed the last Sultan of the family of Saladin, took advantage of the outcry against the Christians, headed a party inimical to Koutouz, and slew him while hunting. His crime was rewarded by his own promo-

tion to the vacant Sultanate, and the ceremonies prepared at Cairo for the reception of the conqueror of the Moguls served to celebrate the coronation of his murderer. This revolution gave to the Mussulmen a sovereign most to be dreaded by the Christians.

He had scarcely mounted the throne before he gave the signal for war. The Christians of Palestine, being totally without means of resistance, sent frantic appeals to the West for aid. The Pope seemed affected, but in his circulars showed that he desired the arms of Europe for other purposes than the fighting of Mussulmen. He was far more interested in the destruction of the house of Swabia than in the redemption of the Holy Land. Pope Clement IV, successor of Alexander IV, showed a somewhat livelier interest in Eastern affairs, but he was too much hampered by the policy of his predecessors and by existing political conditions in Europe to request a general arming against the Mussulmen. Germany could spare no warriors for the Holy Land, with these pretenders to her throne tugging at one another's throats. England was a prey to civil war. France sent a few of her Knights to succor their brethern in the East.

But just now there happened what, at an earlier period of the Crusades, would have filled the West with mourning. The Latin Empire of Constantinople had, for a long time, been toppling to its fall. Baldwin had bankrupted the Empire and ruined the queen of Eastern cities, as its dilapidated fortifications, smoke begrimed palaces, dismantled churches, demolished public edifices, deserted houses and streets, bore witness. In hope of

pillage, he had hired a Venetian fleet to carry him on an expedition against Daphnusia. The Greeks of Nice, on the alert for just such an opportunity, and under the lead of the general of Michael Palæologus, the Greek Emperor, entered Constantinople and drove out the terrified Latin occupants. The Venetian fleet bore Baldwin away, together with all that constituted the visible empire of the Latins on the Bosphorus. The Greeks re-entered their once glorious capital without striking a blow. Baldwin became a mendicant in Europe, and was received by the Pope with mixed compassion and contempt. The sovereign Pontiff urged a Crusade for the recovery of Byzantium, but neither the sovereigns nor the clergy of Europe favored so useless an expenditure. The Pope was forced to be content with presents from the emperor, Michael Palæologus, and with his promises to recognize the church of Rome and succor the Holy places.

The situation of the Christians of Palestine was daily growing more desperate. The new Sultan of Egypt had ravaged their country once, and was again present with a more formidable army. The alarmed Christians sued for peace, but the only reply was increased devastation. An expedition was attempted toward Tiberias by a forlorn troop of Knights, but they were defeated and dispersed. All the available forces of the Christians were now driven under cover of the fortified cities. Bibars surrounded Cæsarea and forced it to capitulate. He next besieged Arsouf, which offered a spirited resistance, but was forced to succumb. The inhabitants were either massacred or sold



PLATE No. LXXX.—A CELESTIAL LIGHT.

into slavery, and the adjacent territory was divided among the leaders of the Sultan's army. Bibars returned to Egypt to recruit his army. While there he received overtures of peace from the princes of Palestine and Armenia, but these only decided him to continue the war. "The time has come," said he, "when we will endure no more injuries. When you take a cottage we will take a castle. When you seize one of our laborers, we will consign a thousand of your warriors to chains."

Nor did he delay the execution of his threats. Returning to Palestine, he ravaged the territory of Tripoli. He then formed an alliance with the Genoese, who were to aid him by sea in his land attack on Ptolemais. The Genoese failed him, and he turned in anger upon the fortress of Sefed, which surprised him with the strength of its resistance. But discords among the Christians gave him the advantage, and his banners supplanted those of the cross. The inhabitants gained permission to depart provided they took nothing but their clothes. But they were detected carrying away treasures and arms, and, as a consequence, nearly all put to death. Word of the fall of Sefed and of the tragic end of its defenders filled the Christians of Palestine with consternation and despair. Superstitious grief invented marvellous accounts of their exploits, and insisted that a celestial light shone every night upon their unburied bodies. This light continued to shine till the Sultan honored the remains with decent sepulture. (*See* Plate No. LXXX.)

Again Bibars returned to Egypt to recruit his army. He was quickly back in Syria,

and this time he attacked the King of Armenia, whom he reproached for interdicting traffic between his Kingdom and Egypt. A fierce battle resulted, in which one of the sons of the King lost his life and the other his liberty. Bibars withdrew loaded with booty and leading a long train of captives. He now surrounded Ptolemais, more for the purpose of exhibiting his trophies and machines of war than of attack, for he suddenly left to besiege Jaffa. This place had been rendered formidable by the labor and money of King Louis IX, of France, yet it fell after only a slight resistance. The stronghold of Carac was also captured by the Sultan's forces. He then invaded the province of Tripoli. Bohemond sent to demand his object. "I am coming," said Bibars, "to gather your harvests. In my next campaign I will besiege your capital." He made a truce with Bohemond, leaving further hostilities for another time; but, it is said, he disguised himself as one of his own ambassadors to execute the truce, and thus ascertained the nature of the fortifications and defences of the capital.

His next project was the siege of Antioch, badly defended, and almost deserted by its inhabitants. The besieged made but a feeble resistance, depending more on prayers and supplications than on their valor and swords. They secured no terms of capitulation, and the victorious Mussulmen felt at liberty to indulge all the excesses of victory. (*See* Plate No. LXXXI.) In a letter, purported to have been written by Bibars to the Count of Tripoli, as a reminder of the fate in store for him, he thus describes the desolation of

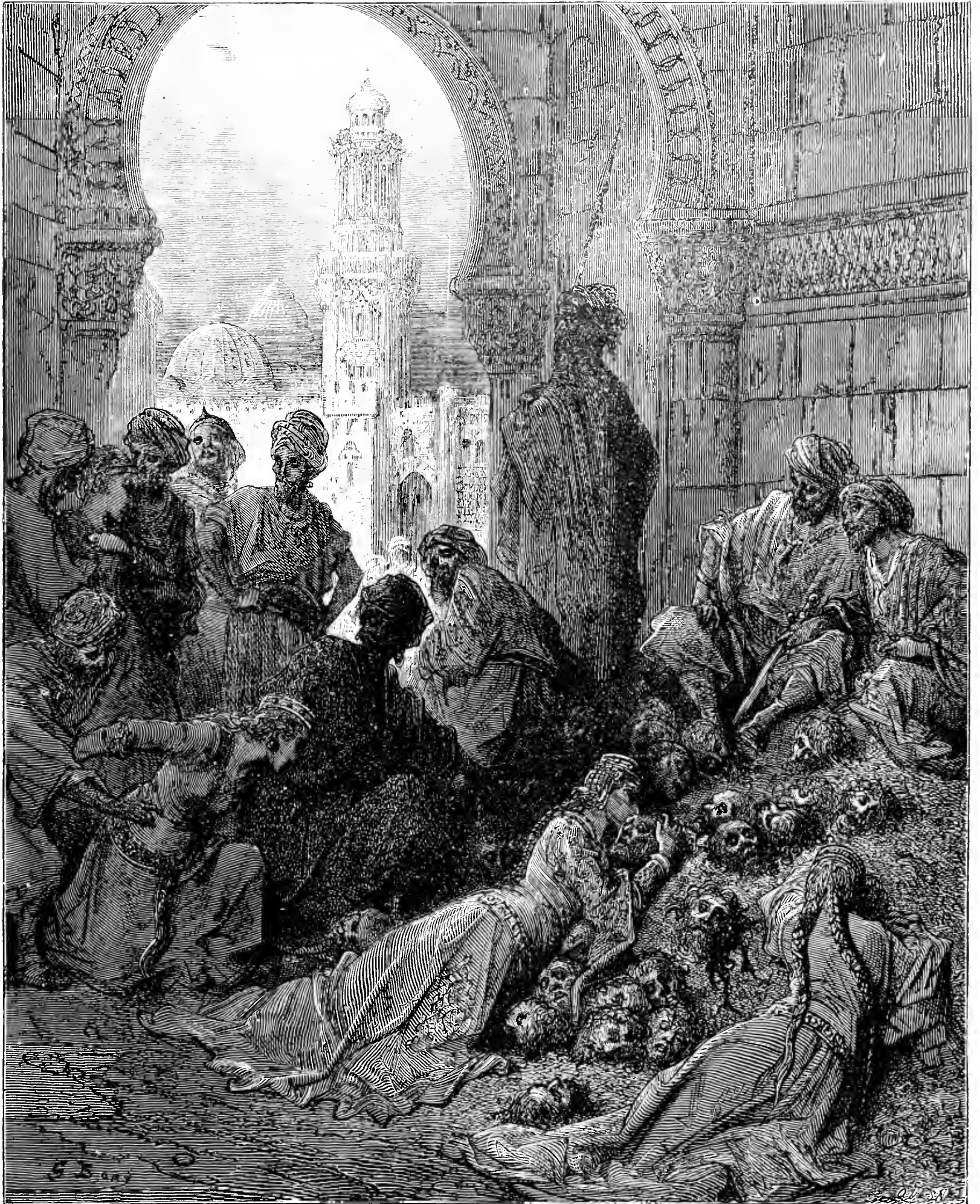


PLATE NO. LXXXI.—CRUELITIES OF BIBARS.

the captured city of Antioch:—"Death came to the besieged from all sides and by all roads. We killed all that thou hadst appointed to guard the city or defend its approaches. If thou hadst seen thy Knights trampled under the feet of the horses, thy provinces given up to pillage, thy riches distributed by measure-full, the wives of thy subjects put to public sale; if thou hadst seen the pulpits and crosses overturned, the leaves of the gospel torn and cast to the winds, and the sepulchre of thy patriarchs profaned; if thou hadst seen thy enemies, the Mussulmen, trampling upon the tabernacles and immolating in the sanctuary, monk, priest and deacon; in short, if thou hadst seen thy palaces given up to the flames, the dead devoured by the fires of this world, the Church of St. Paul and that of St. Peter completely destroyed, certes, thou wouldst have cried:—Would to Heaven that I had become dust!"

Bibars distributed the booty of Antioch among his soldiers, the Mamelukes reserving as their portion the women and children. "At that time," says an Arabic Chronicler, "there was not the slave of a slave that was not master of a slave." In a single day Antioch lost its Christian identity and all its inhabitants. A conflagration completed for its structures what the sword had done for its citizens. Many historians allege that seventy thousand of its Christian population were slaughtered and a hundred thousand dragged into slavery. (*See* Plate No. LXXXII.) This was the sad end of that Christian principality of Antioch, founded by the violent exploits of Bohemond, Godfrey

and Tancred, two hundred years before, valiantly defended as long as chivalry and religion operated as an inducement, readily surrendered as soon as it became doubtful in the minds of its inhabitants whether Mussulman religion and supremacy could prove a greater curse than the yoke of Christianity. Even the venerable Patriarch, William, was accused of having favored the Mameluke conquest of the principality and its capital, and there was certainly no sentiment in the city in favor of united resistance, else its gates would not have been thrown open to the enemy almost in a spirit of welcome.

The Christians of Syria had now nothing left to arrest the progress of the Mussulmen except Tripoli and Ptolemais. Bibars was anxious to possess these, and could have done so, but he was politic enough to consider that their speedy reduction might rouse the Christian West and draw on him the fury of another Crusade. Indeed, it was not unlikely that he had already contributed to the end he dreaded by his many and rapid victories, for the Archbishop of Tyre and the grand masters of the Hospitallers and Templars were in Europe repeating the groans of the Syrian Christians. Their complaints were heard with indifference everywhere, for as yet the Pope was busy reducing the power of the house of Swabia. Even France had become involved in the wars of the Holy See, through the offer of the disputed Kingdom of Sicily to Charles, Count of Anjou, the brother of Louis IX. Charles was duly crowned King of Naples by the Pope, and proceeded at once to the conquest of Sicily. He won the battle of Cosenza, and



PLATE NO. LXXXII.—THE CAPTIVES.

thus settled for the time the supremacy of the Pope in Italy, whose vassal Charles became.

In this confused state of affairs, Louis IX, of France, seemed to be the only European Monarch who felt at liberty to consider the affairs of the East and nurse the project of a new Crusade. He made up his mind in secret regarding the enterprise, and secured the consent of Pope Clement. He then convoked an assembly of his barons at Paris, and sprang his determination upon them, by appearing in their midst, bearing in hand a Christly crown of thorns. He made an animated speech in support of a new Crusade, which was received by his hearers with regretful silence. The Pope's legate followed with a fiery exhortation to arm for the Crusade, and at once conferred the cross on Louis and his three sons. Their example was infectious. A great number of the nobles, Knights and prelates assumed the sacred emblem and took the holy vows. When word of what had transpired reached the multitude there was universal sorrow. All France looked upon the King's departure as certain death. He was not now physically strong. It seemed as if his step was not only about to rob the Kingdom of one who had been able to maintain peace, administer justice and contribute to the general prosperity, but, in view of the disaster which attended his former Crusade, was about to deprive it of the hopes that were centered in his three sons. Joinville, who participated in the misfortunes of the former Crusade, did not hesitate to write:—"They who advised the King to undertake this voyage beyond the sea, sinned mortally."

But regrets brought no murmurs. On the contrary, the King's subjects seemed resigned to his will, and to reflect the sentiment expressed by the Pope in one of his bulls;—"The French people saw in the devotion of their King nothing but a noble and painful sacrifice to the cause of the Christians, to that cause for which God had not spared his only Son." Zeal to partake of the perils which the King invited more than kept pace with the grief they inspired. He alone thought of delivering the tomb of Christ and the Christian Colonies. The warlike nobility thought only of following him on an expedition they condemned beforehand as unfortunate for France and in itself.

Europe was affected by the determination of the King of France, and the old enthusiasm for the Crusades might have been heard in a subdued key in various courts and capitals. The confidence reposed in his prudence and valor, led many of the ambitious Knights of other Kingdoms to wish to follow such a leader and share his fortunes. It was even argued that the experience gained through the misfortunes of the former Crusade, assured the success of this. Pope Clement IV became so fully impressed with the preparations for the Crusade, that he wrote to the King of Armenia promising him speedy and powerful succor from the West. Abaga, Khan of Tartary, then warring on the Turks of Asia Minor, sent word to the Pope and the princes of Europe, proposing to attack the Mamelukes, in concert with the Christians, and drive them from Syria and Egypt. The Pope replied to Abaga that a powerful army was about to embark from

Europe for the East, that an hour fatal to Mussulmen had come, and that God would bless his nation and all allies of his nation.

It was now A. D. 1267, and Louis estimated that three years would be required to prepare the Crusade as he wished. It would, therefore, be 1270 before the promised aid could reach the East. The Venetians refused to furnish vessels, being more in dread of the Sultan of Cairo, who had power to disturb her commercial relations, than of the Pope and Louis IX. The Genoese agreed to furnish all the vessels necessary for the expedition. The greatest difficulty was to find money. The Pope ordered the customary levy of a tenth upon the clergy, at which the clergy rebelled, and suddenly became more interested in their revenues than in the Holy Land. They alleged that the exactions of modern times had become so intolerable as to leave insufficient income for the support of the altars and the poor, and they intimated schism by suggesting that just such injustice and violence had driven the Greek Church from that of Rome. Further, they attributed the former misfortunes of Louis IX in Egypt to the fact that the sanctuary had been robbed and the churches ruined for his sake. Similar misfortunes were predicted under similar circumstances. This bold recalcitrancy angered the Pope, who reproached them for their avarice and indifference to the cause of Christ, and threatened them with excommunication and loss of their property and benefices. He also provided an ingenious way of raising money by a pecuniary redemption of vows; that is, the clergy were authorized to administer the vow

of the Cross to everybody, and refuse dispensation to nobody, for a money consideration.

King Louis found himself somewhat more fortunately situated. Besides the ordinary revenue of his domains, the feudal system gave him the right to levy a capitation tax on each of his vassals to defray the expenses of the ceremonies incident to the knighting of a King's son. His son Philip was about to receive the sword of Knighthood, and Louis levied the tax, ostensibly for chivalric, but really for religious purposes. And again, the ceremonies being very ostentatious and universally participated in by the Knights of the Kingdom, the prelates of the Pope took advantage of the vast assemblage to obtain a vast number of recruits. Responses began to come in from other countries in Europe where this Crusade had been preached. Prince Edward of England, his brother Prince Edmund, the earls of Pembroke and Warwick, with many nobles and Knights, took the cross. John Baloil of Scotland and several other nobles also enrolled themselves. Catalonia and Castile made a liberal response. The King of Portugal, and James, King of Arragon, enlisted, but the former failed to leave his Kingdom, and storms destroyed the fleet of the latter, sent out two years in advance of the time set by King Louis for departure.

King Charles, of Naples and Sicily, made extensive preparations to accompany his brother Louis to the East, but he had fallen in the favor of his subjects, had been reproached by the Pope, and was now confronted by a German army led by Conradin,

heir of Frederick and Conrad. Charles gained a notable victory, but he so abused it by brutally massacring his disarmed enemies, that both Sicily and Naples were plunged into the evils of a suspicious tyranny, and many of their warriors were glad to escape by seeking enlistment in a crusade beyond the seas.

As a preliminary to his departure, King Louis issued several wholesome ordinances for the benefit of his subjects, each one of which was a monument of justice. Among these was the celebrated Pragmatic Sanction which, as Bossuet says, "became the firmest support of Gallican liberties." The Count of Poitiers, who was to accompany his brother Louis, signalized his departure by an endeavor to abolish slavery in his provinces, on the then little recognized principle that "all men are born free."

The Crusaders from all parts were given notice to be ready to embark in May, 1270. Louis confided his Kingdom to Matthew, Abbot of St. Denis, and Simon, Seigneur of Nesle. Many nobles, moved entirely by worldly interests, refused, at a late hour, to fulfill their vows, lest the expedition would ruin them. Louis undertook to pay all their expenses, a thing never before necessary, when religious zeal was the substitute for prudential foresight on the part of Crusaders. Early in March, 1270, King Louis bade adieu to Queen Marguerite at Vincennes, and took up his journey to Aigues-Mortes, where the Crusaders were to embark. He did not find there anything like the number of warriors he expected. The King of Castile had forfeited his vows entirely. On ac-

count of the death of young Conradin, not a German prince or noble condescended to fight in an army in which appeared the banner of the King of Sicily. The promised Genoese fleet was not there. The Greek Emperor, Palæologus, had promised to send a contingent of Knights, but Louis found only his ambassadors there with excuses. Even a majority of the French nobles and Knights had failed to report. Louis sent out repeated exhortations, and soon had the satisfaction of witnessing a prompter response. The nobles began to pour in, each with his retinue of Knights and hardy soldiers, bannered as to their provinces and cities.

(*See Plate No. LXXXIII.*) By July 4, 1270, all things were ready and the fleet set sail. In a few days it arrived at Cagliari, where a council was held as to the destination of the expedition. Many barons, chiefly those of Naples and Sicily, favored a descent on Tunis. The Mussulmen were fast coming into power on the sea, and Tunis was the base of their piracies and commercial enterprise. Tunis, in the hands of the Christians, would open the Mediterranean and form a passage to Egypt and Palestine. The King of Tunis had expressed a wish to become a Christian. What so glorious as the conquest and conversion of an entire people? Other barons opposed this, and favored direct aid to the Christians of Syria, in accordance with the original object of the Crusade. Still others argued that as Bibars, Sultan of Cairo, was the only enemy the Christians of Syria had to fear, the war should be carried directly into his own country, thus recalling him from Syria and punishing

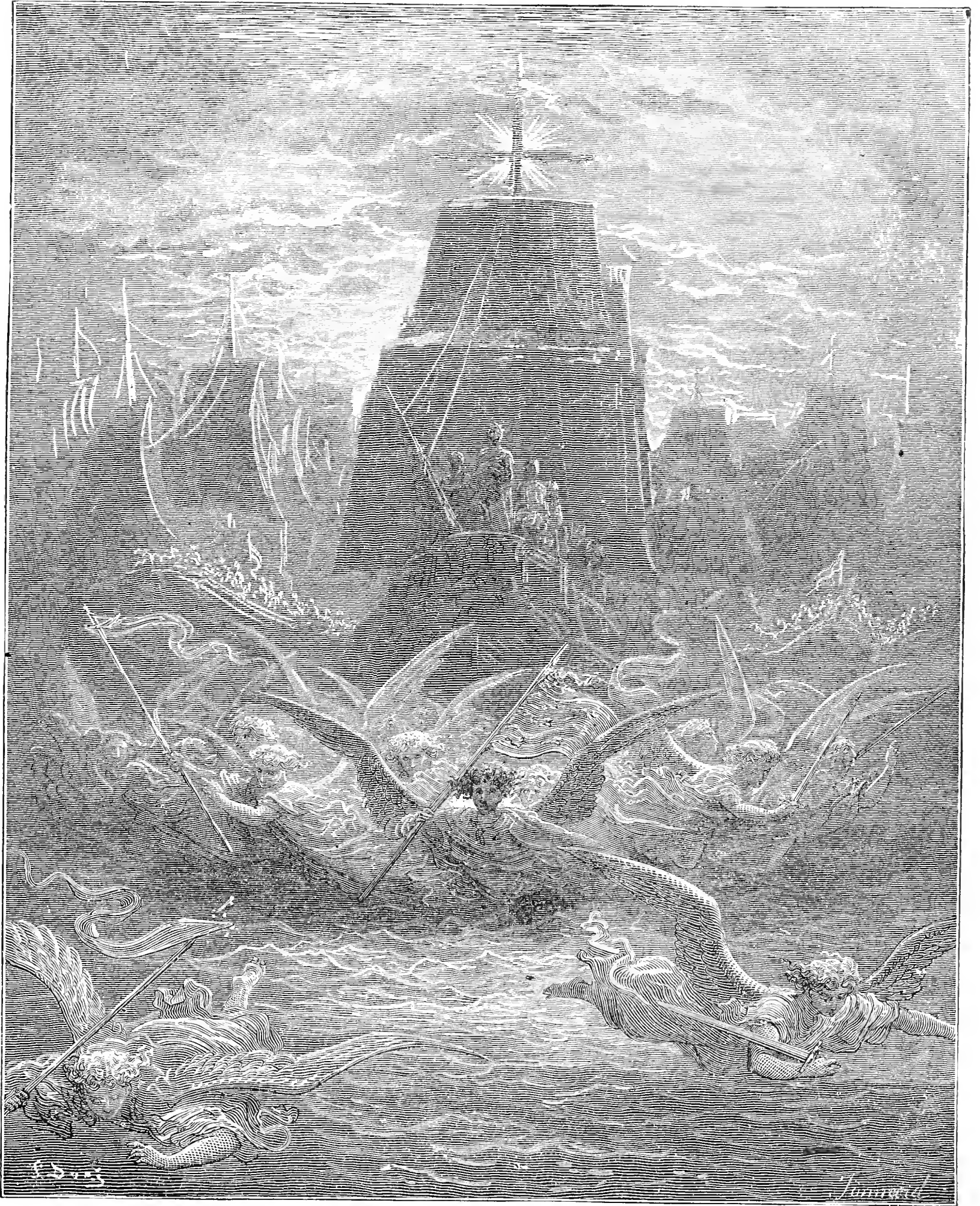


PLATE NO. LXXXIII.--DEPARTURE FROM AIGUES-MORTES.

him on the very sites where the Christians had suffered defeat, namely, on the banks of the Nile.

However King Louis may have been impressed with these arguments, he could not decide against his own brother Charles, King of Sicily, who had proposed the descent on Tunis and whose concurrence was necessary to the success of the Crusade. It was therefore decided to invade Tunis, and, two days after, the fleet arrived in sight of Tunis and Carthage, the latter a miserable remnant of the once powerful city which for centuries rivalled Rome and dominated the commerce of the Mediterranean. The glory of ancient Carthage had, under Saracen rule, passed to Tunis, fifteen miles away and on the same commodious port. It was now one of the largest and wealthiest cities in Africa, containing ten thousand houses and three extensive suburbs. It enjoyed an extensive commerce and was strongly fortified.

The arrival of the Christian fleet threw the inhabitants of Carthage into consternation, and they fled toward Tunis. The vessels in the Carthage port were abandoned. Louis was urged to take advantage of the panic and effect a landing. But he preferred to reconnoitre before venturing, and postponed a landing till next day. At the appointed time a landing was expected without difficulty and, in the presence of the army drawn up in line, Louis caused the proclamation to be read taking possession of the country in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and Louis King of France, his sergeant. A camp was formed and the baggage, provisions and war machines were safely

landed. Five hundred soldiers took possession of the old castle of Carthage, and the village of Marsa, close by, was occupied by the women and sick of the army.

Louis still hoped for the conversion of the King of Tunis, but this pious illusion was dissolved when the Moorish prince informed him that he would meet him with a hundred thousand men and would require baptism of him on the battle field. He further informed him that he had seized every Christian in his dominions and would massacre them if the Christian army continued further to insult his capital. Despite these threats Louis continued to lay his plans, and he had several opportunities to make favorable attacks on the Mussulman army. But these were delayed in order to await the arrival of the King of Sicily, whose fleet had not yet put in an appearance. Meanwhile, Mussulman recruits were pouring into Tunis, and in August Bibars sent word that he was ready to march with an army from Cairo.

The Christians had, however, more immediate, if not more formidable, enemies to contend with. The long, sandy peninsula on which they were encamped was exposed to the hot winds and was destitute of water. They had only salt provisions which provoked intolerable thirst. The heated winds suffocated them. The enemy upon the mountains toward the desert agitated the sand, which was borne in clouds upon the Christian camps. Dysentery set in, a malady fatal in hot climates, and carried off thousands of warriors. A plague spread its deadly contagion through all the ranks. The enemy grew bolder day by day, and kept the



PLATE NO. LXXNIV.—THE NIGHT OF LOUIS' DEATH, AUG. 25, 1790.

army constantly under arms in order to prevent surprise. Among the number of Crusaders who sunk under fatigue, famine and disease, were many of their choicest leaders. At length word came that King Charles of Sicily was ready to embark. This good news had no power to stay disease nor assuage the grief at being shut up in camp without the power to fight. King Louis endeavored to cheer his warriors by word and example. But he, too, fell sick with dysentery. His son, the Duke of Nevers, died of the disease, soon to be followed by the Pope's legate.

King Louis' condition gradually grew worse. In expectation of death, he called his son Philip and confided to him his throne with instructions how to govern wisely. On the morning of August 25, 1270, he lost speech, and died at three o'clock in the afternoon. On the announcement of his death his soldiers abandoned themselves to grief and despair. They saw in the sad event all sorts of calamities, and inquired of one another what leader should conduct them back home. Amid groans and tears, there arose reproaches, and the King of Sicily was denounced as the cause of all the disasters of the Crusade. (*See Plate No. LXXXIV.*) Louis' mortal remains were divided and deposited in two urns, one of which was given to the King of Sicily for deposit in the abbey of Montreal, the other to Philip to be borne back to France. But the army would not part with Philip's portion. It desired it as a sacred deposit among the Crusaders and as a safeguard against misfortunes.

The affection felt by the army for Louis descended to his son Philip, who was him-

self quite ill, and for whose condition the gravest apprehension was felt. His first act was to confirm his regency by sending two almoners of the late King to France with appropriate letters. The death of Louis greatly raised the confidence of the Saracens. They mistook lamentation for discouragement. The King of Sicily took command during Philip's sickness. His own troops were fresh and eager, and all the rest longed to break the monotony of their dreadful camp life. Disease was beginning to disappear. The Christian army began to throw out skirmish lines for the purpose of working its way nearer to Tunis. In the miniature battles which followed the Crusaders were nearly always successful. The King of Tunis remained shut up in his grottoes and offered his army no example of courage. As the Crusaders made closer approaches to his capital, he began to fear for its safety and resolved to purchase peace, if possible. His ambassadors came to the King of Sicily with glittering offers. When Bibars heard of these propositions, he denounced the King of Tunis for leaving the Christian army free to enter Egypt, and threatened to dethrone him. Many of the leaders of the Crusaders condemned the terms, as they had been promised the spoils of Tunis. But the death of Louis IX, his son, the Pope's legate, and so many other prominent personages had robbed the Crusade of its moral motive and chief source of encouragement. Philip was desirous of returning to France and assuming the reins of government. Many of the French nobles sighed for home. All things seemed to

point to the wisdom of accepting the terms of the King of Tunis.

On October 31, 1270, a truce of ten years was concluded between the King of Tunis and the Christian army. Prisoners were exchanged. Christians were given liberty to reside in the states of Tunis and to enjoy and preach their faith. Goods of the Franks were to be entered at the port of Tunis free of duty. Tunis was to pay the King of Sicily an annual tribute of forty thousand crowns, and two hundred and ten thousand ounces of gold to the leader of the Christian army for the expenses of the war. In as much as the King of Sicily was the only one who could possibly derive any benefit from this treaty, it was denounced as disgraceful to the French arms by most of the nobles. The forty thousand crowns was the exact amount he, as vassal, owed the Pope. Half the two hundred and ten thousand ounces of gold was paid him cash, as leader of the army. Who, besides himself, could collect the other half? The whole would enable him to equip an army for mightier conquests than that of Tunis. He had not only changed the aim of the Crusade, but rendered the Christian army subservient to his ambition.

A few days after the signing of the truce, Prince Edward, of Tunis, arrived with the English and Scotch Crusaders. They were received with great honors, but when they learned that peace had been made they refused to enter the Councils of the Christian army. The Crusaders were more than ever anxious to quit a land so full of misfortunes and so barren of glories. In November the

army embarked for Sicily. A tempest struck the fleet as it was about to enter the harbor of Trapani. Eighteen large ships were wrecked and three thousand Crusaders perished in the waves. Most of the leaders and soldiers lost their horses, arms and equipments. More wealth than had been gained from the King of Tunis was lost in the ocean in a single day.

The King of Sicily strove to repair the damage suffered by the Crusaders. The secret of his interest cropped out in a Council, in which he proposed the conquest of Greece. The Crusaders were to recuperate during the winter in Sicily. In the spring, the Count of Poitiers was to lead an army into Palestine, and King Charles, himself, was to follow with one to Constantinople. It was a most seductive project, but the young King Philip, of France, had alarming letters from his regents and declared his inability to remain in Sicily. The French lords refused to abandon their young monarch, and the princes and all the leaders of the Christian army laid aside the cross. Thus the ambitious projects of Charles came to naught. In his disappointment, he confiscated all the vessels and effects thrown upon his coasts by the recent tempest, thus adding to the wealth he derived from Tunis the spoils of his companions in arms, and drawing upon himself the execrations of the Christian army, particularly those of the Genoese, to whom the vessels belonged.

Philip set out on his journey to France in January 1271. His wife died on the way, and he reached his Kingdom bearing the dead bodies of his father, brother and wife.

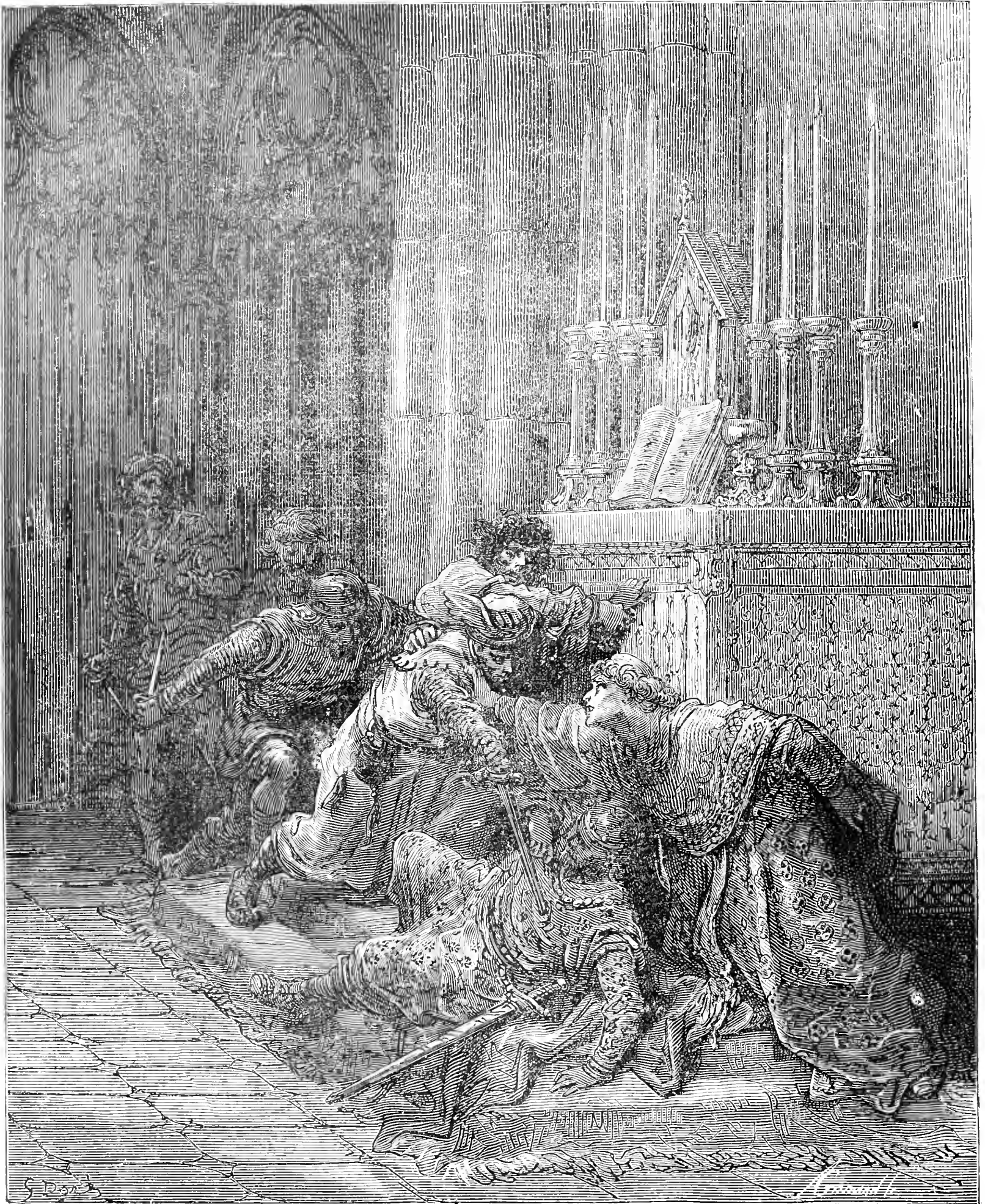


PLATE NO. LXXXV.—ASSASSINATION OF HENRY OF GERMANY.

Hundreds of the most illustrious Knights, bearing the seeds of African diseases in their systems, perished before they reached their homes. In passing through Viterbo, King Philip witnessed the tragical end of one of his most trusted companions in arms, Henry of Allemaigne. (*See Plate No. LXXXV.*)

He was set upon by Simon and Guy de Montfort, sons of the earl of Leicester, pursued into a church and massacred in front of the Altar. Henry was nephew of the King of England. He was entering the Church to hear mass, when he was surprised by a well known voice, crying, "Traitor Henry, thou shalt not escape me!" Turning, he saw his two cousins running toward him with swords in their hands. The unfortunate prince threw himself on the altar. Two priests interposed, but were pushed aside. Henry was assassinated, his body mutilated, and then dragged to the door of the church. Such was an instance of the great crimes which supplemented the calamities of this crusade.

Philip reached France to find it in universal mourning. All of the melancholy presentiments of the nation had been realized. Funereal urns, the wreck of an army, a sick young prince, these were the sad remnants of the Crusade. From all parts people flocked to see the woe-begone train of the young King pass by. They were not there from idle curiosity but in obedience to a sentiment seldom inspired by the masters of earth. On the arrival of Philip in his Capital, the remains of Louis were conveyed to the church of Notre Dame, where the

clergy sang hymns, and repeated the prayers and other services for the dead the whole night. (*See Plate No. LXXXVI.*) He was buried on the following day amid universal grief and the most imposing ceremonies. Thus passed the brightest and best character of the middle ages. As he astonished his times by his virtues, so he astonishes the present by his having twice interrupted the blessings of his reign in obedience to a sentiment that might have been exercised at home without calamity and with added honors.

The death of Louis IX suspended all enterprises beyond the seas. Edward and Edmund of England went to Syria with a body of some twelve hundred Knights. This was all that reached the East out of the numberless throngs that composed the Eighth Crusade. Such a feeble contingent was not calculated to raise the hopes of Eastern Christians. Yet the Templars and Hospitallers welcomed them and immediately started on an expedition to open the communication between Christian cities. They then recaptured Nazareth and put all Mussulman inhabitants to the sword. They now found themselves confronted by the regular Mussulman army, and beat a retreat to Ptolemais within whose walls they were content to remain. While there, prince Edward's room was entered by a Mussulman servant whom he had taken into his employ. The would be assassin plunged a poignard through the bed-clothes and into the arm of his master. Edward arose, snatched the weapon from the murderer's hand and plunged it into his bosom. The poignard proved to be poisoned, and Edward's life was despaired of till an

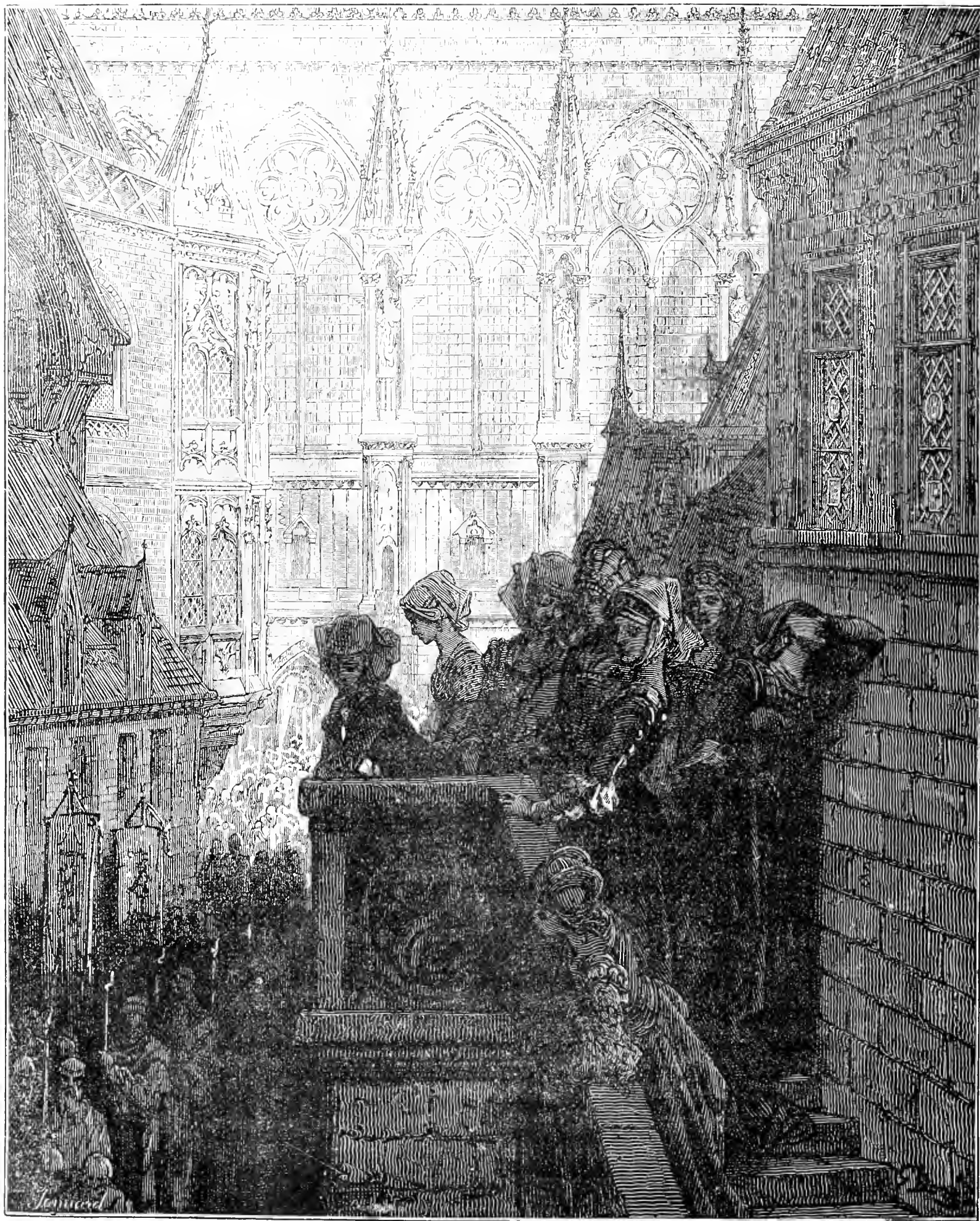


PLATE NO. LXXXVI.—PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.

Arab presented himself and offered to cure him provided all persons were removed from the room. His conditions were accepted and he brought the prince back to health. (*See Plate No. LXXXVII.*)

Edward now (1272) quitted the East, being recalled by Henry III, whose heir he was. Thus there was nothing to show for this imposing crusade except the capture of the ruins of Carthage and the massacre of a few helpless Mussulmen in Nazareth. Its results entirely discouraged the Christian warriors of Europe and made them forget the affairs of the East. After prince Edward, no other nobleman of the West ever crossed the seas to fight the Infidel in Asia, and this Crusade was the last which had for its object the deliverance of the Holy Land.

At about the date of King Louis IXth's death, an interregnum of two years occurred in the Holy See. The choice of Pope fell on Thibault, Archdeacon of Liege, who was then at Ptolemais. He took title as Pope Gregory X, and was accompanied to Europe by the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the grand masters of the Templars and Hospitallers, who looked upon the choice as particularly favorable to the East, and who hoped much from Gregory's intercessions. He found himself hampered by the wars between Italy and Germany, and all he could do for the Holy Land was to dispatch thither about five hundred Knights whose expenses he paid. In 1274 he convoked an imposing council at Lyons, attended by a thousand bishops and archbishops, and by envoys from all the Christian courts East and West. There were also several Tartar princes pres-

ent ready to form an alliance with the Christians. Several of these professed the Christian religion. The Council resolved upon another Crusade, and assessed all church property a tenth for ten years. The Emperor Palæologus, of Constantinople, submitted to the Latin Church and promised to send troops for the deliverance of the heritage of Christ. The Pope recognized Rudolph of Hapsburg as Emperor of the West, on the condition that he would go to Palestine at the head of his army. But despite all these formalities, the prelates could not awaken enthusiasm in the minds of the faithful. Everything else was propitious in Europe, but the serious thoughts of princes and nations in Europe had taken another direction. The sentiment was that the Crusades only promoted the shedding of human blood, and that the people could find sufficient cause for such sacrifice in defending themselves; that it was tempting God to desert the land of one's birth and blessings to go into countries clearly the heritage of others for the sake of carrying and meeting with miseries; that there was no more national reason for punishing Mussulmen than Jews, neither of which could ever be converted by wars; that war did not appear to be agreeable to God, who had permitted so many misfortunes to overcome the Crusaders. Such were the conclusions forced on Christendom after two hundred years' of experience, which involved the loss of millions of precious lives and billions of treasure.

It is easy to guess the result to the Christian colonies of the East, inherently rotten to the core, fear-struck, jealous, loaded with



PLATE NO. LXXXVII.—EDWARD III. KILLS HIS ATTEMPTED ASSASSIN.

compromising treaties, for the sake of a few days more of miserable existence. Bibars wrapped them all in his meshes, even as spiders do flies, intending to make their dependence abject, and then to return to and destroy, as his appetite needed, the refreshment of conquest and blood. It was one of the most pitiable sights in history to see the bold conquerors of a county, and the haughty defenders of an invincible religion, gradually descend the scale from the highest degree of superiority and sovereignty to the lowest of vassal, peasant or slave of the once despised Infidel. So insincere and desperate had the Syrian Christians become, that they contended for the honor of ruining entirely their Kingdom of Jerusalem in a three headed fight, as to whether the King of Cyprus, the King of Sicily or Mary of Antioch, should occupy the throneless throne.

Bibars continued his policy of conquest till his death. His successor, Kelaoun, kept it up, and completed the ruin of the Eastern Christians. Pope Gregory X died without being able to fulfill any of his promises for aid. The King of Sicily prepared an expedition to Palestine in support of his pretensions to the throne of Jerusalem, but a sudden revolution at home, put an end to his projects. From that time Kelaoun had the Eastern Christians entirely in his power. But he did not deem it policy to crush immediately what he could use indefinitely. He had to establish his own authority among the factious Mamelukes. He had to repel the hordes of Tartars who swarmed on the line of the Eu-

phrates. A treaty with the Christians of Ptolemais would answer his present purposes best—a treaty which showed at once his ascendancy and their helplessness. The clause, which was the equivalent of an own death warrant, was to the effect that the Christians should warn the Infidels of the coming of any aid from the West. This was not only a thoroughly apostate condition, but a confession to Islam that Christendom of the West afforded Christendom of the East no further hope. (*See Plate No. LXXXVIII.*)

All these treaties were mere excuses for delay on the part of the Christians, dying gasps, clutches of drowning men at straws. They had no more idea of observing them than had the Sultan of Cairo. Indeed, by that fatuity which characterizes all political death agonies, the Christians seemed to be solicitous of breaks in their compacts. At Margat, the Hospitallers' raided lands of Mussulmen. Their stronghold was, in turn, besieged and captured by a Mussulman army. Barthelemi, a French nobleman, occupied a castle near Tortosa. Every day he foraged the Mussulman fields and returned loaded with spoils. Kelaoun wrote to the Count of Tripoli, informing him of the outrage and requesting the destruction of the castle. The Count offered to buy the castle, but Barthelemi would not sell. The son of the latter interfered with the negotiations and his father slew him. Barthelemi was ostracised for the murder, found shelter among the Infidels, and his deserted castle was demolished. It was thus that the Christians themselves furnished Kelaoun

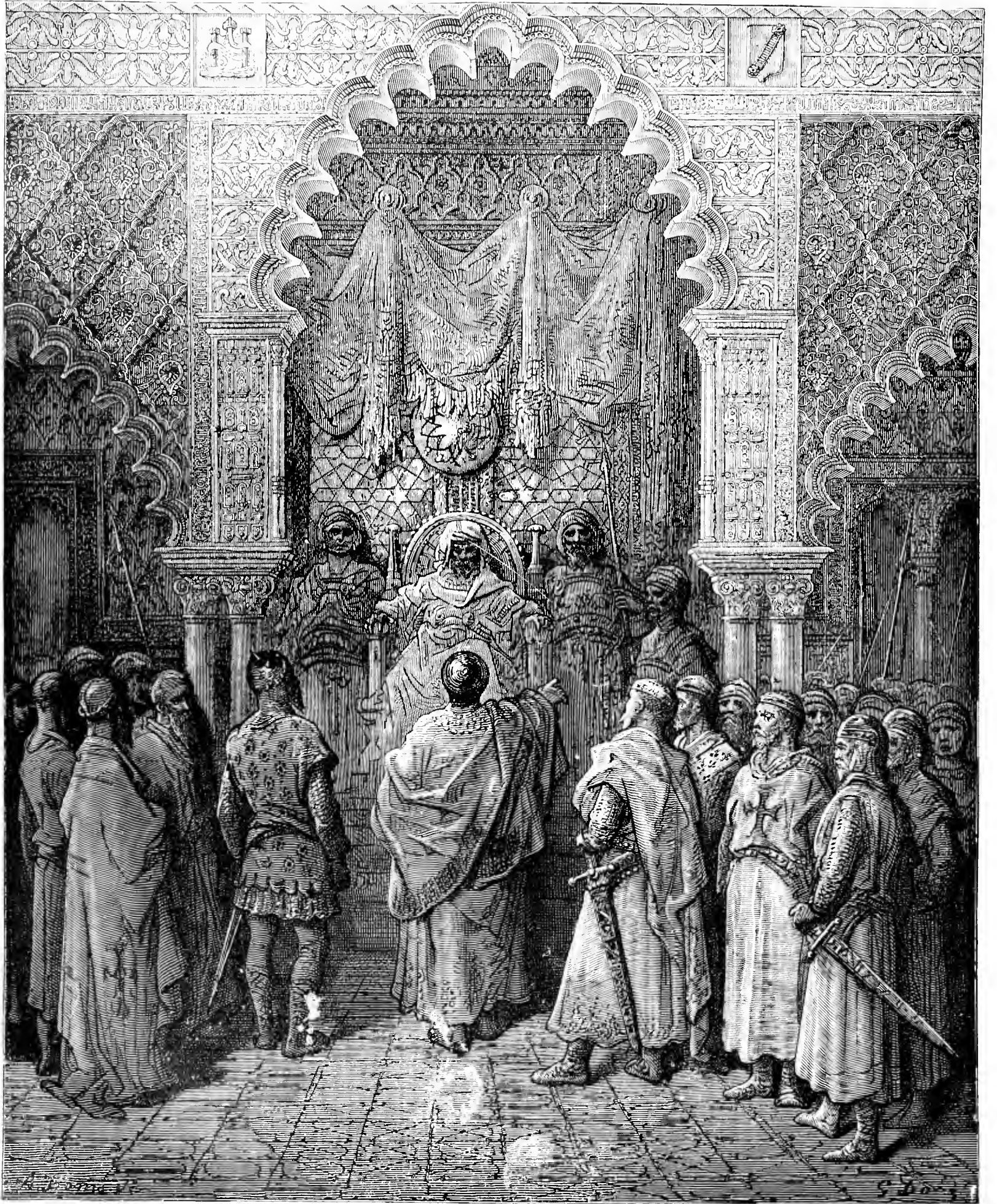


PLATE NO. LXXXVIII.—THE DISHONORABLE TRUCE.

with opportunities for the gratification of his pitiless hatred of them.

Nature also seemed to favor the designs of the Sultan. For a long time he had contemplated the capture of Laodicea, whose port rivalled that of Alexandria. But its water surrounded citadel was impregnable. An earthquake shook down its towers, and his conquest of the coveted city became easy. Several other strong-holds on the Phœnician coasts fell into the hands of the Mussulmen. The fall of these opened the way to Tripoli. The Sultan besieged it with a numerous army. No Christian prince of Palestine offered to come to Bohemond's assistance. Instead of that, the Templars felt chagrined at the failure of a plot on their part to secretly introduce Christian soldiers into Bohemond's city and capture it by surprise. Treachery had reared its head among the disorders and jealousies of the expiring Christian colonies of the East.

After a siege of thirty-five days the Mussulmen entered Tripoli, fire and sword in hand. Seven thousand Christians were slain. The women and children were enslaved. The rest of the inhabitants found refuge on the Isle of St. Nicholas, where many perished of hunger and exposure. The port of Tripoli attracted a large commerce. The city contained four thousand silk looms. Its towers and fortifications appeared impregnable. As it was the policy of the Mussulman conquerors to destroy all traces of Christian prosperity and power on the Syrian coasts, the Sultan ordered the city to be destroyed, and it fell beneath the flame, the axe and the hammer. Nothing was left

to attract thither the warriors of the West, or maintain them should their banners again appear.

Ptolemais (Acre) learned the fate of Tripoli from fugitives who came to seek asylum within its walls. This city was the largest in Syria, and the actual capital of the Christian colonies. Most of the Christians, driven from other cities, had found shelter within its walls. It had grown in size and population since its conquest by the Christians. In its port anchored all the warlike vessels from the West, and trading vessels from all parts of the then commercial world. Its landside was surrounded by double ramparts, between which stood the palaces of the great. All the dignitaries of Palestine were now gathered there, from the King of Jerusalem down. The vices of all countries centered there, and its inhabitants were deemed the most voluptuous and dissolute in Syria. When captured from the Mussulmen, it stood a siege of nearly three years. Louis IX had greatly extended and strengthened its fortifications. It was a city of quarters for Genoese, Pisans, Armenians, Tartars, Venetians, papal legates, French, English and Cyprian lieutenants, and representatives of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, each a law unto themselves, each a source of jealousy and feud.

After the capture of Tripoli the Sultan of Cairo menaced Ptolemais. At the solicitation of the inhabitants he concluded a truce for the novel term of two years, two months, two weeks, two days, two hours. The Pope's legate disapproved of this treaty, and his opposition gave the Sultan a pretext

for renewing the war. The Christians, perceiving their new peril, implored the Pope to send assistance. He sent a hastily gathered reinforcement of fifteen hundred men in five galleys. These soldiers of the Holy See proved to be a lot of adventurers and vagabonds, who gave themselves up to the wildest excesses the moment they entered the city. They plundered Christians and Mussulmen alike, and then carried their devastations into the neighboring territories. The Sultan sent to ask why the truce was thus broken. The matter was turned over to a Council, and produced long and heated debate. At length an embassy was appointed to carry an apology to the Sultan and to inform him that the outrages were not due to the citizens of Ptolemais, but to newly arrived soldiers from the West. The Sultan's opportunity had come, and his reply was a series of reproaches for making a jest of the faith of treaties and giving asylum to foes of peace and the laws of nations. He threatened Ptolemais and declared war.

On the return of the embassy, a general council was called in Ptolemais. It was resolved to appeal for all the help possible and to defend the city to the last. The help appeals brought a few soldiers from the West and from the Isles of the Mediterranean. The augmented garrison amounted to nine hundred mounted Knights and ten thousand foot soldiers. They were divided into four bodies and charged with the defence of the towers and ramparts. The Sultan Kelaoun, after calling his Mussulman forces from all quarters, fell sick near Cairo, but he sent in advance of him four thousand horsemen and

twenty thousand footmen. On their arrival at Ptolemais they began a general destruction of its surroundings. Kelaoun's sickness proved fatal. He turned over his Sultanate to his son, Chalil, conjured his emirs to continue the war, and then entered Paradise. The ulemas and imans spent the entire night after his death in reading verses from the Koran and in invocations to the Prophet against the disciples of Christ. (*See Plate No. LXXXIX.*)

The new Sultan, Chalil, swore to accomplish the last wishes of his father, and set forward to meet his army. He found his army in position, with three hundred mounted machines of war. Consternation existed in Ptolemais. Despairing of either the defence or salvation of the city, the Grand master of the Templars called a council of leaders to propose a truce and escape inevitable ruin. They agreed upon terms and submitted them to the young Sultan, at the same time exaggerating the strength of the city. The Sultan accepted on the condition that each inhabitant paid him a Venetian dernier. A general assembly of the people was called and the Sultan's condition was made known. When the Grand Master advised that the condition be accepted, the mob rushed upon him, crying, "treachery!" and he came near paying for his foresight with his life.

The siege was now pushed with ardor. Every Mussulman centre had responded to the call for troops, and the besiegers numbered sixty thousand horse and forty thousand foot. Their ponderous machines hurled huge stones and beams over the ramparts, which shook the houses of the city to their

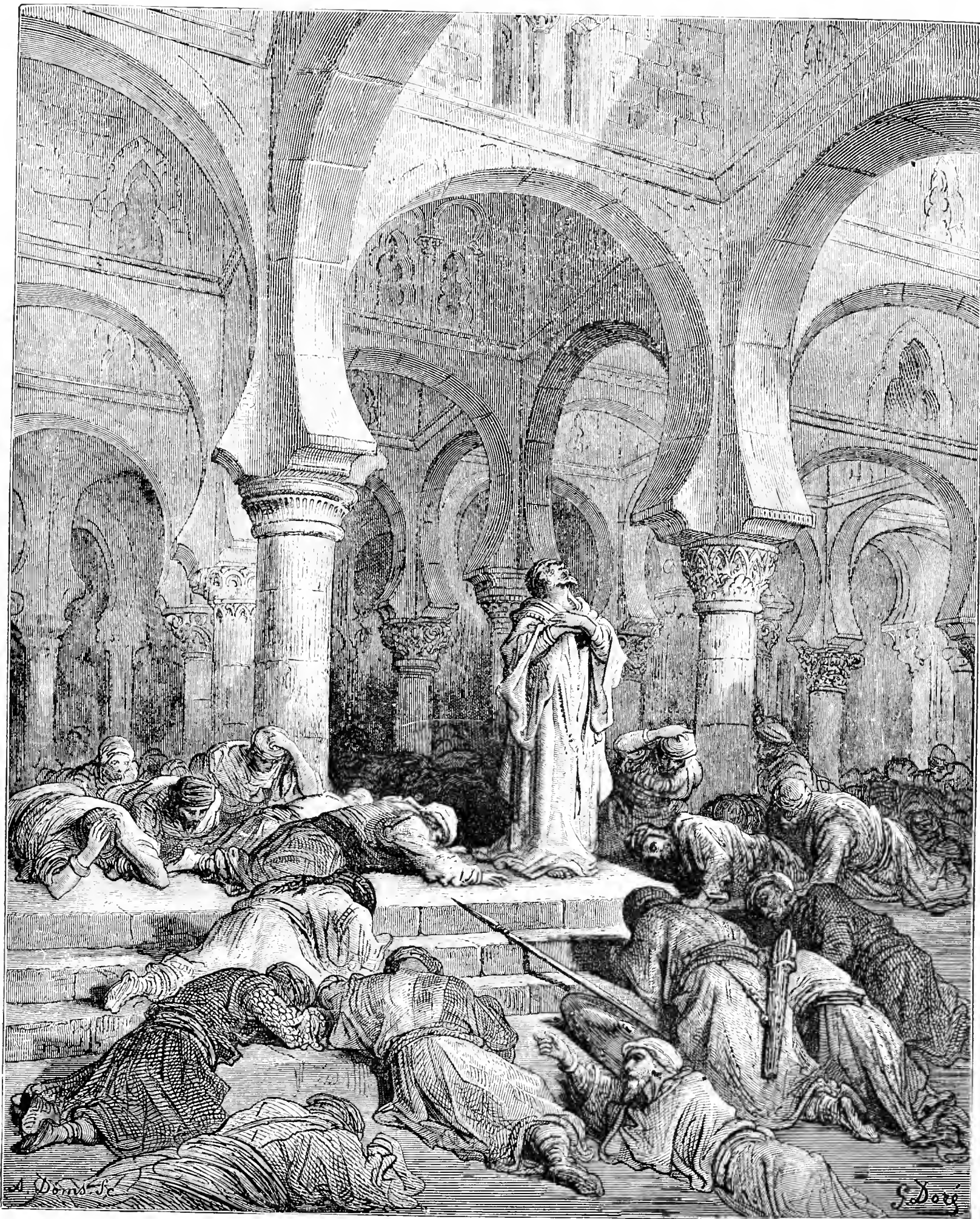


PLATE NO. LXXXIX. — INVOCATION TO MAHOMET.

foundations. Arrows, darts, leaden balls and fire pots were thrown incessantly into the towers and upon the walls. Repeated assaults were made which were met by determined sorties. At first, a sense of danger united and nerved the defenders of Ptolemais, and they fought with desperate bravery. But their zeal diminished as their hopes vanished. They were not used to extended fatigue. Sight of ever returning perils exhausted their courage. Their numbers were decreasing daily. Thousands of inhabitants were seeking the ships in the harbor and preparing to flee with their treasures. Out of the hundred thousand population, few volunteered to assist the garrison. Many leaders, dissatisfied with the methods of defence, sulked in their tents. On May 4, 1291, after the siege had lasted a month, the Sultan ordered a general assault. The brunt of it was borne by the walls and towers occupied by the King of Cyprus and his warriors. They made an heroic defence throughout the entire day and forced the enemy to retreat. But the combat convinced the Cyprian King that nothing could save the city. He deserted his post during the night and sailed for home with his three thousand soldiers. The Mussulmen renewed the assault the next day, and again met with spirited resistance. But at length a breach was effected in the walls, into which the Mussulmen thronged, driving the defenders back into the city. They rallied in the streets, turned upon their enemies, and waged bloody battle for the rest of the day. At nightfall the Mussulman trumpets sounded a retreat, which was executed amid disorder and horrible carnage.

This unexpected result was a source of encouragement, and orders were given to spend the night in repairing the defences. But it was all too plain that the persistency of these assaults was telling with fearful effect on the besieged. The Hospitallers alone had lost two-thousand Knights in the day's conflicts. On the morrow the towers and ramparts could be but feebly manned. At sunrise the next day, the Mussulman bugles sounded a third assault. It was the most desperate of all, and was regarded by all as final. It resulted in a passage through the gate of St. Antony, where the shock was greatest. The fleeing Christians rushed into the streets crying for help. They were quickly reinforced, and again a hand to hand battle was fought till the Mussulmen were driven out. And so these assaults were continued for several days and with similar results. At length, during a concentrated assault on the the tower and gate of St. Antony, the Templars, who were defending them, resolved on a sortie. They were quickly cut to pieces, and the Mussulmen entered the gate full of fury and in great numbers. They met the defenders at every tower, palace and public building, and slew them without mercy. A storm arose and turned daylight into darkness. Rain and hail deluged the combatants. Flames broke out in several quarters at once, increasing the panic which already existed. Crowds rushed into the churches to be stifled by flames or cut to pieces before the altars. Swarms fled to the shipping only to meet a watery grave, through sinking of the overcrowded vessels. While many leaders fled from the havoc,

others stood nobly to the fortresses in different parts of the city and met glorious death with their companions. Soon the only place in the city not in the hands of the enemy was the castle of the Templars. Thither, all the Knights, yet alive, had fled, and it was full of other refugees. It resisted for three days, when, being undermined, it fell, crushing all within it and many of the enemy besides. All the churches were plundered, profaned and given up to the flames. The principal edifices, the towers and the ramparts, were razed to the ground. Ten thousand of the distracted inhabitants implored the mercy of the Sultan. Chalil distributed them among his emirs, who caused them to be massacred.

The Sultan sent an army to capture Tyre. The fear-smitten city opened its gates without a struggle. So fell Berytus, Sidon and every Christian city along the Syrian coast. Their populations were massacred, led into slavery, or dispersed, and their temples, monuments of piety, valor and industry, and all that represented Christian sovereignty, were destroyed by fire, sword and hammer. Thus were swept away the last vestiges of Christian ascendancy in the East. Christian power launched itself like a cruel tempest on Asia; a still more cruel tempest obliterated it.

The old chroniclers, after their fashion, attribute the disasters that befell the Christians

of Palestine to their sins, and liken their destruction to that of the godless dwellers in Babylon and Ninevah. Every intelligent reader must have observed that the Kingdom of Jerusalem was nothing more than a political shallop on a stream filled with maddened currents and angry falls. Each whirl and plunge of the shaky vessel brought it nearer to the last great fall, where it went to pieces. Those currents and falls were the very opposite of anything inspired by true piety, reverence for the Holy places, or an exalted Christianity; in short, they were the direct opposite of all that made the Crusades possible, for they were discords and dissensions, egotism and ambition, selfishness and treachery, licentiousness and corruption, lack of discipline and utter demoralization. There never was anything inherent in the Kingdom of Jerusalem for its support. The source of its power and the principle of its preservation remained away from it and in the West. The circumstances and events upon which its safety depended could not be seen from the Holy City, nor foreseen by those who breathed the Syrian atmosphere. While the enthusiasm which founded the Christian colonies of the East could be kept up in Europe, their existence was possible. The greatest calamity that could befall them was the indifference of the nations beyond the Seas. The Kingdom of Jerusalem began and ended with the Crusades.

PART IX.
ATTEMPTED CRUSADERS.
AND
MUSSULMAN INVASION OF EUROPE.

A. D. 1291--1571.



AFTER a great conflagration one is not surprised to see fitful flame and smoke bursts amid the dying embers. The ashes of the Crusades were disturbed by little emissions, which showed that more than a day was required to completely deaden the Crusading spirit.

Again, it is a law of nature that action and re-action are equal and in opposite directions. After the impact of Christianity with Mohammedanism, and its recoil, what so natural as that the shock should be reversed?

These two thoughts are embraced in the headings of this article. And first, as to those ebullitions which for years served as historic reminders of the period of the great Crusades, and served to show the imitative propensity of ambition rather than to accomplish any substantial good for mankind. The fall of Ptolemais and the end of the Christian dynasty in the East, induced Pope

Nicholas IV to order the preaching of a new Crusade. He used all the inducements of eloquence and all the powers of the Holy See to create an impression in Europe favorable to a re-capture of the holy places. Nor did he stop here. He sent apostolic messages to the Greek Emperor and to the Emperor of Trebizond, to the Kings of Armenia, Georgia and Cyprus, and even to the Khan of Tartary, announcing forthcoming aid for another Christian conquest of the East. But there was no response in Europe to his appeals, and Pope Nicholas died, it is said, of a broken heart, in consequence of the indifference of the faithful. There was a pontifical interregnum for twenty-seven months, during which Europe forgot the calamities of the Holy Land.

A revival of Christian hopes came through the Tartar conquerors of Persia. Their leader, Cazan, determined to deliver Syria and Palestine from the hands of the Mussulmen. He relied on Christian support, and increased his army by Christian recruits from Georgia and Armenia. He catered to Christian tastes by naming the new cities he

founded after those once occupied by Christians—as Aleppo, Damascus, Alexandria etc. As soon as he began to move his army, he was joined by the King of Cyprus and by the order of the Templars and Hospitallers. This gave to his movement the spirit of a Crusade, in the eyes of Christians at least. A great battle was fought at Emessa with the forces of the sultan of Cairo, in which the latter was defeated. By this victory, Aleppo and Damascus fell into the hands of Cazan, and it is said, he even entered Jerusalem. At any rate, he astounded the Holy See and the sovereigns of Europe by sending a request for an alliance and a promise to restore to them the Holy Land. It must, indeed, have been one of the surprises of a surprising era to witness the Mogul Emperor endeavoring to revive the spirit of the Crusades among the chiefs of Christendom, and to see the barbarians of the Jaxartes beckoning from Calvary and Mount Zion for the Popes, princes and warriors of Europe to come and join them in combatting the enemies of Christ. Pope Boniface VIII received Cazan's ambassadors with distinction and made them promises whose execution he rendered impossible by the haughtiness of his exhortations to the sovereigns of Europe. Where he should have entreated, he commanded; and where he should have placated he disgusted. The only response he received was from a few fanatical women in Genoa, whose zeal the Pope was again inconsiderate enough to use as a whip upon the backs of indifferent sovereigns and Knights.

The Tartars proved to be like the Chris-

tian Knights, too inconstant and discordant to withstand the discipline of Mamelukes. Having, at first, obtained great triumph and then forgotten the purposes of a holy war, Cazan was suddenly recalled to Persia. He tried a second and third expedition against the Mussulmen of Syria and Egypt, but died ere he could achieve their conquest. The Christian warriors left the scene of his triumphs and returned to Armenia, Georgia, Cyprus and their various homes.

Subsequently, at the Council of Vienna, convoked by Pope Clement V, it was resolved to proclaim a new Crusade. But the Pope's exhortation proved feeble. Moreover, the Council gave offense by declaring the abolition of the order of Templars, whose corruptions were a scandal and whose ambitions antagonized the Holy See. The reader has had abundant opportunity to learn of the flagrant abuses of the Crusading principle committed by Pope Innocent III and his successors. He has seen how, from the first excommunication of Frederick II of Germany to the death of Conradin, the papal wars against the house of Swabia were dignified as Crusades, and how the warriors of the Holy See were extended the same indulgences as the Christian warriors of Palestine. Clement IV, when Charles of Anjou and Manfred were contending for the crown of the two Sicilies, prevented large bodies of Crusaders from going to the Holy Land, by inviting them, with promise of equal indulgences, to exchange the fulfillment of their vows in the East to the lighter service of attacking his political enemies in Italy. Equally palpable were

those shameless expedients by which the papal court often impeded religious enterprises and disappointed the zeal of society, in order to embezzle the immense sums which were collected for the ostensible service of the Cross. The effect of these had been to disillusion even the blindest superstition and extinguish in disgust the last fitful gleams of the Crusading fanaticism. Pope Clement V, recognized and confessed to all this, after the Council of Vienna, by recommending moderation to the collectors of the tenths, and by setting forth a list of articles as exempt from seizure.

As a Christian measure, nothing came of this Crusade. But it happened that the Knights of St. John (Hospitallers) were idle and restless. Already numerous and powerful, they wished to extend the prestige of their Order. They preserved the spirit of chivalry and the passion for military glory, by song, tournament, exploit and show. They proclaimed an expedition, which was soon joined by numerous adventures, even women contributing their diamonds and jewels to its support. They embarked at Brundisi, and soon Europe was filled with thrilling accounts of the capture of the Isle of Rhodes, which became their distinguished head-quarters. This conquest turned attention to the order of Templars, who had been reproached for their corruption and idleness, and who had acquired large possessions in the West, particularly in France. They were passed upon with severe judgment by the sovereigns of Europe, by whom they were dreaded, as were the Teutonic Knights in Northern Europe,

and in obedience to the process issued by the Council of Vienna, they were persecuted as enemies and criminals. The real error of all these military orders was in having quitted the East, renounced the spirit of their institution, which was to receive and protect criminals and combat the enemies of the Christian faith, and in having brought into the West the ambition, greed and insubordination that characterized them in Palestine.

In the Council of Vienna there appeared one Raymond Lulli, one of the brightest scholars of the middle ages, who proposed to establish in the universities of Europe chairs for the study of Eastern languages. He hoped thereby to raise up men qualified to convert the Mussulmen. He traveled through all the countries of the East on missionary enterprises, and submitted to the Holy See and the sovereigns of Europe various plans for successfully overcoming the foes of Christianity. His learning and prayers produced no effect on the indifference of Kings and nations. About the same time, a noble Venetian, Sanuti by name, and a great traveler in the orient, presented charts of the world to Pope John XXII, together with a scheme for crushing the enemies of the true faith. (*See Plate No. XC.*)

The Pope was pleased with his project and furnished him with letters to the sovereigns of Europe, none of whom took his advice. Both Lulli and Sanuti were zealots like Peter the Hermit, but they were largely traveled, highly educated men, with deliberate plans of conquest, more so than any Pope or prince had ever seen or followed. Yet they



PLATE No. XC.—SANUTI SHOWING MAPS OF THE EAST TO POPE JOHN XXII.

were not sure of even a respectful hearing in any court of Europe.

But profane grandeur when mingled with religious pathos was still capable of something. The King of Cyprus announced his arrival in Europe for the purpose of conjuring the warriors of the West against the Saracens, then threatening his own Kingdom. The Pope took up his cause, and by their combined efforts a league was formed, composed of the sovereign Pontiff, the King of France and the Republic of Venice. The Pope published a bull ordering his bishops to preach a Crusade. Philip of Valois called a council at Paris, at which were present the leading vassals of the Kingdom. The Council sustained the Crusade, and it was announced to start in August, 1336. Philip ordered a fleet to assemble at Marseilles, capable of carrying forty thousand men. Edward III, of England, the Italian Republics, the Kings of Arragon, Majorca and Hungary, engaged to supply money, troops and vessels. Just then Pope John XXI died. As it was now hardly possible for a Pope, during even a long life time, to both raise and witness the departure of a Crusade, and as the residence of the Popes, now at Avignon, was no longer in the centre of Christendom, the death of one who had been instrumental in exciting enthusiasm sufficient for an expedition beyond the seas was a sure cause for its failure. It was so with this Crusade.

When news of this Crusade reached the East, the Christian residents in Syria and Egypt, together with pilgrims and merchants, were exposed to all sorts of persecutions.

The Sultan of Cairo assembled an army for the purpose of resisting the Crusaders, or invading the West by way of Gibraltar. And just here we witness the change in the spirit of Mohammedanism. Always a militant religion, it had not for two hundred years been able to do more than defend itself against Christian attack. But now it raised its armies, precisely as the Crusaders had done, by preachers in the name of the Prophet, by exhortations to invade Christian Europe, by oaths to annihilate Christianity. They too called such an expedition a crusade, a holy war, justified by God, and worthy of the support of all who believed in Mohammed as his Prophet. In proportion as the Saracens became inflamed, the zeal of the princes and warriors of the West declined, and Pope Benedict XI, who succeeded John XXI, found only hatreds, mistrusts and jealousies where but a short time before all had been enthusiasm. Edward III began that war of England on France which was to last for a century, and all others who had promised aid were glad of an excuse to withhold it. The poet Petrarch did succeed in inducing the Doge of Venice and a few of the Italian States to make a descent on Smyrna, in which they nearly all perished; and Humbert II, of Dauphiny, led an hundred Knights into Asia in search of the fortunes of a conqueror or the crown of a martyr. He found neither, but came home to die of dissipation, crownless and neglected. Such were the consequences of the ostentatious visit of the King of Cyprus to Europe.

A few years afterwards, the King of Cyprus returned to Europe for the purpose of im-

portuning help, but the sovereigns were in a state of war and the Pope could do nothing for him. A universal plague now added its horrors to those of arms. It was alleged to have followed in its funeral march the footsteps of the merchants who brought the productions of India to Europe, and of the pilgrims who returned from Palestine, and is said to have carried off thirteen millions of the human race. When it ceased, war resumed its fury in Europe, and people must have longed for something of that peace which lay under the baleful shadows of a Crusade. In the midst of his struggle with England, Philip of Valois died. The loss of the battle of Poitiers and the captivity of King John plunged France into factional disorders and bankruptcy. Even when peace came, the miseries of war followed. It was under such circumstances that Peter, son and successor of Hugh, King of Cyprus, came to Pope Urban V to seek aid against the Mussulmen, who grew more threatening as their maritime power increased. The Pope promised him the assistance of a new crusade. Christendom was at that time threatened by more redoubtable enemies than the Mussulmen of Egypt. The Turks, who had mastered Asia Minor, had crossed the Bosphorus and established themselves at Adrianople. They were the ones to attack, but as yet they had inspired no dread in Europe. At the papal court at Avignon were the Kings of Cyprus, France and Denmark. They swore to go and fight the Saracens. At the time fixed for the departure of the expedition, neither fleet nor army appeared. King John, of France, died in London. The Pope

trembled at Avignon. Peter, however, managed to gather a large troop of adventurers and vagabonds, who were augmented by a strong body of knights from the Isle of Rhodes. He set out with ten thousand men for Alexandria and captured it. He wished to fortify and retain it; but his free-booting army plundered and burnt it. Then, on the fourth day, they deserted it. Their conduct so irritated the Mussulmen that they extended violence to all Christians in Egypt, and threatened a descent upon Rhodes and Cyprus. Again the Pope was asked to appeal to the nations of the West. He did so, but there was no response, and the King of Cyprus was left to fight his own battles.

If all ardor for the Crusades had vanished in the minds of European warriors, they still coupled with memory of the holy wars a passion for enriching themselves by chivalric adventure. The Genoese decided to punish Barbary, whose pirates interfered with her commerce, and called on the King of France for a leader and troops. Many barons responded. In a very short time the duke of Bourbon placed fourteen hundred Knights at the disposal of the Genoese, inspired purely by desire for booty and love of glory. In a few days they landed on the Barbary coast, and laid siege to the city of Africa. After meeting with many reverses, and losing many of their warriors by weapons and disease, they were forced to abandon the siege and return to Europe. Instead of wiping out piracy, this expedition only increased it. Vengeance, indignation and fear armed the Infidel against the Christian in every direction. Every African port sent out vessels to inter

cept the commerce of the Mediterranean, and the spices of the east were denied to Europe.

The war between Egypt and Cyprus was carried on with animosity. The King of Cyprus and the Knights of Rhodes took possession of Tripoli, Laodicea, Belinas and other Syrian towns and burned them. This novel way of making war in a country they wished to deliver, excited the fury of the Mussulmen and in no way pleased the Christian residents. It simply rendered pilgrimage to the Holy Land impracticable for several years. After a long struggle, peace was agreed upon, during which the right of pilgrimage was assured, and the Hospitallers were given privilege to occupy their house at Jerusalem and repair the churches of the holy sepulchres of Nazareth and Bethlehem.

And now Europe was permitted to look no longer for the enemy in Asia. The disciple of Mohammed, the despised Mussulman, the hated Infidel, had come to her doors and had even entered her house, in the shape of the despicable Turk. What so natural? Christianity had precipitated itself upon Mohammedanism with all the fury of fanaticism, with all its assumptions of superiority, with all the brutal strength and vaunted invincibility of semi-barbarism. It had robbed, massacred, and established empire in the name of Christ and all things sacred. It had survived on a gradually descending scale, till its last great confession in defeat and extermination. Christian Europe could not maintain itself in Mohammedan Asia or Africa. Its presence had been a perpetual menace, solidifying Islam. Its warlike methods had been a school of discipline for Islam.

It made such warriors as never existed before. It inflamed hatreds and passions, till religious fanaticism among Mussulmen, at the end of the Crusades, equalled that of the Christians at their beginning. God and Christ had clearly deserted standards that fell in disgrace. God and the Prophet were clearly with standards that waved in triumph over Jerusalem's Kingdom. What Christendom had done in the eleventh century by means of Crusades, Islam could do in the fourteenth century by the same means. Europe was as inviting by her discords now as Asia then. And the track of Mussulman triumph toward and into Europe was plainer than that of Christian triumph had been into Asia. Christendom never had a clear waterway to the East, except by the use of the marine which grew up among the Italian Republics, and this she had to pay ruinous sums for, either in cash or in unequal partnerships. The Mussulmen had gradually grown into a marine both for war and merchandise. Alexandria and Tunis were not the Alexandria and Carthage of the Greeks and Phœnecians, but they were ports of enterprise, as were most of those on the coasts of Syria and Asia Minor. Again, when the Crusaders crossed the Bosphorus, they found in Asia Minor an enemy's country. Nice, Antioch, Tripoli, all the provinces and cities which had once constituted the glory of the Byzantine empire eastward, had to be conquered from the Turks. The Turks had reconquered them all, and had again pushed their empire, and made their way clear, to the very gates of Constantinople. They had even crossed the Bosphorus and established their van guard in

one of the finest provinces and capitals of the old Greek empire, which was an invitation for all Islam to follow. Once more, religious zeal had been capable of raising a mob in Europe, composed of various nationalities and conditions, and of infusing it with enthusiasm enough to win extraordinary victories over the Infidel. But religious zeal was no longer equal to this miraculous task, and Europe found itself on the defensive without a common army, and with scarcely a link among the nations to bring or hold them together for a common resistance. On the contrary, the Mussulmen were as much a church militant as when Mohammed himself marshalled their armies. The extermination of Christianity was a war cry, the supremacy of Islam an ultimatum. They were more than this, more than the Crusaders ever were, more than Europe was then, just what the nations of Europe are to-day, they were an organized army, a huge military camp, obedient to a supreme head, disciplined, active, resolute, ambitious, formidable. Again we say, what then so natural as a Mussulman invasion of Europe?

By a strange coincidence, the star of the race of Osman began to break on the Eastern horizon of Europe, just as the destinies of the Moors of Andalusia and Grenada were finished, and they cast back again across the Straits of Gibraltar into Africa, their primitive country. It was as if the founder of the Ottoman dynasty had come to overturn the the Roman-Greek empire as a vindication of his Spanish co-religionists; or as if Islamism, endowed with new vigor, had taken revenge in crossing, under the victorious sign

of the crescent, the strait which separates Asia from Europe, invading the richest countries of Europe, and for two centuries menacing Christendom with a yoke from which Charles Martel vainly imagined he had delivered it.

The Turks, who had established the Kingdom of Roum in Asia Minor, had deprived the Byzantine Empire of its Asiatic provinces, and had invited the Crusaders into the East by their harsh measures at Jerusalem, were properly known as Turcomans. Turkestan, called also Tartary, was their home. There dwelt the Turks proper. The tribes which embraced Islamism, as early as 960 A. D., migrated to Armenia and the shores of the Caspian, and became known as Eastern and Western Turcomans. By degrees they extended their conquests to Persia, Syria, and Asia Minor, thus confirming their religion in a new and vast empire. About 1224, Prince Soliman, at the head of a powerful tribe, left Turkestan and settled in Armenia. His son, Ertoghul, managed to hold the tribe together and to make some conquests, but it remained for his son Osman, Osthman, or Ottoman, to begin the real foundations of that political and religious state, which became the Ottoman Empire, or Turkey in Asia and Europe. This was A. D. 1299. In one hundred and fifty years it was to find its capital in Constantinople, and in a century more was to reach the meridian of its glory in the conquest of Cyprus.

Osman began his empire by composing differences between his co-religionists of the East, and gradually reducing all rivals to submission. He then began to enlarge it by

gradual dismemberment of the Greek Empire, which had really never gotten itself together after the Latin domination. At each thrust he made into its rotten remains, appeals went up to Rome and to the sovereigns of the West for aid, but in vain. Osman obtained a fleet, by means of which he ravaged the Islands of the Archipelago. His son, Orkhan, conquered Bithynia and established a capital at Brusa, where Osman died. Here, within sixty miles of Constantinople, Orkhan solidified the new empire, and left it to his two sons, Orkhan and Aladdin. The former devoted himself to gaining new territories by wars, the latter to the organization of government, and was the first to bear the title of Pasha (governor or general). He founded a code of laws, established a coinage system, fixed a national costume and, most important of all, formed a regular military establishment, composed at first, of infantry corps, but afterwards entirely of young Christian captives who had been forced to adopt the religion of Islam. This force, into which, at first, a thousand recruits a year was admitted, was called the *Jani-Tseheri* (new troop), corrupted by Europeans into *Janissaries*, a name soon to become terrible to Christian ears. A religious stamp was given to this military institution, and it learned to obey and conquer under inflexible chiefs. The Janissaries became the elite of the Ottoman army. Other powerful corps of infantry and cavalry were organized, all under excellent discipline and good pay. This army organization had its first test when the Greek Emperor, Andronicus, took the field against the Turkish conquerors in 1330.

The Turks gained two important victories, which resulted in the fall of Nice and the removal of the last barrier to the Ottoman power in Asia.

Unlike the victorious Mamelukes, unlike the raiding Knights of Cyprus and Hospitallers of Rhodes, the Sultan, Orkhan, aided by his grand vizir, Aladdin, extended mercy to the conquered, distributed money and food to the poor, established hospitals, and so influenced the people with kindness, that Nice soon became more populous and flourishing than ever. The twenty years of peace which followed this conquest gave ample time to perfect the order and discipline contemplated in the institutions of Aladdin. The Turkish cities were beautified and strengthened. Mosques, schools, convents and mausolea were built. Learning was encouraged.

Peace was not to be kept between the Greek Emperors and the Ottoman Sultans. The former were constantly appealing to Europe for aid, and blindly employing Turks as auxiliary troops. The latter were bent on the possession of Constantinople and the conquest of Europe, and only regarded peace as a necessary breathing spell. In 1357, Orkhan ordered his son Soliman to renew war. He took possession of Gallipoli, the key of Constantinople, on the Hellespout, overwhelmed a number of places in Thrace, established Turkish colonies in them, and rebuilt and fortified them. This invasion was followed by hordes of the conquerors, who easily pushed their conquests to the Danube, thus reducing the Greek Empire to the narrowest limits. The capture of

Gallipoli was the grand signal for the propagation of Ottoman power in Europe, and it was so proclaimed to all the Mussulman centres in Asia and Africa. Henceforth every conquest would be announced in the name of the Turkish department of state. The Empire was a fact.

Orkhan was succeeded by his youngest son, Amurat I, who captured the fortress of Nebetos, near Gallipoli, and in 1361, took Adrianople by storm. This place, the largest fortified city of the Greek Empire, soon merited in a political, commercial and military point of view, the high rank assigned to it as the second residence of the Sultans. After taking Philipolis, Amurat concluded a peace with the Greek Emperor. The Pope now made frantic efforts to raise a Crusade in Europe. He made no impression on the further states, as England, Spain, France, Germany and Italy, but succeeded in uniting those whose frontiers were threatened, as Hungary, Servia, Bosnia and Wallachia. Their combined army was defeated in 1363, by that of Amurat. After this, Amurat resided for five years at his new castle in Adrianople, and then returned to Asia, having signed the peace of 1371 with the Greek Emperor.

The princes of Bosnia, Servia and Bulgaria now united to throw off the Ottoman yoke. Amurat entered Bulgaria and forced the prince to surrender his capital. The prince of Servia defended himself in the bloody battle of Kassova, where Amurat was assassinated in his chamber by a Servian official. The victory, however, remained within him (1389). As the line of Otto-

man monarchs descended, they ascended in cruelty. Bajazet, Amurat's successor, filled Servia with Turkish colonies, and imposed the most severe conditions on the conquered. After having strongly fortified Gallipoli and provided it with a secure harbor, Bajazet, in 1390, turned all his forces against Europe. He compelled the Greek Emperor to furnish him with auxiliary troops and to send his son and successor with them. The Turks first turned their attention against the Archipelago, and took Lemnos, Rhodes, Chios, Eubea, and Attica. The Greek prince abandoned the Turkish army, which so infuriated Bajazet that he marched directly against the Greek empire, laid waste the country with fire and sword, surrounded Constantinople and besieged it for a period of seven years. Another part of the Turkish army invaded Wallachia, which was made a Turkish province. Still another part penetrated Bosnia to the borders of Hungary. At the same time Bajazet pushed the Ottoman conquests further into Asia. After these brilliant conquests, Bajazet surrendered himself to debauchery and his conduct aggravated the existing demoralization.

At this time (1394) Sigismund, King of Hungary, succeeded in getting up a coalition in Europe to check the incursions of the Turks. France sent a thousand knights and six thousand mercenaries. In their passage through Germany, they were joined by Frederick, count of Hohenzollern, at the head of a strong body of German nobles, by the Grand Master of the Hospitallers with a corps of Knights, and by many Bavarian nobles. The allied army concentrated at Nicopolis.

Battle began on September 20th, 1396, and ended in a splendid victory for Bajazet over the allies. The banner of Sigismund was captured and all the Bavarian nobles who rallied round it perished. The King and leaders took to flight and with difficulty gained their fleet, aboard of which they took refuge. After the victory, Bajazet established his camp under the walls of Nicopolis. When he learned that his losses amounted to 50,000, men he wept tears of rage and swore to avenge the death of his followers. All the prisoners to the number of 10,000, were massacred by his orders. The carnage lasted from morning till four in the afternoon. At this hour the nobles threw themselves at the feet of the Sultan and implored his mercy, which was granted. The principle ones could only be redeemed at an immense ransom. Ten thousand ducats (\$22,500) were placed on the head of some, and it required over half a million dollars to redeem the French prisoners alone. To the Count of Nevers the Sultan said, "I release you from your oath never more to bear arms against me. I advise you on the contrary, if you have any ambition, to resume them as soon as possible, and to rally around you all the forces of Christendom." How much this sounds like the language of a Christian Knight after a victory in Palestine. Bajazet caused the fame of this memorable victory to be spread throughout Asia. Ambassadors were sent to communicate it in form to all the courts of the East, and in order to render their mission impressive, they were accompanied by sixty nobles and an Hungarian magnate, selected from among the prisoners, who were offered

as prisoners to Oriental monarchs. Bajazet followed his victory by the taking of Mitrowiz on the Save, and of Pettau, which he burned.

The Sultan now directed all his energies to the reduction of Constantinople, whose siege had been going on for five years, and whose inhabitants were murmuring for lack of food, and divided as to the propriety of surrendering to the Turks. The Emperor, doubtful as to what course to take, proposed terms of surrender, which Bajazet declined. But having humiliated him, Bajazet, who had acquired the surname of "The Lightning of the Turks," sped across into Asia, pushed his conquests to the banks of the Euphrates and then invaded Greece capturing the principal towns of Thessaly and finally the entire peninsula of the Morea. After this series of triumphs he retired to Brusa, and again abandoned himself to the most culpable pleasures. An invasion by the Tartars under the invincible Timour recalled him from his inactivity. The armies of the two great generals met in the plain of Angora. Four of the sons of Timour, and five of the sons of Bajazet, commanded in the armies of their fathers. The combat between the two greatest conquerors of the age began at six in the morning and lasted till night. Bajazet fought like a knight of old and performed prodigies of valor. Abandoned by the troops of Aidin, who recognized their prince in the ranks of Timour, and by all his auxiliary Tartars, the heroic Sultan at the head of his ten thousand Janissaries resisted the attacks of his enemies throughout the entire day. It was only when his brave warriors

were crushed by fatigue, or nearly annihilated, that Bajazet consented to fly. A fall from his horse arrested his flight, and he was taken prisoner. Being obliged to follow the Tartar chieftain in his conquests, the unfortunate Bajazet died of melancholy in 1403. He was one of the most brilliant soldiers in the annals of the Ottoman Empire, and his history is a striking illustration of the caprices of fortune, which seems to take pleasure in elevating men to giddy heights that their fall may be the more startling and impressive.

Bajazet was succeeded by his son, Mahomet I, who, in 1413, renewed all the treaties of peace with the monarchs of Christendom, except the prince of Caramania, upon whom he administered signal chastisement. In the following year he fought an unsuccessful naval battle with the Venetians before Gallipoli, and was forced into a disadvantageous peace. He also failed in an expedition into Hungary, and his Empire was rent with domestic insurrections. He died suddenly in 1421 and was succeeded by his son Amurat II, who continued the siege of Constantinople, begun by his father. In 1422, ten thousand cavaliers from the West appeared before the city, having laid waste the countries through which they passed. Amurat presented himself at the head of a large army to storm the city, but the ramparts resisted all his artillery. A general assault was undertaken. Happily for the city, the inhabitants all flew to arms, and by courage and perseverance repulsed the Turks with great loss. In 1428 Amurat made a new treaty with Hungary and Servia, in which

the latter agreed to pay an annual tribute of 20,000 ducats. After this he marched upon the fortress of Bressatonika which he captured from the Venetians, and re-peopled it with Turks. He invaded Wallachia and Transylvania, and ravaged the country around Cronstadt, carrying off 70,000 inhabitants into slavery.

In 1440, Amurat II met at Belgrade, in the person of the celebrated Hungarian, John Hunyady, a rival of equal powers and ability. John Hunyady had succeeded in raising the siege of Hermanstadt. At the important battle of Vertag, his Hungarian army had beaten that of the Sultan and captured two hundred Turkish standards. These victories had encouraged an alliance of Hungarians, Poles, Servians, Wallachians and Germans, and with their combined armies Hunyady invaded Servia, gaining a celebrated victory over the Turks at Nissa. He again defeated them in the no less important battle of Jalovaz. Amurat was compelled to propose terms of peace, according to which Servia was restored to its legitimate prince and Wallachia to Hungary. After a stormy reign of twenty-three years, Amurat II gave the empire to his son. But some time after, when Wladislas, King of Poland, violated his armistice, he re-assumed power to march against the enemy and punish the perjurers. The two armies met at Varna, on Nov. 10th, 1444, and a brilliant victory recompensed Amurat for his valor and military skill. His army was greatly enriched by booty. He again gave the reins of government to his sixteen-year-old son, but took them up for a third time in order to prosecute a campaign

against Albania and the Peloponnesus. He was recalled from this by an invasion, under the lead of John Hunyady, in Servia, and he again met his old antagonist and conqueror near Kassoava, on Oct. 18, 1448, where he gained a notable victory. The battle lasted for three days, and in it most of the nobility of Hungary perished. Hunyady saved himself by flight, and this ended one of the most remarkable military careers in history. He was succeeded by Skanderberg, a general equally as famous as himself. He had for twenty-five years maintained for Hungary and for Europe a bloody struggle against the Mussulmen. His military talent and desperate courage enabled him to administer defeat after defeat to his enemies, and to prevent the subjugation of his native Albania. Many of John Hunyady's exploits partake of the fabulous and have become themes for eulogistic prose and poetry.

After the victory of Kassoava, Sultan Amurat II retired to Adrianople. Here he was solicited to aid in placing Constantine on the Greek throne. This he succeeded in doing, thus giving to Byzantium its last Emperor, almost concurrently with giving to his own Empire the sovereign who was to dethrone him. Amurat II died in 1450, and was succeeded by his son Mahomet II. During his reign of thirty years he contributed greatly to the strength and glory of his Empire. He was firm, just and philosophic. Charity and piety were passions with him. His first care, on conquering a city, was to erect a mosque, minaret, medrece and Khan. The mosque of Adrianople, one of the most beautiful structures of the Empire, was his work, as well as

the vast bridges at Salonica, Eskeere and Angora. The tolls of the latter were given to the poor of Mecca and Medina. He greatly improved his army, especially the Janissary corps.

Sultan Mahomet II and the Emperor Constantine came to their respective thrones almost at the same time. The former received the congratulations of all the Christian powers with whom he entertained amicable relations, and he renewed all the treaties of peace, though he cherished the intention of declaring war against Byzantium. He brought to the throne an active and enterprising spirit, a love of letters and arts, an ardent and passionate policy, and an indomitable pride. Constantine brought a calm and prudent valor, heroic patience under reverses, and a piety and virtue wholly exceptional with the Greek princes. Some months after the accession of Mahomet II, he began to build a fort on the European shore of the Bosphorus, directly opposite that built by Bajazet. By this means he proposed to render himself master of the commerce of the Black Sea. Constantine immediately offered him tribute and implored him to renounce his project. He replied that no one had a right to object to works which he proposed to erect on his own territory; that both shores belonged to him, that of Asia because it was in the hands of Mussulmen, and that of Europe because the Christians could not defend it. He ordered the Greek envoy to retire, and threatened to flay alive any one who dared to bring a similar message. He finished his fort in three months, and garrisoned it with

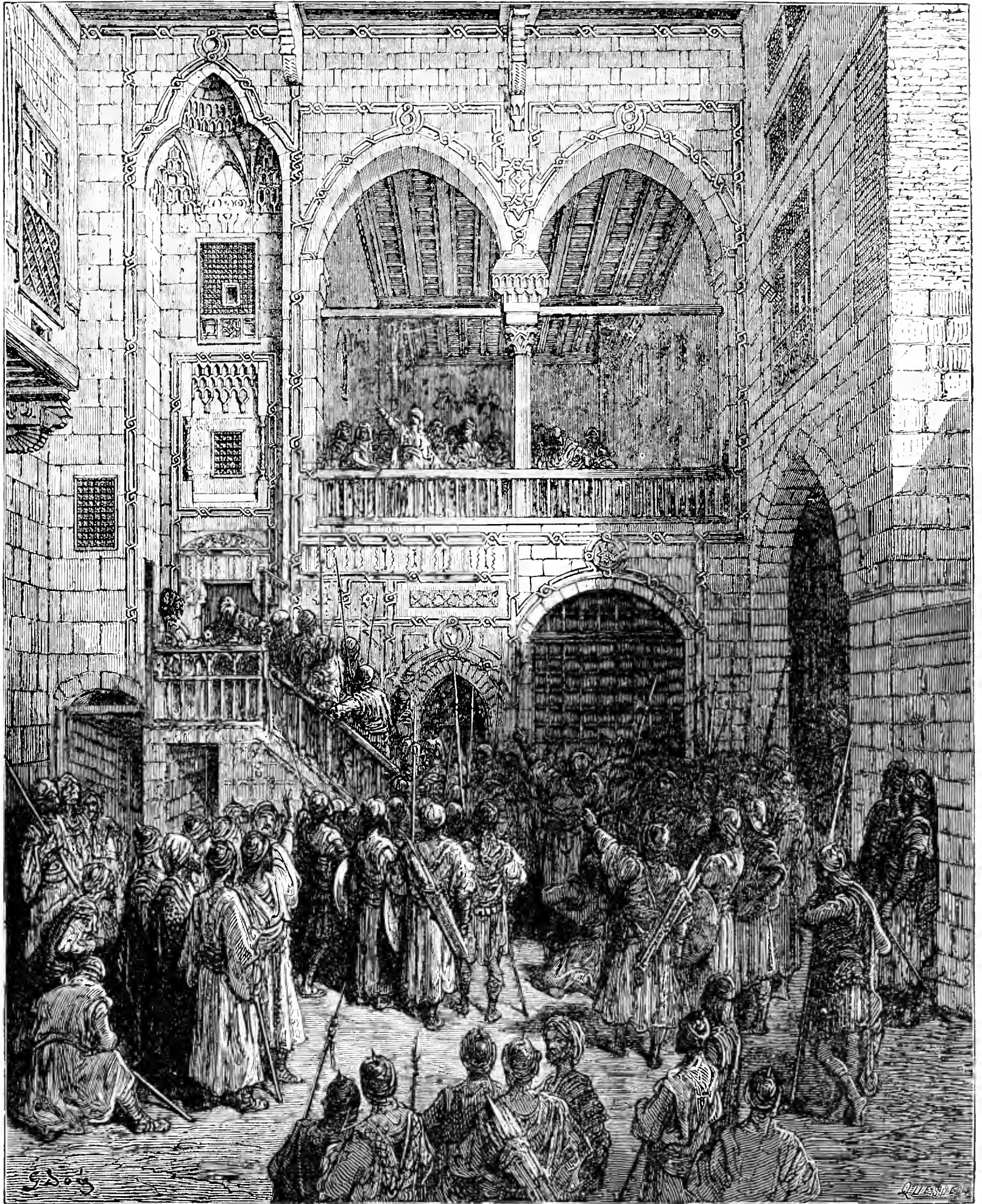


PLATE No. XCI.—CONSTANTINE ADDRESSING THE DEFENDERS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

four hundred Janissaries. The commander was instructed to allow the passage of vessels of all nations on payment of a fixed tribute.

This meant war, and both sovereigns began to prepare, the one for the defence and the other for the siege of Constantinople. Constantine appealed to the Pope, promising recognition of the Latin church. A mild exhortation to the warriors of the West was sent out, and the Pope contributed to the cause of the Greek Emperor a legate and some ecclesiastics well versed in dogmatic theology. Not a European sovereign responded for this life and death struggle. As Genoa and Venice had commercial interests at stake, they sent fleets and armies to assist in the defence of the city. The population of Constantinople began to abandon the city. Those who remained buried their treasures and cut off their means of living. Not over ten thousand combatants formed the entire garrison of Byzantium and the last hope of the Empire of the East. These Constantine animated with his exhortations and plundered the churches to pay. (*See Plate No. XCI.*)

Mahomet made immense preparations for the siege of Byzantium, city of Constantine (A. D. 330), Constantinople, the Istambol, or Stamboul of the Turks, from the Greek *eis tan polin*, to the city. He had a fabulous cannon made at Adrianople, capable of throwing a stone ball nine feet in diameter the distance of a mile. This was transported to Constantinople, a distance of 108 miles, by fifty yoke of oxen and one hundred men, where it burst in firing, killing its Hungarian manufacturer. As tradition had it

among both Greeks and Mussulmen, possession of the city was to be gained through the Golden gate and the Cercoporta which gave access to the circuit of the seven towers. Constantine walled these gates up. On the first Friday after Easter, April 6th 1453, Mahomet appeared before the city with an army of 250,000 men and a fleet of 420 vessels. As the conquest and pillage of the Greek capital were the richest recompence that could be offered to the Ottoman warriors, their ardor and fanaticism knew no bounds. They swarmed from all sections of the Ottoman dominions, and their standards represented battalions from the mountains of Taurus to the Danube. They threw up fourteen land batteries on the land side of the city and thus completely environed it. On April 15 a naval battle was fought between the Turkish and Genoese fleets, in which the Turks lost many vessels, notwithstanding their great superiority in numbers. Not finding means of penetrating the harbor, which was chain-locked, by means of the fleet, the Sultan caused a wooden tramway to be constructed, six miles in length, over which more than seventy vessels were pushed in a single night, and on the morrow were seen at anchor in the midst of the harbor of Constantinople, to the infinite surprise and consternation of the Greeks. Genoese fleets strove in vain to burn these vessels by means of Greek fire.

After a seige of fifty days, which resulted in the demolition of four towers and a large breach at the Roman gate, the Sultan summoned Constantine to surrender (*See Plate No. XCII.*). The Emperor replied that he



PLATE NO. XCII.—MAHOMET II. BEFORE CONSTANTINOPLE.

would defend to the last the Empire God had entrusted to his care. Thereupon the Sultan ordered a general assault by land and sea. The priests went about among the soldiers exhorting them to purify their bodies and promising the delights of Paradise to all who died for the faith. The Sultan again appeared in the midst of his warriors promising all the city as booty except the land and public edifices, at which the entire army burst forth, "God is God, and Mohammed is the messenger of God!" Premiums were then offered to those who should gain the ramparts first, and any who fled were threatened with death. At night a general illumination lit up the shores of the Bosphorus and the heights of Galatæa, and the noise of dance and song was borne to the ears of these who manned the ramparts. After that all was silence, a silence more foreboding to the besieged than the clamor had been.

On May 29, at daybreak, the besiegers began operations upon the port side and against the Roman gate. The assault was stoutly resisted. Constantine fought at the head of his army and proved himself brave even unto rashness. The terrible Greek fire set the Turkish fleet aflame. Storms of arrows and missiles were poured on the heads of the assailants. For two hours the assault was kept up, when the Turkish troops began to break. The Sheiks rushed into their midst with exhortations and quotations from the Koran relative to the taking of Constantinople. The Sultan rushed upon the scene at the head of ten thousand Janissaries, and the battle was renewed amid the noise of

trumpets, the crash of ruins and the hum of flying missiles. The leader, Justinian, fell, and this caused the Genoese and most of the auxiliaries to waver. Constantine was left alone with his Greeks. Towers began to fall and ramparts to crumble. The Turks poured through the breaches and fought hand to hand with the besieged till Constantine fell, when all was over in that direction. Another storming party managed to enter through the gate Cereoporta. As this was one of the ominous gates, their presence carried consternation everywhere, and the Greeks in front of them rushed toward the northern shore, where the guards closed the gates and threw the keys into the sea. All within was now confusion, and tens of thousands of fugitives flocked to the church of St. Sophia to vainly wait the coming of the angel whose predicted coming was to announce the repulse of the enemy. The only miracle they were permitted to witness was the fall of the doorways of the church beneath the axes of the victors.

From this on, pillage, conflagration and profanation signaled the triumph of the Ottoman warriors. When the city was thoroughly subdued, the Sultan made a triumphal entry through the Roman gate. Halting before the Church St. Sophia, he alighted from his horse, inspected the noble edifice, expressed his delight at its beautiful architecture, and, ascending the altar, dedicated it to Islamism. The head of Constantine was first elevated upon a column of porphyry in one of the public squares and then sent for exhibition into the cities of Asia. When the Sultan arrived at the im-

perial palace, he was so struck with the contrast between its gloomy solitude and the brilliancy that once animated it, that he recited aloud the Persian dispatch, "The Spider has woven his web in the palace of the Cæsars; the owl causes the dome of Efrasiab to resound with its nocturnal wail." Despite this philosophic reflection, the Sultan abandoned himself to the intoxications of triumph and lent himself to acts of cruelty. There was a general slaughter of the Greek nobles and those who had come from Genoa, Venice, Spain and other countries as last defenders of the fated city. Others were reduced to service in the Sultan's suite. After the three days of pillage, which he had promised the army, were fulfilled, he found it necessary to put an end to scenes of devastation. He recalled the Greeks to the city, caused new buildings to be erected and the mutilated monuments to be restored. He conceded to the vanquished the free exercise of their religion, and restored to them all the churches from that of the far off Armenians to the gates of Adrianople. Such was the memorable siege of Constantinople which delivered the city to the Mussulmen, on May 29th, 1453, eleven hundred and twenty-five years after its rebuilding by Constantine the Great, and eight hundred and fifty-seven years after the hegira, or flight of the Prophet. As the Greek capital it was founded by a Constantine and it perished under a Constantine. It was Byzantium, now it was Istambol or Stamboul. The worst blow it ever received, save the last, was that delivered by the Latin Crusaders, when they captured it in the thirteenth century, and

attempted to Latinize it. Amid their wars for pure ambition sake, schism became enlarged by hatred, till all affection for the place was lost in the West. After that it served but as an invitation to the Mussulmen, as a prophetic object of possession according to their scriptures, and as the bridge which was to bear them to further triumph in the fairest lands of Christendom.

When the West heard of the fall of Constantinople, all the Christian nations were filled with terror. It was believed that the hated Janissaries were already overturning the altars of the gospel in the richest provinces of Germany. People trembled at the idea of one day hearing the Koran preached in the churches of Rome, transformed into mosques. Murmurs arose on all sides against Pope Nicholas V for not having preached a Crusade for the salvation of Constantinople. It was apparent that a Union of all the Christian powers could alone arrest the triumphant march of the Turks, and against such a union fresh obstacles arose daily. In vain pious orators appealed to both the religious and chivalric idea. While all deplored the situation, indifference soon took the place of consternation.

Meanwhile Mahomet II was, like a true statesman, devoting himself to securing his important conquest by political institutions in harmony with the manners, customs and needs of his new subjects. To gain the affection of Christians, he respected their faith and usages, and directed that a new spiritual chief should be chosen in place of the deceased Patriarch. He gave this official a banquet, conversed with him respecting a



PLATE NO. XCIII.—THE OTTOMANS PENETRATE HUNGARY.

policy, presented him with a precious sceptre as emblem of his authority, and thus addressed him: "Be Patriarch, and may heaven protect you! In every event count upon my friendship, and enjoy all the privileges which your ancestors possessed!"

In the following year Mahomet notified the prince of Servia that that principality belonged to him and that he was going to take it. Prince George repaired to Hungary for aid, and Mahomet invaded his states. The people repaired to the fortresses, to which the Sultan laid siege while his cavalry overran the country, laying it waste and carrying away over 50,000 prisoners, who were sent to Constantinople to repeople it. The strong fortress of Ostrowitz fell into the hands of the Sultan, and its garrison was made prisoners. These successes drove John Hunyady, who had again been called to the command of the Hungarian armies, to sue for peace on payment of an annual tribute. At the same time the Sultan's fleet conquered and annexed the islands of Lesbos, Lemnos, Chios and others to the Turkish Empire. In 1456, the Sultan again marched against Hungary and appeared before the strong city and fortress of Belgrade (*See Plate No. XCIII*) with a powerful army and three hundred pieces of artillery. The appeals of John Hunyady, together with his well known bravery and high generalship, had attracted quite a number of the warriors of other nations to his standards, and he began operations against the Turks by defeating their fleet in the Danube. Mahomet had cannonaded the fortress of Belgrade for three days and made himself master of the sub-

urbs, when the combined armies fell upon him with great determination, inflicting upon him severe losses and forcing him into disastrous retreat.

The next year, the Sultan caused Servia to be again ravaged, while he undertook the conquest of Greece, whose important point was the Morea. In a short time he had captured Athens and subjugated entire Greece, except a few sea coast towns belonging to the Venetians. He then proceeded to Asia where he subdued Sinope, and Trebizond, the last shadow of the ancient Greek Empire. The Sultan now styled himself "master of two seas and two continents." Returning from Trebizond, he found Wallachia in revolt. He re-conquered it and laid it waste, and gave it a new prince who paid him annual tribute. In the same year he annexed Lesbos, and reduced Bosnia to a Turkish province. He now retired to Constantinople to complete the construction of a new palace, which bore the inscription, "May God eternalize the glory of the Master! God consolidate its construction! God strengthen its foundations!"

The most formidable enemies of Mahomet II, now in Europe, were not those Christian Popes, princes and Knights who had burned the candles of their faith to the socket in the Crusades, and had buried the flame of chivalry in the ashes of despair, but the defenders of that new Europe, whose prosperity and ties savored of commerce rather than religion and glory. Mohammedanism had, in its Ottoman champions, proved equal to a mighty empire upon the ruins of Christian states. It had yet to contest for that com-

mercial and naval supremacy, which would place the cordon of the seas about Europe, and bind it forever at the foot of Mussulman power. In this it found its most uncompromising enemies in the Venetians, the Genoese, the Hospitallers of Rhodes, and in all whose destinies were linked with the commerce of the Mediterranean. This hostility was all the more constant, in that it involved no fanaticism, and was based on the principle of self-protection.

Mahomet II resolved to strike a blow at the Venetians of Negropont. He was met with a determination which long frustrated his intentions, but at length this luxurious, fertile and rich island fell into the hands of the Turks. It now looked as if the threat of Mahomet II to invade Germany and Italy, "to exterminate the iniquity of the Christians from the face of the earth, and to proclaim from the rising to the setting of the sun the glory of the God of Sabaoth and of Mohammed," was about to be carried out. He prepared for it with all the solemnity of a Crusade, by following the example of the Popes and employing the ascendancy of religion to awaken the enthusiasm of Mussulmen. He swore to renounce all pleasures and to never turn his face from the West to the East till he had overthrown and trampled under foot "the Gods of wood, brass, silver, gold and painting, that the disciples of Christ made with their hands." The capture of Negropont was such a direct menace on Italy, that the Pope ordered public prayers in Rome, and walked barefooted in a procession before the image of the Virgin Mary. He at length succeeded in forming a league

among the Italian states and petitioned France and England to join it. Frederick of Germany called a diet at Ratisbon, and afterwards at Nuremberg, in which appeared deputies from various countries. They resolved to unite for war against the Mussulmen, but failed to keep their resolutions. Here Pope Paul II, died and Sextus IV succeeded. He used all the power of the Church in favor of a union against the Mussulmen. The tenths were levied, absolution was extended, excommunication was threatened against the indifferent, every means his ingenuity could devise were employed to provide the sinews of war. (*See Plate No. XCIV.*) But none of the princes of the West took up arms and Christendom was still exposed, when Mahomet II was suddenly called to the East to resist an invasion of the Persians who, in this instance, proved to be better protectors of Germany and Italy, not to say all Christendom, than the warriors within their gates.

When Mahomet returned from the East, he again carried his arms into Hungary and Croatia, bringing away extensive booty. His cavalry also overran Styria, Carniola and Corinthia. In 1471, he laid waste Croatia, Corinthia and Carniola, carrying away cattle, and leading into slavery over 30,000 of their inhabitants. In 1475, the prince of Moldavia refused to pay his annual tribute. Mahomet entered his state with an army of 100,000 men, and was badly defeated, losing almost his entire army. This victory for the Christians released most of the new forts on the Danube from Turkish control. While the Sultan was suffering



PLATE NO. XCIV.—GATHERING MEANS FOR THE HOLY WAR.
447

these defeats, his fleets succeeded in driving the Genoese from Caffa and other strongholds on the Crimea. From Caffa alone forty thousand citizens were transported to Constantinople as colonists, and fourteen thousand young Genoese were incorporated in the corps of Janissaries.

After the reduction of the Crimea, Mahomet returned to Moldavia to avenge his recent defeat there. He fought a decisive battle, on July 26, 1476, in which he commanded his forces in person, and had the satisfaction of gaining an important victory. His last expedition was a naval one against the Isle of Rhodes which, with Cyprus, constituted the last of the Christian outposts in the Mediterranean. Rhodes was held by the Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John. It was not only a Christian outpost, but its occupants recalled to the faithful memories of the Holy Land and prevented entire extinction of the hope that they might one day see again the standard of Christ floating on the walls of Jerusalem. When such a point was in danger, the chivalric spirit of the West became aroused, and martial youths from the several countries flocked to the assistance of their brothers in knighthood. The Grand Master, foreseeing the peril in store for his order and dominions, made peace with the Bey of Tunis and Sultan of Cairo, and provisioned his strongholds for a long defence. The Turkish admiral, who, by the way, was a descendant of the Christian Emperors of Constantinople, laid siege to Rhodes with a fleet of one hundred and sixty vessels, but was unable to intimidate its garrison. The defenders refused to yield to force or to the

mildest terms of capitulation. The Admiral then resolved upon a general assault, and reluctantly promised his forces the privilege of pillage. But on July 28, 1480, in the midst of the assault, this privilege was withdrawn. Immediately the ardor of the besiegers vanished, the knights retook all the positions they had lost, and the Turks, abandoning their standards, fled on all sides. Rhodes was saved, for the time, to its heroic defenders.

Mahomet II died May 3, 1481. The conquest of the Eastern Empire and that of Trebizond, together with over two hundred cities, seven Kingdoms, and all the strongholds on the Isles of the Sea, except Rhodes and Cyprus, entitled him to his surname, "The Conqueror." He must be judged alike by his unbridled voluptuousness and his sterling virtues, his crimes and his magnanimity, the character of his conquests and the wise institutions he founded. His accession to the throne by killing his brother, the heads he severed, the members he sawed asunder, his perfidious assassinations of the royal family of Trebizond, the king of Bosnia, and the princes of Lesbos and Athens, sufficiently attest his thirst for blood. His efforts to consolidate his conquests by permanent institutions, his solicitude for schools, the protection he extended to men of letters, the establishment of hospitals and charities, gave him high rank as a statesman. He established the office of preceptor of the Sultan, constructed vast ranges of bazaars, built the magnificent palace at Seraglio point, secured the approaches from the city to the Archipelago, erected the famous castles of

Europe and Asia on opposite sides of the Dardanelles, converted eight churches into mosques and built four new ones, and gave to the *Sublime Porte* the very highest rank among the arbiters of the world. He was succeeded by his eldest Bajazet II, who, in 1484, renewed the war with Dalmatia and Hungary, and re-conquered Moldavia. His hands being free, and the policy of Venice proving displeasing, he declared war against that Republic, resolved to contest with her the empire of the seas. He defeated the Venetian fleet off the island of Sapienza, and captured Lepanto with its fine port and available commercial position. In this contest, Hungary, France, Spain, Italy and the Pope, all joined to stay the naval advance of the Ottomans.

Bajazet II abdicated, at the command of the Janissaries, in favor of his son Selim, April 25th, 1512. He was a most cruel prince, and signalized his reign by a conquest of Egypt and the exercise of barbarities on the Mamelukes. He was succeeded by his son Soliman the Great in 1520. Soliman set free all the Egyptian captives and then, in 1521, led an army against Belgrade which he captured. The Isle of Rhodes had ever been a thorn in the side of the Ottoman dynasty on the sea, and it was now more than ever repugnant because it menaced the new conquest of Egypt. Soliman resolved to reduce it. As before, the appeals of the Hospitallers brought aid from all the Christian nations of Europe. The seven bastions of Rhodes were defended by the Knights of eight different nations. Soliman landed on the island July 28, 1522, under the fire of

what was supposed to be an invincible artillery. Again and again the besiegers were repulsed by the defenders. On Sept. 24, a desperate assault was made by the Turks, which was repulsed with a loss to them of 15,000 men. Still the siege went on, and by December 21st the place was no longer tenable. The grand master of the Hospitallers was offered honorable terms, and on that day he surrendered. This siege of five months cost the Turks 100,000 men, and neither prose nor poetry was adequate to describe the matchless valor and splendid exploits of the chivalrie defenders of Rhodes. With the fall of Rhodes the neighboring islands submitted to Turkish rule. Soliman accomplished the ultimate subjugation of the Crimea, and in 1524 re-entered Hungary, gained the celebrated victory of Mohaes, and appeared before the capital of the Kingdom, whose keys were handed to him by the magnates. He then desolated the country to the walls of Raab, leaving in his trail the lifeless remains of 200,000 of the inhabitants. In 1529 his army took possession of Bude, and in the following autumn his cavalry arrived before Vienna. The Sultan followed with his army and established his camp around the Austrian capital. After a series of fruitless attacks, and fearing that his retreat would be impeded by the autumnal rains, he raised the siege and retired with no other satisfaction than that of having ravaged the country. For the first time the Turkish arms had received a decisive check in a contest with Christian powers. The limit of conquest had evidently been reached when the confines of Germany were struck. How-

ever, in 1532, Soliman marched against Charles V of Germany with an army of 200,000 men. He failed to take the fortified city of Guens, traversed Styria and encamped on the Danube where he received and accepted propositions of peace from Charles. Soliman then carried his victorious arms through Persia and Bagdad, where immense treasures fell into his hands. Another expedition was aimed at Venice which was baffled at Corfu, but which resulted in the acquisition of several of the Venetian islands. He was forced to re-conquer Moldavia and take its capital, in which he secured vast treasures of gold. He had incorporated the greatest part of Hungary with his Empire and released the balance to Austria on payment of an annual tribute. This gave rise to perpetual struggle, and in 1541 he again invaded Hungary, and took the capital Bude. This brought about another peace between him and the Austrian Emperor, which for a time put an end to the evils of war and Turkish encroachments on Central Europe. Truce however was not of long duration, and the remaining years of Soliman's life were spent in wars with Hungary and an unsuccessful expedition against the Knights of St. John on the Island of Malta. Soliman died Sept. 6, 1566. He was a worthy contemporary with Henry VIII of England, Francis I of France, Charles V of Germany and Pope Leo X. He was reckoned as one of the greatest warriors and most enlightened legislators of the Ottoman Empire.

His successor, Selim II, began his reign by conquering Yemen in Arabia, and declaring war on Venice, now in virtual control of the

strategic Island of Cyprus, last Christian bulwark in the Eastern Mediterranean. This island fell under Turkish dominion in 1571. Its capture, after a brave resistance, was a solemn warning to maritime Europe, for if the naval power of the Turks was not checked the entire coasts must soon be hers, as well as every road to the East. Pope Pius V exhorted the Christian powers to arm for a final contest. The Republic of Venice, Philip III of Spain, the Pope for the Italian States, formed a confederacy, each making contributions of fleets for the battle which, if won by the Turks, would give them the Empire of the world, if won by the Christians, would enable them to retain Europe. Venice contributed one hundred and six royal galleys to the combined fleet; Spain eighty galleys; and the Pope twelve galleys. The entire fleet carried 80,000 fighting men. It was in command of Don John, natural son of Charles V of Austria, and each part was commanded by able captains of the nation to which it belonged. On the 16th of September 1571, the most magnificent armament since the days of imperial Rome put to sea from Messina, destined to participate in the most important act in the sixteenth century. It steered for Corfu and reached there on Sept. 26. The Ottoman fleet, two hundred galleys strong, with 120,000 fighting men on board, lay in the Gulf of Lepanto. On October 7, the Christian fleet weighed anchor and formed in line of battle, off the Gulf. The Ottoman fleet came out slowly to meet it, and formed so as to meet the alignment of its enemies. As the fleets neared, signal guns were fired, and the battle began, amid

trumpet beats and war cries. Powder was now in general use, though the Turks still relied on the bow and arrow, and soon the contending vessels were in close conflict wrapped in clouds of smoke. Separate detachments desperately engaged each other, and the manœuvres of a great battle were lost in the fierce contentions close at hand. Galleys grappled; soldiers, sailors and galley slaves fought hand to hand, boarding and repelling boarders, in turn. There was enormous loss of life, the decks being encumbered with the dead, and in some ships every man on board being either killed or wounded. Blood flowed in torrents out of the scuppers and the gulf was stained for miles. Wrecks of vessels encumbered the sea, with hulls shattered, masts gone and thousands of wounded clinging to spars and vainly crying for help. The battle thus raged for four hours when the Turkish centre gave way, and all the vessels not disabled began to retreat. The Turkish loss was estimated at 25,000 killed and 5,000 prisoners. Besides, some 12,000 Christian prisoners used as rowers in the galleys were set free. The allies lost 8,000 killed, a disparity attributed to the fact that the Turks still largely used the bow. The immense Turkish fleet was almost annihilated, not more than forty of their galleys escaping. One hundred and thirty were actually captured and divided among the conquerors. The allies lost fifteen galleys sunk and as many damaged. An immense booty of gold, jewels and brocades were found on board the prizes, it being narrated that Ali Pashas ship alone contained \$400,000 worth of gold sequins. Many persons of rank were

slain on both sides. Don John drew off his victorious fleet to Petala to repair damages. He liberated many of the Turkish prisoners, and showed consideration for all. (*See Plate No. XCV.*)

After this great victory and the distribution of spoils the allied fleet was dispersed, and Don John proceeded to Messina where he was welcomed by the entire population. The news of Lepanto caused a great sensation throughout Europe, as the Turks had been considered invincible at sea. Sultan Selim covered his head with dust and refused food for three days, on hearing of the disaster to his fleet; at the same time all Christendom was repeating the refrain of the Pope, "There was a man sent from God, whose name was John."

Venice, which obtained a new lease of life by the victory of Lepanto, set apart forever the 7th of October as a holiday. Naples, Rome, all of Spain, gave themselves up to rejoicings and fetes for days. The Pope made every effort to press the war, but Philip said he feared the Turks less than the Christian dissenters of Belgium, England and the Low Countries. Charles V wished his son to follow up his advantage, but the Duke of Aboa thought that Don John's force, being a mixed one, would not have succeeded unless supported by the united force of Christendom, so great was the Moslem power at the time.

Though in this great battle the Turks lost no territory, it broke the charm of invincibility which they possessed. Venice gained confidence and the Ottomans never again took the initiative against that Republic, though, strange to say, being deserted by her

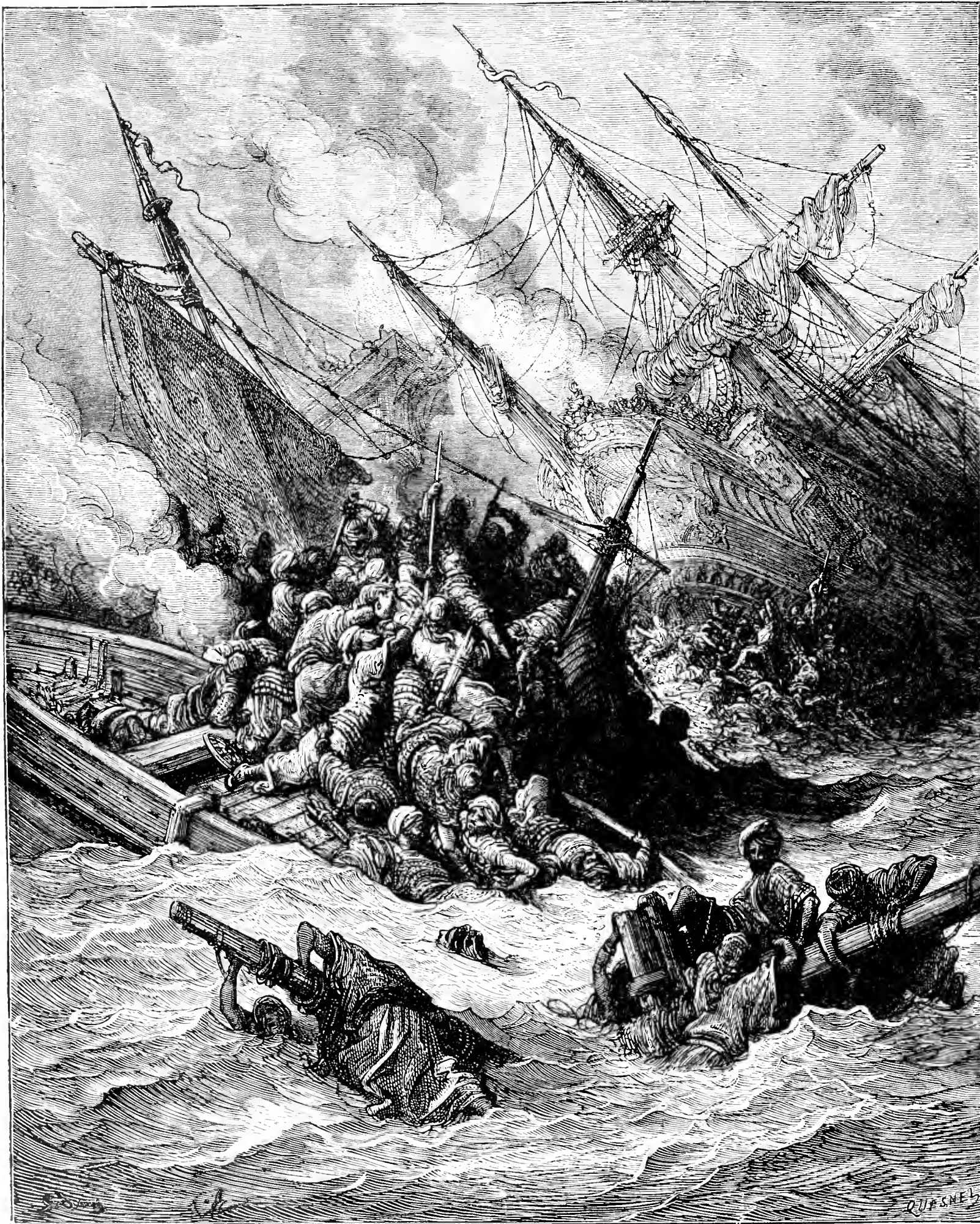


PLATE NO. XCV.—BATTLE OF LEPANTO.

allies, she made a peace with the Turks by confirming to them the results of their former victories on the seas. This war, which terminated with the victory of Lepanto, was the last in which the standard of the Cross animated or rallied Christian warriors. It was also the high water mark of Mussulman aggression on Christendom. Vienna on Land and Lepanto on the sea, set the boundaries of the Moslem, westward, and gave to Christendom that relief which the Crusades had refused in the East. Henceforth the Ottoman empire was to assume a defensive, and Islamism was to pale in the presence of that Christianity it drove out of Asia but could not annihilate in Europe.

PART X.

REVIEW OF THE CRUSADES.



AFTER each Crusade we pointed out its immediate results in brief. It may be well to review generally the epoch of these Eastern expeditions. After that epoch, say in the seventeenth century, the bravery of Crusaders was praised, their reverses deplored, their pious motives respected. But little thought was given to the good or evil resulting from their expeditions. In the eighteenth century, after the Reformation had been in a manner completed, historians ridiculed the Crusades, and saw in them only the ignorance, barbarity and fanaticism of mediæval times. In the nineteenth century, a more enlightened spirit of research and analysis and a less partial method of tracing events to their causes, have chosen to weigh the Crusades in the scales of truth and ascertain whether good or evil preponderate in their results to mankind, and in what proportion.

The absolute failure of the Crusades, either as religious missions or warlike expeditions, serve, in many minds, as a base whence to begin to compute their follies and evils. But that is counting by visible results entirely, and not reasoning from causes. Moreover, it is ignoring all the great

middle ground, full of little springs of human action, which stretches over three to four centuries, say from the preaching of Peter the Hermit to the battle of Lepanto, or at least until the Holy See became hopelessly involved in the wars of the Austrian, or German, succession. It is clear that a hope of success went before and along with every Crusade. Had they embraced the element of success, the order of criticism which now begins with their failure, would have been forced back to their causes, and we would have seen a more philosophic tracing of cause and event, as well as a more indulgent grouping of results. What we then might have seen would be strong Christian colonies in Egypt, Syria and Greece; the East and West linked in the march of civilization; the Latin or Greek language in Asia and Africa; the laws, commercial usages and moral regulations of Europe pervading lands from which they are now excluded; the seas free; marts exchanging their industries, climates their productions and nations their knowledge.

But the world was denied this sight. It was given to see, at the time and very vividly, the evils of the Crusades. The good remained as a germ, to become visible, if at all, only after the ages had warmed it into growth. In seeking for good effects from

the Crusades one is struck with the fact that causes, clearly attributable to the crusading spirit, operated so differently in the different nations of Europe. France, for instance, found in the Crusades a help to that general policy of her kings which looked to stronger empire by a gradual breaking down of the strength of her feudal barons, by useful alliances, and by a larger liberty among her people. The monarchy attracted to itself attention and won renown by the exploits of her warriors beyond the seas, while the absence, death or ruin of the great vassals permitted royalty to rise out of the bosom of feudal anarchy and establish an order which was otherwise impossible. For more than a century before the first Crusade, the barons and prelates had ceased to meet in general assembly to regulate the forms of justice and lend their influence to royal acts of authority, but at the time of the second Crusade, and ever after, the assemblies of the great men were frequent. The barons claimed no longer to be a law unto themselves, when they saw their monarchs at the head of expeditions which all could sanction, and which opened to all better opportunities for glory than they had hitherto found in cutting one another's throats.

But while this was the case in France, where royalty was weak at the commencement of the Crusades, we must look for precisely the opposite effect in England where royalty and feudalism were strong. There the arbitrary policy of monarchs alienated the subjects and inspired them with resistance to absolute power. When Richard Cœur de Leon sought the glory of arms in

Palestine, he forgot his kingdom; and his extensive preparations, his reverses, long absence and ransom, left his people bankrupt and full of factions. Thus his response to the crusading spirit but contributed to the discontent of the people and to the weakness of monarchy. It must be observed that the Monarchs of England very often opposed directly the wishes of their barons when they desired to enlist for the Crusades, and the barons, in turn, opposed a similar wish on the part of their monarchs, especially after they began to manifest a disposition to take vows and levy tributes which they perverted to other uses. The spirit of the religious wars which armed the Holy See against Frederick of Germany, plunged it into antagonism with the Kings of England. This for a time operated as a truce between the English malcontents and the Popes, and in the league of the barons against Henry III, the rebels wore a cross as in the wars beyond the seas. But happily the truce did not last. Absolute monarchy had to yield in the end to constitutional monarchy, but it was not until the people had become sufficiently instructed to proclaim their independence of tyranny, whether religious in the shape of a Pope or political in the shape of a hereditary monarch.

The German empire affords another spectacle. It had shown vigor up until the time of the Crusades. But the great vassals had become so powerful that the monarchs, in order to resist, granted advantages to cities and to the clergy. The cities profited by the concessions and became independent. The clergy turned their favors to the account

of the Popes. Instead of becoming less, the great fiefs became more hereditary, and consequently the chances of a purely elective Emperorship diminished, or, at least, was thrown more into the hands of those whom the crown had rendered independent. This gave to the Holy See a tremendous power in German affairs, which it did not fail to exercise. As long as it was respected, it was equal to the task of inflaming the German mind with sufficient enthusiasm to undertake one or two almost purely German Crusades. When it fell into disrespect, as it did when the ambitions of the German monarchs and those of the Holy See clashed over the matter of the German succession, it proved a terrible thorn in the side of Germany. While it was strong enough to defeat German ambitions in Italy, and to produce imperial ruin in Germany, it could do nothing toward building a papal empire of the Cæsars. All it could do was to segregate the crowd of approving German states and cities, ecclesiastical, secular and independent, and then offer them to any pretender who was strong enough to take and hold them. As the crowd of pretenders increased, there was loss of both political and religious unity to Germany, a thing neither Emperors nor Popes contemplated. Germany eventually became the least responsive of the nations of Europe to papal appeals for Crusaders, and was least affected by the Crusades directly, though most vitally of all, considering them as instruments of the Holy See.

Italy had been a playground of the nations ever since the fall of the Roman Empire.

Hun, Vandal, Goth, Frank, German and Lombard had surged over her fields and cities and left traces of their legislation, manners and character. In the tenth century the Emperors of Constantinople cast it loose from the Eastern Empire and gave it over to the contentious powers within itself, chiefly to the Guelf and Ghibelline factions, representing respectively the Popes and the emperors of Germany. At the time of the Crusades it had no political rallying centre. There were within it many nations, twenty Republics, numerous small states, with no common bond, and often hostile. The Feudal system had been abolished, and there were few brave Knights and none of the virtues of chivalry. It was a place for ambitions, plots, stratagems, treacheries and crimes. The Crusades found Italy so and left it so. They, in common with the papal wars respecting the two Sicilies, left Naples and Sicily thoroughly degenerate and fit subjects for Mussulman dominion. The Italian Republics fared better. They had been in commercial contact with the East, and the Crusades proved to them a source of enrichment and power. The fleets of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa were indispensable to the Crusaders, as transports and a source of provisions. Their sailors vied with the Knights of Europe in sea assaults upon such place as Ptolemais, Constantinople and Damietta. Their vessels grew in size; they improved in the art of navigation; they made that Naval warfare possible which baffled the Mussulman fleet at Lepanto and saved to Europe the empire of the seas. The Republics of Italy, especially Venice, afforded to

discordant Italy, to the Holy See itself, its only rallying point at the moment when Europe was called upon to make its final struggle with the Mussulmen for its life, and around Venice the other Maritime nations threw their arms despairingly till Lepanto gave them relief.

Spain took no, or at least but little, part in the Crusades as we have written them. For eight hundred years the standard of Mohammed had floated in her midst, and during all that time she may be said to have been engaged in a perpetual Crusade against the Infidel, for we read that she fought three thousand seven hundred battles with the Moors. In many of these she was assisted by reinforcements from other nations, since there was hardly a Crusade that did not throw off a contingent to her support either on its going or return. The early decay of the feudal system in Spain left it the victim of rival monarchs and a prey to anarchy and tyranny. Nothing but aversion to the yoke and religion of the Moors seemed to animate the ardor and courage of the Spaniards. It made of them, on the one hand, a nation of self-reliant and cruel warriors, and on the other, a bigoted people, eager for the Inquisition, and intolerant of religious freedom.

But the one power in Europe which dominated all others during the Crusades was that double headed power, spiritual and temporal, represented by the Holy See. As sovereigns of Rome, the Popes had little power and were often banished from their own states. As heads of Christendom they exercised absolute empire. It is said the Popes made the Crusades. It is more than

likely they were the result of a general movement in the Christian world such as we have described in the first article to this volume, which movement, placid, natural, unsuspected, was found to be susceptible to resentment and enthusiasm, first by the Emperors of Constantinople, who needed protection, and then by the Popes of Rome, who turned it to what account they pleased. The Popes were never able to revive the Crusading spirit after it had once burned out.

But some say the Crusades increased pontifical authority. The early importance of the Popes is due to the overthrow of the Roman empire by the barbarians of the North. This left them uniquely situated at Rome, and spiritual masters of an ancient capital. This was their first freedom. Their second freedom came, when the Saracens began to keep the Greek Emperors so busy as that they had no time to give to Italian affairs, and even, by stress of circumstances, became petitioners for Roman aid. These, and other conditions gave an impetus to pontifical authority and warranted papal assumptions long before the Crusades. Indeed, when the swift wave of conversion to Christianity swept back along the line of barbaric conquest of Rome, it carried with it something which, to minds yet steeped in superstition, was nearly as awful as the hammer strokes of Thor, to wit, the thunders of the Vatican. No barbarian could be completely converted without accepting the dogma of Gregory VII, that, "the pope, in quality of Vicar of Jesus Christ, ought to be superior to every human power." Hence monarchs were made to bow their heads before the Crusades be-

gan. But the Crusades were calculated to greatly favor the development of this authority. They were asked for in the name of the Pope, preached in the name of the Pope, and carried on under the auspices of the Pope. The banner of the cross was the Pope's invention. Warriors took the oath of the Pope. The Pope granted them absolution and freed them from all obligations except those of the Church. The Popes were protectors of Crusaders, almoners for their families, guardians of their properties, arbiters of their differences, and keepers of their secrets. It is doubtful whether Pope Urban, during the first Crusade, saw any other advantage than what came naturally to him as a peace maker in Europe, and to the Church as conqueror of the Infidel and as possessor of the holy shrines. But in the second Crusade the Popes were awake to the ascendancy the Crusades gave them. They treated the Emperor of Germany and the King of France as their lieutenants, or vassals. In the third Crusade the Pope compelled Henry II to take the cross, and his son Richard obeyed the pontifical nod in his departure. A few years afterwards, Richard's brother and successor acknowledged himself a vassal of Rome. By means of the Crusades the Popes usurped sovereignty in all the states of Europe. In the name of a holy war they levied armies and imports; the will of their legates was law; they commanded the clergy and the clergy commanded the people. And then the conquests were given a mercenary twist and turned to their exaltation, as in the instance of the attack upon Constantinople.

While this is so, the Crusades also furnished a compensation. It cannot be said that the power of the Popes was as absolute at the end of the Crusades as at their beginning, or during their height. In Asia, the disorders among Crusaders multiplied the embarrassments of the Popes without increasing their power. The presumptions of papal legates often drove the leaders of the armies into bitter opposition and filled entire camps with murmurs. Whenever the Popes, in obedience to their ambitions rather than their religion, sought to augment their temporal power by means of the Crusades, they exhibited childish weakness, for then they were forced to rely on a lever which inevitably failed them, and when it failed, their spiritual authority felt the degradation. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the menace of the Mussulmen was direct upon Europe, when life, property, sovereignty and religion were at stake, when there was vital cause for a mighty Crusade, the Popes, as a rule, worked heroically to awaken the enthusiasm of the faithful, and, it is to be believed, unselfishly, but their former abuse of the Crusading spirit stood against them, the fervor for Crusades had passed, and the uselessness of their attempts weakened the popular idea of their intimacy with Heaven and their supernatural gift of power.

The intolerance of the war against the Albigeois arose from the Crusades. The Inquisition which followed awakened more passions than it suppressed. By the Inquisition, the Church instituted an odious human tyranny, and her decrees lost the respect of

intelligent mankind. But nothing proved so injurious to pontifical authority as the levying of tributes for the holy wars. They were levied at every Crusade and at every attempted Crusade; for every expedition to the East, and for the enterprises against the enemies of the court of Rome. At length they were levied under the vainest pretexts and in spite of the remonstrances of princes and people. The rigor of their exaction was fearful, and to this was afterwards added the crime of misapplying the extorted treasures. In all this, pontifical authority suffered much, and out of it grew those arrows of heresy which armed the Reformers. As long as the Popes followed the spirit of Christianity, their power remained unimpaired; when they entertained projects attributed to genius or ambition they struck a blow at themselves. They were in advance of the princes of the middle ages, and it was best that they should have opinions, beliefs and powers adequate to their favored position, but when they attempted to assert opinions and beliefs against civil laws and political authority, after a time when the rights of sovereigns and of nations came to be better understood, then their power failed them.

The Crusades assisted in destroying the abuses of the feudal system. In feudal times nobility was founded on land, and it was considered degrading to give it up for any purpose. During the Crusades, both ecclesiastical and civil laws permitted the alienation of lands, thus displacing both property and power. Before this, the barons were known only by some descriptive name, as Charles the bold, Henry

Rufus, the red, and so on. After this, surnames came into use, with coats-of-arms. As feudal usages declined, the nobility, who still constituted the strength of the armies, served rather in the spirit of chivalry than of feudalism. They were still the gentlemen, but far more courtly, and they served a better purpose in polishing the manners of the masses. So when land ceased to be the sole badge of respectability, society found ornaments in its scholars, and men of industry and acquired wealth. The long absence of lords and barons, during the Crusades, awakened a spirit of liberty among their serfs, slaves of the land. Many formed themselves into communes and purchased liberty, others shook off their yokes by force. Their general amelioration kept pace with the decline of the feudal system. But as the old means of raising armies and providing income vanished, the new method of levies and taxes appeared. This brought governments down to the people, rendered princes cautious, and proved advantageous to liberty. And here are to be found more of the sources of truly representative governments than scholars have been able to find in the books of the ancients.

Chivalry was known in the West before the Crusades, but the idea of defending the oppressed, serving God and combatting Infidels, intensified the chivalric spirit. Religion purified it. Christianity gave to it its ceremonies and emblems. It professed piety, bravery and modesty. However short of these it fell, it adhered to the highest standards of loyalty, and allied religion with gallantry to such an extent as to make it re-

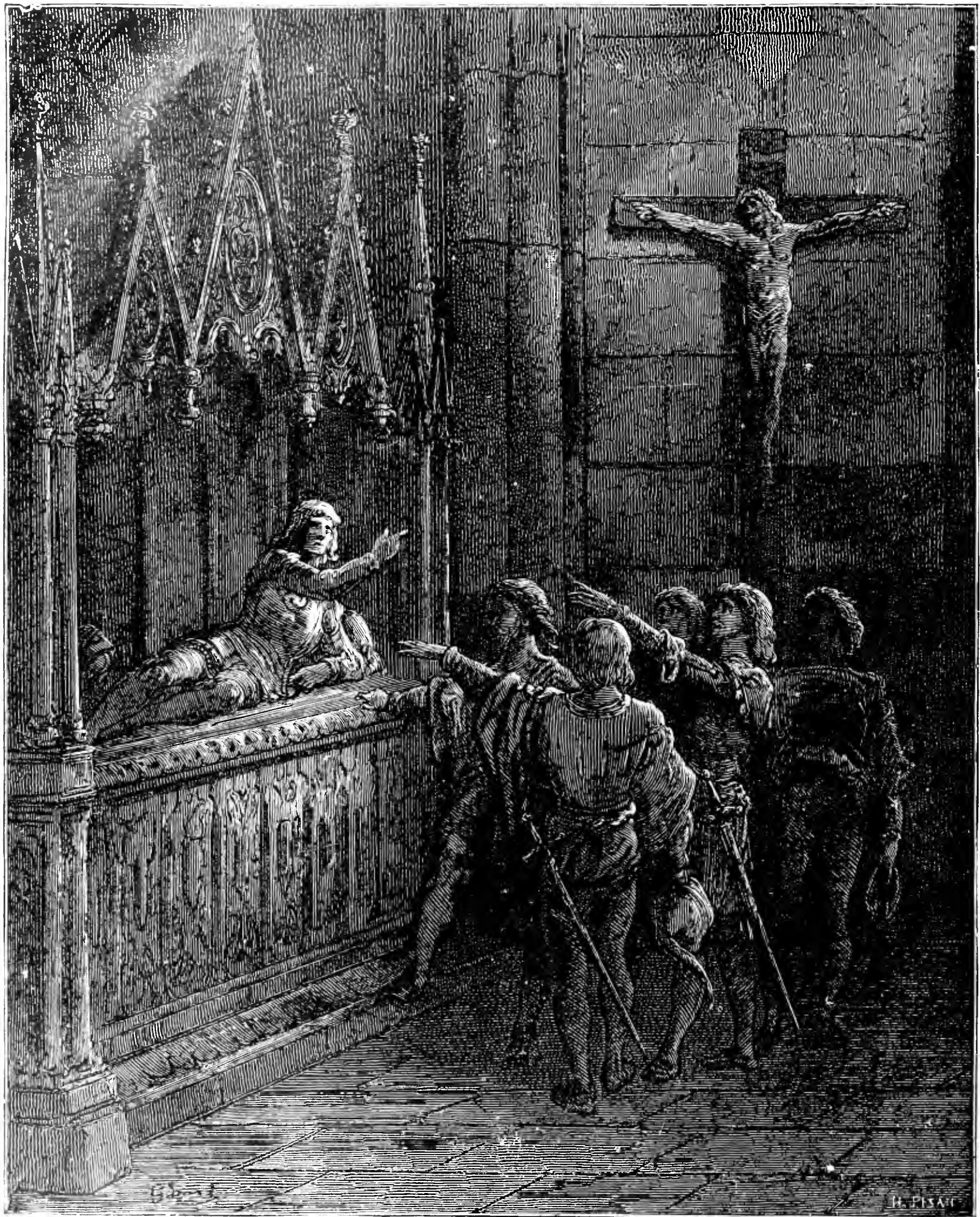


PLATE NO. XCVI.—THE ORDER OF CHIVALRY.

diculous in modern eyes. The tournaments of chivalry were schools as well as sports. It must be said, that the moment the sentiment of "Love and Devotion," "God and the ladies," "Let the most weak command the most strong," found permanent place in an institution, barbarism began to lower its standards. (*See Plate No. XCVI.*)

Under the operation of the religious idea, chivalry took the form of Christian charity, and the Knight thought it worthy of his calling to devote himself to the defence of pilgrims and the care of the sick. Hence arose the military orders of St. John, the Temple and Teutonic Knights, not to mention others of less importance but like spirit. What the Paladin of the West did for beauty, the Knight of Palestine did for poverty and misfortune. The Mussulman learned to admire him as much in the hospital as he feared him in the field. The sight of valor thus humbling itself and of strength forgetting itself was touching in an age when passion and anger led to excesses and the sword was the exponent of power. If chivalry ran into follies and abuses, if it often demeaned itself till it drew reproaches, it was held in high esteem by Christendom. Kings, princes and gentlemen courted the honor of Knighthood. It was the great school of the time where politeness, bravery and humanity were taught.

The clergy constituted a peculiar institution during the middle ages. In the feudal system they were on an equality with the nobility. But they were not fit for the conditions of war. War unfitted them for their true condition. During the Crusades priests

frequently assumed the helmet and cuirass. Such never became sufficiently warlike to fulfill the engagements of feudalism, nor sufficiently pacific to fulfill their religious duties. The feudal system and the clerical institution were at odds, and each contributed to the corruption of each. The chronicles of the middle ages were mostly prepared by the clergy, yet we read the fiercest denunciation of abuses sanctioned and perpetrated by them, especially when thrown amid the temptations of the camp. Still we must not lose sight of the agencies they gave rise to for the betterment of mankind, as the Brothers of Mercy, and the orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis. The Christian colonies, founded by the latter in remote Asia, lasted longer than those founded by the Crusaders. The monasteries were schools of the era, and through them have come the historic records which acquaint us with the time and the previous ages. During the Crusades the clergy invented the "Truce of God" by means of which the power of the Church was thrown around laborers in the fields, for their protection. They increased the number of festival days so as to secure better instruction and more repose for the ignorant and overworked serfs. The maxims of the clergy went a long way in securing the freedom of the serfs, and the banner of the cross became a badge of freedom. It is said the clergy became enriched by the Crusades. They were rich at the time of the first Crusade, offensively so to the barons. And as they did not contribute money to this Crusade, they were in a position to take advantage of it. But in all other Crusades the

tenth was exacted of them, and it is quite certain that the clergy of France, where the Crusades excited most enthusiasm, were poorer than in Germany and other countries, where the enthusiasm was less. It is true the clergy found new possessions in the East, but in the end nothing was left of these but the titles. After the imposition of the Saladin tenth, at the time of the third Crusade, the Popes and councils fixed the imposts of the churches and collected them with great vigor. The clergy often received rich bequests, and there is no doubt they took advantage of the Crusading spirit to buy the property of enthusiastic Knights at ruinously low figures, but in these speculative transactions they hardly more than made up for their losses through the tenth levies. In Germany and other countries the ardor for the Crusades began to cool among the clergy first on account of the levies made on them, and the Popes took the preachment of holy wars out of the hands of the bishops and entrusted it to the mendicant orders, who possessed nothing and had no taxes to pay.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries great numbers of monasteries sprang up in Europe. These, of course, added to the wealth of the clergy. They were largely endowments of the rich, who wished thus to signalize their devotion to the cross, their departure to the Holy Land, or their gratitude for absolution. It is very probable that as society was organized in mediæval times, with the clergy as the most enlightened class, with their order, economy and ascendancy over the people, and with their inability to

alienate possessions once acquired, they would have acquired wealth as fast without the Crusades as with them. Of this wealth, it must be said it belonged to everybody. The order of the clergy was open to all ranks and was therefore closer to society than any of the military orders. Its maxims had their place with the swords of the Knights in the fierce contentions with barbarism, notwithstanding the fact that no institution as yet existed in Europe sufficiently powerful to guarantee the security of her societies.

Society, in the middle ages, was entirely cut off from the lessons of antiquity in so far as judicial order was concerned. Its experience and examples were those furnished by the barbarian. These were anarchical in the extreme, as much so, places being changed, as among Mussulmen themselves, where force, intimidation and vengeance had play and where the show of an enemy's head was a sufficient evidence of triumph. (*See* Plate No. XCVII.) In feudal countries there were as many courts as baronies, each with its local customs and traditions. Prejudices and perjuries ran so riot, that society took its appeal from the consciences of men to Heaven, and sanctioned the vulgar ordeals of fire, boiling water and red-hot iron; or, among the nobility, the ordeal of the duello. Amid such ordeals, the idea of justice and injustice was remanded to the domain of physical force, without certainty, or any attribute of intelligence. Equity was an unknown judicial quantity. Revenge was the highest duty. The courts, which were the barons themselves, took arms to defend their decisions. These were simply the private



PLATE No. XCVII.—HEAD OF THE EMIR SHOWN IN THE SERAGLIO.

wars, which the barbarian brought with him to Europe. They constituted the jurisprudence of Europe, in the absence of laws. Christianity seemed to be the only power capable of balancing the warlike passions. The Church employed its Councils, bulls, saints, visions, revelations, miracles, with the effect of staying, not eradicating, the principles of discord. It became lawful to fight only on certain days of the week. The "Truce of God" was enacted for the protection of the field laborer. Just here the Crusades proved valuable auxiliaries to the efforts of the clergy. When a holy war was declared, local wars ceased. If Europe paid the price of peace by robbing herself of the millions of men and billions of treasure which went into the Crusades, she, nevertheless, had in return the blessings of peace, to her an entirely novel enjoyment. And along with the Crusades came a new tribunal, a Church usurpation if you choose to call it so, yet one existing by permission, for in it the criminals accused themselves. It was the tribunal of penitence, which, in the absence of laws took the place of other tribunals for the faithful, and which served as a stepping stone to the triumph of justice and humanity. It had the power of remorse, the fear of an avenging God, the promises of Heaven and the curses of Hell for the sanction of its decisions and the execution of its decrees. It greatly increased the influence of the clergy, for people who believed that all justice came of God were likely to have faith in his visible ministers. By means of it the clergy usurped authority in civil affairs, just as the Popes had done in temporal, and

their usurpation derived sanction from the fact that their tribunal conformed more nearly with the times than the courts of the barons. Of all the privileges extended by the Popes to Crusaders, that of being judged by ecclesiastical laws came to rank as the highest. The clergy took advantage of the absence, death or ruin of the nobility, who had entered the Crusades, to extend their jurisdiction. At length the nobles revolted. The result was a crisis, a bitter clash of old and new opinions, a revolution in the order of things. One thing was clear, and that was that ecclesiastical jurisdiction had wounded feudal justice unto death. There was a general looking around for something in the nature of a common standing ground. The search revealed the old Roman jurisprudence. A new judicial order made its appearance, crude, complicated, mysterious. Lawyers stepped in, to the great relief of the ignorant and impatient nobles and the great confusion and chagrin of the clergy. Judicial and legislative systems appeared, skeletonized and mazy in form. Appeals were instituted. A magistracy became possible. Parliaments were enlarged, and stood as bucklers between crowns and peoples. Thus the revolution which the Crusades precipitated, gave to law, liberty and enlightenment a great leap forward.

At the period of the first Crusade, but few of the nations of Europe had fleets. But soon navigators from all countries began to meet in the waters of the East. Commerce formed the incentive and the cross the badge of relationship. Nations in pursuit of a common advantage multiplied their rela-

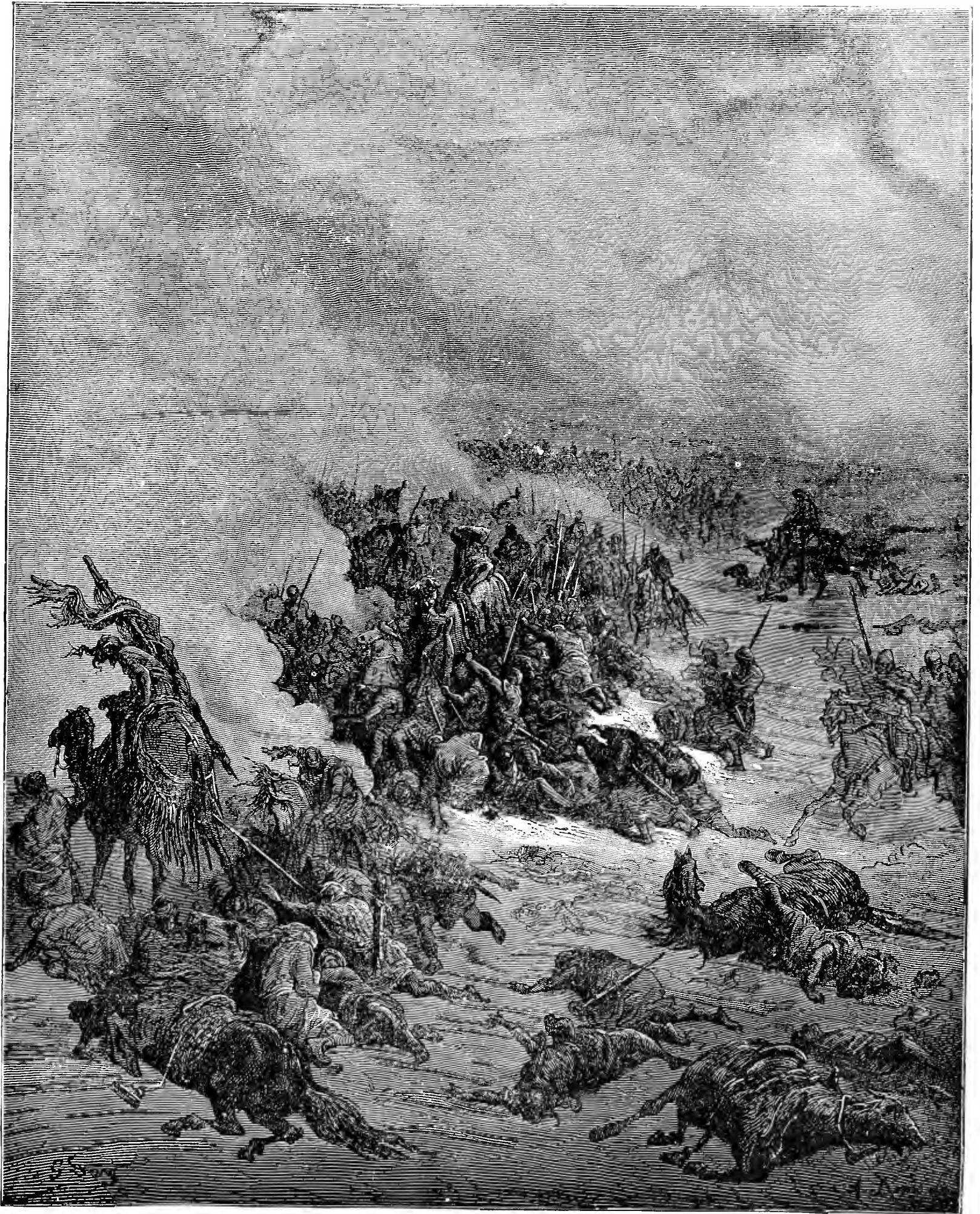


PLATE NO. XCVIII.—DISPERSION OF THE SYRIAN ARMY BY A SAND TEMPEST.

tions, ties, interests and emulations. Knowledge of navigation became more exact and extended. Oceans, coasts, capes, ports, bays, islands, depths, winds, currents, tides, became a study. The shipwrecks ascribed to Heaven's anger, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, were ever after accounted for by real causes. Naval architecture improved. Ships grew rapidly larger in order to carry Crusaders and provisions. Double and treble masts were introduced, and more expansive and better moving sails were employed. As man's empire over the seas increased, there arose the necessity for a maritime Code. Barcelona, in Spain, drew one up. It was adopted by Venice in 1255, and afterwards by Genoa and Pisa, and became the code for all the Eastern seas. It was followed by another, propagated in England, which was accepted by all the seas in the West. Protected by these codes, navigators were enabled to gather the fruits of their daring. Most of the maritime cities of the West got rich transporting Crusaders and provisions and arms, and bringing back to Europe the productions of the East. All the wealth of the maritime cities of Syria and even Greece belonged to the merchants of the West. Venice got as her share in the capture of Constantinople, half the city and control of all the islands of the Archipelago. Nor did commerce lose its conquests with the failure of the Crusades. Venice, in her Tana, still controlled the rich trade of Taurus, Trebizond and Bagdad. The Genoese controlled the trade of India, through the Crimea. In general, the African ports yielded their trade to the ships of Italy.

France, which bore the brunt of the Crusades, derived less commercial benefit from them than any country abutting on the Mediterranean.

Tradesmen and skilled mechanics were preferred as Crusaders. These brought many Grecian and Saracenic designs, which they introduced in the West. The silk looms of Tripoli were introduced into Sicily about 1150. Venice obtained from Tyre the art of making the beautiful glass-ware for which she became famous. The Greek fire which the Crusaders found so formidable in the hands of the Saracens, may have suggested the idea of gunpowder, afterwards so formidable in the hands of Europeans. During the fourth Crusade, Turkish wheat was introduced into Italy, and also the Damascus plum. The use of saffron, alum and indigo was not known in Europe till the time of the Crusades.

In the tenth century in Europe, architecture was limited to the construction of towers, ramparts and fortresses. Dwelling-houses, even in cities, were mere shelters. The first architectural monuments were those which devotion raised to ancestors—monasteries and churches. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries these sprang up in all parts of Europe, spoken into existence by repentance and the expiation of sins. The clergy called in the aid of painting and sculpture, and their devices were those suggested by piety. In many instances the architecture of the East was copied in the West; in others, it suggested arches, lines, ornaments and general improvements. In the line of fine arts, the Saracens gave no

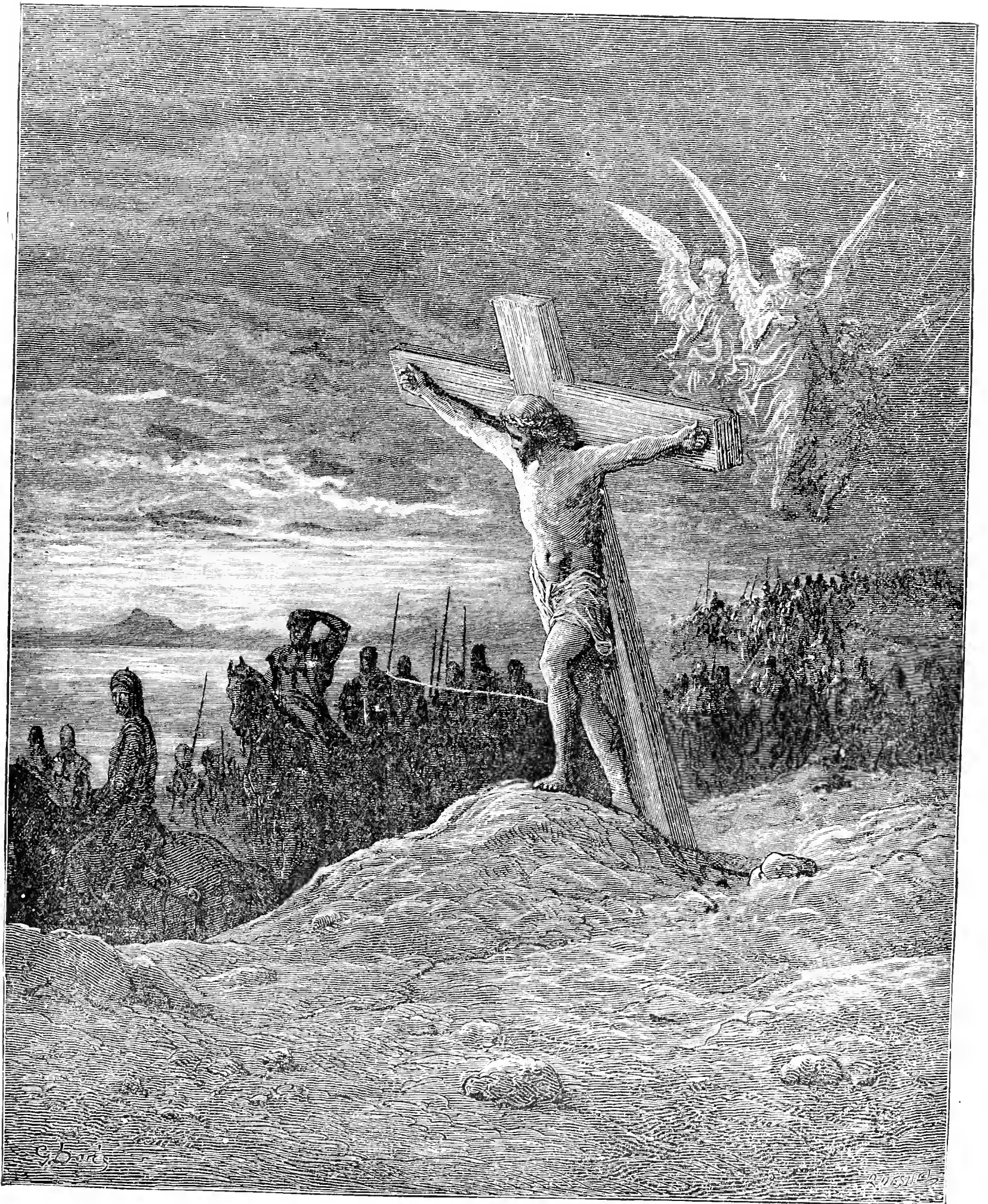


PLATE NO. XCIX.—MIRACLES.

suggestions to the West, being opposed to painting. Music and painting were spontaneous revivals in Italy. As to letters, the Crusaders were too densely ignorant to care for them. At Tripoli and Constantinople they burned libraries which contained the most precious monuments of oriental and Grecian literature, and thought not even enough of it to mention it.

Before the Crusades, geography was unknown as a science in the West. The Crusaders under Peter the Hermit did not know the names of the German and Hungarian cities through which they passed. They were entirely ignorant of the countries of the East, of its ways, cities, mountain ranges, rivers, deserts. Hence it was that they so often fell victims to diseases in sickly spots, famines in desolated places, surprises in mountain passes, and dispersions in the midst of sand storms upon arid deserts. (*See Plate No. XCVIII.*) Only one out of two hundred chronicles of the Crusades speaks of the pyramids of Egypt. So far as the Crusaders themselves were concerned, they never cared to extend their knowledge of geography, but commerce and the missionary spirit took advantage of the Eastern advent to push inquiry far into Asia and Africa, and the accounts of traders and missionaries proved to be very accurate. The one point of knowledge gained by the Crusaders themselves was acquaintance with the various nations which mingled in the East under the standard of the cross. By means of this intercommunication they learned the names and locations of the cities and provinces of Europe.

The East furnished the West with a better knowledge of medicine than it had. The Arabian doctors were far superior to those of Europe. Cassia and senna came into use in the West as medicines during the Crusades. Robert of Normandy, on his return from Jerusalem, brought a book of hygiene which became a standard among all the nations of Europe. But European physicians were still too ignorant to profit much by Arabian medical learning. Education was not, as yet, deemed a preliminary to the profession. Soon after the Crusades, courses of Greek and the Oriental languages were introduced into all the leading schools of Europe.

Soon after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, the Greek scholars who found exile in the West gave a great impetus to Greek learning. The genius of the Italians, awakened by the masterpieces of old Rome and Athens, produced new masterpieces, in her new and mellifluous language. From Constantinople also came the philosophy of Aristotle and Plato and Socrates and the rest, and the human mind found itself in a warfare which corresponded with that of the Knights upon the field. The universities overflowed with students. Privileges were extended to them, and honors were conferred after the fashion of chivalry. Ten years' study of Roman law entitled a student to "the knighthood of learning," and he was called a *Knight's-clerk*.

The Crusades called forth numerous pious chroniclers, who pretended to write histories of events as they occurred. These men were scrupulous about telling the truth, but un-

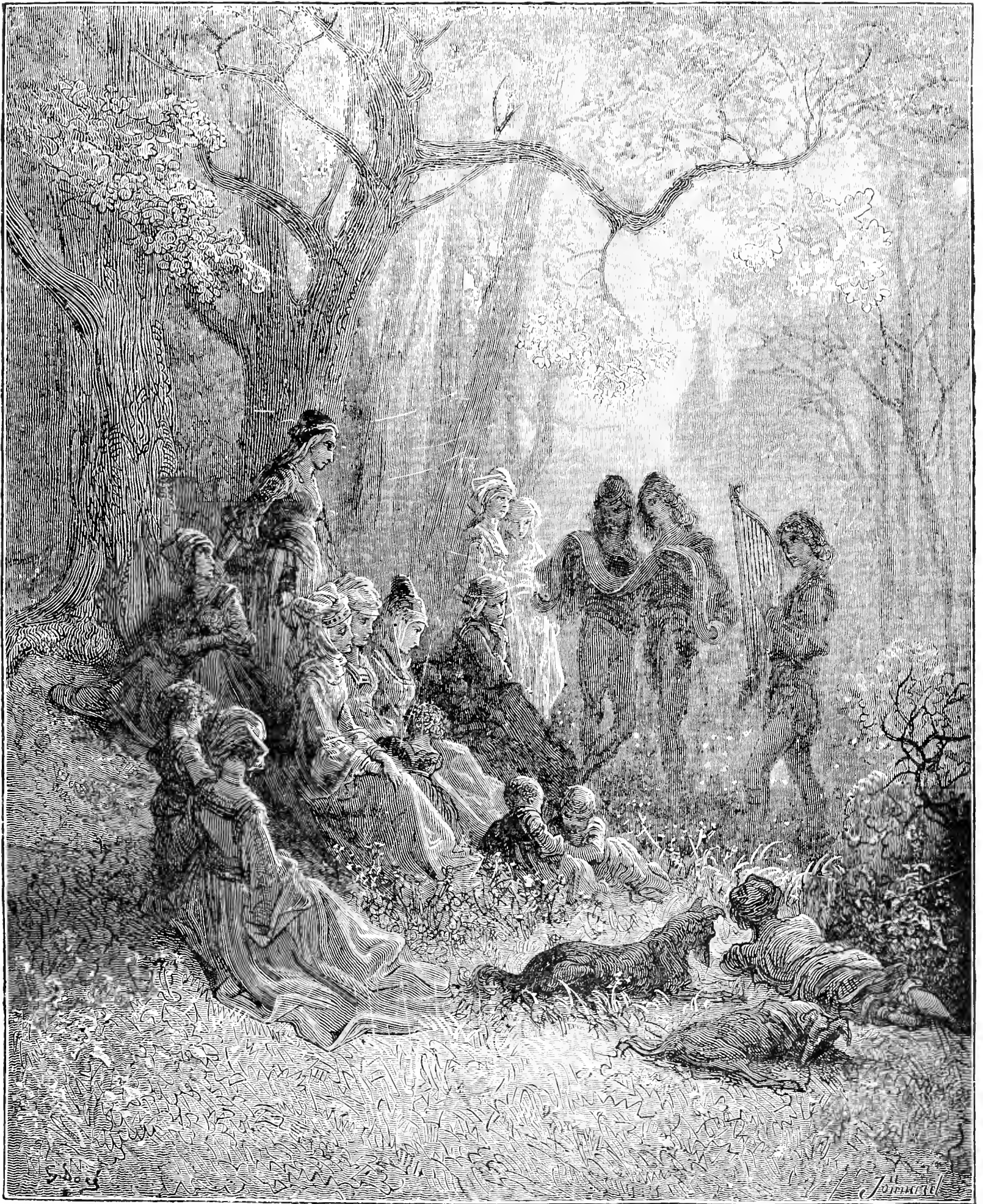


PLATE NO. C.—TROUBADOURS SINGING THE GLORIES OF THE CRUSADES.

fortunately they were monkish and used to the Cloister. They therefore saw little truth to tell. They were not observers. They lacked narrative power. They began the commonest descriptions back at the creation or deluge. They painfully elaborated what struck them, or what would make an impression on the vulgar. Hence those overdrawn pictures of storms, famines, hand to hand contests, prodigies of valor, miracles, etc., which burden their writings. What they did not understand they explained by a miracle. (*See* Plate No. XCIX.) A spirit of superstition and credulity pervades all their works, and this is united with a blind fatalism that puts the Mohammedan faith to the blush. In all the long list of Chroniclers East and West, only a few, such as William of Tyre, Anna Comnenus, Albert of Baudry, Odo of Denil, James of Vitry and Villehardouin and Joinville, rose to the rank of historians.

A great number of troubadours and trouvres joined the warriors who went into the East. They charmed the tediousness of pilgrimage and the lonesomeness of camp life by their poetry and song. They celebrated in verse chivalry, love and beauty, and often dwelt on sacred themes. The lofty deeds of Arthur, Rinaldo, Charlemagne, Roland, Tancred, Godfrey, Richard, Saladin, and the Knights of the Round Table, are better preserved in their lyrics and heroics than in authentic history. They created for

themselves a new world, which they peopled according to their fancy and filled with ideal actions. (*See* Plate No. C.) Blending the traditions of the North with those of the South, they gave birth to a new mythology and literature which lacked national distinction and was incapable of preserving in a grand heroic the same class of deeds which furnished the Iliad and Odyssey. They were romantic, witty, satirical and ingenious, but lacking in that genius which carries over the thoughts of one age to the next. True, Knight-errantry followed in the wake of their romances, but only to become the laughing stock of Europe and to perish under the keen satires it provoked.

We have now considered the Crusades in two lights, first as a success, which they were not; second as a failure, which they were. Suppose, as a third consideration, they had never occurred. The Christian states of Europe, some of them already occupied and all threatened by the Saracens, would have been caught defenceless in the midst of their jealousies and petty wars. Had they not gone out in armed array, and under the only banner capable of uniting them, they would have been surprised in their divisions and subdued one by one. The Crusades saved Europe from itself by calling a halt on feuds, by smothering the fires of war on its castle dotted hills; and then they saved Europe from the Saracen by awakening it to danger and uniting it for defence.

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